

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY
NATURAL HISTORY
AND
ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862

TRANSACTIONS

AND

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

1959-60

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XXXVIII

Editors

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

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CONTENTS

SESSION 1959-60

Article	Page
1. The Anglican Sculptured Crosses of Dumfriesshire. By Miss R. Cramp, M.A., F.S.A.	9
2. Miracula Nynie Episcopi. By Mrs W. W. MacQueen	21
3. Excavations at Trusty's Hill, Anwoth, 1960. By Charles Thomas, M.A., F.S.A.	58
4. Two Early Ecclesiastical Sites, Isle of Whithorn and Ardwell Island. By Charles Thomas, M.A., F.S.A.	71
5. Mediæval Hut and Midden at Craignarget. By Charles Thomas and Bernard Wailes	83
6. The Border Grahams, their Origin and Distribution. By R. C. Reid	85
7. Two Mediæval Crosses at Kirkpatrick-Fleming. By R. C. Reid and W. F. Cormack, F.S.A. Scot. ...	114
8. Sir John Clerk's Journey to Penrith, 1731. By W. A. J. Prevost and Professor Eric Birley ...	128
9. Thomas Pennant and the Hoddam Castle Collection. By Professor Eric Birley, F.S.A.	140
10. Captain Thurot's Expedition. By Lt.-Col. J. R. H. Greeves, B.Sc.	147
11. Letters from Dumfries to a Scottish Factor at Rotterdam, 1676-83. By T. C. Smout, M.A., Ph.D. ...	157
12. The Valuation Book of the Shire, 1667-92. By W. A. J. Prevost	168
13. Further Surface Finds on Burnswark. By W. F. Cormack, W.S., F.S.A. Scot.	189
14. Addenda Antiquaria	192
(1) Freshwater Mollusca from Mein Water, Dumfriesshire. By J. S. Shillitoe, M.Inst.B.E., F.G.S.	
(2) Cluden: Cledyfein. By John MacQueen, M.A.	
(3) Lord Maxwell in Dumfries, 1523. By the Editors.	
(4) The Barochan Falconry Heirlooms. By John Gladstone, of Capenoch.	
(5) Finds and Sites, 1960-61. By A. E. Truckell, F.S.A. Scot.	
15. Review: "St. Nynia." By Miss Anne Ashley, M.A.	206
16. Proceedings, 1959-60	208
17. Field Meetings	209
18. List of Members	210
19. Accounts	224
20. Index	226

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Anglican Sculptured Crosses,
Plates I., II., IIa., III., IV., V., VI. Facing Page 16
Figs. 1 and 2 Facing Page 12
2. Trusty's Hill, Figs. 3, 4, 5 and 6 Facing Page 62
3. Two Early Ecclesiastical Sites,
Figs. 7 and 8 Facing Page 72
4. Craignarget Midden, Fig. 9 Facing Page 84
5. Kirkpatrick-Fleming Crosses,
Plates VII. and VIII. Facing Page 114
6. Sir John Clarke's Journie,
Figs. 10, 11 and 12 Facing Page 132
7. Surface Finds on Burnswark,
Plates IX. and X. Facing Page 190

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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The Anglican Sculptured Crosses Of Dumfriesshire.

The remarkable group of crosses that this area has produced include some of the finest pre-eleventh century carving in Britain, and as such seem to have attracted the attention that they deserve. In particular the Ruthwell Cross has now collected an enormous literature¹ although only one publication² has considered it fully and without prejudice from linguistic, artistic and literary standpoints. The significance of the Hoddum fragments has been recently examined by C. A. R. Radford,³ but the other crosses, although listed and discussed by W. G. Collingwood⁴ and J. Romily Allen,⁵ have been largely left aside, most notably in such general works as Kendrick's *Anglo-Saxon Art* to 900 A.D.

As Kendrick has remarked, W. G. Collingwood alone in this country has come to grips with the whole huge series of Northumbrian crosses, arranging them into schools and period groups, and this remains true to-day; every other commentator tends to nibble at Collingwood's massive construction, undermining it here and there, but no one could shake it unless they should have the first-hand acquaintance with the monuments that he had himself. Kendrick did however work from a premise rejected by Collingwood, namely that there is a style relationship between different contemporary media and so that the art of the monastic scriptorium was not divorced from that of the monastic carvers. In doing this he made what seems a valid distinction between the large monumental hieratic style of the earlier crosses such as Ruthwell and Bewcastle and the more delicate and fanciful

¹ An almost complete bibliography is included in F. Willet *The Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, University of Manchester publications 7, 1957.

² I. Baldwin Brown and Blyth Webster, *The Arts in Early England*, Vol. V., 1921.

³ "Hoddum" *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. History and Antiq. Soc.*, XXXI., 1954, pp. 174-197.

⁴ *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, 1927.

⁵ *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, 1903.

style of the equally romanesque monuments of, for example, Easby, Croft or Hoddum. This distinction is now usually accepted, as is his caution that "unless crosses are very closely connected in their general ornamental system it is very nearly a waste of time to try to assess their relative chronology at sight and on grounds of minor typological alterations." In this he specifically rejects Collingwood's attempt to give a primary chronological position to Acca's cross at Hexham. In fact, there never can be an entirely acceptable chronology for these crosses, based as it must be on stylistic considerations, but it is possible to be more explicit about stylistic relationships, even though here too there are difficulties, since we know so little from written documents about the spheres of influence of the large monastic houses in the north from which in the beginning art styles could have been spread. Moreover matters are further complicated since in what must have been important centres such as York or Ripon, Monkswearmouth or Jarrow, relatively little has survived in comparison with more isolated places. Some rather odd relationships as for example those of Dumfries and the West Riding of Yorkshire might be explained if we knew more about the foundations of the smaller houses, but if one considers that the Solway area was from the seventh century within the diocese of Lindisfarne, and yet its relationships seem rather with Hexham, then one might imagine that in artistic matters geographical proximity weighed more heavily than diocesan.

In fact this peninsula of land in the valleys of the Nith and the Annan is strangely untouched by influences from anywhere except the south. To the north Lanarkshire has monuments obviously influenced from Celto-Norse areas,⁶ to the west Kirkcudbright⁷ has one piece showing Irish influence, and the important centre at Whithorn, linked perhaps by sea with Govan to the north and western Cumberland to the south, does not influence this area except at

⁶ Govan see Romily Allen, figs. 485 and 486.

⁷ Minningaff I. Romily Allen, fig. 507.

Kirkconnel.^{7a} Here a piece of the distinctive Whit-horn stopped plait was perhaps influenced from Govan during the period of Scottish domination of the Lowlands in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the early period of Ruthwell and the earliest Hoddum pieces there are connections with Dumfries and eastern Bernicia (Roxburgh and Northumberland) and also with Hexham and Dacre, in the south-west, but the later stones from Hoddum, and from Thornhill and Closeburn solely connect with Western Yorkshire and Lancashire to the south. The degenerate pieces from Durisdeer, and Penpont show some concessions to Anglo-Scandinavian taste, but only the curious little beast from Wamphrey shows true Celto-Norse influence in this area.

It is not difficult to see geographically why Dumfries should be linked to Cumberland and its environs from Roman times onwards but it is more difficult to explain historically why this outlying area of Bernicia should have provided purely Anglian art of such high quality which shows clearly a lively interest in changes of fashion and never concedes to a Celtic treatment of Anglian themes such as one finds elsewhere in Scotland. It has been conjectured⁸ that an early foundation at Hoddum provided the necessary stimulus for fostering a cultural tradition in this area, but whether or not one believes the Kentigern story—and recent research has tended to discredit this⁹—such a tradition does not explain why the monuments show no trace of British or Irish patterns. The evidence purely of the sculptured monuments would lead one to suspect a mainly Anglian community here and a large enough Anglian population, at least as early as the eighth century, to give some point to the Anglo-Saxon inscriptions on the Ruthwell cross, unless one supposes that they were never meant to be read.

There is not the space here to discuss the Ruthwell cross

^{7a} See *Fragments of Old Kirkconnel*, in D. and G. Trans., third series, XV., 119.

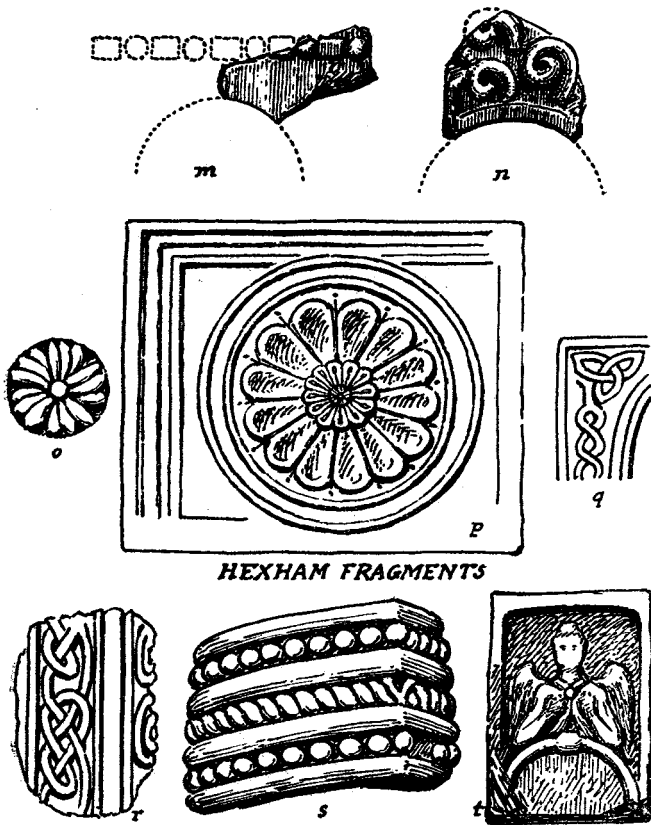
⁸ C. A. Raleigh Radford, *op. cit.* Note 3, p. 1.

⁹ K. Jackson, "The Sources for the Life of St Kentigern." *Studies in the Early British Church*, pp. 273-357.

at length, only to reconsider its implications. It should be stressed that Ruthwell is a highly individual monument, and its total conception, which I intend to discuss elsewhere, has the stamp of a single mind. There is some comparative material¹⁰ for the explanatory Latin inscriptions on the margins and intersections of the broad faces, but the Runic inscriptions on the narrow sides, where the conventional vine-scroll would need no explanation, are unique. Nevertheless, even if one supposes the runic poem was inscribed to fill in the ugly wide margins (which would have to be left for reasons of symmetry on the narrow sides) there seems no convincing reason why they should have been carved in later. The theme of the poem is well linked with the themes of the figure sculpture. There is nothing in the cutting of the runes, as Baldwin Brown and Blyth Webster first pointed out, to suggest that the inscription was a later addition to the cross, quite apart from the commonsense improbability of leaving the broad margins blank. Unless one assumes that the Ruthwell inscription incorporates a dialect that changed more rapidly than that of the other early Northumbrian remains such as *Caedmon's Hymn* and *Bede's Death Song*, the linguistic forms point to a mid eighth century date. Moreover, the runic characters employed at both Ruthwell and the related monument at Bewcastle include extension of the original *futhor* which fit most sensibly into the eighth century, although, as Elliot has noted, Bewcastle is less consistent in their use. This could mean usage had settled down by the time Ruthwell was erected. The tediously argued controversy as to the relative dates of Ruthwell and Bewcastle, is important within the context of this paper mainly because it can show whether artistic influences run north or south. Most art historians, with the notable exception of Saxl,¹¹ would put Ruthwell earlier on the grounds that it is nearer to the supposed Mediterranean models introduced into England in the seventh

¹⁰ For example, on the round shaft from Dewsbury derived from the earlier Reculver type.

¹¹ F. Saxl. "The Ruthwell Cross." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, VI., 1943, pp. 1-19.



HEXHAM FRAGMENTS

Fig. 1—Hexham.



Fig. 2—Hexham Scroll
(After Collingwood, by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of
Newcastle).

century. However Hexham alone in the north has work surviving which could be from the hands of foreign masters, notably its animated scroll and classical rosette panel (see fig. 1 and 2). In recent years, no scholar has argued that we have such foreign workmanship at either Ruthwell or Bewcastle, but only "an acclimatized classicism." The two monuments are different in intention and thus difficult to compare in their complete schemes, but it is quite true that Bewcastle is the more obviously Hiberno-Saxon in its scheme of ornament. Nevertheless its multiple motifs isolated into different compartments could be the sign of an early essay in decorating such a surface. As far as the animated scroll is concerned there does seem to be a development from the animals and birds which stand stiffly at Bewcastle to the more animated and convoluted beasts at Ruthwell, some of which sprawl and grip in a manner reminiscent of later art such as the Brunswick casket or the Witham pins. The foliage in the animated scroll shows a similar development: although neither Bewcastle nor Ruthwell have any resemblance to vine foliage, the leaves in the former with their serrated edges and heavy lobes are more like vine leaves than those at Ruthwell where the serrations have become symmetrical ribwork. A later development of this stylisation is seen at Jedburgh where the leaves are even more ribbed and have sprouted stamens, like flowers. It seems impossible to determine how long such stylistic evolution would take, but if one distrusts the reading of the name *Alcfrithu* on the Bewcastle cross, then both these monuments could belong to the eighth century. Bewcastle which is linked to Hexham by its chequers and figure of eight scroll being earlier than Ruthwell which enlarged the figural schemes of its southern neighbour.

The monuments which were found at Hoddum¹² indicate that new and in some ways independent

¹² Now lost but preserved to some extent in Crawford's magnificent photographs. A full list of them exists in Mr Radford's useful article *op. cit.* Note 3, p. 1.

ideas in Christian sculpture flourished in Dumfries in the eighth and early ninth centuries. Some link with the Hexham tradition is shown in the prolific use of the rosette motif both in isolation on cross heads¹³ and as a substitute for grape bunches on shafts with the running and figure of eight scroll. This rosette motif is particularly prominent on the Agnus Dei cross head where the lamb type is unique in pre-conquest sculpture.¹⁴ No satisfactory iconography of the Agnus Dei has been worked out, but at Ravenna where it occurs on a series of sarcophagi ranging from the late fifth to seventh centuries the early form seems to be a stiffly standing figure later developing towards the lamb with lifted foot often backed by a cross. This later form is found on the eleventh century cross heads from Durham Cathedral, as well as on the Agnus Dei coins of Ethelred. The nearest parallel to the Hoddum lamb which I can find is that on a silver medallion set on a fifth century ivory book cover now in Milan cathedral.¹⁵ This has the same stance, the same treatment of the fleece, and set at the top of the roundel, in which it is enclosed, is a classical rosette. (Naturally I am not supposing a direct link here, but it is plausible that earlier Italian ivories served as models for some Anglo-Saxon sculptures.) The association of the Agnus Dei and rosette, although rather debased is also found in ms. art.¹⁵

The evidence would then lead one to suggest that the lamb cross head is earlier than the cross head containing the seated figure and bust of Christ, which as both Collingwood

¹³ This motif is common in classical sculpture and in 8th century MSS., and so it might be argued useless for establishing links within the Anglo-Saxon cross series. Nevertheless, it is only found on cross heads at Hexham and as part of a scroll at Wycliffe on Tees, where the shaft also contains the Hexham figure of eight motif.

¹⁴ The slain lamb on the cross on the Wirksworth slab seems quite unrelated to the Hoddum piece, but the figure of St John and the lamb on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle might have introduced the theme into this area.

¹⁶ For example, in the Gelasian Sacramentary Reg. Lab. 316, Vol. 132) dated mid 8th century. E. Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting*. Skira, 1957, p. 128.

¹⁵ C. M. Morey. *Early Christian Art*, 1953. fig. 142.

and Radford have pointed out, can be paralleled stylistically in western Yorkshire and even Breedon in Leicestershire. This Mercian parallel for the angel busts and perky winged beasts may only mean that Hoddum and Breedon were both drawing on the same models and interpreting in a contemporary idiom, although there was obviously in the pre-Viking period a free interchange of artistic ideas in the major centres perhaps through the medium of manuscript art. The remarkable thing about the beasts on the Hoddum Christ cross head is that in treatment it makes no concessions to Celtic style of animal drawing as does the later Closeburn cross.

It is now unclear on the basis of the photographs whether the shaft with standing paired figures and rosette scrolls on the narrow edges belonged originally to the Lamb or Christ cross head. Nor is it easy to decide from the style of figure carving. It is obvious from the different treatment of the Christ figure in the cross head that artists working in different styles existed contemporaneously at Hoddum, and on the shaft now at the Edinburgh museum all three of the portrait figures seem to be by different hands. The most one can say about the rosette shaft is that it preserves the Ruthwell tradition of standing haloed saints and perhaps of miracle scenes, since the mutilated panel which shows a draped figure, and a pair of naked legs could be Christ healing the blind or paralytic who are normally shown in early Christian art as wearing short clothing. The curious roundels under the feet may be supposed to represent rocky ground, a feature shown in a similar schematised way in ms. art when the scene takes place out of doors. The bare legged figures on the other side of this shaft have been interpreted as Adam and Eve, and this is a possible interpretation, although it is not usual (in this scene) to find the figures actively enmeshed in the scroll. An exact parallel to the Hoddum scene is shown on the Dacre shaft in Cumberland (pl. I.) also unfortunately mutilated but here the two human figures are standing

above an animal figure in a volute, and seem to be derived from the eastern Mediterranean hunting or vintage scroll seen in its purest form at Hexham. The development of human figures in the vinescroll on Anglo-Saxon crosses needs as careful analysis as has been devoted to the bird and beast scroll, but it would seem that there were several developments: either an archer figure is detached completely as at Ruthwell, or placed at the bottom of the scroll as at St. Andrew Aukland or Sheffield, or a human figure may stride through a scroll without a bow, as at Jarrow. This single figure may also be the forerunner of a strange development where an angel is shown enmeshed in interlace as at Tyne-mouth, Ovingham and Closeburn (pl. II. and IIa.). The shafts at Dacre and Hoddom however may have shown figures picking the grapes, a type which existed side by side with the hunters on the early piece at Hexham but exist independently in one of the Breedon friezes.¹⁷

The Hoddom pieces so far discussed then show a wide lively contact with contemporary Christian art. There are however more provincial pieces. The plain cross head, (Radford fig. 3), which Collingwood¹⁸ dated eleventh century but Radford more exactly compared with the pre-ninth century pieces at Whitby is a type that needs further discussion. The earliest type like the Whitby and Hoddom pieces and two fragments from Hexham, one with a rosette on one face,¹⁹ seem to be an early form of memorial cross used in monastic communities. Their clean cut linear outlines hint at an origin in the incised slab type of memorial, and at Whitby a slab with the same type of cross marked on it has been found re-used to carry a later type of carved beast scroll. The cross with one plain side, perhaps intended

¹⁷ A. W. Clapham, "The Carved Stones at Breedon on the Hill, Leicestershire, and their position in the history of English Art." *Archæologia*, LXXVII., 1928, Pl. XXXII., fig. 1.

¹⁸ *Dumfries and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.*, 1924-5, XIII., pp. 46ff.

¹⁹ The centre of a plain cross head with a rosette has survived at Hoddom, but its punched outlines indicate a rather later date than the Whitby and Hexham pieces.



Plate I.—Dacre (Cumberland).



Plate II.—Closeburn.

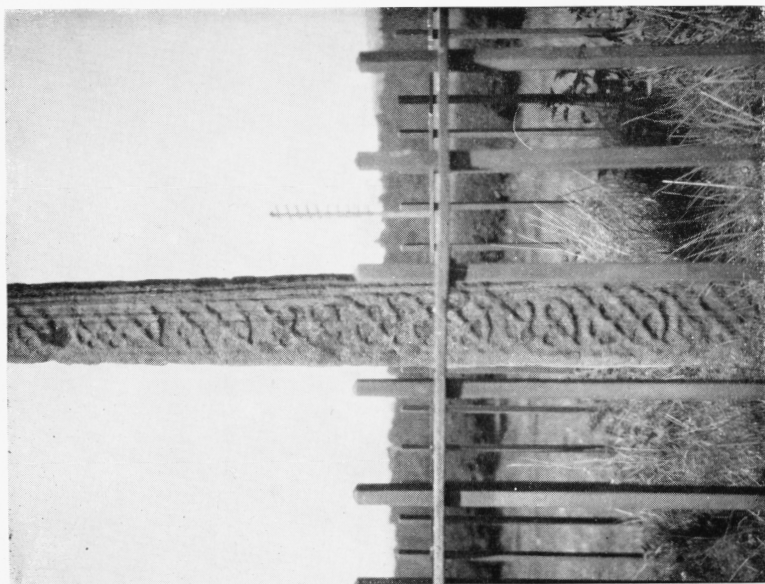


Plate III.—Thornhill (side).

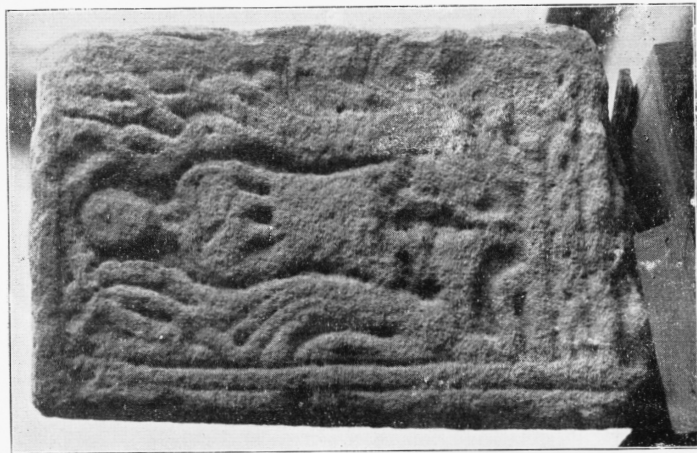


Plate II.A.—Cross Shaft from Tynemouth
(By kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle).

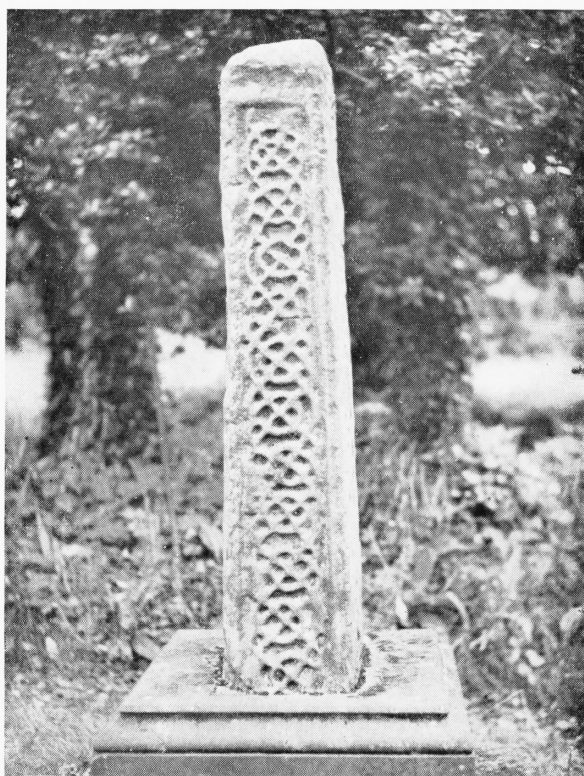


Plate VI.—Closeburn (side).

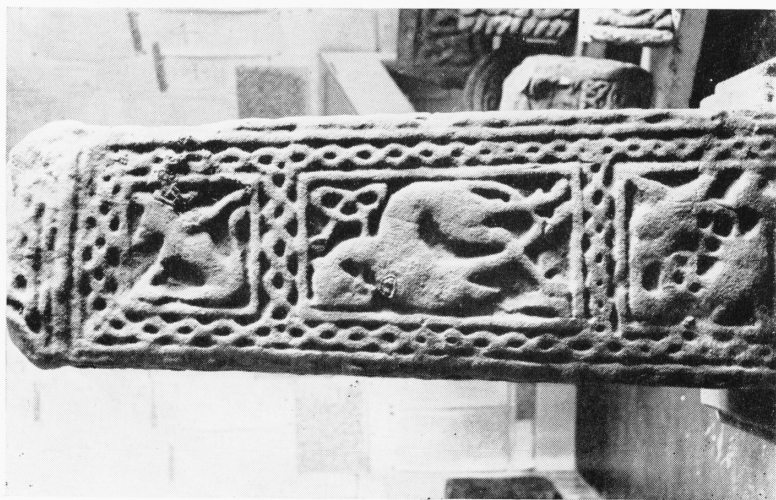


Plate V.—Closeburn (now in Dumfries Museum).



Plate IV.—Closeburn (side).

for an inscription, then developed a plant design²⁰ on one face as at Carlisle (*Collingwood Northumbrian Crosses*, fig. 104 and 105) where a fine early piece could be late eighth, early ninth centuries. A later development of this is found at Kirkconnel, Dumfries, and High Hoyland in Yorks. In a parallel development of the plain cross-head, heavy moulding takes the place of the earlier incised decoration and the shape of the arms is more spatulate, although the association of the rosette and inscription can still occur on this type as on the Hospitium 12 cross at York.

The shafts from Closeburn and Nith Bridge (Thornhill) have been rather inadequately considered in the past; both Collingwood and Romily Allen illustrated less than can be seen in photographs of these pieces. It is difficult to assign a priority in date to monuments which have such different schemes, but the Nith Bridge shaft seems to be the earlier. The interlace on the narrow sides of both shafts is superficially the thin late Anglian type (see pl. III.), but whereas at Nith Bridge the variegated plait is continuous throughout, at Closeburn it is built up from a series of roundels ingeniously surrounded and intersected but not organically part of the plait. This is a late trick resulting in the loose ring type of interlace found in the Viking period, and taken in combination with the late type of portrait animal, and the enmeshed human figures, which are discussed below, would seem to put Closeburn in a later category than Nith Bridge. Both could, however, belong to the tenth century if it may be assumed that this was not an area of primary Scandinavian settlement.

The earlier cross has obvious affiliations with the West Riding of Yorkshire and earlier Dumfries work: the flat rosette on the cross head and the paired wing beasts could have derived from Hoddum, and the bell-like flowers at the

²⁰ Cross heads with an elegant floriated design are a popular type in late eighth century and early ninth century work in Yorkshire, as for example at Lastingham and Masham, and it was perhaps from there, through Carlisle, that the style spread to Dumfries to find its latest expression in the Glencairn cross head.

top of the shaft²¹ are reminiscent of the flora on the Ruthwell cross. The elegant outlines and curled back snouts of the beasts argue a resurgence of "Celtic" taste however, and the same impression is given by the roundheaded beasts on the other broad face when compared with their nearest English counterparts at Ilkley.²²

The Closeburn cross has even more complicated relationships: its interlace which Romily Allen draws much too regularly is basically linked with Otley and Thornhill in Yorkshire, but, as mentioned above, is not a true interlace at all. The overall panelled scheme of the cross is traditionally Anglian even to the animated scroll on one narrow face (see pl. IV.). However the foliage of the scroll and the treatment of the birds which it contains is quite unlike the earlier Ruthwell work, and with its distinctively rhythmical treatment has often been compared with the only other Scottish examples of this theme, at Hilton of Cadboll and Tarbat. These two closely related north-eastern pieces are sufficiently unlike the Closeburn scroll for it to appear unlikely that there was any direct link between them, and the Dumfries piece seems to be an isolated survival.

The panels on the broader faces (see pl. V.) are even more difficult to provide parallels for. On one side there is an animal touching its toes, and an elegant type of late Anglian beast, which have some affinities with ninth century Yorkshire crosses such as Ilkley and Cundall, but the pecking bird on one side and the stag on the other together with the figures enmeshed in scrolls²³ have more in common with pieces in County Durham which seem to belong to the Viking period without reflecting Viking taste. There is in fact a marked difference in treatment between the crude figures enmeshed in interlace which are found on Viking monuments as

²¹ Romily Allen, fig. 469.

²² Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, figs. 61 and 65.

²³ Only one such figure, the angel on the lower panel, is drawn by Romily Allen and Collingwood, but the photograph shows another figure quite plainly. The stag figure is rather more conjectural, but seems a possible interpretation.

far apart as Penrith, Stonegrave and Gainford and the Closeburn figures which could be a late reminiscence of the Hoddum motif already discussed. The mutilated figure of the stag on the bottom panel (see pl. II.) is also treated in an individual manner since it seems to have a roundel, perhaps a sundisc, behind its horns and is perhaps nibbling at some foliage. It is in fact like neither the animal in the "hart and hound" scenes on Pictish stones nor the simple portrait figures as found for example at Stanwick or Gainford which belong to the Viking period.

The end of this Dumfries tradition, which is characterised by Anglian motifs treated with more than Anglian elegance is to be seen on the floriated cross head from Glencairn which Collingwood describes as "Anglian tradition modified by the taste of the Viking Age"²⁴ and dates late tenth or early eleventh century. The downward biting animal at the top of the shaft (see fig.) can be paralleled on the cross fragment from Crathorne in the North Riding of Yorkshire²⁵ which seems to date to the same period. The Durisdeer fragment (see pl.) shows similar Anglo-Scandinavian taste, but although the bird and vinescroll are still carved with confidence and skill, its straggling plaits argue a later date for it than for the Glencairn cross.

Most enigmatic of all the Dumfries monuments is the Wamphray slab which Collingwood describes as "an interesting example of the Scandinavian dragon side by side with a pattern derived from Anglian leaf-scrolls, and not at all Danish or Norse in character." In fact this animal needs further discussion by students of Scandinavian animal art. It looks less like the Anglo-Viking beasts found in England than the earlier Hiberno-Saxon manuscript animals. Likewise the plant scroll, which in its leaf form could be derived from the Closeburn type, is in arrangement curiously

²⁴ "The Early Church in Dumfriesshire." *Dumfries and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.* 3rd. Ser. XII., 1924-5, pp. 58-9, and illustrations.

²⁵ Collingwood. *Anglian and Danish Sculpture in the North Riding—Yorbs, Arch and Town.* xix. p. 305 and fig.

like the spiral roundels of earlier Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts.²⁶

At the end of the pre-conquest period another style, which may perhaps be described as "native" is illustrated in the sculptured fragments of this area at Penpont, Closeburn, and Kirkconnel. These fragments, decorated with vertical lines of simple knots, are closely linked in design, and at Closeburn and Kirkconnel VI. the patterns are identical. Such pieces may be the products of a fairly limited period, but they have affinities with the cruder monuments of Renfrew and elsewhere in Scotland and are a fitting reminder of the encroachment of the Scottish kings on this area which brought to an end its associations with southern art.

²⁶ There are however some similarities between this piece and Anglo-Scandinavian work in Cumberland, notably the "Fishing Stone" at Gosforth. T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, 1949, p. 1. xc.

ARTICLE 2.

Miracula Nynie Episcopi.

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INTRODUCTION.

The *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* was written in the last quarter of the 8th century, and is preserved in one manuscript of the 11th century at Bamberg (Codex Bambergensis, BII. 10), first published by Karl Strecker in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* Vol. IV., Fasc. II. and III., and first brought particularly to the notice of British readers by W. Levison in his article, "An Eighth-century poem on St. Ninian," in *Antiquity*, Vol. XIV., no. 55, pp. 280-291. In the manuscript in which it is preserved, the poem forms part of an anthology (florilegium) compiled by Alcuin (735-804), and is almost certainly the poem referred to by Alcuin in a letter to the monks of Candida Casa. (*Monumenta Germaniae Epistolica* IV., 431). "Deprecor vestrae pietatis unanimitem, ut nostri nominis habeatis memoriam. Intercedere pro mea parvitate dignemini in ecclesia sanctissimi patris vestri Nynia episcopi, qui multis claruit virtutibus, sicut mihi nuper delatum est per carmina metricae artis, quae nobis per fideles nostros discipulos, Eboracensis ecclesiae scolasticos directa sunt. In quibus et facientis agnovi eruditionem et eius perficientis miracula sanctitatem per ea, quae ibi legebam.—Direxi ad sancti patris vestri Nyniga corpus sagum olosericum ob memoriam nostri nominis, ut illius atque vestram piam merear intercessionem habere semper." (I implore your unanimous piety to be mindful of my name. Deign to pray for my unworthiness in the church of your most holy father the bishop Nynia, who shone brightly with many virtues, as was conveyed to me by poems, written in quantitative verse, which were sent to me by my faithful pupils, the scholars of York. In these poems by what I read there I recognised

both the learning of the poet and the saintliness of the man who performed the miracles. I have sent to the body of the saint, your father Nyniga, a shroud all of silk, to keep my name in remembrance, so that I may always have the right to the pious prayers of the saint and of yourselves.) From references in the *Miracula* it is clear that the poem was actually written at Whithorn (see vv. 82, 99, 324, of the poem), and so, as Levison points out, is one of the earliest pieces of Scottish literature.

The poem is firmly based on the traditions of early Christian Latin poetry, and there is evident knowledge of and abundant borrowing from earlier Christian poets such as Iuvencus, Sedulius, Arator, Paulinus of Nola, Cyprian, and more particularly the poet's own compatriots, Aldhelm and Bede. (For details of borrowings see Strecker's edition). There are also traces of borrowings from Vergil and Ovid, (probably not at first-hand?) The greatest influence on the language of the poem is, of course, the Vulgate version of the Bible, both in general vocabulary and in particular quotations.

The poet has great powers of vivid description, particularly at dramatic moments, as for example, the description of the bull, which attacks the thieves in Chapter 8 (vv. 222-225) and the great darkness before the light of Ninian appears to the paralytic at the tomb in Chapter 9 (vv. 311-317). His style is impressionistic. He is not so much concerned with photographic detail as with a symbolic truth. Physical facts are not his concern, but rather the glorification of God and St. Nynia by means of poetry. For example there is nowhere any physical or personal description or detail given of the saint. Whithorn is never directly named nor its topography hinted at. The description of Candida Casa in Chapter 4 must be taken symbolically rather than literally. Words like *celsa* (lofty), *templum* (temple) and *marmor* (marble floor) regularly used in the description of the church at Whithorn are indicative of the glory and importance attaching to the place because of its connection

with St. Ninian rather than actually descriptive. The poet is not attempting to falsify or mislead but is simply aiming at a different sort of truth from the merely architectural or physical.

There is also a *Life of St. Ninian* written by Ailred of Rievaulx (c. 1110-1167). It follows the *Miracula* fairly closely in the main outlines of the story, but there is virtually no verbal resemblance, and a constant shift of emphasis. For example, in the story of the priest of Ninian accused of being the father of a child, born to a woman of the neighbourhood, the author of the *Miracula* (Chapter 6) treats the story from the point of view of the priest only. The woman is not mentioned except as mother of the child. Ailred (Chapter 5) starts off from the woman, dwelling, for the sake of the moral lesson, on her beauty, her downfall and the desperation which led her to accuse the priest. There are miracles in Ailred which are not to be found in the *Miracula*. The author of the *Miracula* himself points out (Chapter 14) that he has not attempted to deal with all the miracles. The most important difference between the two works is the mention in Ailred of a visit by St. Ninian to St. Martin of Tours, of which there is no hint in the earlier work, a fact which leads Levison to doubt the historicity of the event.

The text of the *Miracula* as given here follows Strecker closely. The manuscript, which I have seen in photostats, is clearly written. Where there are obvious mistakes, I have usually accepted Strecker's corrections. The few places where I have ventured to suggest emendations are mentioned in the notes.

For a full discussion of the sources for the life of St. Ninian see J. MacQueen, *St. Nynia: a study of literary and linguistic evidence* (1961).

TEXT.

CHAPTER 1.

Rex deus eternus, patris ueneranda potestas
Tempore completo celi de culmine Christus
Venerat et caste matris de corpore carnem
Suscepit ut nostrum quemquam saluaret ab ira.

- 5 Diuinorum operum rerumque eterna potestas
 Matris concessit cum uirginitatis honore
 Fulgere perpetuo cunctis uenerabile corpus
 Clara salutifere posuit solatia uite.
 Multa per innumeras micuere lumina terras,
- 10 Late per populos domini pia grata fluxit,
 Ut cecinit lyrico psalmista carmine plenus
 Flamine diuino: 'dominus regnauit in orbe
 Exultent terre letetur et insula queque.'
 Dixerat, et celsi completa est sanctio uatis,
- 15 Nam deus omnipotens, lychinos qui sparserat orbi,
 Multa suis late concessit lumina seclis.
 In quibus enituit preclarus doctor in orbe
 Nomine qui Ninia patrio de sermone dictus
 Extitit egregius celesti gurgite pollens
- 20 Magnificus meritis diuino munere fretus
 Plurima nostratim patrauit signa stupenda
 Eius et eloquio multi precordia Christo
 Credula pandentes glomerante uasta caterua
 Mistica qui sedule Christi precepta capessunt.
- 25 Sic hominum cuneos graui de morte uocatos
 Duxit ad astriferi rutilantia sidera celi,
 Semper enim sacrum Christi pro nomine pectus
 Iungi deo mauult primo conuersus ab euo
 Ydri quam nimbis uenati cedere saeuis.

CHAPTER 2. QUOMODO UIR DEI ROMAM UENERIT UBI ET
 DOMINO IUUANTE PONTIFICATUS GRADU SUBLIMATUS
 EST.

- 30 Exin fluctuagi conscendit litora ponti
 Atque sacer pande captabat uiscera cymbe
 Extensaue auidis uolitabant carbasae flabris
 Donec barcha rudi transucto robore pontum
 Liquerat et fuluis proram defixit harenis.
- 35 Inde pedem referens conscendit passibus Alpes
 Lactea qua tacito labuntur uellera celo
 Aggeribus niueis cumulantur germina montis.
 Exin sacratis perrexit querere plantis
 Pontificis summi sanctis firmarier orsis
- 40 Qui tum forte sacer ueterum munimenta priorum
 Culmen apostolicis meruit seruare triumphis.
 Cuius in aduentu gaudet clementia Rome
 Terrarum domine candentia menia mansit
 Perque dies plures diuina oracula uisit
- 45 Peruigil excubiis mundi luminaria poscens
 Et ceteros passim lustrauit in ordine sanctos

- Quos deus eternis ornatos iure triumphis
 Aurea florigere prouexit ad atria uite.
 Sed hominem sanctum tenuit dum candida Roma
 50 Gesserat eximios meritis fulgentibus actus
 Rex etiam Christus magno redimiuit honore:
 Namque sacerdotis summi fastigia nactus,
 Scilicet ut sacre lampas fulgesceret edis
 Posset et umbriferas noctis auferre tenebras
 55 Splendens ac pateat summo de stipite fulgens.

**CHAPTER 3. QUOMODO PATRIAM REVERSUS PICTORUM
 NATIONES QUE NIDUARI DICUNTUR CHRISTI
 CONUERTERIT AD GRATIAM.**

- Agonitheta magnus saturauit in orbe phalanges
 Et patrias fines prudenti fame pernix
 Docuit assiduo presul certamine clarus,
 60 Quatenus deuicto instantis discrimine belli
 Purpureas tenerent Christo ueniente coronas.
 Que tibi digna canam presul uenerandus in orbe
 Uel quis digna potest componere carmina uersu
 Prospera qui populis Christi precepta dedisti
 65 Doctor ubique pius Pictorum examina nactus?
 Idola colentes turparunt mortis in umbra
 Quos ille ad Christum uertit pietate magistra
 Cuncti certatim merguntur gurgite sancto
 Flagitium sceleris purgabant fonte perenni.
 70 Sic namque ore pio seminauit germina uite
 Iam late per populos auxit lucranda talenta,
 Plurima basilicis extruxit rura nouellis,
 Que nunc eximio monachorum examine pollent,
 Uere Christicole seruant monastica iura.
 75 Ultima sic docuit terrarum doctate regna,
 Praemia capturus, cum terre sponte deiscunt
 Atque omnes surgunt Christo ueniente per orbem.

**CHAPTER 4. QUOMODO UENIENS PATRIAM, CASAM
 EDIFICAUIT CANDIDAM.**

- Pictorum interea populos et rura relinquens
 Uenerat ad natos domino comitante Britanos
 80 Mente manu castus curans ouilia pastor
 Commissosque greges feruat defendere ab hoste;
 Finibus et nostris uulgato nomine uatis
 Enituit clarus cunctis habitantibus istis,
 Candida qui primus nitide fundamina case
 85 Fecerat et celsi ueneranda cacumina templi,
 Quo pater omni euo mentis splendore coruscans

- Sideris ad speciem perfecta nitentia fulsit.
 Martini hec meritis edis ueneranda coruscat,
 Quam pater excelsus Christi dignusque sacerdos
 90 Coctilibus muris fundatam et culmine celsam
Sanctificans domino Martini nomine dicat.
 Hec domus est domini quam plures uisere certant;
 Ardua mirifici fulgent insignia templi,
 Nam currunt multi morbo contracti uetusto,
 95 Prompta salutifere capessunt munera cure
 Omnibus et membris sancti uirtute uirescunt.

**CHAPTER 5. QUOMODO REGEM GENTIS EIUSDEM NOMINE
 THUUAHEL DEUS PRO REATU SUO CECITATE MULTA-
 UERIT ET ITERUM PER BENEDICTIONEM UIRI DEI
 SANAUERIT.**

- Arbiter eternus qui condidit omnia sanctum
 Late per populos lustrauit stemmate claro,
 Finibus in nostris cuius radiante nitore
 100 Uirtutum species uir uere in pectore sacro
 Omnibus et meritis micuit uenerandus in orbe.
 Extitit hic letus primo uocitatus ab euo
 Iamque sacris fulgent preclara cunabula factis.
 Rex fuit incestus Tuduael pariterque cruentus
 105 Sub quo seruator precelsi pastor ouilis
 Eximium columen uigili tutamine mandris
 Prefuit et moderans eternis legibus illas,
 Congessitque sacras multis de gentibus oues,
 Ex quibus et plures ceu fulgida lumina celi
 110 Uirtutum titulis florebant in bona uite.
 Sed rex prefatus non sontem pelleret aruis
 Deque suis prediis extorrem trusit inicus.
 Continuo meritam presumptor senserat iram,
 Siquidem extimplo languescens damna oculorum
 115 Incidit et nigras extinctis uultibus umbras
 Suscepit et cecus, non longo tempore, mansit.
 Et rex continuo memoratus ille malorum
 Affatus famulum: 'procerem uisitare memento
 Proque meis rogitans culparum nexibus esto
 120 Penitet en fateor commissi sceleris olim.'
 Dixerat, et properis uolitabat gressibus inde
 Nuncius ac uatis presentia corrui almi
 Sternitur et glebis, quin plantis oscula figit
 Ac lacrimis rigat omne solum, pro calcibus orans
 125 Affatus Christi seruorum gemituque precatur:
 'O, carus dominus uiduatus lumine claro,
 Confiteor, iacet tenebrosis saucius umbris,

- Morte luet meritum, nec me sententia fallit.
 Sed perge, obsecro, tam nigram discute noctem
 130 O decus et fame merito pars maxima nostre.
 Culpa quidem grauis est, sed uenia digna, reatus.'
 Hec ubi dicta dedit lacrimoso gurgite plenus
 Nuncius ac trepidus balatu impleuerat auras,
 Olli respondens sonuit pia uerba prophetis:
 135 'Surge igitur properans humidosque abstergere fletus
 Dona nouella ferens dominum uisitare memento
 Et me uenturum expeditis precurrere plantis
 Incipe nam regi cunctus donabitur error.'
 Dixerat et gaudens domini penetralia uisit
 140 Omnia ueridicis pandebat in ordine dictis
 Que sint gesta pie uel que sint dicta per illum.
 Uenerat interea uates summusque sacerdos
 Quo rex depressus morbo languebat acerbo
 Continuo cephal iacentis dextera signat.
 145 Instaurata salus serpit tenebrasque repellit,
 Saucia restituit gemmarum lumina clemens
 Et stipulante deo pulse periere tenebre.
 Quod rex prospiciens laudes gratesque rependit
 Et dominum promsit per sanctum mira operantem.

**CHAPTER 6. QUOMODO PRESBYTERUM SUUM A CRIMINE
 INCESTI PER INFANTEM NUPER NATUM ET SERMO-
 CINANTEM LIBERAUERIT.**

- 150 Presbiter interea baptiste munere functus
 Quem nouo incesti pulsabat mania demens
 Sacrilegum patrare nefas cum clamore latrans;
 Lurida sancto medicante infamia cessit.
 Splendida dum proceri fluitabant dogmate dicta
 155 Late per populos prouulgans ore loquelas
 Plurima quadrifluis seminauit flumina riuis
 Gurgitibus puris populorum corda rigabat.
 Ast ubi credentes inrorat dogmate claro
 Ecce inter populos matris profertur ab aluo
 160 Hesterne noctis natus sub tempore paruus
 Atque sacer sancti culpatur crimine prisco
 Presbiter, at senior petito silentio dixit:
 'Hunc credo insontem, sed tu quoque fame, pignus,
 Dic nunc adiuro summi per regna tonantis
 165 Quis tuus est genitor uel quis hoc fecerit auctor?'
 At tener extimplo cunctis mirantibus infans
 Intonuit stolido doctis de pectore uerbis,
 Hoc unius spacium noctis compleuit, ut ante

- Diximus, et rumpens retinacula tarda loquere
 170 Cepit ab ore pio mysteria pandere sancta.
 'O sacer et felix Nyniau cognomine dictus
 Insinuans digito genitorem uoce fatebor
 Mandas ut altithroni contestans nomine regis
 O populi, patris pulsus discernere causam—:
 175 En meus hic genitor, uultum huc uertite cuncti
 Hic nam me genuit matris de corpore nuptis.
 At castus membris pura sub mente sacerdos
 Permanet et nullis Zabuli succubuit umbris.'
 Hec ubi dicta dedit nature iura resoluens
 180 Conticuit stringens silenti guttura nodo.
 Quod populus cernens pia Christo uerba resultat
 Et domino pariter laudes gratesque rependit.

**CHAPTER 7. QUOMODO HOLERA EODEM DIE TERRE
 PLANTATA SOLA UOLUNTATE AD MATURITATEM
 PERDUCTA FRATRIBUS LARGIRI PRECEPERIT.**

- Uirtutum dominus uenerandum claruit orbi
 Innumerisque operum meritis benedixerat illum.
 185 Arbiter omnipotens mundi ueneranda potestas
 Hunc semper pulchre redimiuit honore corone
 Et celebrem sanctis equauit in ordine sanctum,
 Cuius et auxilio uirtutum signa patrauit.
 Dum domini famulus quondam cum fratribus intus
 190 Sederat ad mensam, tum forte uirentia desunt.
 Sic ait ad quendam: 'geminis discurre plantis
 Irriguas horti glebas uisitare memento.
 Nobis de terris grassantia gramina defer.'
 Olli respondit frater qui hortuli curam
 195 Percepit et sancto insonuit ueracia dicta:
 'En hodie sulcis plantata uirentia fixi
 Nec ea producunt uiridi de cespite rura
 Roscida que cunctos generant de uiscere flores.'
 At sacer ad famulum casto de pectore dixit,
 200 'Curre ergo et dominum credens plantaria quere
 Nam deus omnipotens poterit perficere cuncta.'
 Tum dicto cicius horti penetralia uisit
 Ac dubius cernens cunctos de germine terre
 Herbarum flores surgendo crescere tantum
 205 Quantum illic uernent estatis tempore toto.
 Hos carpens manibus fratres proceremque reuisit,
 Partitur attonitus cunctis pia munera Christi
 Conlaudans dominum per sanctos mira operantem.

CHAPTER 8. QUOMODO FURES ORATIONE DEMENTASSET
ET EORUM PRINCIPEM A TAURO OCCISUM UITE
RESTITUERIT PRISTINE.

- Tempore non alio famulus Christique sacerdos
210 Quosdam cleptantes uincit uirtute superna,
Dum quondam sanctus benedixit pecori caro,
Inque sibi attiguis habitabat corpore tignis,
Mentis in excessu transcendit nubila celi,
Cumque soporifera torpebant omnia nocte
- 215 Adueniunt subito cursantes clancule fures
Et furuis temptant tenebris auferre iuuenocos.
Sed deus omnipotens mauult cito perdere sontes
Qui castum meritis stolidi cleptare uolebant
Rapto predonum quam lectum reddere tristem.
- 220 Siquidem extimplo fures uertigine clausit
Et cunctos pariter tetra dementia sepsit,
Donec bomboso processit clamore taurus;
Setiger horrendis crispato uertice pilis
Occurrit minitansque infixit cornua fibris
- 225 Discutit atque agitat uehementi uiscera pulsu
Donec uitales moriens amiserat auras.
Extitit infandus iam ductor sontibus iste
Et mirum dictu, toruus uestigia taurus
Imprimit in silici ueluti in mollissima cera,
- 230 Unguibus et teneris cessit firmissima cautes.
Omnia nam Christi poterit patrare creator.
In sanctis suis preclarus omnia patrat,
Ast ubi pallentem nox furua ammuouerat umbram
Tum pius egreditur, preuiante spiritu sancto,
- 235 Inuenit et cunctos trepidantes lingere terram
Atque illum exanimem sopitis frigere membris,
Qui prius ad stabulum cleptantes ducere temptat.
At sacer adsistens egris raptoribus infit,
'Cur precor immerito uoluistis ledere quem uos
- 240 Nec paruus umquam uoluit fraudare rapinis?'
- Hec ait et cunctis morbum culpamque relaxat.
At pius ad Christum rogitans sua corpora flexit
Et sonuit casto de pectore talia dicta,
'Te precor altithronum uiuifica immobile corpus
- 245 Artibus et gelidis tepefacto corpore toto
Spiritus ingrediens restauret munera uite,'
Dixerat et functi per mortua membra reuiscunt.
Tum pauidi stupuere uiri quia uita reuertit
Et cuncti pariter domino pia uerba frequentant.

**CHAPTER 9. QUOMODO UIR DEI POST MULTA MIRACULA
QUE GESSIT MORBO ADTACTUS ETERNA AD GAUDIA
TRANSIERIT ET QUOMODO IN SUA SEPULTUS SIT
ECCLESIA.**

- 250 Talia dum multis mirandus gesserat annis
Cecorum tenebras mutauit lumine claro
Turgentem mundat squamoso corpore lepram
Nec minus et multis uestigia languida curat
Ast aures surdas penetrat per stimula uocis
255 Qui homines multos uario languore ruentes
In priscam renouat Christo medicante salutem.
Inde dies uenerat quo felix tempore plenus
Attactus sensim languoris tabe peresa
Pontificis summi plectuntur membra dolore,
260 Et morbo obsessus penetrat super ethera mente.
Iusticie cultor uenerandus hec memorabat,
'Uasa quatit figuli fornax ui feruida flamme
Ac homines iustos seuissima pondera coquent
Uellem dissolui et presentem cernere Christum.'
265 Hec ubi dicta dedit mirandus in ordine uates
Tempore completo gelidantia membra relinquit
Spiritus atque sacer casto de corpore tractus
Limpida stelligeri penetrabat culmina celi.
Ergo ubi uitalis morientes liquerat artus
270 Spiritus extimplo precinctus agmine claro
Tegmine iam niueo fulgens ceu fosforus axe
Angelicis uectus ulnis super astra polorum
Inter sanctorum globos cuneosque perennes
Transit et altithroni penetralia uisere regis
275 Letus in aula poli turmis celestibus ille
Iunctus conspicue cernit trinitatis honorem
Carmina leticie summis cum ciuibus altus . . .

**CHAPTER 10. QUOMODO PARALITICUM AD TUMBAM
EIUS ADPORTATUM SANITATI RESTITUERIT.**

- Nec tamen in sanctis diuina gratia membris
Hic potuit tumultata mori sub gremio terre
280 Currere per populos sed late infusa fideles
Incipit irradians per plurima tempora seclis
Hinc canere incipiam breui narranda relatu
Que post busta sacer Christus patrauit in illo.
Carmina uera loquor pangens miracula sancti.
285 Uir quidam in populo genuit de coniuge natum
Informem cunctis teunit quem carnibus ingens
Morborum ingeries quatitabat corpore fesso
Supplicio comitante miser uestigia ferre

- Nescius ex utero compressis currere plantis,
 290 Nam geminas retro uergebant uulnera plantas
 Perque dies plures defunctus uiuere membris
 Incipit atque miser morborum tabe peresus
 Uulnera semper habens torpebat mortis in umbra.
 Hunc comitante fide ad templum uexere parentes.
 295 Corpus itaque sacri cineres uisitare satagunt.
 Culmina celsa petunt preclare gressibus aule.
 Portantes puerum multis cum fletibus intrant,
 Ac calidis mesti rorabant imbribus ora,
 Poplitibus flexis rogitabant munera uite
 300 Et crebris precibus sacrata busta sacelli
 Obsecrant merent lacrimant cum murmure fantes:
 'O dilecte dei, celorum lumina cernens
 Te requiem fessis Christus concessit in orbe,
 Te saucis medicum statuit regnator Olympi,
 305 Claudum laxatis, confessor, currere plantis
 Protinus instaurans tu fac uirtute superna.'
 Ergo ubi prostrati seminarunt talia dicta,
 Languescente die linquebant saucia membra
 Languentis pueri, sese quin edibus arcent
 310 Atque fores templi crepitanda pisula cludunt.
 His demum exactis fulgentia sidera celi
 Nox gelida operuit nigrantibus desuper umbris.
 Tum lux enituit medie libramine noctis
 Quo puer effebus tenebris arcentibus intus
 315 Iacuit ad tumbam morbo depressus acerbo,
 Cum subito intrantem niueo iam tegmine uatem
 Conspicit et sacram ponentem uertice dextram.
 Hinc medicina potens macerata in membra cucurrit
 Et, mirum dictu, uerbis uestigia torsit
 320 In rectum statum gelidus quin torpor abibat
 Et, dicto cicius, pedibus cum pergere temptat
 Surrexit sospes saltans per marmora templi.
 Post hec adtonsus numerosa in tempora uixit
 Menibus in nostris dictus cognomine Pethgils.

CHAPTER 11. QUOMODO LEPROSUS QUIDAM ELEPHANTU- OSUS AD CORPUS UIRI DEI DAMNO MUNDATUS EST.

- 325 Nec minus interea uiciato corpore toto
 Uir uolat ad tumulum, quo sanctus corpore presul
 Marmore sulcato fatali sorte quiescit.
 Qui sacris pedibus uariata membra tetendens
 Procubuit uenerans et supplex talibus orat;
 330 En cuncta obsidens foedarat uiscera tabo,
 Excolorata cute erupuerunt pondera lepre:

- Sed precor ut caream per te languoribus istis
 Deque tuis meritis oriatur gratia larga
 Quatenus deuicto instantis discrimine morbi,
 335 Haut mora, poscenti iubeas remeare salutem.
 Hec ait, et propere purgauit lurida membra
 Uirtus celsa dei meritis cumulantibus almi,
 Atque nouo prisce redierunt munere forme
 Ille ubi cognouit quid gessit uiuida uirtus
 340 Laudibus accumulans miratur dona salutis.

**CHAPTER 12. QUOMODO FEMINAM LONGO TEMPORE
 CECATAM AD CORPUS DEDUCTAM DEUS SANITATI
 DONAUERIT.**

- Uenerat et mulier tetrus cecata tenebris,
 Haut quicquam cernens patulis fuscata cauernis,
 Tempore quam longo uetuerat cernere lucem
 Nox oculis infusa, chaos dum iuncta cerebro
 345 Tinxit non madide fuscans primordia uene.
 Hanc diu uexatam tandem duxere parentes
 Quo precelsa nitent sacrati menia templi.
 Ergo ubi peruenerat somno depressa uetusto
 Femina quo sanctum defossae uiscera petre
 350 Inclausum corpus captant penetralia saxi,
 Sternitur et uenerans carpebat talia dicta,
 ' O dilecte dei, geminas sub fronte fenestras
 Decedente die nigre tenuere tenebre.
 Nox mihi longa manet nullo de lumine clara.
 355 Sed precor obsecrans summi per regna tonantis
 Discute pernigram tenebris fugientibus umbram
 Et clarum largire diem redeunte salute,
 Fac tenebras exire graues, fac cernere lucem
 Semper amica manus tua numquam munera tardat,
 360 Credula si fuerint hominum precordia semper.
 Nam dominum constat tonuisse talia dicta
 Dilectas docuit cum turbas discipulorum,
 ' Poscenti dabitur: querens inuenta tenebit '
 Unde ego, pars hominum minima, isto munere freta
 365 Inclamitans lacrimis obsecro munera Christi
 Ut mihi iam misere dignetur reddere lucem.'
 Talibus exorat mulier sine luce fidelis
 Verbis et precibus proiecto corpore toto
 Fronte premit terram defossoque incubat antro.
 370 Exilit et splendor tenebris fugientibus orbes
 Implet quin mulier gaudens penetralia nota
 Adiuvante deo sospes transcurrere plantis
 Incipit et laudem domino modulare per orbem,

**CHAPTER 13. QUOMODO QUIDAM PRESBITERUS AD
CORPUS UIRI DEI MISSAM CELEBRANS IUXTA POSTU-
LATIONEM SUAM CHRISTUM FILIUM DEI IN DISCO
SEDISSE IN FORMA PULCHERRIMI INFANTIS CON-
SPICERET.**

- Presbiter egregius uenerando nomine Plecgils
 375 Dilectam coluit iusto moderamine uitam.
 Hic meritis dignus precibus pulsare tonantem
 Sepius et suerat sanctis uenerabile uerbis
 Quo sacer in tumbe requiescit gremio corpus
 Quem primo ab euo legis precepta tenebant,
 380 Nam Christo famulans uiguit uirtute superna.
 Hic patrie fines et dulcia liquerat arua
 Sedulus ut domini mysteria disceret exul.
 Inde domum repedans uisitabat menia nota
 Perque dies plures diuina negotia mensae
 385 Multiplicans domino tranquillo pectore dona
 Optulit uenerans feruenti plenus amore
 Continuosque dies uenerans altaria donis
 Offert munda deo casto libamina corde
 Solibus ac multis dominum deposcere curat
 390 Ut sibi monstraret naturam corporis almi
 Sanguinis atque sacri preciosaque munera litat
 Anque foret latitans nitidi sub tegmine farris
 Christus ubique deus quem totus non capit orbis
 Sepius obsecrat lacrimis madidatus amaris
 395 Non quia sic rogitans de corpore dubius esset
 Sed quia sic poscens pie Christum cernere uellet
 Corporis in specie quem nemo carne grauatus
 Iam super astra poli radiantem cernere ualeat.
 Ergo dies uenerat quo celsi culmina templi
 400 Ingrediens precibus supplex consistit ad altar
 Quo domino letus tumulto corpore pausat
 Antistes Nyniau gaudens sed splendet olimpo
 Spiritus altithroni fungens presentia regis.
 Tum pia sacrate celebrat sollempnia misse
 405 Moribus et solitis lacrimarum fonte rigatus
 Incubuit genibus quin poplite flexo
 Marmori prostratus memorabat talia dicta,
 'Te precor, omnipotens, misteria pandere Christi
 Incipe portendens naturam corporis almi
 410 Ut mihi sit licitum presentem cernere uisu
 Quem matris gremio quondam uisitare satagunt
 Pastores, puerum gracili presepie uoce
 Implentem cernunt celi qui sidera torquet
 Cognouere simul, cecinit quod nuncius ante.'

- 415 Talia dum fatur humili de corde sacerdos,
 Nuncius e summo uisus descendere celo
 Eius et a dextris consistens talia fatur,
 ' Surge igitur properans, si Christum cernere lectet
 Corpore nunc presens carnis uestitus amictu.
 420 Christus adest dominus, mundi fabricator et auctor.
 Hic este ille puer qui sanctis horrea celi
 Iam super astra parat constanti corde tonantem
 Aspice monstrantem uestre consortia carnis,
 Hospicio uentris quem sacra puerpera gessit,'
 425 Presbiter at pavidus prostratus uultibus herbas
 Liquerat et stupidus sacre super ardua mense
 Cernere promeruit patris uenerabile pignus:
 Conspicit in disco puerum sedisse beatum
 Quem senex Simeon ueteris sub culmine templi
 430 Infantem uenerans palmis portare sacratis
 Promeruit letus nitidus tum nuncius inquit:
 ' Terrore discusso, Christum si cernere uelis,
 Quem prius absconsum nitidi sub tegmine panis
 Mystica uerba canens semper sacrare solebas,
 435 Nunc oculis spectans manibus tractare memento.'
 Presbiter inde pius celesti munere fretus,
 Quod mirum dictu est, puerum trementibus ulnis
 Accepit et pectus uenerandum pectori iunxit,
 Fusus in amplexum dat uultibus oscula sanctis
 440 Attingens labris pulcherrima labia Christi.
 His demum exactis fulgentia corporis almi
 Membra restituit preclare in uertice mense.
 Ac rursus sub pauido compressit pectore terram,
 Obsecrans dominum celi dignetur ut ipse
 445 In panem uerti naturam corporis album.
 Post hec exsurgens, nitidam super ardua lancis
 Inuentit oblatam in formam remeare priorem.
 Tumque pius meruit sacro libamine pasci
 Ructauitque sacras pasto de gutture laudes.

**CHAPTER 14. DE MIRABILIBUS PRETERMISSIS ET QUOD
 NULLUS SERMO AD EIUS OMNIA OPERA SUFFICIAT.**

- 450 Talibus enituit post sancti busta cadauer
 Uirtutum signis tumulo de claruit orbi
 Uerbis ut nullus poterit contingere digne;
 E quibus ista mihi tenui sermone profare
 Satiis imperito quam cunctis linquere uerbis.
 455 Christus ubique Deus patrans miracula multa
 Post mortem corpus claro redimuit honore;
 Morbi diffugiunt, fluitant miracula membris
 Nunc Christum laudat sacris concentibus illic.

- Inmortale decus prefulget martyris almi
 Funera post medicans uiuensque solebat ut ante
 460 Signorum monstrare iubar sub celo coruscans:
 Christus adest semper qui in sancto corpore patrat
 Omnia que poscunt non dubia mente fideles.
 Hic fuit egregius per omnia gesta sacerdos,
 Omnia que nullus potuit perstringere lector,
 465 Ex quibus innumera scribendo linquere quondam
 Predixi, obsequio sed sancti pauca relatu
 Incipiam pandens cellaria pauperis horti
 Uir humilis sapiens hic iustus et bonus almus
 Castus ubique pius cunctis solatia uite
 470 Exhibuit populis celestia bona ministrans;
 Hospitibus largus patuit cellaria cunctis
 Ingessitque pius uenerandis fercula uerbis;
 Quin etiam nudis blandissima tegmina prestat
 Carceris et poenis depressos uisere curat
 475 Et famis in paenis tribuit solamina panis
 Atque sitim passis predulcia pocula tulit.
 His pater orbatis iudex uiduisque benignus
 Pauperibusque fuit presentis portio uite
 Extitit atque malis metuendus in omnibus auctor,
 480 Nec minus atque bonis magno diligendus amore,
 Uir fuit hic felix qui nulli nocuit umquam
 Et nimium felix nostrarum gloria rerum
 Instructus pietate aliquem contemnere nolens.
 Uir domino dignus qui terque quaterque beatus
 485 Effulsit cunctis preclarus uirtute Christi
 Actibus et uerbis confessor dignus in orbe
 Laudibus et meritis terras lucebit in omnes
 Enituitque poli ueluti clarissima lampas.
 Hic decus omne suis horrende noctis in antro
 490 Celestem intento meditabat corde sophiam,
 Doctoris celebrauit iter dans dona salutis,
 Doctoloquis meruit linguis comprehendere libros,
 Predicat inde potens uerbis quod actibus implet,
 Queque alios docuit homines prius omnia complet,
 495 Eius et eloquio lectorum corda uirescunt
 Dulcisonos mirata modos quis intonat ipse;
 Uera loquens famulis eterne gaudia uite
 Pandit ad astra uolans mentis celestibus aures,
 Omnibus eque sacer monstrabat dogmata digna
 500 Gentibus ac populis regnum ad celeste uocandis.
 Cumque per innumeras celebraret talia gesta
 Plebes ac gentes uir tam bonus ore magistro
 Clausit iter laetus domini translatus ad aulam

TRANSLATION.

God and Ruler Eternal, the Venerable Power of the Father, the Christ had come, when the time was accomplished, from the heights of heaven, and took upon Himself flesh from the body of His mother free from sin, that He might save us all from wrath. The eternal Power of divine works and affairs granted that the body of the mother with the honour of virginity, should be a shining object of worship to all men for ever, and established the resplendent recompense of the life of salvation.

And many bright lights shone in countless lands, and the Divine Grace of the Lord flowed far and wide throughout the nations, as sang the psalmist filled with divine inspiration, in his lyric verse.

‘The Lord reigneth in the world; let the countries of the earth rejoice and let every island be glad.’

These were his words and the decree of the exalted bard was accomplished, for God Almighty, Who had scattered shining lights upon the earth, gave far and near to His own people many bright stars.

Brilliant among these was a teacher famous in the world, called Ninia by name in his native language. He was pre-eminent for strength drawn from heavenly founts, for magnificence in good deeds and reliance on the gift of God. He accomplished very many amazing miracles in our area, and by his eloquence many opened to Christ believing hearts, as a huge crowd gathered together, who earnestly took upon themselves the mystic teachings of Christ. Thus he brought hosts of men summoned from grievous death to the golden-glowing stars in the starry sky; for ever do men’s hearts, sacred in the name of Christ, prefer to be united with God, converted from their earliest years, than to yield to the cruel clouds of venomous Ydrus.

**CHAPTER 2. HOW THE MAN OF GOD CAME TO ROME,
WHERE WITH THE HELP OF THE LORD HE WAS
ELEVATED TO THE RANK OF BISHOP.**

Then the holy man came to the shore of the wave-wandering sea, and went aboard a ship with broad hull. The sails filled out under the eager breezes and flew on until the rough timbers completed the journey and the bark quit the sea and set its prow in the yellow sands. Then he set forth and climbed the Alps on foot, where milk-white fleeces glide in the silent sky, and the mountain peaks are buried in drifts of snow. Then he proceeded on sacred foot, seeking to be confirmed by the holy offices of the Pope who happened at that time to be holding this high office, deemed worthy to guard the memorials of his predecessors of old and the hill of apostolic triumphs: at his coming the Clemency of Rome rejoiced. He stayed within the shining white walls of the Mistress of the world, and in the course of several days visited holy shrines, keeping all-night vigil, as he sought counsel of the lights of the world, and he visited all the other saints in all parts in order, saints whom God rightly, adorned as they were with eternal triumphs, advanced to the golden halls of flowery life. But while the shining white city of Rome held the holy man, he performed outstanding deeds as his goodness shone forth, and Christ the King crowned him with great honour. For he gained the high rank of bishop so that he might shine out, as the lamp of the sacred shrine and be able to dispel night's shadowy blackness by his light and be seen blazing on top of the candlestick.

**CHAPTER 3. HOW RETURNING TO HIS OWN LAND HE
CONVERTED TO THE GRACE OF CHRIST THE TRIBES
OF PICTS, CALLED NIDUARI.**

Turning from here, he set out and came again to his lovely native land. The great apostle filled up the ranks of the faithful on the earth, and swiftly with wise words the famous bishop taught his native land with efforts unceasing, so that when the dangers of the present strife were over-

come, they would wear purple crowns at the coming of Christ.

What can I sing worthy of you, reverend bishop upon the earth; or what man is able to compose hymns to do you justice, who gave the blessed commandments of Christ to the nations, teacher everywhere revered, after you obtained for your own the Pictish swarms? They were shamefully worshipping graven images in the shadow of death when he turned them to Christ, with his goodness showing them the way; all vied with each other to be bathed in the waters of holiness, where they cleansed away the stain of their sin in the everlasting spring. For thus he sowed the seeds of life with holy lips, and now far and near throughout the nations he increased their profitable talents. He founded many monasteries with new chapels, which now flourish with an excellent swarm of monks, and in which servants of Christ truly keep the monastic rules. Thus he instructed the furthest kingdoms of the earth with his teaching, destined to win his reward when the earth of its own accord yawns open and all rise at the coming of Christ on the earth.

CHAPTER 4. HOW HE CAME TO HIS OWN LAND AND BUILT CANDIDA CASA.

Meanwhile leaving the nations of the Picts and the monasteries, he came to his sons the Britons, in the company of the Lord, a good shepherd tending his sheepfolds with mind and hand, and eager to protect from the enemy the flocks entrusted to his care. And in our own territory there shone forth the famous bishop of a name well-known to all living there, who was the first to lay the white foundations of the shining house and the revered roof of the lofty temple where the father for all time sparkling with the brilliance of his mind shone forth, a perfect splendour like a star. From the goodness of Martin this shrine takes its holiness and splendour, the shrine which the father, the exalted one and worthy priest of Christ, sanctified and dedicated to the Lord with the name of Martin, with its foundation of burnt-brick

walls and lofty roof. This is the house of the Lord, which many vie with each other to visit. Sheer above blaze out the glories of the miraculous temple, for many who have been afflicted with a disease of long-standing hurry there. They undertake the ready duties for the cure that brings healing, and they grow strong in all their limbs by the power of the saint.

CHAPTER 5. HOW GOD PUNISHED THE KING OF THAT PEOPLE, THUUAHEL BY NAME, WITH BLINDNESS BECAUSE OF HIS SIN, AND THEN RESTORED HIS SIGHT BY MEANS OF THE BLESSING OF THE MAN OF GOD.

The eternal Ruler, Maker of all, illumined the saint far and near throughout the nations with a bright garland, by whose shining brightness he was truly a model of virtues in our land in his holy heart, and he shone on the earth worthy to be revered for all his great works. He came forth in joy, summoned from his earliest years, and now his cradle shines brightly by reason of his holy works.

There was a king, Tuduael, as cruel as he was ungodly, under whom the shepherd and saviour of the heavenly sheep-fold ruled his flocks, a pillar of outstanding strength to them, with watchful vigilance guiding them according to the eternal laws. He gathered in his holy flock from many nations, from whose number many like sparkling stars of the sky won their way to the blessings of life by reason of their virtues.

But the afore-mentioned king drove him who was innocent from his land, and unjustly thrust him forth an outcast from his territories. Straightway this presumptuous man felt the anger he deserved, since he fell ill immediately and suffered the loss of his eyesight. He experienced black darkness over his eyes, whose light was now quenched, and he became blind, though not for long.

And immediately the king, mindful as he was of his evil deeds, spoke to a servant. "Fail not to visit the lord

bishop and see that you ask him about my obligations for my sin. I repent, behold I admit it, of the crime I formerly committed." He finished speaking, and the messenger flew from there with hastening steps and rushed into the presence of the kindly bishop. He flung himself down and planted kisses on the ground, or rather on his feet, and watered all the ground with his tears, and, praying at his feet, he addressed the servant of Christ and made supplication amid his groans: "My dear master, I confess, lies bereft of bright light, afflicted by shadowy darkness; he will pay the penalty with his life, nor am I mistaken. But come, I beseech you, dispel the black night, thou glory and deservedly chief part of our fame. The offence is a grave sin, but one that is pardonable."

When he had said this, the messenger filled the air with lamentation, terror-stricken and full of tears as he was; to him in answer the prophet pronounced holy words: "Rise then speedily and wipe away your wet tears. Fail not to visit your Lord, bearing strange new gifts, and proceed to go before me ere I come, with hastened footsteps, for the king will be forgiven all his sin."

He finished speaking, and joyfully the messenger visited the inner dwelling of his master, and set forth everything in order in words of truth, as to what was done or said by him in holy wise. Meanwhile the bishop and high priest came to the place where the king lay ill, bowed down under his bitter affliction. Forthwith he made a sign on the head of the sick man with his right hand. Health restored, crept up and thrust back the darkness; in his mercy he restored the damaged light of his eyes, and at the instigation of God the darkness was driven off and dispersed. The king, seeing this, paid his due of praise and gratitude, and acknowledged the Lord who, through his saint, performed marvels.

CHAPTER 6. HOW HE FREED HIS OWN PRIEST FROM THE CHARGE OF IMPURITY BY MEANS OF AN INFANT NEWLY BORN AND ACTUALLY SPEAKING.

A priest meanwhile, who performed the office of baptist,

was accused of impurity by demented madness, which howled out that he was committing an act of wicked sacrilege. The horrible disgrace was averted, thanks to the ministrations of the saint.

While the saint's teaching was flooding forth in shining words, as he was preaching sermons from his lips, far and near, throughout the nations, he set in motion large numbers of rivers with fourfold streams, and he washed the hearts of the nations with the waters of purity. But while he was refreshing believers with his bright teaching, behold among the people a tiny child, born from his mother's womb during the previous night, is brought forward and a holy priest of the saint is accused of an old crime.

But the senior priest asked for silence and spoke: "I believe this man to be innocent, but do you now, too, my child, tell us by your speech, I command you, by the dominion of the supreme Thunderer, who is your father and committer of this deed? And the tender child immediately, to the wonder of all, thundered forth wise words from his witless heart—he had lived only the space of one night (as I mentioned before), and, breaking the slow bonds of speech, he began to set forth holy mysteries with his pious lips.

"Oh, holy and blessed man, called Niniau by name, I declare my father with my lips, pointing him out with my finger, as you enjoin, adjuring me by the name of the King, throned on high—People, I have been driven to decide the case concerning my father. Behold, this man is my father, all turn your eyes in this direction, for he begot me from the body of my mother in wedlock, but the priest remains pure of body as he is clean of mind, and he has not succumbed to any dark device of the devil." After he had said this, breaking the laws of nature, he fell silent, closing up his throat with the knot of silence. The people, perceiving this, re-echo pious words to Christ and pay their debts alike of praise and gratitude to the Lord.

**CHAPTER 7. HOW HE INSTRUCTED THAT VEGETABLES
PLANTED IN THE EARTH AND BROUGHT TO MATURITY
ON THE SAME DAY BY HIS WILL ALONE BE GIVEN
TO THE BRETHREN.**

The Lord of miracles made him a shining object of reverence to the world, and blessed him with countless good works. The Almighty Ruler of the world, Reverend Power, adorned him for ever with the honour of a lovely crown, and made him a famous saint, equal in rank to the other saints, and by his help He accomplished miracles.

Once when the servant of the Lord had sat down at table with the brethren within, by chance there were no green vegetables. So he said to a certain one, 'See that you run on twin feet and go to the well-watered garden plots, and bring us back vegetables springing from the earth.' The brother who had the management of the garden answered him and uttered true words to the saint, 'Behold to-day I have set vegetables and planted them in the furrows, and they are not yet sending up from the green turf dewy shoots, which give birth to all manner of growing things from their innermost parts.'

But the holy man spoke to the servant from his pure heart, 'Run then and in the faith of the Lord look for vegetables, for God Almighty will be able to accomplish all things.' Then quicker than it takes to tell, he visited the heart of the garden and still unbelieving as he was, he perceived all kinds of sprouting plants from the seed in the earth, springing up and growing to the full verdure they would reach there in the whole period of the summer; plucking these with his hands, he went back to the brethren and the bishop, and thunder-struck by it, he gave share to all of the holy gifts of Christ, praising the Lord who works all wonders through his saints.

**CHAPTER 8. HOW HE BROUGHT MADNESS UPON THIEVES
BY PRAYER AND HOW HE RESTORED TO HIS FORMER
LIFE THEIR LEADER WHO HAD BEEN KILLED BY A
BULL.**

At the same time the servant and priest of Christ over-

came some robbers by his heavenly virtue. Once when the saint had blessed his dear herd and was dwelling under his neighbour's roof in the body, while his mind soared above the clouds of heaven in ecstasy; and when all was still during the night that brings sleep, suddenly there came thieves, stealing up in secret, attempting to carry off the bullocks under cover of black darkness. But God Almighty preferred to bring swift ruin on the guilty, who in their folly wished to rob one who was holy in his deeds, rather than to cause sadness to his chosen one by the theft of robbers; since immediately He held the thieves fast with dizziness and all alike were held prisoner by dire madness, until a bull advanced with bellowing din. With his fearful locks bristling on his curly head he rushed upon them, bearing down threateningly and plunged his horns in their bodies. He tossed them about and pounded their flesh with violent motion until their leader lost in death the breath of life.

The unspeakable leader of the guilty men lay dead and (wonderful to relate) the wild bull imprinted his hoof mark on the flint floor as if on the softest wax, and the hardest rock gave way before his tender hooves. For all things can the Father of Christ bring to pass; All-glorious in His saints, He brings to pass all manner of deeds.

But when dark night had shifted away its pale shadow, the holy man came forth with the Holy Ghost going before him, and found all the thieves panic-stricken and licking the ground, while their leader who had previously undertaken to lead the robbers to the shed, was lying lifeless and cold with limbs all numb. But the Saint stood beside the stricken thieves and said, 'Why pray, did you wish to harm one who did not deserve it, and who never wished to cheat you even in the smallest thefts?' He said this and released them all from sin and bodily ill. Then piously kneeling in prayer to Christ, he uttered the following words from his holy heart; 'I beseech Thee, Throned on High, give life to this motionless corpse. Impart warmth to the whole body and let the spirit enter into the frozen limbs and restore

the functions of life.' He finished speaking and the dead limbs of the deceased came again to life. Then they stared terror-stricken, because the man's life returned, and all alike repeated holy words to the Lord.

**CHAPTER 9. HOW AFTER PERFORMING MANY MIRACLES
THE MAN OF GOD WAS ATTACKED BY ILLNESS AND
PASSED OVER TO EVERLASTING JOYS, AND HOW HE
WAS BURIED IN HIS OWN CHURCH.**

While wonderfully performing such deeds throughout many years, he gave the blind bright light in place of darkness, he cleansed the swelling leprosy from the scaly body and cured lameness in many men and broke through deaf ears with the prick of his voice, restoring many men who were perishing through various diseases to their former health through the healing power of Christ.

Then the day came on which the blessed man, full of years, was himself attacked. The bishop's body, gradually being eaten away by the wasting disease, was racked by pain, yet even while beset by illness, his mind soared up higher than heaven. The revered disciple of justice said as follows: 'The potter's kiln shakes the pots with the force of the flame, but cruel burdens are the trials of just men. I should like to suffer dissolution, and see Christ face to face.' When the admirable bishop had uttered these words in due order, now that the time was accomplished, the breath left his icy limbs and the sacred spirit departed from his pure body and passed through the clear heights of the star-studded heavens.

Then when the breath of life had left his dying limbs, immediately surrounded by the shining host and now blazing bright in snow-white vestment, like Phosphorus in the sky, he was carried in angel arms beyond the stars of the sky, and passing through the companies of the saints and the everlasting hosts, joyful at visiting the innermost shrine of the King throned on high, he clearly perceived, united as he was with the heavenly hosts in the halls of heaven, the glory

of the Trinity, the hymns of gladness, together with the supreme denizens of the Holy City on high . . .

CHAPTER 10. HOW HE RESTORED TO HEALTH A PARALYTIC WHO WAS BROUGHT TO HIS TOMB.

Yet the Divine Grace could not die and be buried with his holy limbs here in earth's bosom, but it began to spread far and near, running through the ranks of the faithful and shedding light on the generations through many ages. Hence I shall begin to sing events worth recounting in brief narration, which Holy Christ performed in him after his death. I speak verses of truth, revealing the miracles of the saint.

A certain man of the people had a son born in wedlock, who was disfigured over all his flesh and shattered over his worn-out frame by a great collection of diseases. The wretched boy moved only to the accompaniment of torturing pain, incapable from birth of running with feet pressed down, for his infirmities had turned his feet the wrong way. Day by day he began to lose all feeling in his limbs, and wretchedly eaten away by the corruption of his disease and never without wounds, he lay numb in the shadow of death. His parents brought him to the temple hand in hand with Faith, and made it their aim to visit the body and ashes of the holy man, and sought the lofty heights of the famous church on foot. They entered carrying their boy with much weeping and sorrowfully watering their cheeks with showers of warm tears, they asked for the gift of life on bended knee, and with many a prayer they besought the sacred tomb of the shrine; they mourned they wept, saying in a whisper, 'Oh beloved of God, now gazing on the heavenly lights, Christ has given you for rest to the weary on earth; the Ruler of Olympus has appointed you healer of the sick. Do you, confessor, bring it about by your heavenly power that the lame child runs on loosened feet, restoring him immediately.'

So when they had uttered such prayers prostrate on the ground, as the day died they left the dying boy with

the diseased limbs, and went out of the shrine and shut the temple doors with their protesting bolt. When this had finally been completed the blazing stars of the sky were covered up by chill night with mantle of black shadows. Then a light shone forth just at the turning point of mid-night, at the place where the young boy lay at the tomb with darkness hemming him in, worn down by bitter disease, when suddenly he caught sight of the bishop entering, clad now in snow-white raiment and placing his holy hand on the boy's head. From this hand powerful healing flowed into the crippled limbs, and, wonderful to relate, he twisted the boy's feet by his words to their correct position, and the icy numbness disappeared and, swifter than it takes to tell, when he tried to advance on his feet, he rose safely dancing over the temple's marble floor. After this he received the tonsure and lived a long time within our walls and was called Pethgils by name.

**CHAPTER 11. HOW A MAN SUFFERING FROM
ELEPHANTIASIC LEPROSY WAS CLEANSED OF HIS
DISEASE AT THE TOMB OF THE MAN OF GOD.**

Meanwhile a man no less disfigured over his whole body hurried to the tomb, in which the saintly bishop rests in the body in the furrowed marble, according to fate's decree. This man prostrated himself, stretching out his discoloured limbs at the holy feet, worshipping and praying as a suppliant in the following words, 'Behold, wasting disease has beset my flesh and has made it all hideous. The affliction of leprosy has broken out and discoloured my skin; but I pray that I may be relieved of that disease through you, and that abounding grace may arise from your merits, so that the danger of the disease threatening me may be overcome, and without delay you may bid health return to your suppliant.' This he said and quickly the lofty virtue of the kindly one of God cleansed his ghastly limbs by means of the accumulation of good deeds, and his former appearance returned by a new gift. When he realised what living virtue had done,

he showered him with praises, while marvelling at the gifts of healing.

CHAPTER 12. HOW GOD GAVE SIGHT TO A WOMAN WHO HAD BEEN BLIND FOR A LONG TIME, AFTER SHE HAD BEEN BROUGHT TO THE SAINT'S TOMB.

There had come too a woman blinded by dire darkness, seeing nothing in the gloom of her empty, open eyes, who had for a long time been forbidden by the night spread over her eyes to see the light, while chaos plunged her eyes in gloom without darkening the fountain springs of the tear duct. At length after she had been troubled for a long time, her parents brought her to the place where the lofty walls of the sacred temple shine brightly. When the woman arrived, weighed down by her long sleep, at the place where the saint's body is held prisoner by the hollowed out interior of the rock in the secret places of stone, she prostrated herself and spoke the following words in reverence, 'Oh, beloved of God, black darkness has taken hold of the twin windows under my brow, with day turned to flight. A long night remains to me, brightened by no light. But I pray you, beseeching it by the kindly power of the supreme Thunderer, put the darkness to flight, dispel the black, black shadow, and bestow on me bright day with the return of health. Bring it to pass that oppressive darkness depart, bring it to pass that I perceive the light. Your ever friendly hand never delays its gifts, provided always that men's hearts believe. For it is known that the Lord thundered forth the following words, when he taught the beloved band of his disciples: "To him who asks it will be given; he who seeks will find." Wherefore I the least part of mortals, relying on that boon and crying out in tears beseech the gift of Christ, that He may deem it right to restore light to me in my wretchedness.'

The woman with Faith, but without sight, prayed in such words and supplications; with her whole body flung down, she pressed against the earth with her forehead and lay in the hollowed out cave; she jumped up and dazzling light filled her eyes as darkness fled away, so that the woman

joyously began with God's help to cross on foot the famous shrine in safety and to sing praise to the Lord throughout the earth.

CHAPTER 13. HOW A CERTAIN PRIEST CELEBRATING MASS AT THE TOMB OF THE MAN OF GOD IN ANSWER TO HIS PRAYER HAD SIGHT OF CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SITTING ON THE DISH IN THE SHAPE OF A VERY BEAUTIFUL CHILD.

An excellent priest of the venerable name of Plecgils practised a way of life beloved by its just moderation. This man worthy by reason of his good deeds, was in the habit of assailing the Thunderer with his prayers, and the venerable body where the holy man rests in the bosom of the tomb, with his holy words. He had kept the commandments of the law from his earliest years, for as a servant of Christ he was outstanding in heavenly virtue. He had left his native-land and its pleasant pastures eager to learn in exile the mysteries of the Lord. Then returning home he visited the familiar walls, and during several days often celebrated mass, offering to the Lord gifts with tranquil heart, reverently and full of ardent love. And for days on end he honoured the altar with gifts, offering pure libations to God with holy heart, and took care to ask the Lord on many days that he should him the nature of His nurturing Body and His sacred Blood. He offered precious gifts and often prayed, drowned in bitter tears that Christ, God Omnipotent, Whom the whole world is not big enough to hold, might lie hidden under the cover of the shining wheat. Not because he was doubtful about the Body in thus asking, but because by thus piously pleading he wished to perceive Christ in the likeness of the Body, Whom shining as He now was above the stars of heaven, no one burdened by the flesh had been able to see for a long time.

So the day had come on which he entered the heights of the lofty temple and stood at the altar, a suppliant in prayer, where the bishop Nyniau, rejoicing in the Lord rests in the body in the tomb, while his spirit rejoices in splendour in

Olympus, enjoying the presence of the King throned on high. He was at that time celebrating the sacred solemnities of Holy Mass and according to his wont he was down on his knees, drenched in a shower of tears, and prostrate on bended knee on the marble floor, he spoke the following words: 'I beseech Thee, Omnipotent, begin to reveal the mysteries of Christ, indicating the nature of his nurturing Body, in order that I may be permitted to perceive Him, face to face with my eyes, Whom shepherds once strove to visit, while He was in His mother's arms. They saw the Boy, Who rules the stars of heaven, filling the stable with His sweet voice. Then they made known what the angel sang before.

While the priest was saying this from the humility of his heart, an angel was seen to come down from heaven's heights, and standing on the right hand spoke as follows: 'Rise then in haste, if it is your desire to see Christ. Christ the Lord, Maker and Author of the world, is here now clad in the raiment of the flesh. This is that Boy, Who prepares now storehouses for the saints above the stars. With unwavering heart gaze on the Thunderer, as He reveals His participation in your flesh, He Who was carried by the holy mother in the shelter of her body.'

But the terror-stricken priest fell down on his face, then raising it from the ground he was deemed good enough to see to his complete amazement, the Venerable Child of the Father above the steep sides of the sacred table. He saw the Blessed Boy sitting on the dish, the Baby Whom old Simeon to his great joy was rewarded by holding reverently in his sacred hands under the roof of the age-old temple. Then said the shining angel, 'Throw aside your fear, if you wish to see Christ, Who formerly was hidden under the cover of the shining bread, and Whom you were ever in the habit of sanctifying, as you chanted the mystic words. Now fail not to touch Him with your hands, as you gaze on Him with your eyes.' Then piously the priest, relying on heaven's gift, received the Boy in his trembling arms, wonderful to relate, and clasped the Venerable One to his heart, and

embracing Him long and lovingly, he kisses His holy face, touching with his lips the fairest lips of Christ. When he had at length finished this, he restored the shining limbs of the fostering body to the top of the renowned table. Once more he pressed the ground with his fast-beating heart, praying the Lord of heaven that He Himself should deem it right that the nature of His Body be turned into white bread. After this he arose and found that the shining sacrament had returned to its former appearance above the steep sides of the plate. And then the holy man was deemed worthy to eat of the holy sacrament, and he belched forth sacred hymns of praise from his throat, after he had eaten.

**CHAPTER 14. CONCERNING THE MIRACLES OMITTED
AND THE FACT THAT NO SPEECH COULD SUFFICE
FOR ALL HIS WORKS.**

Such were the miracles which illuminated the saint's body after death, blazing forth upon the world from the tomb, that no one could do justice to the subject in verse. Of these miracles I thought it better to make it my task to describe those given above briefly rather than to leave them entirely unrecorded. Christ, Omnipresent God, crowned his body after death with bright honour by bringing to pass many miracles. Diseases flee away, miracles flow from his limbs, the immortal glory of the kindly martyr shines in healing after his death, just as he was accustomed before while still alive to show sparkling under heaven the radiance of his miracles. Christ, Who accomplishes in the saint's body everything which the faithful ask with unwavering belief, is ever present to assist.

He was an excellent priest in all his acts—no Reader could touch on all of them. I said before that I would omit innumerable of his acts in my writing, but I shall outline a few of them in my narrative out of reverence for the saint, setting forth the produce of a miserable garden. This man, humble, wise, just, good, kindly, holy, dutiful, everywhere afforded to all peoples the consolations of life, supplying them with heaven's gifts. Generously he threw open his

storehouses to all guests, and piously pressed feasts upon them with venerable words. Moreover he bestowed beautiful raiment upon the naked, and took care to visit those bowed down under the penalty of imprisonment. He gave comfort of bread in the tribulation of famine and brought sweet draughts to those suffering thirst. He was a father to the orphan and a kind judge to the widow; to the poor a portion of present life and an authority to be feared in all wrong-doing, and no less to be held in great love by the good. He was a happy man who never harmed anyone, happy beyond measure, and the glory of our affairs, armed with holiness, he despised no one. He was a man worthy of his Master, blessed three and four times over, who shone in all eyes, famous by the virtue of Christ. By deeds and words a confessor worthy of praise in the world; by his merits he will give light to all lands, and he shone out like the brightest star of heaven.

This man, the whole glory of his own people, studied heavenly wisdom with a devoted mind in a cave of horrible blackness. He frequented the path of the teacher, giving the gifts of salvation; he was able to understand books in the learned tongues, from these he preached powerful in his words, what he fulfilled by his deeds, and all that he taught other men, he first of all did himself. And by his eloquence the hearts of the chosen grew strong as they admired the sweet-sounding strains in which he himself thundered forth, as he spoke of the true joys of life eternal to his followers; he opened their ears to heavenly merits in his starry flight; to all alike the holy man displayed teaching worthy of nations and peoples destined to be called to the kingdom of heaven. And when he was performing these deeds throughout countless peoples and races, a man so good, with the tongue of a teacher, he closed his journey in joy, translated to the courts of the Lord; now he praises Christ in the sacred harmonies there.

NOTES—ONE.

CHAPTER 1.

- ¹ v. 9. *Lumina*=saints. Nynia throughout the poem is symbolised in terms of light. See particularly vv. 53-55. The metaphor is taken from the New Testament, for example, *John*, 8, 12. Ego sum lux mundi. (I am the light of the world.) Also *John*, 1, 9 and 12, 46. Also in classical Latin "lumen" is used of exceptional people, e.g., Cicero, *Catilines*, 3, 10, 24.
- ² vv. 12-13. *Vulgate. Psalms*, 96, 1. "Dominus regnauit: exsulet terra, laetentur insulae multae." A.V. *Psalms*, 97, 1. "The Lord reigneth: let the earth rejoice: let the multitude of isles be glad thereof."
- ³ v. 18. *Ninia* For a discussion of the different forms of the saint's name see J. MacQueen: *St Nynia*, p. 70. The form "Ninianus" does not appear until the 12th century, in Ailred's *Vita*.
- ⁴ v. 21. *Nostratim* Strecker's suggestion for the manuscript "nra tym" which he says equals "in nostra regione." Should it not rather mean "in our manner"?
- ⁵ v. 29. *Ydri*, i.e., Hydrus, the serpent (also sometimes "draco")=Satan.

CHAPTER 2.

- ¹ vv. 30-37. This is a very elaborately written poetic description of Ninian's journey from somewhere in Britain (?) to Rome, but the only geographical fact mentioned is that the saint crossed the Alps.
- ² v. 36. This line is taken from Vergil, *Aeneid*, III., 515, perhaps by way of Paulinus of Nola, XVIII., 24.
- ³ v. 40. *Qui tum forte* A typical lack of historical information. Is some clue to the name of the Pope concerned given in the periphrasis, "clementia Rome," (v. 42)? Clemens Romanus (Clement I.) of the 1st century A.D. was much earlier than Ninian, but the author of the *Miracula* probably was not very clear about the dates of either.
- ⁴ v. 41. *Culmen apostolicis* *triumphis*. The Vatican hill, traditional location of the martyrdom of St Peter, and of his tomb, under the High Altar of the Basilica of St Peter's.
- ⁵ v. 43. *Candentia menia* also v. 49, *candida Roma*, pointing forward to *Candida Casa* and showing the symbolic force of the word "candida." Rome was not particularly famous for physical whiteness, but it was "white" with holiness. The conception of whiteness was of strong emotive force to the earlier Christians and later. c.f., *The Oxford Book of Latin Medieval Verse*, No. 24. (written c.800-900?)
- "O Roma nobilis, orbis et domina
cunctarum urbium excellentissima
roseo martyrum sanguine rubea
albis et virginum liliis candida."
- c.f. also *Miracula*, v. 271 and v. 316. "Tegmine iam niueo fulgens" of Ninian after his death and reception into heaven. ("Shining in snow-white raiment.") c.f. also "candidatus" and "candidus" in Ailred, *Vita Niniani*, Ch. 11, used of Ninian in heaven.
- ⁶ v. 44. *Perque dies plures* c.f. Ailred, ch. 2. "Pluribus annis in Urbe conversatus" (he stayed several years in Rome).
- ⁷ v. 53-55. c.f. Ailred, ch. 4. *Itaque lucerna super candelabrum posita cepit lus qui in domo Dei erant signis lucere celestibus*. (Therefore this light set upon a candlestick began to shine forth in heavenly signs to those who were in the house of the Lord.)

The metaphor comes from the Gospels, e.g., Matthew, 5, 14-16.

- 14 Vos estis lux mundi. Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita.
- 15 Neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt.
- 16 Sic luceat lux vestra ceteram hominibus ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in caelis est.
- (Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel but on a candlestick and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven.)

CHAPTER 3.

- 1 *Niduari* for the meaningless "nature" of the manuscript is Levison's suggestion. (*Antiquity*, Vol. XIV., pp. 280-291.) It is based on the mention of "*Pictorum, qui Niduari vocantur*," in Bede's *Prose Life of St Cuthbert*, ch. 11. For Ninian's mission to the Picts, see J. MacQueen. *St Nynia*.
- 2 v. 68. *Merguntur*—they were baptised.
- 3 v. 71. *Lucranda talenta* c.f. the parable of the talents. Matthew, 25, 16 et lucratus est alia quinque (i.e., talenta).
- 4 v. 72. *Novellis* There is great emphasis throughout the poem that what Ninian did was "new," "strange," "unprecedented." c.f. Chapter 5, 136. "*Dona novella ferens*" of the healing of Tudual.

CHAPTER 4.

- 1 v. 79. *Natos* *Britanos*, "his sons, children, the Britons." As bishop he is the father of his people, and they are his children. c.f. v. 86. He is called "pater."
- 2 v. 80. *Ovilia*, "the sheep-folds." c.f. John, 10, 1, 16. "Ovile," in the sense of the "church of Christ."
- 3 v. 87. *Perfecta nitentia*, in apposition to "pater," defining Ninian as "lux mundi."
- 4 v. 83. *Martini* St Martin, bishop of Tours (c.316-400). In Ailred Ninian goes to visit Martin at Tours, but there is no earlier evidence for this. See Levison. *Antiquity*, XIV., pp. 280-291.
- 5 v. 89. *Pater excelsus Christi*, either "The Father of Christ on high," "God," or "the father (i.e., Ninian), the exalted one of Christ." For this type of phrase, which has its origin in a Hebrew idiom, compare v. 302, "o dilectus Dei," "oh, beloved of God." Ninian, as the sole subject of "dicat," seems to make better sense and grammar.
- 6 v. 90. *Coctilibus muris* "burnt-brick walls." A quotation, direct or indirect, from Ovid. *Metamorphoses*, IV., 58, where the reference is to the walls of Babylon. The Babylonians were the most famous builders on the magnificent scale of the ancient world, both Biblical and classical. They probably invented brick, from lack of stone in their area. Their best brick was "coctilis," "burnt in the kiln," to make it strong and hard. c.f. *Genesis*, ch. 11, 3 (of the builders of the tower of Babel). *Venite faciamus lateres et coquamus eos igni. Habueruntque lateres pro saxis et bitumen pro caemento.* ("And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar.") After the Roman occupation of Britain ended, brick was no longer made in Britain, until it was re-introduced from Flanders in the 14th century. It therefore seems unlikely that a

literal reference to brick is intended here. The building at Candida Casa must for poetic and symbolic effect be as imposing as possible, and "coctilibus" is a rare, exotic word with subtle reminiscences of ancient grandeur, besides usefully alliterating with "culmine celsam." The poet displays most fully in this short chapter his gift for writing artistic and highly elaborated verse. His intricate use of alliteration is particularly worth noticing. There is also a certain amount of mild play upon words, a device not necessarily directed at raising laughter in ancient writers, but rather at arriving at the true connection lurking behind words seeming to be only accidentally associated by similarity of sound. c.f. vv. 94-95. Currunt cure. There is also intricate repetition of key words, often in the form of cognate words, e.g.:

"Hec domus est domini."
 "enituit" "nitide" "nitentia."
 "coruscans" "coruscat."
 "fulsit" "fulgent."

- 7 v. 93. *Mirifici* Strecker keeps the manuscript reading "murifici," which, if the word exists at all, should mean "wall-making" (active), rather than "wall-built." I have ventured to suggest "mirifici," "the miraculous temple," "the temple associated with miracles." This seems to me to give some point to the line in its position between "quam plures visere certant" and "nam currunt multi morbo contracti uetusto." Otherwise it is intrusive and without purpose at this point.

v. 93 is an example of the Classical Golden Line, used for special effect at moments of particular beauty or drama. c.f., also v. 268. *Limpida stelligeri penetrabat culmina celi.*

- 8 v. 94. *Nam currunt* I have retained here the reading of the manuscript, amended by Strecker to "nam curant," which seems not to make good grammar or sense. "Currunt" seems not necessarily impossible when combined with "the sick." "Running," "hurrying" is indicative of "eagerness" rather than of physical speed. c.f., v. 326, "uin uolat ad tumulum." "The man flies to the tomb."

CHAPTER 5.

- 1 *Thuuahel, Tuduael*, for the variant forms of this name and the identity of the king, see J. MacQueen: *St Nynia*, p. 8, and following.

- 2 v. 103. *Preclara cunabula*: Literally "famous cradle," must refer to Candida Casa, the place particularly associated with Ninian, rather than to his birthplace, which has not been mentioned.

- 3 v. 111. *Non sotent*, "an innocent man," presumably referring to Ninian himself, although this is by no means clear.

- 4 v. 144. *Cephal*—Greek for *caput*. It must be remembered that the Christian message was first brought westwards from Palestine in the Greek language, and that church Latin was founded on translation from the Greek. To begin with, many technical terms of Christianity were simply transliterated, and, although later genuine Latin equivalents were found for Greek terms, some of the early transliterations had become so familiar that they became simply part of church Latin. e.g., martyr, angelus, episcopus, propheta, ecclesia, presbyter, etc. Among less familiar Greek words used in the *Miracula* are—"lychinos" (v. 15), agonitheta, phalanges, v. 57. (like cephal, apparently favourite words of Aldhelm.)

CHAPTER 6.

- ¹ v. 164. *Tonantis*, "the Thunderer." It is surprising, but not unusual, to find an epithet of the pagan god Jupiter applied to God by a Christian poet. c.f., also v. 304, "regnator Olympi." In the early days of the Christian Church, when classical paganism was still a living force to be reckoned with, such transferences would have been dangerous and suspect.
- ² v. 178. *Zabuli*, for diabolus (Greek)=the devil.

CHAPTER 7.

- ¹ v. 189. The reading of the manuscript, accepted by Strecker, is "Dum sancti famulus," which could only mean "While Ninian's servant . . ." whereas the sense demands that Ninian himself be the subject of "sederat" and so of "Sic ait." I have therefore suggested "Dum Domini famulus," "While the servant of the Lord . . .", which would refer to Ninian (c.f., v. 209, "famulus Christique sacerdos," which does refer to Ninian). "Dum Domini" would have appeared in the manuscript as *Du dmni*, and the similarity of the two words might have caused the disappearance of the second word, and its place later supplied wrongly by "sancti," perhaps originating from some marginal note that "domini famulus"=sanctus (i.e., Ninian).

CHAPTER 8.

- ¹ v. 210. *Cleptantes*. Greek word.
- ² *Benedixit pecori caro*. This cryptic reference can only be understood if one turns to Ailred, Ch. 8. Placuit aliquando sanctissimo Niniano armenta sua et pastorum suorum uisitare tuguria, uolens greges suos, quos in usus fratrum, pauperum quoque et peregrinorum aggregauerat, episcopalis benedictionis esse participes. Congregatis itaque in uno loco animalibus cum ea *Domini famulus* (N.B.) aspexisset, eleuatis manibus, se et omnia sua diuine custodie commendauit. Circuens deinde omnia baculo cui innitebatur, quasi aracuinculam modicam circumducens peccora circum cinxit iubens ut infra orbiculum illum sub diuina custodia omnia ea nocte consistent. (Once Ninian decided to visit his flocks and the huts of his shepherds, wishing that the flocks, which he had gathered together for the use of the brethren, the poor and the pilgrims, should be partakers of the episcopal blessing. Therefore, all the animals being gathered into one place, when the servant of the Lord had looked upon them, he lifted up his hands and commended himself and all that was his to the Divine protection. Going therefore round them all, and drawing as it were a little circle with the staff on which he leant, he enclosed the cattle, commanding that all within that space should that night remain under the protection of God.)
- ³ v. 235. *Lingere terram* Psalm 71, 9. et inimici eius terram lingent.

CHAPTER 9.

- ¹ *Title*. ". . . et quomodo in sua sepultus sit ecclesia." In fact no account of the burial of Ninian is given. Some lines must have been lost at the end of this chapter, and, in fact, the last sentence is incomplete as given in the manuscript.
- ² vv. 251-255. c.f., Matthew, XI., 5. Caeci vident, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, surdi audiunt.

- 3 v. 262. c.f., Ecclesiasticus, 27, 6. Uasa figuli probat fornax, et homines iustos tentatio tribulationis. (The potter's vessels are tested by the fire, and just men by the trial of tribulation.)
- 4 v. 264. c.f., Philippians, I., 23. "Coarctor autem e duobus: desiderium habens dissolui et esse cum Christo, multo magis melius." (For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better.)
- 5 v. 271. *Fosforus* . . . i.e., Phosphorus, the Greek word for which the Latin translation is "Lucifer." It means literally "light-bringer" and is applied to the Morning Star, the Planet Venus. The word is used of another saint, Kentegern, in the prologue to the *Fragmentary Life*. "Kentegerni qui iuxta ceteros uelut Lucifer inter astra rutilat." The word "Lucifer" came to be applied to Satan through a misunderstanding of Isaiah, XIV., 12. "Quomodo cecidisti de caelo, Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris? corruisti in terram, qui uulnerabas gentes." ("How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning. How art thou cut down to the ground which didst weaken the nations.") Isaiah apparently was speaking of a King of Babylon, describing him as "the shining one."

CHAPTER 10.

- 1 v. 304. *Regnator Olympi* . . . See Notes, Chapter 6 (1).
- 2 vv. 308, 309. *Languescite* . . . *Languentis* . . . See Notes, Chapter 4 (6).
- 3 317. *Ponentem* . . . My suggestion for the meaningless "pingentem" of the manuscript.
- 4 *Surrexit sospes saltans* . . . Note the alliteration at an important climax.
- 5 v. 324. *Menibus in nostris* . . . At Candida Casa itself.

CHAPTER 11.

- 1 v. 337. *Uirtus celsa dei meritis cumulantibus almi*. c.f., Notes, Chapter 4 (5). Is "dei almi" to be taken as (1) kindly God, or (2) the kindly one of God, i.e. Ninian. (2) is perhaps more likely, as it brings in Ninian, at whose tomb the miracle is being performed and to whom "meritis cumulantibus" must apply.
- 2 v. 338. Golden Line. "Nouo munere." See Notes, Chapter 3 (4).

CHAPTER 12.

- 1 vv. 341-345. An even more than usually elaborate and obscure description. Is it a "tour de force," a piece of virtuosity, perhaps expected of a poet, to take five lines to say that a woman was blind? Notice particularly the inversion of verbs in v. 345. Darkness "bathed" *tinxit* her eyes, without "darkening" (*fuscans*), i.e., drying up the tear-ducts. "*Fuscans*" would be more usual with "chaos"; "*tinxit*" with the idea of tears.
- 2 Matthew, 7, 7.

CHAPTER 13.

- 1 This miracle is not given in Ailred. The story is repeated by Radbertus Paschasius in his "*De corpore et sanguine Domini*," written about 832. He writes in prose that follows the story as here given very closely. For the text of Radbertus see Strecker.
- 2 v. 381. c.f., Vergil, Eclogues, I., 3. Nos patriae fines et dulcia linquimus arua. By way of Bede, *Cuthbert*, XXI., 59.
- 3 v. 414. c.f., Luke, 2, 17. Videntes cognouerunt de uerbo, quod dictum erat illis de puero hoc. (And when they had seen it, they made known abroad the saying which was told them concerning this child.)

- ⁴ v. 429. *Simon*. c.f., Luke, 2, 28. Et ipse accepit eum in ulnas suas, et benedixit Deum, et dixit: ("Then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said:")
- ⁵ v. 441. *His demum exactis* . . . Vergil Aeneid, VI., 637. These words occur at the beginning of Vergil's description of Elysium, so that their quotation here may not be simply accidental. The reminiscences of Luke and Vergil seem to add something to the tenderness of this chapter.
- ⁶ v. 449. *Ructavit* . . . quite commonly used in this way by Christian writers. e.g., Paulinus of Nola. *Carmen*, XXVII., 104. Ructauere sacras ie iuno gutture laudes.

CHAPTER 14.

- ¹ Title. A commonplace of medieval writers, one of the "Inexpressibility Topoi," defined by Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, Chapter 8, 5, as the "emphasis upon inability to cope with the subject." Writers of Saints' Lives in particular, in their desire to emphasise the holiness of the saint and the great number of his miracles, often had recourse to this rhetorical device. Certainly, Miracles of St Ninian were known to Ailred which are not given in the *Miracula*, but the mere fact that the poet here says that he has selected only a few miracles out of many need not be taken literally.
- ² *Lector*, "Reader." Here in the technical sense of one of the clergy, who held the office of "Lector," whose duties included the reading of the Old Testament Prophecies and the Epistles, and who might also read on a Saint's Day selections from his Life and Miracles.
- ³ v. 471, 472. For this "Alimentary" metaphor, see Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, Ch. 7, 3.
- ⁴ v. 473. Matthew, 25, 35-36. Esuriui enim, et dedistis mihi manducare; sitiui, et dedistis mihi bibere; hospes eram et collegistis me; Nudus, et co-operuistis me; infirmus, et uisitastis me; in carcere eram, et uenistis ad me. (For I was an hungered and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger and ye took me in; Naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.
- ⁵ v. 477. c.f., Psalms, 67, 6. (Dei) . . . Patris orphanorum, et iudicis uiduarum (Father of the fatherless and a judge of the widows . . .).
- ⁶ v. 484. *Terque quaterque beatus* . . . Vergil. Aeneid, I., 94.
- ⁷ v. 489. *In antro* . . . A possible reference to St Ninian's Cave, Glasserton, Wigtownshire, as was most usefully pointed out by Miss A. Ashley. There is apparently no other documentary evidence for the traditional association of Ninian and the cave.
- ⁸ v. 494. Another commonplace. c.f., Bede, St Cuthbert, XXVI. "Et quod maxime doctores inuat, ea quae agenda docebat, ipse prius agendo praemonstrabat." ("And—a thing which is a great help to teachers—he taught what ought to be done, after first showing them by his own example.")

ARTICLE 3.

Excavations at Trusty's Hill, Anwoth, Kirkcudbrightshire, 1960.

By CHARLES THOMAS, M.A., F.S.A.

Summary.

The report describes two weeks' trial work on a small fort on the Galloway coast. Two periods were identified. The first, probably within the Roman era, saw fortification of the hill-top by a stone wall $\frac{1}{4}$ ft. wide enclosing an area about 50 ft. by 80 ft. An oval stone guard-hut built in a natural hollow outside the entrance, and a massive rock-cut ditch across the neck of the promontory containing the hill, also belong to this period. The second period represents re-occupation in the 6th or 7th centuries A.D. Additional ramparts of poorer type with external revetment only were constructed in front of the fort's entrance, and possibly timber huts inside the fort. An assault by Pictish raiders is indicated, by a group of Class I symbols cut on an outcrop at the fort entrance, and combustion of the interior of the fort, causing vitrification of parts of the interior of the first period stone wall. No dateable finds occurred.

General.

Trial excavations took place during two weeks in April of 1960 at the small fort on Trusty's Hill, parish of Anwoth (near Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Kirkcudbright). The initiative, as in so many other cases, came from Dr R. C. Reid. Thanks are due to Walter McCulloch, W.S., of Ardwall, for permission to excavate, and for continued help and interest; to Mr R. G. Gilmour, County Surveyor, for the loan of a hut and tools; and to Mr A. E. Truckell for assistance in many varied ways. The work was undertaken by the writer and his colleague, Mr Bernard Wailes (University of Cambridge), on behalf of the Dumfries and Galloway N.H.A.S. Several members of the Society took part, as also did a substantial number of pupils of Dumfries Academy; best thanks are offered to the latter for their keen assistance, and for undertaking the long bus journey daily from Dumfries.

The Site.

Trusty's Hill is a small isolated knoll in irregular ground, about half a mile north of the main coastal road through Gatehouse, and nearly a mile from the open sea at the edge of the coastal shelf. Inland and to the north, the ground rises in a series of uneven elevations to the southern edge of the Glentrool massif. The summit of Trusty's Hill provides an admirable setting for fortification. The east and west sides of it are steep and scree-covered, the latter flank being in parts an actual precipice. On the north, the slope descends to a narrow neck which leads to level ground beyond, and on the south, a little plateau just below the hill-top proper constitutes a promontory lying in a wooded valley. Any fortification might thus be expected to assume the character either of a promontory fort (by cutting through the neck on the north side) or a minor hill fort (by defending the hill-top), and a combination of the two is what seems to have taken place.

In the Kirkcudbrightshire *Inventory* of 1914¹ the site is not illustrated, but is described as a vitrified fort. Pieces of vitrified rock have been picked up in the past on the summit and the lateral screes, though prior to the 1960 digging no major area of vitrification had been seen. This description, however, coupled with the situation of the fort, suggested comparison with the not dissimilar fortlet known as the Mote of Mark² on the shore near the hamlet of Rockliffe, some 20 miles to the east. The latter, excavated early in this century by the late A. O. Curle, appeared to have been occupied at two phases: at some stage in the Scottish Iron Age, when it was a vitrified fort on a small scale, and again in the post-Roman period, with some minor adaptation of the rampart. The date of the second usage was given by sherds of imported wheel-made pottery of Classes D and E³ and scraps of

¹ Royal Comm. *Inventory*, Galloway No. II. (Kirkcudbright), No. 13.

² *Ibid.*, No. 120: and P.S.A.S., Vol. 48 (1914), p. 152.

³ Thomas, "Imported Pottery in Dark-Age Western Britain," *Med. Arch.*, Vol. III. (1959), p. 89.

Merovingian glass. A realistic estimate of the date of this phase, originally regarded as the 7th to 11th centuries, might now be the general period 425 to 650 A.D.

The grounds for supposing that Trusty's Hill might also have a post-Roman occupation were strengthened by the occurrence, on a rock-face by the hill fort entrance, of a group of "Pictish symbols" incised on the living rock. These symbols are of Allen and Anderson's class I.—the supposedly earliest phase—and were published adequately in 1903.⁴ The traditional belief that they commemorate the death of a Pictish leader killed in storming, or in attempting to storm, the fort, is almost certainly correct. Without prejudice as to their exact meaning or probable date, they do imply a post-Roman occupation, a temporary defence if not actual habitation. The name "Trusty" has never been explained: local folk-lore speaks of a legendary king of this name, and the obvious similarity to the common Pictish royal name *Drust*, *Drost*, *Drostan*, has of course been noted, but it should be recalled that the same name occurs in P-Celtic speaking areas (e.g., *Drustagnus* on a 6th century memorial stone in Cornwall, the name "Tristan" in Cornwall and Brittany, etc.).

With these considerations in mind, and in view of our increasing knowledge of the domestic archaeology of the post-Roman period, it was felt by Dr Reid that trial work might reveal at least some trace of activity assignable to the so-called "Dark Ages."

The Excavation.

Seven cuttings were made during the fortnight of work, the lack of sufficient labour and the incidence of wet weather precluding any wider exploration. The sections across the southern and north-eastern defences, and the work at the eastern side of the hill fort entrance, proved the most informative. Investigation on the hill-top itself turned out to be

⁴ Allen and Anderson, "Early Christian Monuments of Scotland" (1903), No. 508, p. 478.

relatively fruitless. The single rampart, a not very imposing stone wall enclosing an oval area some 50 by 80 feet was found to have collapsed completely, and it was difficult to be sure of its original line. As this wall skirted the outer crest of the hill-top, much of it had, in the course of centuries, tumbled down the eastern and western slopes. In other parts, noticeably to the west of the entrance, the mass of collapsed and firmly wedged stone which cloaked the ground surface outside the fort proved to be beyond the capacity of the excavation.

Southern Defences.

The plan of the site (fig. 3), which was carefully triangulated and is accurate within the limits of this method, shows fortification on the southern and north-eastern sides. The former consists of two, or one and a half, outworks, A and B, designed to afford additional cover to the hill-top at a point where the latter can be approached from its little southern plateau. Natural rock shelves, in the same axis as the defences, were used to give added height: the degree of subsequent weathering makes it impossible to say how much, if at all, they were adapted by cutting.

A main section (fig. 4, Cutting I. on the plan) showed that the lowest and southernmost step, on the surface having the appearance of a bank, was purely natural. The middle step, rampart A, had clearly been employed as the base of a defence-work. A line of natural rock, some two feet high and four feet across, appeared to have been left upstanding as the core of the bank. On the southern side of this core, a line of large stones was found *in situ*, showing the position of an external revetment. Dusty silt, possibly collapsed turf as much as wind-borne debris, was found on the northern or inward side of A, covered with a considerable spill of broken rock, which could be interpreted as the make-up of rampart A. There were no signs of any inner revetment.

The area between A and B, a sunny, sheltered strip some 14 feet wide, was taken down to the natural. The old land

surface—here, decayed bedrock, suggesting that the turf had been stripped at the time of the construction of A—yielded charcoal fragments, but no artifacts nor any sign of a structure.

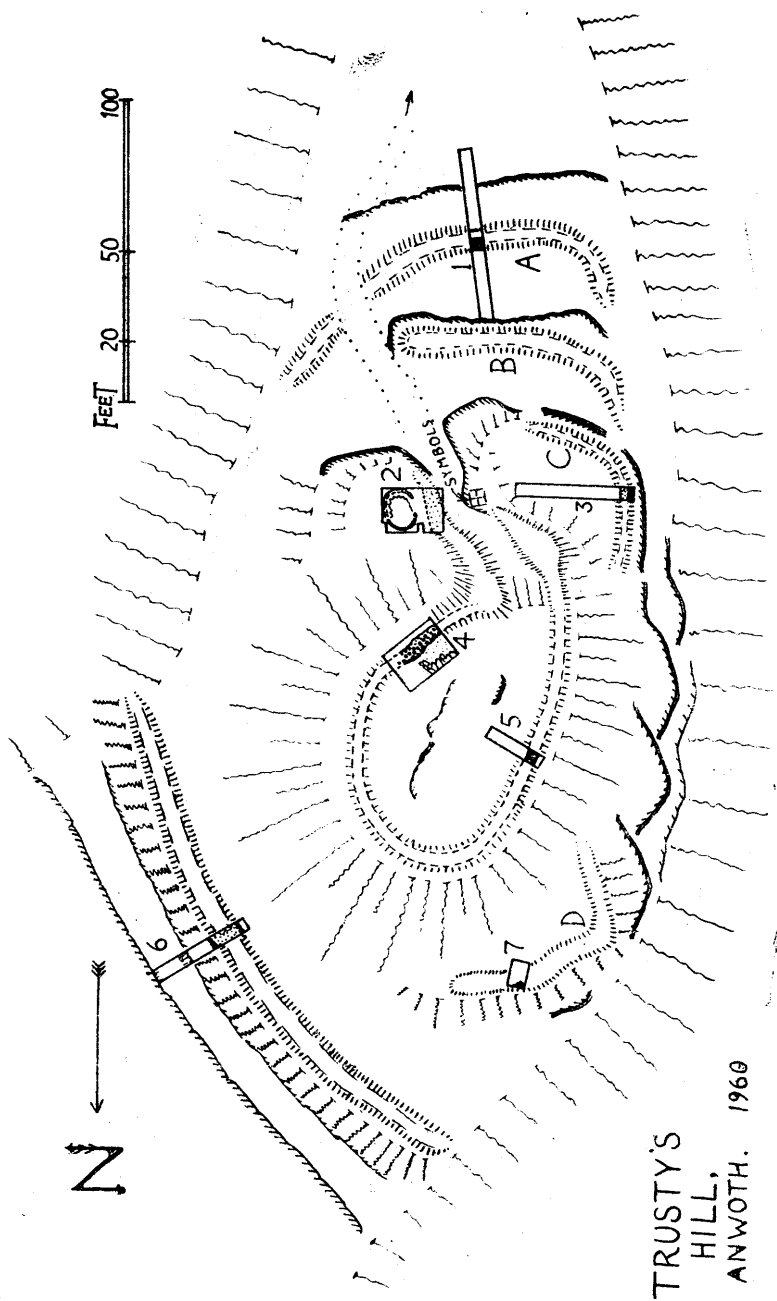
A rock step 12 feet high at the northern edge of this sheltered strip forms the next shelf, the crest of which is occupied by rampart B. This work, extremely ruined, is confined (by geology rather than by design) to the area lying west of the present pathway. Rampart B also appeared to have been some kind of stone and rubble bank, but most of it had tumbled over the shelf and the remnants were seriously disturbed by tree roots. That its original character was similar to that of A—an outer stone revetment and a bank of rubble and earth behind this—is indicated by the nature of the spill. This spill, actually overlying the inward northern spill from rampart A, included some granite boulders (one is shown in the section, fig. 4) which must represent the revetment.

The North-Eastern Defence.

The neck on the north-eastern side of Trusty's Hill consists of bedded and heavily dipping rock just below the turf.⁵ This was at some stage cut through, an ambitious project which resulted in a formidable rock-cut ditch some eight feet deep and, at its (square) bottom, ten feet across.

A section (fig. 4) of the exploration here, Cutting 6, revealed substantial defences. The bank, at the point of section, was nearly 10 feet across from face to face. Its outer, lower and northern face springs from a step—either natural or cut—about three feet below the footing of the southern and inner face. Both faces appear to have been revetted (see section). The little that remained of the core between them was a mixture of fine dusty material, again perhaps turf, and loose very stony rubble. In the ditch below, wholesale collapse could be traced. A large wedge of primary silt in the inner angle was sealed by a huge spread

⁵ The bedrock at Trusty's Hill consists of.



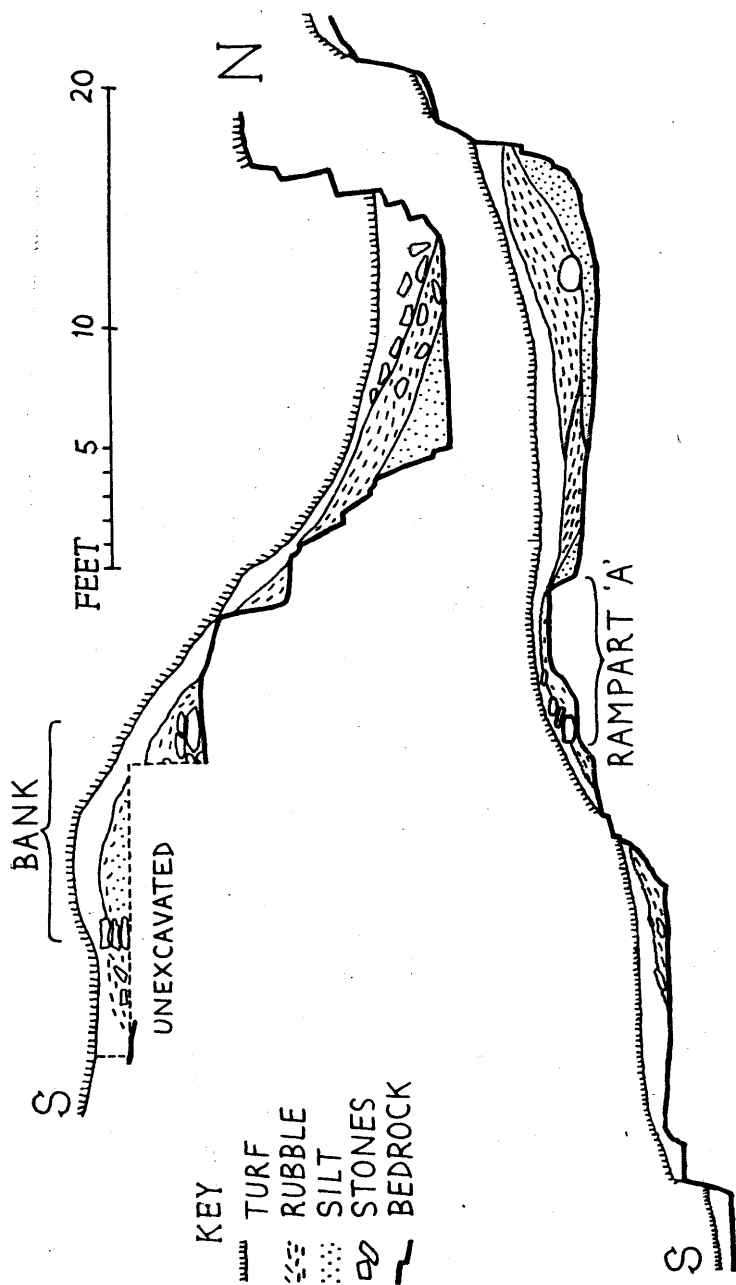


Fig. 4—Cutting 1.

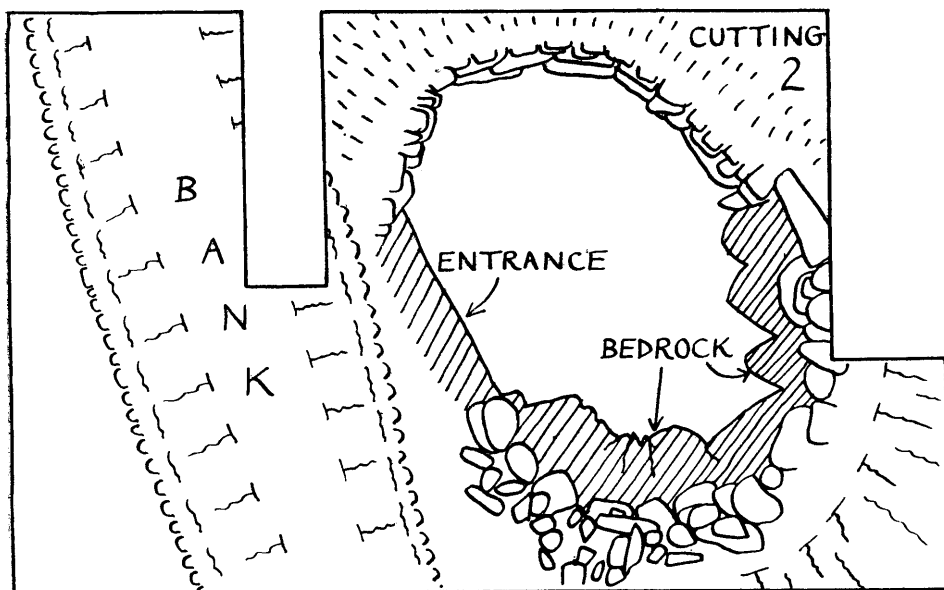


Fig. 5.

BOTH:  FEET

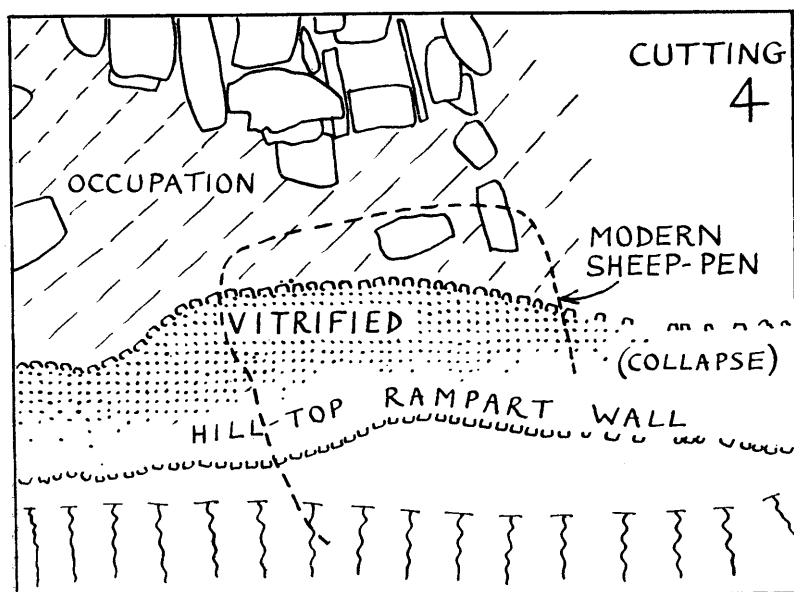


Fig. 6.

of stony rubble: and both in and above the latter stratum were many larger rocks, doubtless from the revetment.

At a very rough estimate, the amount of collapsed material is not inconsistent with the idea of an original rampart having an inner face four feet high, and an outer one seven feet high. Such a rampart, whilst allowing defenders to duck down under suitable cover, would present to an attacker a steeply-pitched rock face 12 feet high with a frowning seven-foot wall immediately above it.

No artifacts were found in the ditch or the bank, nor was any convincing gap or entrance through this defence noticed.

The Hill-Top Fort.

Two cuttings, nos. 4 and 5 on the plan, were made here. Some half-dozen small *sondages* showed bedrock immediately below the turf, and were not developed. Cutting 5 revealed the basal course of a stone wall, firmly packed, about four feet in width. It was not at this point vitrified, and practically all the wall had collapsed outwards and down a precipice on the western flank.

Cutting 4 was aimed to expose that solitary part of the hill-top where probing and *sondages* had revealed any depth at all. In this area, fifteen by twenty feet, bedrock lay at an average of 18 inches below the present surface, being uniformly covered by a thin dark skin of an old turf. Above this skin, but reduced by centuries of standing water to a dark cloggy and muddy soil, was an occupation layer from three to six inches deep. Heavily flecked with charcoal, this layer produced a few minute flakes of flint, some beach pebbles, and a large quantity of animal bones in a very friable state. The latter comprised cow, pig and sheep only, recognition being possible only through the resistant teeth. The lower half of a granite rotary quern was found in this area, upside down and bedded in the occupation.

Some structure formed of sizeable blocks of flattish stone had once stood here, and what was found is shown in fig. 3.

Few of these stones could be regarded as *in situ*, but they were connected with the occupation layer, as the latter ran in all cases up to the edges of the lower set stones. The area defined by these stones stopped short of a stretch of stone walling, here (as in Cutting 5) the hill-top rampart. This wall had collapsed both inwards and outwards, the inwards spill sealing the putative structure and to a large extent displacing it.

The rampart wall in Cutting 4 was certainly vitrified, and vitrification seems to have brought about the collapse whilst the wall was in the semi-fluid slaggy state. The general line of the wall only could be ascertained, owing to the intractable nature of this material. No traces of any grooves or gullies which might indicate timber-lacing were observed. An odd feature was that right across this cutting, where the wall again seems to have been of the order of four feet in width, it was the *internal* part that was most heavily vitrified, the external face being in parts scarcely burnt at all.

Considerable disturbance had taken place here in modern times. A small collapsed structure, indicated by dotted lines in fig. 4, was seated high across the wall, and was constructed from loose stones and lumps of vitrified material. Local opinion suggested that this was a temporary pen for confining a sheep with an adopted lamb, built perhaps in the last century: several similar ruins were noticed at various points, on and off the hill.

Subsidiary Defences.

Cutting 7 showed, on a small platform on the north-western flank of the hill some 20 feet below the hill-top rampart wall, a collapsed wall of slender proportions. This —rampart D on the plan—was reduced to a mere line of stones, and it would be unsafe to comment on its age. The turf here lay directly upon bedrock and there were no signs of any human occupation.

Cutting 3 was designed to test the nature of rampart C, and also the area enclosed by it, superficially a small crescentic hollow. The latter part of the project was defeated by the discovery of a vast mass of stones, rubble and vitrified fragments representing spill from the hill-top rampart above. With great difficulty a section was taken down two feet but the nature of the going made it impossible to finish this cutting.

Rampart C was, like B, carefully sited on the crest of a natural step, about five feet high. Enough remained to point to a construction similar to that of A and B; that is, an outer revetment (of which, in this case, two courses were found) with a mass of rubble and earth piled inside it, and without any inner revetting face.

The "Guard-Hut."

The last cutting to be described, No. 2, lay on the east side of the entrance to the hill-top proper (see plan, fig. 3). At this point the present pathway, which seems to represent the original access way, ascends a miniature ravine formed by two sloping rock faces. These are weathered and scoured by glacial action and this defile must be regarded as natural. On its western face, now covered by an iron cage, the area of incised Pictish symbols may be seen.

The last stage of the way in to the fort is defined, on the surface, by two small stub banks which constitute, as it were, an "out-turned" entrance. These are regarded as secondary to the fort, as explained below.

On the eastern side, corresponding to the little area enclosed by rampart C on the west, a large bluff of outcrop bedrock exhibited a pronounced hollow on its grass-covered top. This area was stripped and carefully taken down. To a distance of some three feet below the grass, nothing was found save rubble, most of it (judging from the high proportion of vitrified fragments) derived from the collapsed rampart in Cutting 4. At this depth, water commenced to seep in rapidly, and it became apparent that this natural

rock basin (as it proved to be) was a focus of surface drainage. The appearance, however, of some large and seemingly set granite boulders on a bedrock ledge on the south side of this basin led the excavators to siphon out as much water as they could, and a further three feet was cleared, nearly to bedrock.

This exposed the remains of a small oval hut, internally some nine feet by eleven feet. The southern and eastern walls rose from a foundation course of granite boulders wedged on to natural shelves a foot or so above the original floor level. The western side seems to have been the doorway, though its correct proportions could not be ascertained owing to collapse and robbing. The northern part, nearly a semi-circle, was constructed with some considerable skill. Flat stones had been carefully built against the side of the rock basin, here possibly cut back to vertical, and they presented a tolerably regular curved inner face, rising vertically for almost four feet without any trace of batter or corbelling.

The floor inevitably became a soupy mud, riddled with small stones, and no further siphoning was possible. Specks of charcoal were noticed, but a search for artifacts proved useless.

Further investigation in this cutting showed that the out-turned stub banks at the entrance to the hill-fort had been casually built with a lot of small to medium stones, and in Cutting 2 the eastern bank blocked the entrance to the little hut completely. This, and the fact that the character of the stub walls differed entirely from the rampart on the hill-top, made it probable that the stub walls were a secondary addition.

Discussion.

The defences of Trusty's Hill, which indeed comprise all our evidence for the age of the site, fall into two clear groups. The hill-top rampart wall, the massive bank and ditch cutting off the approach on the north-eastern side, and the little guard-hut, look very much like part of the

same complex. This type of "double promontory fort," in which the normal promontory bank and ditch are supported by an inner detached citadel, has a wide if chronologically uncertain range in the Iron Age (*lato sensu*) of western Britain, especially the Irish Sea area. The obvious analogies are perhaps the brochs, where the structure itself may be contained within partial external defences.⁶ Without laying too much stress on the lower half rotary quern—though clearly the occupation which contained it cannot be anterior to the introduction of this object—a primary occupation in the first few centuries A.D. may be considered. The context suggests, not so much defence against Rome—the fleet or the northern garrisons—as against the hinterland of Galloway. The major defence, the bank and ditch across the neck, faces *north* and seems to have no detectable entrance. One thinks therefore of the image gradually being clarified in our thoughts, that of a settlement of southern Scotland by people of an Iron B culture during, or soon after, the incidence of Claudius' invasion of south-eastern England. Do we see here, perhaps, a bridgehead of *Novantae*, uncertain of their reception in an area still peopled by older indigènes? The presence of a rotary quern and animal bones, as well as the stone hut foundations in Cutting 4, bring to mind the picture of a fortified homestead with its pastures and plots within easy reach.

The second complex consists of the ramparts A, B and C (just possibly D as well), and the extension of the entrance into the hill-fort by the small out-turned stub banks, one of which was noted in the discussion of Cutting 2, above. Such multiplicity of rather ineffectual ramparts is now seen to characterise post-Roman defensive engineering over a wide area. One specialised plan resulting from this practice, the nuclear or nucleated fortress, can indeed be linked to the period 5th to 7th centuries A.D., as at, e.g., Dunadd and

⁶ Childe, *Prehistory of Scotland* (1935), p. 202: cf., perhaps such Irish coastal fortlets as Larriban, Antrim (Childe, in *Antiq. Journal*, vol. xvi. (1936), p. 179).

Dalmahoy.⁷ The method in which a bank is constructed with an outer revetment only and a jumbled mass of make-up behind it, though possibly rooted in the local Iron Age of Scotland, was employed in religious as well as secular enclosures, ultimately of Irish inspiration. The *vallum* of Columba's monastery on Iona was in part of this construction,⁸ and so too was that of the unnamed monastery on the Brough of Deerness in Orkney,⁹ where a bank and ditch cutting off a precipitous headland seems to have had an outer face of Orkney flag and a bank of turf and stones packed up behind it.

We need not hesitate, then, in assigning the second phase of fortification to the post-Roman period. Presumably the additional ramparts were thrown up at a time when conditions made such actions desirable. Although the Anglian (Northumbrian) conquest of Galloway is singularly poorly recorded, it is clear from the annexation of Whithorn that it was complete at, or soon after, the end of the 7th century, and the second half (or fourth quarter) of this century provides a *terminus ante quem*, after which the re-building of coastal Galloway forts is historically unlikely. The Pictish symbols must therefore provide the necessary explanation. That raiding bands of Picts would have come so far south as the Kirkcudbrightshire coast in the 7th century, even after their defeat of the Northumbrian army at Nechtansmere in 685/6 A.D., is not very probable. Some time in the 5th or 6th century may thus be involved, but one might here point out that the form of the Double Disc and Z Rod symbol at Trusty's Hill is by no means an early one. Even when one admits that trained stone-cutters or "monumental masons" are improbable persons to find in the wake of a raiding party, and that the symbols may be the work of a pious Pictish amateur who wished to com-

⁷ R. W. Feachem, "Fortifications," in *Problem of the Picts*, ed. F. T. Wainwright, Edinburgh (1954).

⁸ *The Coracle* (Journal of the Iona Community), No. 35, Nov., 1959, p. 12.

⁹ Royal Comm. *Inventory*, Orkney and Shetland, Vol. II., p. 240.

memorate a fallen leader, the excess floriation of the Z Rod and the insertion of its central portion between the bars of the Double Disc's "waist" suggest that this is closer to 600 A.D. than to 500. A Pictish raid in the late 6th or very early 7th century is thus a possibility.¹⁰

There remains the question of the vitrification. If, as now seems safe, we assume this to be the result of large bonfires being applied to walls of fusible stone constructed with internal timber-lacing, it follows that full vitrification will only result when such timber is present. As the beams burn, they provide draft-flues which increase the heat within the actual wall. But timber-lacing, even of the third century A.D., is not likely still to have been in position, firm, dry and combustible, in the sixth. Again, the average width of the rampart on the hill-top was only four feet, and the excavations failed to indicate that timber-lacing was present at all, at any time. It was also significant that the vitrification had affected the inner part of the wall to a very much greater degree than the outer, and then only in certain parts of the quite small perimeter.

Such conditions might be thought more in keeping with the combustion of wooden shacks or lean-tos, built against (or even bonded into) a re-occupied stone-walled fort in a partially ruinous condition. For if the ramparts A, B and C, and the out-turned stub walls, are regarded as additional defences of the post-Roman era, then it follows that there was something to be defended, and the fort itself must have been occupied, if only as a temporary measure, at this time. The presence of timber buildings in the Lowlands, features at least as old as the Iron Age of the region, is amply demonstrated for post-Roman times by such structures as Buston Crannog, Ayrshire, and the many wooden houses referred to in Bede's writings.¹¹ Whether or not the historical *Picti* were familiar with the process of vitrification, the reduction

¹⁰ C. A. R. Radford, *Antiquity*, Vol. XXVII. (1953), p. 239, puts forward arguments for a post-685 date.

¹¹ E.g., Bede, H.E. lib. III., cap. x.

of a besieged stronghold by burning was a common practice at this time. The *combustio* of what is almost certainly Dunolly Castle at Oban, a Dalriadic fort, is recorded in 685¹², and Bede gives fuller details, in telling how the heathen king Penda pulled down numerous villages in an attempt to burn out the Northumbrian royal stronghold of Bamburgh.¹³ It would seem that the vitrification at Trusty's Hill is, on the whole, more likely to be the outcome of whatever threat caused the post-Roman re-fortification, than as something of Iron Age times. On the present evidence, this is as much as can be said.

Postscript.

The cuttings have been filled in, save for cutting 2 (the guard-hut). With the concurrence of the landowner, this was rebuilt to a height (against the north side) of some six feet, contemporary halfpennies being bonded in at the junction of old and new walling. The quern stone was kindly presented to Dumfries Museum by Walter McCulloch of Ardwall, the proprietor.

¹² A. Graham, P.S.A.S., Vol lxxxv. (1953), p. 72.

¹³ Bede, H.E. lib. III., cap. xvi.

ARTICLE 4.

Two Early Ecclesiastical Sites (Isle of Whithorn and Ardwall Island) and their significance.

By CHARLES THOMAS, M.A., F.S.A.

Introductory.

The purpose of this short essay is to describe recent discoveries made at the Isle of Whithorn, and at Ardwall Island off the mouth of the river Fleet, and to assess their meaning. The writer would like to thank his colleague Bernard Wailes, who shared the field-work with him: Lady McCulloch, and her son Walter McCulloch, W.S., of Ardwall, for their help, interest, and permission to publish: and C. A. Ralegh Radford, whose own work and teachings over so many years are largely responsible for our increasing knowledge of the post-Roman Church in western Britain. Departure from the latter's views, particularly in the matter of the Isle of Whithorn, must be seen as a result of his stimulus, and in no way as a detraction from the value of his prolonged campaign in the area.

Isle of Whithorn.

This is now a peninsula rather than a true island, though the sketch map (inset, fig. 7) will show how its southern tip may once have been surrounded by water flowing through the present sandy neck. The major archaeological features here are a multivallate promontory fort on the southern tip, and a (re-built) mediaeval chapel in a little enclosure on the north-eastern shore.¹

The chapel, St. Ninian's, has recently been discussed by Radford,² who has shown that as it now stands it represents a 13th century building, 31 ft. by 16 ft., associated with the

¹ Royal Commission *Inventory*, Wigtownshire: the promontory fort is No. 504, the chapel site. No. 492.

² *Trans. Dumf. Gall. N.H.A.S.*, Vol. XXVII. (1950), p. 120: and see also Ministry of Works Official Guide Book to Whithorn and Kirkmadrine, cited here as *Guide*, 2nd impr. 1957, p. 33.

Whithorn cultus. Its foundations immediately overlies a narrower and smaller structure "not older than the 12th century,"³ and its function has been described partly as a lighthouse, partly as a chapel for the convenience of pilgrims to Whithorn.⁴ The tiny precinct around the chapel, a plan of which is given in the *Whithorn Guide*,⁵ is said to be of the same period as the chapel, and insofar as the well-preserved stretch of wall lying parallel to the south side of the chapel is concerned, this need not be disputed. The character of the walling is the same as that of Chapel Finnian, and of the tiny mediaeval bothy discussed elsewhere in these pages (p. 84).

Unfortunately there are now grounds for thinking that the plan of the enclosure, as published, is incorrect, and simply shows an amalgam of two separate and concentric enclosure walls, probably widely separated in time. The site is an attractive one. It lies in a shallow grassy basin on the eastern shore of the Isle of Whithorn, the turf sloping down to rocks, shingle and the sea. A natural rock shelf along the northern side affords a measure of shelter. From the western end of this shelf, where there is a large outcrop mass, a flight of four or five worn stone steps leads down to the chapel.

Close inspection in April, 1960, by Bernard Wailes and the writer was followed by the making of a measured plan (fig. 7). This demonstrates that the *inner* enclosure, the one whose connection with the chapel is not challenged, is quite small, and (save for its north-western corner) rectangular, following the chapel outline. Its entrance was presumably at the foot of the stone steps, or else near the south-west corner. Those parts now standing appear as a regular bank containing many stones, which can be followed without much difficulty. The bank is sufficiently far from

³ *Guide*, p. 36.

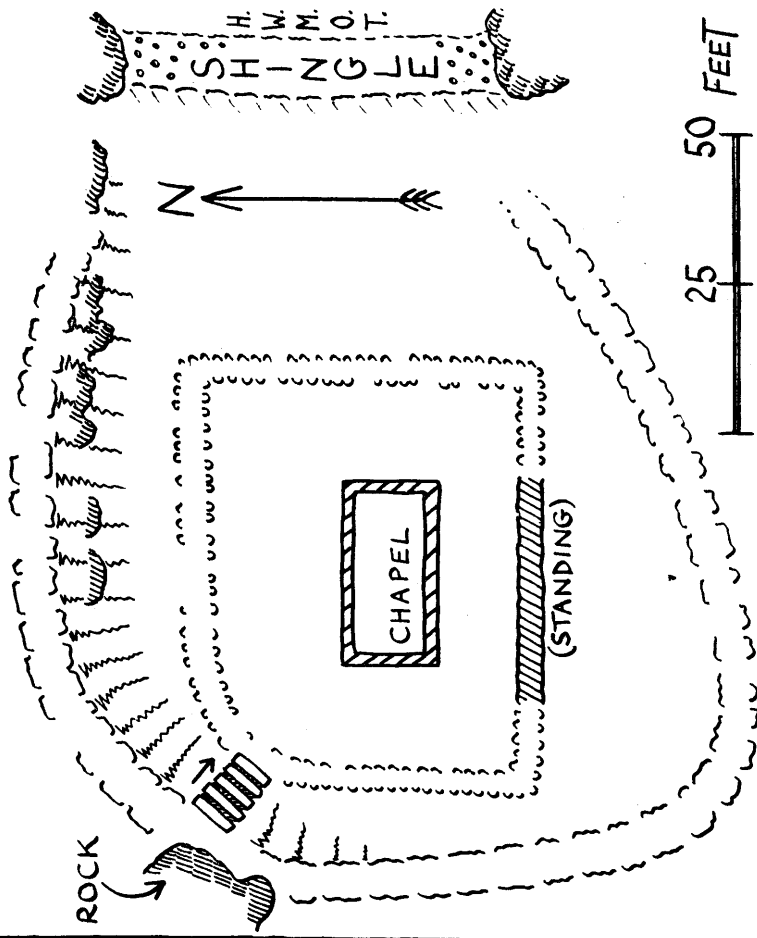
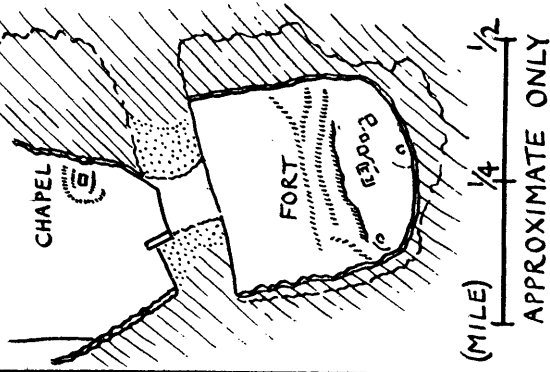
⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 34, fig. 2.

INSET:

ISLE OF
WHITHORN

DETAILS
VISIBLE ON
AIR PHOTO.



ISLE OF WHITHORN ENCLOSURES 1961

Fig. 7.

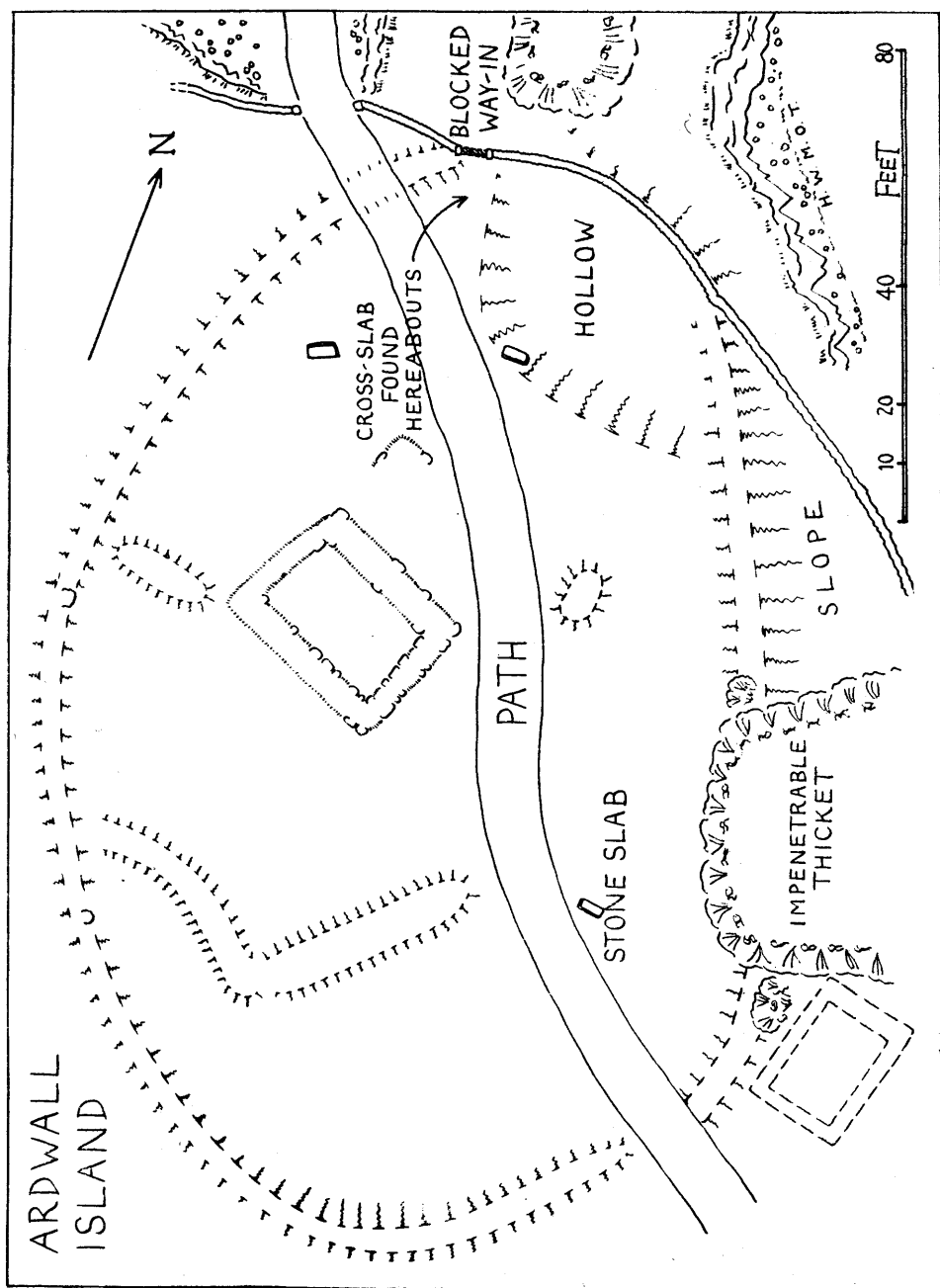


Fig. 8.

the chapel walls to disallow the idea that it is merely spill from them.

The *outer* enclosure, best seen in oblique sunlight, appears to be complete save for the stretch nearest the shore (H.W.M.O.T. lies some 70 ft. due east of the chapel's eastern end). This bank is much lower than that of the inner enclosure, and is built with some fairly large rocks. Its outline does not correspond to that of the inner enclosure, nor to the chapel. On the northern side it runs by the rock outcrop and the top of the steps along the crest of the natural shelf: here, its eastern end is decreasingly apparent amidst broken rock, but it can be traced all the way shown in fig. 7. It defines a roughly oval area some 100 ft. by 110 ft., whereas the internal dimensions of the inner enclosure are more like 50 ft. by 60 ft. What the plan in the official *Guide* seems to portray is the southern part of the inner enclosure, and the northern part of the outer, run together east and west of the chapel to form a regular oval area with the chapel off-centre in it.

If this new interpretation, which must, of course, be tested with the spade before it can be safely accepted, is at all correct, it becomes necessary to view the site in a wholly different light. It is an interpretation supported by the relevant aerial photograph (see note 29 below). The outer enclosure typifies the small embanked areas, generally oval or circular, belonging to the period of the expanding Church in Celtic Britain. These can especially be linked with evangelisation from Ireland (to a lesser extent, south and north-west Wales as well) in the 6th century and later. To describe them as "mission stations" is perhaps to evoke misleading modern parallels, but this in essence is what such sites are. The emphasis seems to have been primarily on the provision of a burial-ground for converts and their descendants, occasionally utilising a pre-Christian Iron Age cemetery for this purpose.⁶ We may point to such early

⁶ E.g., St Ninian's Point, Bute: *Trans. Bute N.H.S.*, Vol. xiv (1955), p. 62, where graves labelled C, I and L are apparently pagan.

adjuncts as a living cell for the cleric involved,⁷ and a primitive wooden oratory, replaced in the 8th or later 7th century by a small stone church,⁸ the latter often found to overlie the earliest Christian graves in the enclosure.⁹ The founder's own tomb, frequently marked by a memorial pillar or cross-inscribed slab, could be employed as an open-air altar,¹⁰ and his or her name may survive either as a dedication, or a secondary place-name element when the dedication is to the patron of the founder's home *paruchia*.¹¹ Relevant Celtic terminology reflects these elements. The Irish *cille* (Lat. *cella*) refers to the living-hut, if not to the original oratory (sometimes *teampull*, Lat. *templum*). The Welsh *llan*, Cornish *lan*, and the (rare) Irish *lann* (Lat. *planum*, in the sense of "level, cleared"?) point to the burial-ground—*planum redigere* is indeed used to mean "to clear ground for a cemetery."¹² The Breton *loc'h* (Lat. *locus*, in the late sense of "a grave"), Welsh *Merthyr* and Cornish *merther* (*martyrium*, from Greek *martyrion*), and in Scotland, *reilig* (*reliquia*: cf. Reilig Orain on Iona) describe the actual burials, sometimes specifically the founder's own. In later toponymy, certainly by the 10th and 11th centuries, all these terms are used impartially for a church in its burial-ground, even for a church or chapel alone: Llanilltud, Lanant, Merthyr Tydfil, etc. Thus we find the innumerable Irish and Scottish names in Kil-, Kill-, Killie-, a prefix often replaced under later Norse influence by *kirk*.

It is uncertain precisely in what light the Isle of Whit-

⁷ In Co. Kerry, site at Illaunloghan: F. Henry, "Early Beehive Cells and Monasteries in Kerry," P.R.I.A. No. 58 C 3 (1957), pp. 96-8. See also description of "St Michael's Cemetery" now St John's Lee, Hexham, Bede, H.E. lib. v., cap. 2.

⁸ Recently shown at Church Island, near Valencia: M. J. O'Kelly in P.R.I.A. No. 59 C 2 (1958), p. 58 and plan, fig. 2.

⁹ St Ninian's Point, Bute (see Note 6 *supra*) and refs. therein.

¹⁰ F. Henry, *op. cit.* Note 7 *supra*: many instances *passim*.

¹¹ This is indeed found in Cornwall: e.g., Lelant commemorates a saint Anta (Lan-Anta) but the patron is actually St Uny, subject of quite a minor *cultus*.

This is admittedly rather a late source.

¹² Wade-Evans, *Vitæ Sanctorum Britanniae*; Life of Cadoc, cap. 8.

horn outer enclosure should be regarded. There do not appear to be any records of its use as an old burial-ground, and the insertion of the inner, presumably later, enclosure wall may be taken as sign that the outer bank was either ruinous or (more probably) no longer recognised for what it had been. The closest parallel is Chapel Finnian,¹³ some few miles westwards on the other coast of the Machars: here, Radford's examinations disclosed much the same sequence, with a small chapel of medieval or late pre-Conquest date standing in a little *cille* which is possibly a good deal older. Radford rightly drew attention to two small Welsh sites with chapels, one of the 7th or 8th centuries,¹⁴ the other 9th or 10th,¹⁵ both of which overlay Christian burials, and stood in much the same relation to St. David's, Pembroke, as do Chapel Finnian and the Isle of Whithorn to Whithorn itself. Neither Welsh chapel site possessed a *llan*, however inadequate the excavations by modern standards: but some kind of boundary to the original graveyard must have existed. Landing-place chapels (for pilgrims to St. David's, or Whithorn) all these four sites may have been: but the evidence is clear that the Welsh ones were also foci for Christian dead, and a similar role may be suggested for both Chapel Finnian and the outer Isle of Whithorn enclosure.

The extent to which the Isle of Whithorn enclosure can be seen as part and parcel of the main Whithorn complex poses a question: to what extent can the Whithorn of pre-Anglian times be described, as it has been, as a Celtic monastery at all? The monastic structure of the church in Ireland, the major source of influence in western Britain, dates not from the fifth but the sixth century. We cannot point to any certain remains of the Patrician period, nor hardly estimate to what, if to any, degree, monasticism had become rooted in Ireland before about 500 A.D. Whichever of the growing

¹³ Radford, *Trans. Dumfr. Gall. N.H.A.S.*, Vol. XXVIII. (1951), p. 28.

¹⁴ St Justinian's; *Arch. Cambrensis*, Vol. 81 (1926), p. 381.

¹⁵ St Patrick's; *Arch. Cambrensis*, Vol. 80 (1925), p. 87.

tangle of hypotheses about Patrick's existence, non-existence or chronology is adopted,¹⁶ consensus of opinion today points to the fifth century in Ireland as a phase when an unsuccessful episcopal pattern, based probably on a Gaulish model, was introduced into a region where there *may* have been a few Christians, but decidedly *were* a great many pagans. The church attributed to Ninian is surely to be seen as a parallel affair in southern Scotland. As Professor Thompson has cogently argued, Christians must have¹⁷ been present—possibly as 4th century refugees from some large *vicus* like Carlisle—in Galloway at the time of Ninian's mission. It will not be forgotten that Patrick himself, if he existed, is likely to have sprung from much the same region.¹⁸ A careful study of the distribution of the monuments associated with the Ninianic episode south of the Forth-Clyde line suggests four principal foci of Christianity: Dumbarton Rock and the Clyde Valley, the coastal shelf between (approximately) Edinburgh and Stirling along the south side of the Forth; the Whithorn and Rinns area, and the uplands south of Tweed. These are, generally, the centres of post-Roman power: Strathclyde, Manau Gododdin, and (omitting Whithorn for the moment) the heartland of the former Selgovae, centred on some such Dark Age oppidum as Ruberslaw.¹⁹ The pattern is episcopal, not monastic: the provision of Christian mentorship in regions where, for some reason, Christianity existed, and an emphasis on conversion from the top. So we find Coroticus of Strathclyde addressed by Patrick in the mid-5th century in terms which suggest that the Gospel had been known there for some decades:²⁰ in the *Gododdin* poem, the flowers of chivalry are apparently Christian;²¹ and the Yarrowkirk stone in Selkirk carefully

¹⁶ James Carney, "The Present State of Patrician Problem," *Irish Eccles. Record*, Vol. XCII., No. 1 (1959), p. 1.

¹⁷ *Scottish Hist. Review*, Vol. 37 (1958), p. 17.

¹⁸ Assuming, as now seems best, that Bannaven(ta) lay somewhere along the western part of the Wall.

¹⁹ Royal Commission *Inventory*, Roxburgh, No. 145.

²⁰ L. Bieler, *Epistolae Patricii*, Irish MSS. Commission, Dublin, 1952. And see also E. A. Thompson in Note 17 *supra*.

²¹ So Jackson, *Antiquity*, Vol. XIII. (1939), p. 26.

records the death of members of the local ruling family.²²

The real monastic impetus—what Father John Ryan has called “the period of the great monastic founders”—affects south Wales, possibly Cornwall, and Ireland in the next century. It is, to the writer’s mind, extremely doubtful whether it touched Galloway. To the archaeologist, the material structure of the type of monastery associated with the sixth, and later, centuries is primarily defined by the enclosure around it, the *vallum*. This may have been constructed by the monastic founders themselves, but it was very often a secular fort, earthen (rath) or stone (cashel), given to some eager *miles Christi* by the local ruler, and adapted to serve as a home for his community.²³ The prevalence of a roughly circular form for Iron Age fortresses, in Ireland as elsewhere, seems to have led eventually to such a lay-out becoming both customary and predominant. A curious passage in the *Tripartite Life*²⁴ permits us to suppose that, in later centuries, the authority of Patrick himself was regarded as lying behind the adoption of a circular form for the monastic vallum. In a region dominated anyhow by domestic structures, in wood or stone, of circular form, this must be the origin of the *cille* and the *llan*. But it should not obscure the fact that certain very large monastic foundations of the mid-sixth century, too large to be sited in any earthwork save for some veritable capital like Emain Macha, were contained in a vallum of approximately rectangular form. So, for instance, are Clonmacnois (*circa* 544-547) and Iona (563 A.D.). This plan springs from a similar root—the secular fortress—but in this case the root is oriental, not local, and must be seen as part of the powerful Eastern Influence detectable in the western British church from the late 5th century onwards.²⁵ From the Egyptian, Palestinian, and southern Syrian deserts, where

²² Now demonstrable in the field of actual imports: Thomas, *Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. iii. (1959), p. 78: classes A, B i., B ii., B iv.

²³ Royal Commission *Inventory*, Selkirk, No. 174.

²⁴ For some instances, Plummer, *Vit. Sanct. Hib.*, introduction, xcvi, and *passim*: also Note 24 *infra*, Vol. 1, p. 229.

²⁵ Ed. Whitley Stokes (Rolls Series), Vol. 1, p. 237.

huge rectangular precincts were constructed against raiding Bedawin from at least the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.,²⁶ the most likely route for the transmission of this idea is *via* Lerins to south Wales in the late 5th century, and at this period of fruitful contact, to central Ireland. Clonard, the *mater scholastica* of the founders of both Clonmacnois and Iona, forms a likely, perhaps the most likely, centre of dissemination. There is at present no reason to suppose that this idea had reached central Gaul at the time of St. Martin and his *magnum monasterium*, and perhaps it never did: the almost invariably rectangular lay-out of such early Gaulish monasteries as can now convincingly be traced is to be connected with the use of Roman forts,²⁷ a practice which seems also to have been current in the Rhineland.²⁸

It is thus *prima facie* improbable that any vallum was built at Whithorn at the time of its foundation, or indeed in the sixth century, and in the writer's opinion there never was one. The construction of a major vallum in the period between, say, 550 and 700 A.D. would imply a degree of Hibernian influence at *Candida Casa* far beyond that deducible from present evidence. The only other possible origin for a vallum, the variety of monasticism which flowered in Northumbria from the seed implanted at Lindisfarne in 635 A.D., is scarcely more admissible. Whilst some Northumbrian houses—Lindisfarne itself, Old Melrose, Coldingham, Abercorn—were certainly of Irish-Iona form in lay-out as well as doctrine, and whilst the *cille* type of enclosure can be found as far south as Acomb, near Hexham, and Gilling in Yorks. N.R., both of the seventh century, the stronger and eventually dominant Continental elements present at Jarrow, Monkwearmouth and Wilfrid's foundations seem

²⁶ St Catherine, Mt. Sinai, early 6th century: houses in the Wadi Natrun, Egypt, perhaps 5th (re-built in the 9th): numerous in Syria, one allegedly as early as the 480's.

²⁷ E.g., *Vicus Ambatiensis* (Amboise, 25 kilo. E. of Tours): *Dialogues* of Sulpicius Severus, II. ("Gallus"), Sect. viii. Cf. Columbanus' use of Annegray, a ruined fort in the Vosges.

²⁸ E.g., at Neumagen: see Böhner, *Die Fränkischen Altert. des Trierer Laudes*, Vol. I. (1958), plan, p. 296.

to have placed far more emphasis on the *contents* of the monastery rather than on its containing earthwork. In this, we see something more akin to Continental usage, and indeed to the little we know of fifth century Whithorn itself: for, at the latter, it was the building, not the extent of the foundation, that aroused interest. Finally, it might well be thought that wholesale circumvallation at Whithorn at the time of Bede's friend and contemporary, bishop Pecthelm, would scarcely have passed un-noticed in the latter's *Historia*.

What, then, of the Isle of Whithorn? We must conclude that, like that at Chapel Finnian, the enclosure was inspired by external contact. Minor sites of Irish type need cause no surprise if they are found anywhere on the coasts facing Ireland. The fame, in Hibernian circles, of Whithorn attracted, as we know, many pilgrims both lay and cleric. One must not conclude this section without drawing attention once again to the promontory fort. Both the aerial photograph 29 and inspection on the ground indicate the presence of internal features, some certainly rectangular: they are shown here on the sketch map, inset in fig. 5. These may well be medieval or indeed recent, but we cannot be sure until they are examined. If, at any point, the powerful and formative hand of Christian Ireland in the sixth century reached out to touch Galloway, it was surely here.

Ardwall Island.

There is a small group of flat, uninhabited islets lying by the Kirkcudbrightshire shore, on the south-eastern side of the Fleet estuary at Gatehouse—the Isles of Fleet. They include one near enough to be reached on foot at low water. Its original name is not known, but it is called Ardwall Island, since it belongs to the estate of that name.

Some years ago³⁰ a flat rectangular slab of the local grit, bearing an incised cross of late (10th or 11th century) form,

29 No. 106G/Scot/UK/15.7, Aug. 20th, 1946: stereo pair 3344/45.

30 See *Trans. Dumfr. Gall. N.H.A.S.*, Vol. XIII. (1927), p. 125.

was found in this island, and is now preserved in the garden at Ardwall. In April of 1960, the writer in company with Lady McCulloch and Mr Bernard Wailes visited the site, and inspection of the immediate area which produced this cross slab showed that some kind of minor earthwork was present. With the assistance of Mr Alexander McCulloch, the proprietor's youngest son, a measured plan was made, and is here reproduced as figure 8.

This shows a well-defined bank, in places still several feet high, enclosing an oval area approximately 180 ft. by 110 ft. Internally there can be seen a rectangular foundation, aligned more or less NNW-SSE, its inner dimensions being 24 ft. by 14 ft.; there are some subsidiary minor banks on the southern side: and there are also various low mounds and prostrate slabs of local grit. Against the south-eastern exterior of the enclosure there is a second rectangular ruin of comparatively modern appearance. A dry-stone dyke separates the whole enclosure from the shore, but for some 40 ft. of its length this dyke, in fact, perpetuates the outline of the bank, and at the western end of this stretch there is a blocked entrance (shown by two uprights) some 5 ft. wide. The present entrance, where a modern path crossing the island leaves the shore to enter this enclosure, lies a few feet westwards. The cross-slab was found roughly at the point marked on the plan.

Even allowing for the peculiar orientation of the central rectangular ruin, if this is indeed a small chapel, there can be little doubt that we have here another *cille*, perhaps with internal divisions reminiscent of certain Irish examples.³¹ It was being used as a burial ground at the period of the cross slab: that is, during the phase of Norse domination of the region. The site must, however, date from an earlier period, and, like the Isle of Whithorn enclosure already considered, its resemblance to Irish and indeed western Scottish³² enclosures of a similar nature can hardly be

³² E.g., St Ninian's Point, Bute: Note 6 *supra*.

³¹ F. Henry, *op. cit.*, Note 7 *supra*: numerous instances.

fortuitous. Whether it belongs to the Whithorn complex, in the same way that Chapel Finnian may be said to do so, or to the Northumbrian (Anglian) phase after the early 8th century, is hard to decide. There is, however, a third possibility. The nearest ancient parish church is that of Kirkanders, a tiny hamlet a few miles eastwards along the coast. Here a ruined late medieval church or chapel stands in an old burial ground close to the sea. Kirkanders or Kirkandrew(s) was one of four parochial churches with their appurtenances ceded to Holyrood Abbey by a twelfth century lord of Galloway,³³ a cession confirmed by a charter addressed by king William to Iona.³⁴ These four, which in law belonged to the abbacy of Hy, are described as "*. . . ecclesia quae dicitur kirchecormach et ecclesia sancti andree et illa de balencros et illa de cheletun.*" Watson³⁵ identified these as Kirkcormack (older, Kilcormack), Kirkanders or Kirkandrew, Barncrosh and Kelton. Except for Kirkanders, they form an enclave up the Dee valley, slightly to the east. The name Cormac is indeed that of an early evangelist within the Iona *paruchia*, though its common occurrence precludes identification: Barncrosh looks like "steading of the cross," implying some upright monument of a didactic nature like the Ruthwell or Bewcastle masterpieces; Kelton may embody the prefix *cille* or of W. *celli*, Co. Kelly, "a grove."

We have then a small area spreading inland from the coast which belonged, until the 12th century, to Iona. Unless some quite unrecorded gift to Iona by some Norse lord of Galloway is involved, it is tempting to regard this as the result of pre-Anglian missionary endeavour from the church in Dalriadic Scotland, if not directly from some Irish daughter-house of Hy. There is no reason to suppose that a pre-extant religious title to these four chapelries would not have been confirmed by the Anglian see at Whithorn,

³³ *Guide*, p. 15.

³⁴ *Liber Cart. Sanct. Crucis* (Bannatyne Club, 1840), p. 41.

³⁵ Watson, "Celtic Place Names of Scotland," pp. 167-8.

especially following Iona's acceptance of the Roman practices. The name Kirkanders may well have replaced an earlier name of the type of Kilcormack, especially if the nominal part was the name of some minor ecclesiastic wholly unfamiliar to the church under Norse, as well as Anglian, domination, and for "Andrew" one should here think of Kirkandreas in the Isle of Man.

The old burial ground at Kirkanders itself, though now encumbered with graves and the relics of a late and wholly uninteresting structure, is a raised, nearly circular area with (replaced) stone walls of considerable height, and traces of a slight external ditch on the eastern side. It stands by a stream, in a broad and sheltered valley facing southwards to the shore. That it represents a pre-Conquest site seems very likely. The enclosure on Ardwall Island, it is suggested, is either an old detached burial ground for the inhabitants of the eastern side of the Fleet estuary, a region of fertile farms to-day, or (more probably) an original retreat for whichever son of Iona was first commemorated at Kirkanders. Such an island retreat, after the death and burial of its inmate, could easily become regarded as a sanctified enclosure,³⁶ and subsequent burials either of the faithful, or of the founder's successors, would be combined with the erection of a small chapel. That the habit of burial continued at least as late as the Norse phase is, of course, demonstrated by the Ardwall cross slab. It is to be hoped that, in the not too distant future, cautious excavation may reveal more of the nature of this attractive and interesting addition to the already rich heritage of western Galloway.

³⁶ Cf. the veneration accorded to the Great Farne after Saint Cuthbert's death: Bede, *Vit. Cuthb.*, cap. xvii.: *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iv., cap. 23, and later mentions in both works.

Mediaeval Hut and Midden near Port William, Wigtownshire.

By CHARLES THOMAS and BERNARD WAILES.

The main road going up the eastern side of Luce Bay follows a stretch, between Port William and Glenluce, which lies directly against the shore. This stretch is sited on an ancient beach or sea-level, and the roadway is flanked by the upper part of the present shingle beach on the west and a low line of cliffs on the east.

At an otherwise indeterminate point near Craignarget, the O.S. grid reference to which is approximately 22625508, extension of the road was taking place in April, 1960, comprising a slight widening inland. Whilst engaged in fieldwork in this region, the writers observed a midden, the section of which had been exposed by the road-widening. On a narrow grassy shelf between the road and the rock scarp, some large stones could be seen, and a closer examination suggested that this was some kind of ruined hut or bothy. A measured plan was therefore made.

The midden contained large numbers of cockle, mussel, limpet and whelk shells: the bones of various fish, and a cow's tooth: ash, charcoal, and a small lump of fused slag, and a single sherd of a not very fine reddish paste, with a thin lustrous glaze on the external surface typical of the late or just post-medieval period (say, 15th to 17th centuries).

The hut itself was defined by some large slabs of the local rock, set vertically into the grass-covered ground, other similar slabs which had fallen, and a number of smaller stones. Insofar as any plan could be recovered, it seemed to suggest a hut with internal dimensions of about 20 ft. by 9 ft., a suggestion of a rounded eastern end being noticed, and some kind of collapsed (and apparently crescentic) lean-to on the northern side,

The site is a pleasant sheltered one. Fresh water drips swiftly from a tiny cave inland, and it would be possible to put off in a boat from the shore at this point. The midden contents indicate something a little more permanent than a working hut or boathouse, and this may then be the home of some humble Galloway fisherman, of the period indicated by the sherd.

The character of the walling deserves mention. In the illustration of the plan and location (fig. 9), there is included as an inset (bottom left) a sketch of the walling at the little site of Chapel Finnian, slightly to the south-east along the same coastal road (A.747). Here, the vertical slabs are infilled with small chocking stones, in a context which Radford has shown to be mediæval,¹ and there can be little doubt that the hut which forms the subject of this note was constructed in precisely this technique. A word of warning should be sounded on this score, however: the writers were amused to see instances of the same constructional pattern in the main street of Gatehouse of Fleet, but in buildings which cannot conceivably be as old as Chapel Finnian. Evidently it survived, at any rate in the western part of Galloway, until the last century, if not to the present day.

¹ C. A. Raleigh Radford, "Chapel Finnian": *Trans. Dumfr. Gall. N.H.A.S.*, Vol. XXVIII. (1951), p. 28.

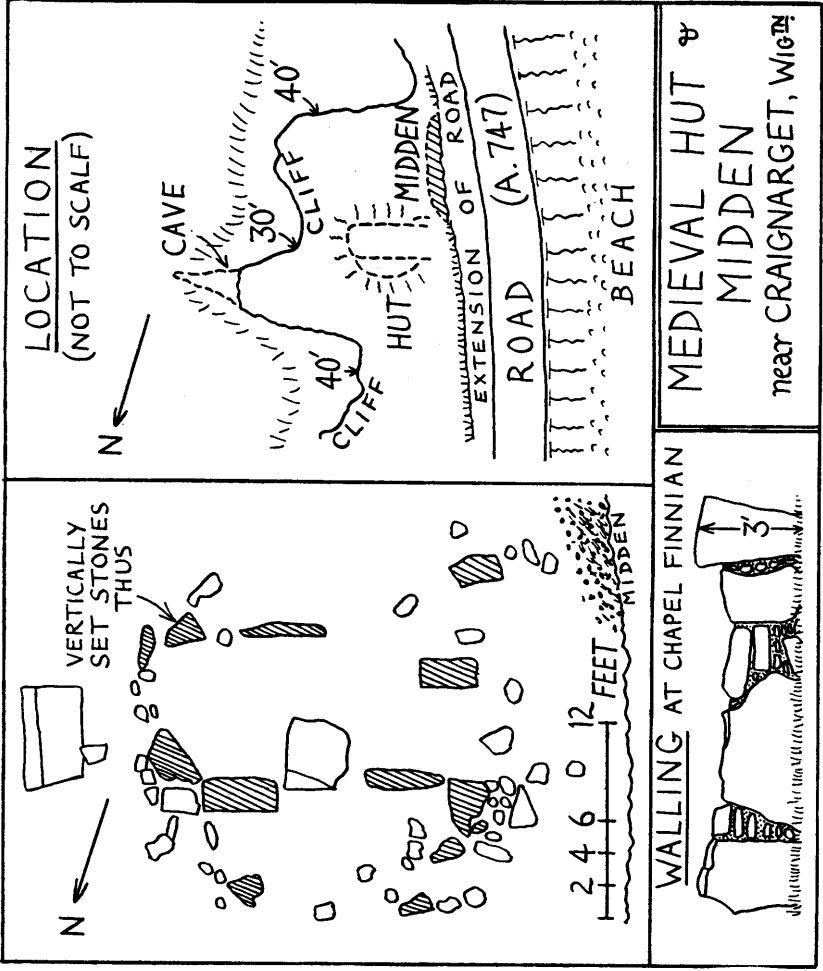


Fig. 9.

The Border Grahams, their Origin and Distribution.

By R. C. REID.

Much has been written on the origin of this clan which was domiciled on both sides of the Western March, but to date no common origin can definitely be assigned to them. It has been claimed that they were descended from the Montrose family or from the earls of Menteith who in turn were descended from the ancestor of Montrose. But it could just as well be claimed that they originated from the Grahams of Fintry.¹ Joseph Bain,² who produced some fresh evidence without any definite conclusion, is probably right in suggesting that the descent was a very ancient one and that there were two main families, one English and the other Scottish, descended from two brothers, Sir Henry de Graham and Sir Nicolas de Graham who married a Muscamp heiress at Wooler on the East March of England and whose descendants in Tynedale may well have been the forerunners of the Grahams of Nicol Forest on the English side of the Esk.

These very early Grahams of the 13th century have been manfully tackled by Mr Bishop in *Scots Peerage*, vol. VI. But neither he nor Bain have established certainty. Not till 1596 do we get a real clue. In that year Lord Burleigh was trying to pacify the Western March. The English Grahams must have been well known to him and his Wardens, and

¹ Bain draws attention to a sasine of 3 January, 1456/7, printed in the *Douglas Book*, iii., p. 85, by Robert Graham of Fintry in favour of George, 4th earl of Angus of the lands of Ewesdale. The witnesses are all Borderers and one of them is Fergus the Grame. Robert Graham of Fintry is described in *Scots Peerage*, vi., p. 218, as "Sir Robert Graham variously designed of Old Montrise, of Ewisdale, of Strathcarron and of Fintry." He married firstly Janet Lovel, daughter of Sir Richard Lovel of Ballumbie, who must have brought to him in marriage some undisclosed claim on the forfeited manor of Unthank in Ewesdale, part of the inheritance of the Lovels of Hawick (see D. and G. *Trans.*, n.s., vol. 36). On 1 February, 1453, as of Ewesdale Sir Robert served on an inquisition (R.M.S., 1424/1513, 1038) and in 1457 disposed the Ewisdale lands or claims thereto, in favour of George, earl of Angus.

² *Archæological Journal*, 1886, vol. xliii., p. 116-123).

they were bad enough. But the Scottish Grahams were largely an unknown factor; the final division of the Debateable land in 1552 had allocated a number of Scottish Grahams in the parish of Kirkandrews to England and Burleigh found it necessary to prepare a memorandum derived from his Warden's reports and other sources concerning them. This document³ provides a series of pedigrees of Grahams erstwhile subjects of Scotland. It clearly implies they were different from the English breed though hopelessly intermarried with each other. "There are also *another sort of Grahames* which inhabit upon the rivers Leven (now Line) and Sarke, which are not of this race but by course of tyme have maryed together and are become of one partie to the number of foure or five hundred, allmost all evil disposed, besydes Stories, Taylers, Fosters, Hetheringtons and Bells which are matched with them and like disposed."⁴

Of these Grahams of Scottish origin Burleigh narrates: "William Graham alias Long Will, banished out of Scotland about 80 yeiris since (i.e., c. 1515) came into England and brought with him eight sonnes whom he planted neare the said river of Eske. By this William doe the Earls of Mounteth and Montrose in Scotland claime interest of the service of all Grames as descended out of their houses."

Before we examine the antecedents of Long Will Graham we may dispose of the descent claimed from Monteith. Mr T. J. Carlyle of Templehill was the first to attempt to disprove that claim. In what at that date was a remarkably critical addition to our Knowledge of the Grahams⁵ he disposes of that claim of descent through "John of the Bright Sword" as follows: "We therefore discard *in toto* the account of the Grahams given by Nicolson and Burn as a myth and valueless as an historical reference." He was followed and quoted by T. B. H. Graham⁶ who explains how

³ Border Papers, ii., Appendix.

⁴ C. and W. Trans., n.s., xi., p. 71, T. B. H. Graham, on the Barony of Liddell.

⁵ D. ad G. Trans., 1865/6, p. 27.

⁶ C. and W. Trans., n.s., xi., p. 80.

the claim arose in the Heralds Office. Finally the Scots Peerage⁷ seems to have buried the claim.

A descent from Montrose however was put forward by T. J. Carlyle and accepted by T. B. H. Graham.⁸ It was ably argued and supported by such evidence as was then available. The aim was to establish that the Grahams "for a couple of centuries previous to their first recorded appearance as Cumbrrians had been located in Dumfriesshire, their leader or chieftain residing at the Tower of Graham and possessing the Mosskesso or Mosskeswra barony in the parish of Hutton." Carlyle definitely suggested that William Graham of Mosskeswray, c. 1480-90, must be identified with Long Will Graham of Burleigh's memorandum. But the cause of his departure from Hutton to the banks of the Esk are unexplained. To that convincing but incomplete account by T. J. Carlyle some further facts can now be added.

Ever since the days of William the Lion there have been Grahams in Hutton parish. It has been generally accepted that Hutton was part of the Avenel estates and came to the Grahams in 1243 with the heiress of Roger Avenel. But Hutton can never have been Avenel property. It has always been in the great lordship of Annandale and ecclesiastically within that Deanery. Towards the close of the reign of William the Lion (d. 1214) Henry de Graham was lord of Hutton and granted a lease of the pasturage of Upper Dryffe to Sir David de Torthorwald who paid him 40/- yearly. The bounds are stated to have been "as the marches of Eskdale run, the marches of Wamphray to Dryfshaid and thence descending by the marches of Eskdalemuir to Patrickshaw." Henry de Graham, son of the grantor, was a witness.⁹ Between 1315 and 1321 King Robert the Bruce (as lord of Annandale) granted to Adam Barbour (Barbitonsor) the lands of Brakanwray in the tenement of

⁷ Vol. vi., p. 146.

⁸ C. and W. Trans., n.s., xiv., *The Debateable Land*, part ii.

⁹ Reg. Hon. de Morton, i., 3, 4.

Hutton-sub-mora, resigned by Peter de Graham.¹⁰ This Peter de Graham was not necessarily owner of the fee of Hutton but he certainly held Brackenwra. In January, 1355-6 there was a charter by John de Graham, son and heir of Sir Johhne Graham, laird of Mosskesswra, to Roger de Kirkpatrick, laird of Torthorwald of an annual rent of 40/- from the lands of Over Dryfe under wadset for £200 sterling paid to Graham in his necessity.¹¹ This annual rent due by the lord of Over Dryfe is mentioned again in 1372 as due to Duncan of Kirkpatrick of that Ilk and of Torthorwald when Duncan assigned it to John of Carruthers.^{11a}

The early history of these Grahams is full of difficulties. Sir John de Graham younger of Dalkeith, Abercorn and Eskdale, on 6th January, 1341-2 certainly parted with his estates to Sir William Douglas of Laudonia. The date of his death is unknown and no wife is assigned to him but he had two daughters, Sybilla who took the Abercorn lands to Sir William More and Margaret the alleged wife of the Knight of Liddisdale. But Sir John or a man of that name must have had a son named Alan Graham lord of Morton, son and heir of Sir John de Graham knight, who in 1373 gave up his rights to the lands of Hutton-sub-mora to James de Douglas lord of Dalkeith subject to redemption by payment of £40 sterling.¹² Alan's superior was George earl of March and lord of Annandale, which establishes beyond doubt that Hutton was never an Avenel possession. The Douglasses of Dalkeith, afterwards earls of Morton, for long held the superiority from the lords of Annandale and later from the Crown. They were not resident in Hutton but leased or feued the lands of the parish to others. Thus in May, 1388, William de Caldecottis and his wife were granted by the Douglasses lands in the tenement of Hutton resigned by John

¹⁰ R.M.S., 1306/1424, 36, 37. Adam was also granted a toft and 2 bovates in the vill of Moffat which the late William called Inglis had held under the same king's grandfather. Barbour also held lands in Kirkborthwick.

¹¹ Hist. MSS. Com. Drumlanrig MSS., i., p. 42.

^{11a} *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹² Reg. de Morton, ii., 118, 119, and Scots Peerage, vi., 346n.

[] of Tranent.¹³ Amongst these feuars and tenants must have been a number of Grahams. When on 30th October, 1456, the third lord of Dalkeith was nigh unto death he resigned the tenement of Hutton in favour of his son and heir (created Earl of Morton, 14th March, 1457-8), the sasine was given "at the hill of Hutton called the capital messuage" identifiable with The Mote of Hutton. Amongst the witnesses were Robert de Grame, William de Grame, Richard de Grame and John Grame,¹⁴ whilst one Thomas Johnston, brother to the laird of Johnston, acted as attorney for the grantee. To this date can be confidently assigned an undated document amongst the Edmonston MSS. purporting to be a petition or answer to the King's letter by William the Grame, Richard the Grame and Henry the Grame who had been charged to compear on 12th July to answer upon the lands of Hutton and to bring with them charters and documents to prove their rights. They claimed in fee and heritage for 100 years or more. They were Marchmen and "dwelt outmest, and may ill be absent out of their ger for great scathis appeared to thame." They complained of only 12 days' notice.¹⁵

Who was this William the Grame and what were his titles? At some time prior to May, 1463, the lands of Moskeswra, Nether Dryfe and Medokholm (*sic* for Bedokholm) had been owned by or had come into the hands of Herbert of Johnston who had granted or confirmed them to William the Graham. That May the Crown gifted certain lands in the barony of Bothwell to James Lord Hamilton to compensate him for lands in Machen given by Hamilton to

¹³ Reg. Hon. de Morton, ii., 164-5.

¹⁴ Morton Charters in Reg. House.

¹⁵ Hist. MSS. Com. Edmonston, MSS., p. 77. Mrs Lomas, the editor, has placed this undated document between deeds dated 1334 and 1380, but it must belong to a century later. Fourteenth-century vernacular writs are almost non-existent. The tenor of the document—that the King's Council is incompetent to judge of heritage—also suggests a James II.-James III. date. For what it is worth the document itself bears a late (?) 16th century endorsement, "1460, A.W., No. 21." I am indebted to Mr Atho Murray for this corroboration.

Herbert of Johnston.¹⁶ Johnston's interest in Moskeswra is obscure, but it may have been derived from the marriage of his grandfather, Mathew Johnston of Pettinane, with Elizabeth Gram whose paternity is unknown.¹⁷ The career of William the Graham can be fitfully traced through the records. In 1476 he, or his father of the same name, with one Thomas Graham (of whom we will hear more) appear as serving on an assize anent terce from Dalduran.¹⁸ Again in 1480 he had an action against his superior the earl of Morton relating to the lands of Croftend of Dryfe, the earl retaliating in 1492 by accusing him of violent possession of half of the lands including Cumstoun, Fenton, Bordland, Androgilles and Hillies.¹⁹ In March, 1507, John lord Maxwell was called on to name the heidsmen of certain families unlawit for not producing in court those dwelling under them, now fugitives. John Carruthers of Holmains who had been surety for their appearance had been called on to pay the fines levied on the fugitives and had received from Maxwell discharge of a 7th part of the total. Amongst the named heidmen was William Graham of the Knok of Hutton and Pait Graham in Huchitoun in the first ayre—for £20. The total of the fines was 550 merks.²⁰ John Carruthers went through the formalities of the law to recover his £20 which William Graham had not paid up and apprised William's lands. The apprisement took place at Lochmaben on 30th September, 1507, the sheriff ordaining that a part of Mosskeswra, a 20/- land belonging to William Graham, be apprised subject to the legal right of regress. It may be that William achieved regress shortly after for when Carruthers' grandson was served heir to his grandfather in March, 1538-9, there is no mention of William Graham, whereas most of the other persons fined in 1507 were still owing money to the grandson of John Carruthers of Holmains.²¹

¹⁶ Hist. MSS. Com. Hamilton MSS., p. 18.

¹⁷ Annandale Peerage Evidence, p. 131.

¹⁸ Annandale Peerage Evidence, p. 127.

¹⁹ D. and G. Trans., 1865/6, p. 28.

²⁰ A.D.C., XVIII. (2), f.265.

²¹ MSS. Cal. of Holmains Charters.

It may however be that Carruthers, owing money to the Crown under the Justiciary Court decreet, surrendered some of the lands of the fugitives to the Crown in payment, for in November, 1515, the Crown granted some of them to Alexander Jardine of Applegarth, including the 3 merkland called the lands of Moskewray that pertained to William Graham.²² From another Crown charter of 1510 it is learned that the 5 merkland of Meikle Hutton, belonging to William Graham of Meskeswray, had also been appraised and that Graham had been fined £70 of which £66 13s 4d was still owing. He had no moveables, so the lands were gifted by the Crown to John lord Maxwell.²³

Even at home these Grahams were already in trouble. There had been a dispute with the church anent the teinds of Hutton. Schir John Rankin, the parson of Hutton, had given a tack of teinds to Mr Alexander Murray formorar of the Kirk of Hutton who still had three years of his tack to run, but for 60 weeks prior to the action William Graham of McKeswre (sic) and Robert Graham of Gillesbie had been ingathering and detaining the teinds. Though a procurator defended the Grahams the Lords of Council had no hesitation in decerning in favour of Mr Alexander Murray.²⁴

Thereafter William Graham disappears. He had lost his lands, he had no goods to be escheated and was a fugitive at the horn which gave him no status of legal protection against anyone. There may have been two successive Williams for 1463 to 1515 is too long a stretch when one man's expectation of life was only about 40 years. But whether father or son, the presumption is very strong, though not legally proven, that William Graham of Mosskeswra took refuge with his family in the Debateable land and should be identified with the Long Will Graham of Burleigh's pedigree. But if William was no longer to be found in Hutton there were still plenty of the clan residing there. On 8th

²² R.S.S., i., 2660.

²³ R.M.S., 1424/1513, 3522.

²⁴ A.D.C., xx., f.89v.

May, 1543, a Nicol Graham of Meskeswaye gave a bond of manrent to John Johnston of that Ilk. A notary had to sign for him but a portion of his seal is still attached to the document. Significantly it shows a fess between three scallops, two and one—indicating a Montrose origin.²⁵

GRAHAM OF GILLESBIE.

Mr T. J. Carlyle suggested that this branch of the clan was descended from William Graham of Mosskeswra, but there are references to them of earlier date. Gillesbie must be a separate branch. On 12th August, 1474, a John the Graham of Gillenbie granted a reversion to James earl of Morton lord of the lands of Brakinwra, that when the Earl repaid him the sum of four score merks on the high altar of Hutton church on 40 days' notice, Graham would resign the lands of Brakinwra in the tenement of Hutton to the earl.¹ John Graham was still alive in December, 1500, when he and a William Irving were charged to enter ward in the castle of Kildrummy within 10 days,² but dead by 1504 when Margaret Johnston relict of John Graham of Gillesbie complained to the Lords of Council declaring that she was 100 years old "and for misrewill of the cuntra sho and her servandis fled furth of the land in drede of the unlawis, to a pete steding quhilk scho gat of ane kinsman of hers callit Robert Maxwell, and thair had hir gudis extending to 25 kye and oxen, which Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closburn hes taken from her and left her na gudis."³ It was perhaps another generation in 1512 when a John Graham of Gillesbie was a witness to a Carruthers document.⁴ The same year James Johnston of that Ilk was fined for non production of Robert Graham of Gillesbie charged with the slaughter of William Dalzell of that Ilk and others.⁵ Probably for this manslaughter he was denounced rebel in 1513 and his goods

²⁵ Hist. MSS. Com. Raehills MSS., p. 19.

¹ Reg. Hon. de Morton, ii, 216.

² A.D.C., 1496/1501, 453.

³ A.D.C., xv., f.204, 206.

⁴ Hist. MSS. Com. Drumlanrig, i., 60.

⁵ Annandale Peerage Evidence, p. 990.

escheated.⁶ He was certainly present at Dumfries in the Raid of Lammas Even in 1508.⁷ Robert is next heard of in 1508 as abetting William Graham of Mosskeswra in the wrongful ingatherings of the teinds of Hutton.⁸ Robert seems to have been succeeded by James Graham of Gillesbie who was a witness in February, 1530-31.⁹ In 1551-2 there was another disturbance in Hutton relating to the teinds—always a ready subject for disturbance and litigation. Schir Thomas Melvine, parson of Hutton, charged his parishioners with violent spoliation of his teinds, amongst whom were James Graham of Gillesbie, Walter Graham in Hutton, Thomas Graham in Bordland, John Graham in Fenton, John Graham in Badokholm, John Graham in Waterheid, Walter Graham in Breckinwray, Patrick Graham in Corrie Water, Bartholmew Graham his brother and George Graham in Windschelish.¹⁰

In 1567 the earl of Morton as superior infeft John Graham, son and heir of James Graham of Gillesbie, in the 6 merkland of Branrigis resigned by Thomas Carrutheris of Wormanbie. This is the earliest writ amongst the known Gillesbie titles.¹¹ John must have died shortly afterwards for on 17th September, 1579, a James Graham gave a bond of manrent to John Johnston of that ilk.¹² In 1606 Janet Graham was retoured heir to her grandfather, John Graham of Gillesbie.¹³ and there is note of two further generations, namely Robert Graham of Gillesbie who was a cautioner in a bond for £35 dated 1st April, 1624, to Mr George Pryde,

⁶ Annandale Peerage Evidence, p. 91.

⁷ D. and G. Trans., n.s., ii., 86.

⁸ A.D.C., xx., f.39.

⁹ Hist. MSS. Com. Raehills MSS., p. 15.

¹⁰ Acts and Decrees, vi., f.155.

¹¹ MSS. Various, iii., p. 147.

¹² Annandale Book, I., 40.

¹³ MSS. Various, iii., 143. In November, 1582, James Graham of Gillesbie, with his brother, John Graham of Dryfe, and a score of other Grahams, were denounced for raiding the lands of Glenurquhar belonging to John Carmichael of Medoflatt (R.P.C., iii., 629). Also in 1582 a John Graham, burgess of Dumfries, brother to [] Graham of Gillesbie, figured as a witness (D. and G. Trans., n.s., xii., p. 207).

minister of Hutton,¹⁴ and James Graham of Gillesbie, who was a cautioner on 5th December, 1635.¹⁵

By 1699 the estate was owned by Robert Scott of Gillesbie, brother to Francis Scott of Gilmanscleuch. His son, John Scott, far of Gillesbie, died on 2nd July, 1688.¹⁶

GRAHAM OF THORNIK.

The barony of Thornik was a substantial area of land amounting to an 80 merkland including part of Wamphray extending up to the upper waters of the Dryfe. This very sizeable estate had been part of the patrimony of the ancient Kirkpatricks of that Ilk, seneschals of Annandale in the 13th century, seated at Auchencass but later at Torthorwald. About the year 1425 Sir Duncan Kirkpatrick of Torthorwald died leaving three daughters to divide his lands. One of them, Janet Kirkpatrick, married a Thomas Graham of Auchmencass who probably derived his designation from the marriage.¹⁷ It is not known where Thomas came from but his descendant claimed descent from Montrose to which family the last of the first family of Graham of Thornik transferred that property in a vain effort to save it from the clutches of the Johnstons—which indicates an origin from the old Graham lords of Hutton. Thomas Graham held his lands of the first lord Carlyle of Torthorwald who had married Elizabeth Kirkpatrick, perhaps the eldest of the heiresses. The two husbands arranged in 1436 an adjustment of the shares of their respective wives of the Kirkpatrick inheritance. Thomas Graham first appears on record as lord of Rowcan on 28th June, 1432.¹⁸ He must have been married by that date for Rowcan is within a mile of Torthorwald. It is therefore not surprising that he exchanged Rowcan for part of the lands in Kirkpatrick-Juxta.¹⁹

¹⁴ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 375, 15 July, 1625.

¹⁵ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 505, 9 June, 1637.

¹⁶ MSS. Various, iii.

¹⁷ Scots Peerage, ii., 382.

¹⁸ Laing Charters No. 9.

¹⁹ Hist. MSS. Com. Drumlanrig Papers, i., 45, and Scots Peerage, ii.

Thomas must have been a man of parts and education if he is to be equated with the Thomas de le Graham who acted as prolocutor for John de Blair of Adamton concerning John's retour in the lands of Coshogill in the barony of Drumlanrig for which a special court had been formed.²⁰ But it looks as if Thomas cannot be identified with the Thomas Graham who was associated with William Graham of Mosskesswra in 1475.

He was succeeded by Robert Graham of Auchencass and Thornik. On 20th December, 1475, Robert resigned formally to his superior John lord Carlyle his rights to Rowcan, probably a legal confirmation of his father's excambion,²¹ and the following January renounced to the same superior his rights to Glengep and Garvellgill with his part of Gimmonbie.²² If this is the Gimmonbie close to Lochmaben the ancient Kirkpatrick fee must have been very extensive.

In 1489 Robert Graham wadset for 89 merks scots his 2½ merkland of Newpark and half of the lands of Beattoch to Adam Johnston, son of the deceased William Johnston of Syronwhat, who gave him the usual reversion.²³ Ready funds were probably not available to Robert Graham who in 1506 failed to cause Robert Graham in Tassisholm and William Graham his son appear in the Justiciary Court and in consequence had to relieve John Carruthers of Holmains in a penalty of £50 scots.²⁴

It was perhaps a younger Robert Graham to whom John Johnston of that Ilk gave a bond for payment to Robert of 20 merks yearly, receiving in return a bond of manrent from Robert on 16th December, 1526.²⁵ The rising fortunes of the Johnston family rendered them acquisitive and the 80

20 MSS. Various, x., f.7. This interesting document is fully discussed in D. and G. Trans., XXX., p. 152.

21 Hist. MSS. Com. Drumlanrig, i., 47.

22 *Ibid.*, i., 47.

23 Hist. MSS. Com. Raehills MSS., p. 13.

24 A.D.C., xvii., pt. i., f.265.

25 Hist. MSS. Com. Raehills MSS., p. 14-5.

merklands of their Graham neighbours were clearly a realistic objective. Bonds of manrent were rarely granted involving an annual pension. The object of the Johnstons was to enmesh, absorb, oust and finally to replace the Grahams with younger landless men of the Johnston clan. This was effected within two generations and only the small estate of Langbedholm was to remain in Graham hands. In 1527 Robert Graham, "young laird of Thornik," purchased letters charging Herbert Johnston and his accomplices to desist from occupying his lands of Betok. Amongst the named accomplices was one James Marjorybanks in Moffat who charged Graham with evil intent for including him in the list. At the hearing the Lords suspended Robert's letters in so far as they related to Marjorybanks.²⁶

In 1532 all the moveable effects of Robert Graham were escheated by the Crown for the slaughter of a George Kirkpatrick. Escheats were a source of profit and the Crown had granted this one to lord Maxwell who may well have had a watchful eye on the rising sun of the Johnstons. Three years later Robert and Adam, his brother, received Crown remission for the slaughter but the episode may well have undermined his finances.²⁷ Further, in 1538-9 the grandson of John Carruthers of Holmains took possession of a 3 merkland and 10/- land of Murthwait adjudged from Robert as long ago as March, 1506-7.²⁸ Robert too had failed to complete his titles and on 14th March, 1542-3, procured a Crown gift of the ward and nonentries of his lands since the death of Robert Graham, his father.²⁹ Robert Graham was alive as late as June, 1545, when on precept from Michael lord Carlyle as superior, his wife, Elizabeth Charteris, was infeft in liferent in certain lands in special warrandice of a 20 merkland in Thornik.³⁰ He must have died shortly after.

²⁶ A.D.C., xxxvii., f.63v.

²⁷ R.S.S., ii., 1288 and 1811.

²⁸ Carruthers' Notes, ii., 151, and A.D.C. et Sess., xi., f.230.

²⁹ R.S.S., iii., 140.

³⁰ D. and G. Trans., n.s., ii., 195.

His brother, Adam, is a frequent witness. His only son, Ninian Graham, succeeded, and at once the Johnston grip tightened.

In February, 1531, Ninian Graham married Margaret Johnston, natural daughter, by Gelis Ewart, of John Johnston of that Ilk under which contract Margaret was to be infeft by Robert Graham in the 9 merk lands of Murquaths and John Johnston, providing but a small tocher of 300 merks, bound himself to maintain Ninian and his heirs in the lands of Thornik. The marriage was to be completed when Ninian was of age.³¹ It is significant that James Graham of Gillesbie was a witness and that the contract still has attached two seals, one being that of Montrose, bearing on a chief, three scallop shells.³² On his father's death Ninian seems to have fallen under Johnston influence at once. The Crown gifted to his wife, Margaret Johnston, the ward of all the lands of the late Robert Graham of Thornik,³³ whilst to John Johnston of that Ilk was granted the ward and non-entries of the deceased Robert Graham of Thornik, father of the late Robert Graham of Thornik last deceased, together with the marriage of any child of Ninian, son and heir of the last Robert by Margaret Johnston, or the marriage of any sister of Ninian or any heir that might succeed.³⁴ To the Johnstons was of course due the comprehensive clauses of this gift. Ninian must have thought it high time to consult his Graham relatives in Perthshire. So at Cairnie in that county he issued on 27th June, 1547, a precept to infeft Walter Graham, brother to William lord Graham, his heirs, etc., in the land of Murthwait, Mylntoun, Mosslands, Craigie-lands, Brumelands, Baithok, the 2 merklands of Cottis, the lands of Auldpark and Newpark and the one merkland of Drumcreych (Drumcrieff). The precept was signed by Ninian and what is presumably his seal is entire.³⁵ The date

³¹ Hist. MSS. Com. Raehills, p. 15.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³³ R.S.S., iii., 1274 and 1674.

³⁴ R.S.S., iii., 1674, and Hist. MSS. Com. Raehills, p. 20.

³⁵ Cal. of Reg. House Charters No. 1409.

of Ninian's death is uncertain, but Margaret Johnston, his widow, consoled herself with a second husband, Adam Wyllkin.³⁶ For some details of how Thornik passed to the Johnstons see Percy Adams' *Douglas of Morton*, p. 118, et seq.

Walter Graham, the transferee of Thornik, is described in Scots Peerage, vi. 225, as a younger son of the first Earl of Montrose's first marriage, who in 1541-2 received a 19 year tack of Little Cairnie from the abbot of Inchaffray and appears to have been the ancestor of the second family of Graham of Thornik, afterwards of Cairnie. The superior Michael lord Carlyle at once gave Walter a charter on 12th August, 1547, and Robert Graham, his son and heir, was infeft on 14th April, 1565. Walter was dead by 1550 when his widow, Marion Stirling, is mentioned,³⁷ and Marion married secondly John Graham of Queenshaugh. By her first marriage she had a son, Robert Graham, known as in Queenshaugh, of Thornik and of Cairnie, married to Katherine Blair. In December, 1550, John Johnston of that ilk came to some arrangement whereby he wadset for 1200 merks to John Graham of Queenshaugh and Marion Stirling the 50/- lands of Baldoran and Colquhoun in exchange for Marion's life interest in Thornik which in 1566 led to litigation, Graham trying to eject Johnston from Thornik³⁸ and Robert Graham vainly persisted in litigation year after year³⁹ but the Johnstons were in possession and so remained and it was not till 10th August, 1605, that a later Graham capitulated.⁴⁰

GRAHAM OF LANGBEDHOLM.

This branch of the Graham clan can be shown to derive from the first family of Thornik. Once the 80 merkland of Thornik had passed to the Johnstons, few of the Graham

³⁶ Acts and Decrees, vol. 56, f.278.

³⁷ A.D.C. et Sess., xxvii., f.9.

³⁸ Acts and Decrees, xxxvi., f.452.

³⁹ Acts and Decrees, vo. 87, f.205, 334; vol. 89, f.208; vol. 101, f.161; vol. 109, f.331; vol. 111, f.56, 164; and vol. 112, f.384.

⁴⁰ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 115, 27 November, 1605.

clan could remained on the lands; only one branch is known to have survived. But a Robert Graham of Langboddam had maintained himself on that small property and his descendants can be traced to about 1750. His exact position in the Thornik pedigree is not clear. He first appears in 1579 when he and his brother Patrick attested a Johnston document.¹ It is this Robert that is mentioned in an Information anent John Murray's land in Annandale—"The lands of Badtoke (Beattoch) and Parke pertain to John Johnston son of David Johnston in Badtoke called David of Kirkhill who is infeft therein as heir of the late [] Johnston of Badtoche his mothers brother or his guidschir who was infeft therein by disposition of the late Ninian Graham of Thornik, to whom succeeds Robert Graham of Lang-bedholm."

Early in 1581 Robert is known to have been slaughtered by the Johnstons of Newton and Chapel, and the Johnstons in the Moffat area gave a bond of assurance for John Johnston of Chapel and his brothers that they would fulfil such satisfaction to the Grahams as was awarded by the Laird of Johnston.² Robert's brother, Watt Graham, was declared a fugitive in 1606.³

Robert was followed by James Graham of Langboddam who in 1660 renounced his rights to Craigiellands in favour of James Johnston of Beirholm.⁴ That December James Graham and his son, Robert, suffered escheat which was granted to Andrew Johnston, son of James Johnston of Beirholm,⁵ perhaps in connection with their assault on the wife of James Williamson in Mekilgill, breaking into Williamson's house in his absence and breaking her back, finally stripping all her clothes off her and burning them in the fire. What lay behind the assault is not evident but the Privy Council lodged them in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.⁶

¹ Hist. MSS. Com. Raehills MSS., p. 27, and R.P.C., iv., 56.

² Hist. MSS. Com. Raehills, p. 30.

³ R.P.C., vii., 725.

⁴ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 120, 24 May, 1610.

⁵ R.S.S., vol. 79, f.167.

⁶ R.P.C., viii., p. 482.

Such pleasantries were typical of the times, for when a servant of James Johnston of Thornik executed a precept in 1609 against James Graham the latter with his sons assaulted the man.⁷ It was inevitable that these Grahams were involved in the tangled legal proceedings whereby Thornik passed to the Johnstons. In March, 1606, Mr John Johnston, advocate, as son and heir of James Johnston of Kellobanks, sought a Declarator against James Graham of Langboddam that the ward and nonentry of the lands of Murthat, Myln-toun, Craigielands and many others pertained to the Crown for 44 years as superior and were held by the said Mr John Johnston, which summons the Lords declared as craved.⁸ This was followed in March, 1607, by another summons against all the named tenants of those lands and against James Graham in Langboddam "abnevoy and apparent heir to the umquhile Robert Graham of Thornik his fairgrandshir," wherein a series of deeds is quoted establishing Mr John Johnston's rights.⁹ Finally in an equally lengthy contract in May, 1608, Mr John Johnston renounced his rights in favour of James Johnston of that Ilk wherein the whole transmission of the lands is recounted including reference to James Graham of Landboddam described again in similar terms to the above.¹⁰ If this does not satisfy a critic that Langboddam's descent was from Thornik, there can be adduced the fact that on 14th July, 1630, John Graham of Langboddam (another generation) was retoured heir general to Robert Graham of Thornik his *attavus*. This Robert Graham must be the father of Ninian Graham the last of 1st family of Thornik.

James Graham married Elizabeth Johnston. Four sons are recorded, Robert, James, John and Patrick, who are all named in an obligation on 16th October, 1618, by James to Elizabeth Johnston, his mother, confirming a decreet arbitral between her and Robert Graham of Langboddam,

⁷ R.P.C., viii., 482.

⁸ Acts and Decrets, vol. 222, f.51.

⁹ Acts and Decrets, vol. 226, f.213.

¹⁰ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 147, 28 May, 1608.

eldest lawful brother of the said James, allowing Elizabeth to retain a 5 years' tack of the 5 merkland of Langboddam and Burrans.¹¹ Robert Graham may have died or availed himself of a clause in the decret arbitral to offer the estate to one of his brothers at 1000 merks scots, for in 1630 occurs mention of John Graham of Langboddam and Bessie Johnston, his mother.¹² Robert Graham may have taken his 1000 merks and gone to Edinburgh for Pitcairn (iii. 354-58) recounts the trial in 1615 of Robert Graham called of Langboddame who was accused by the Crown of organising, almost as a profession, a system of suborning false witnesses especially in an action by Mark Gledstanes indweller in Edinburgh. Graham had induced Adam Moffat, chopman in Edinburgh, and others to give false evidence on behalf of Gledstanes for which crime Parliament had ordained that the penalty was "ather be peirsing and boring of thair tungis, confiscation of thair movable gudis and sic uther puneishment to be inflictit upone thame according to the discretion of the Lordis." The hearing of the case is recorded at some length from which it appears that Graham had born false witness in the divorce proceedings of Lady Torthorwald against her husband Lord Torthorwald. Graham was found guilty and sentenced to be taken to the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh and there hanged till dead with escheat of all his goods.

There is plenty evidence of the theftuous proceedings of James Graham of Langbedholm. As far back as August, 1585, some Johnstons and others had raided the lands of Mosnuik in the parish of Crawfordjohn belonging to John Bell of Mosnuik. As usual the victim's cattle were driven off. The raiders passing Moffat were intercepted and way-laid by Graham and his friends who dispersed the raiders and appropriated the cattle. In May, 1596, Graham made his own raid on Mosnuik and went off with 6 young kye, 6 kye with calf, an ox and a mare. But Scottish justice,

¹¹ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 229, 5 July, 1620

¹² Annandale Peerage Evidence, p. 872.

like the mills of God, ground slowly and it was not till May, 1607, that Bell secured a decret for the pursuer.¹³

There had been some financial dealings with Robert Johnston, merchant burghess of Edinburgh and landlord of the lands of Over Mossop who wadset those lands to James Graham early in the 17th century. Graham had placed in part of Over Mossop his uncle, Patrick Graham, who had married a Katherine Johnston who on his death married James Johnston, brother to David Johnston in Brigmuir. Katherine and Patrick had an only daughter, Jean Graham, who inherited the rights of Patrick. Robert Johnston the merchant endeavoured to eject her or get her to renounce her rights.¹⁴ In the scrimmage that ensued the Johnstons waylaid James Graham of Langboddam in the Todhollis wood and killed him, “-cutting his head in 100 pieces.”¹⁵ The sequel must have been obvious to all parties. The Johnstons in August, 1629, forcibly tried to eject the widowed Bessie Graham and in the process Robert Johnston in Greskin had his throat cut “at the hounding out of the said Bessie Johnston.”¹⁶ The slain James Graham was clearly succeeded by his second son, John Graham of Langboddam, who inherited the Johnston feud which in 1630 again flared up. In that year (the actual date is obscure) John Graham was returning home from Moffat and was assaulted by Robert Johnston of Middlegill and others who left him for dead on the ground. His wounds may well have been serious but his family's petition is surely overstated, as in the case of many other slaughters. He is said to have lost his speech, hearing and sight and was steadily sinking. His assailants, fearing the worst, had hastily made disposition of their lands and goods to others and were on the point of leaving for Ireland. So the Privy Council ordered the arrest of Johnston. Robert Johnston retaliated by charging Graham and his brother, Patrick, with assaulting him in Moffat on

¹³ Acts and Decrets, vol. 228, f.85, 155, and vol. 229, f.284.

¹⁴ Gen. Reg. of Hornings, 18 April and 25 March, 1611.

¹⁵ Gen. Reg. of Hornings, 12 September, 1612.

¹⁶ Gen. Reg. of Hornings, 26 January, 1630.

19th April last, but Johnston in court was unable to prove the assault.¹⁷ John Graham must have recovered by 1631 when he and his brothers, Patrick, Francis and David, with their mother, Bessie Johnston, failed to appear.¹⁸ Graham had been cautiner in 1629 for Samuel Johnston, son of David Johnston of Kinnellhead, who was dilated for the slaughter of William Johnston called of Langsyde but managed to prove his innocence by being out of the country at the time.¹⁹ These violent proceedings are narrated here to provide a picture of life in Annandale in the mid 17th century.

In 1639 John Graham of Langboddam granted a bond for 1300 merks to William Johnston, brother to Robert Johnston of Mallingshaw. Both these Johnstons' brothers predeceased Graham who died in 1658. Whereupon John Johnston of Elsieshields as son and executor of William claimed to be executor *qua* creditor of John Graham (see the latter's testament). Elsieshields as executor must have been high-handed for on 28th July, 1658, Graham's sons, James and John, brought an action against the executor for spoliation from Langboddam of certain goods and geir.²⁰ He was succeeded by his son, James Graham, who married in 1658 Sarah Johnston, apparently of the Beirholm family, and died in March, 1661.²¹ A few years later the widow and her Johnston relatives were at variance with John Francis Graham, uncle to James Graham in Langboddam.²² In June, 1689, James and John Graham, sons of John Graham of Langboddam, and Adam Johnston of Betok were required by the Earl of Annandale to attend a rendyvous of his vassals for defence of the realm. They did so with horses and arms but were seized and placed in Dumfries Tolbooth on 20th May last. The Privy Council ordered the magistrates to release them.²³ Other generations followed—John Graham who

¹⁷ R.P.C., 2nd ser., iii., 537, 613.

¹⁸ R.P.C., 2nd ser., iv., 166.

¹⁹ Gen. Reg. of Hornings, 14 December, 1629.

²⁰ Acts and Decrees, vol. 602, f.57

²¹ See his Testament.

²² Gen. Reg. Hornings, 3 December, 1661.

²³ R.P.C., 3rd ser., xiii., 434.

married Bessie Carruthers with issue James, Captain William Graham in the earl of Hyndford's Dragoons²⁴ and a daughter named Helena and a son-in-law, Daniell Carmichael, in 1698.²⁵ In 1708 John Graham of Langboddam infetted his second wife, Margaret Carruthers in Byashum, sister of William Carruthers of Broomhills and relict of William Irving of Woolcoats (or Oulcottis), in the lands of Skeddergill being a third part of the 5 merkland of Langboddam in which his first wife had previously been infetted.²⁶ This possession Margaret, after her husband's death, renounced in favour of his son, James, by his first marriage in return for 800 merks scots.²⁷ This James, c. 1697, married Rachel Johnston, relict of (i.) Walter Mitchell of Greskin and (ii.) Robert Johnston in Moffat.²⁸ Another James Graham of Langboddam married Jean, daughter of Sir Robert Maxwell of Orchardtoun and there being no marriage contract disposed on 11th July, 1737, to her, as to one third, and to his children, John, Robert, Agnes and Elizabeth as to two thirds, all his estate, such as was left.²⁹ The estate was sold in 1732.³⁰

GRAHAM OF BLAATWOOD.

We can now return to Long Will Graham who according to Burleigh in 1593 had been banished from Scotland, c. 1515, with his eight sons whom he planted near the river Esk. If the identification of Long Will with William Graham of Mosskeswra be accepted—it is still incapable of positive proof—William was landless, an outlaw and fugitive at the horn. If he was assaulted, imprisoned or even slain there was no redress for him as he was outwith the law. He

²⁴ Not to be confused with John Graham, late ensign to the earl of Portmore's Regiment of Foot, and son of John Graham of Langboddam in Annandale, whose Testament was recorded in Edinburgh, 25 November, 1708.

²⁵ P.R.S., vi., f.30.

²⁶ P.R.S., 2nd ser., vii., f.361

²⁷ P.R.S., ix., f.105.

²⁸ Dumfries Commissary Deeds, 1638.

²⁹ Sheriff Court Deeds.

³⁰ Signet Library printed processes, vol. 9/12.

could not escape to foreign service as many did, without forsaking his young family. But there was one refuge for him close at hand. Twenty miles away from Hutton was the Debateable land fast filling up with broken men from both sides of the Border. Thither he must have migrated with his family. Such migrations were common in those days. In 1583 lord Scrope wrote to Burleigh that the Storeys, an English clan fearing the fury of Lord Dacre, a previous warden, "had fled and left the county retreating into Northumberland to a place called Killum where they yet dwelt and are a great surname. They being gone, Richard Graham, Fergus his brother and other brethren did divide their (the Storeys') lands amongst them and are grown to a huge companie of men that came of the five brethren of the Grahams."¹ No date is assigned to this migration. This may have been after Long Will's arrival, but a Richard and a Fergus were amongst the sons of Long Will in Burleigh's memorandum. Scrope even adds that a Graham laird of Meskyrshin (? Mosskeswra) had a daughter married to David Graham (Netherby).² The evidence, if still incomplete, certainly accumulates.

Lord Hereis in his Discourse on the Borders states that the thieves of the March (Grahams) with English assistance had slain the Lord Carlyle, the lairds of Mouswald, Kirk-michael, Kirkconnel (Kirkpatrick-Fleming) and Logane and many other landit men. He also asserted that the Grahams "gat of their ransoms and spuillzie, gottin in Scotland, worth 100,000 merks," with which they build 8 or 9 great stone houses impregnable to the power of the Scottish Warden. Their neighbours had to take the Graham daughters in marriage without tocher, which did not increase their popularity. In 1542 the Grahams were not more than 20-30 at most; now (1578) they are 16-18 score well horsed.³

In his old age Long Will Graham was known as of Stuble, close to Longtown. There he seems to have held

¹ Border Papers, i., 124.

² *Ibid.*, 125.

³ R.P.C., iii., 78.

lands from the English Warden free of rent as long as he served the English interest. Stuble is now Peth near Longtown and a path or road called Stiblepeth ascends from the holmlands through a gap and ran via Crofthead to Netherby.⁴ In 1537 William was still active enough to act as an assessor for England at an assize in Kirkandrews.⁵ He probably died c. 1540 for in 1537 his son, Arthur Graham, petitioned the English Crown that he and his brothers should have Letters Patent to sit as free (of rent) as their father before them. "Our father, *yet alive*, has dwelt on Esk for 60 years and till now was never rent demanded of him."⁶ The aged outlaw had found a haven of peace and refuge at last. If this statement is to be taken at face value Lang Will must have been outlawed c. 1480 rather than some 20 years later.

One of the sons of Long Will was a William Graham reputed to have been 7th son, who went into business at Carlisle and may even have become a burgess there. As a resident of Carlisle this William must have achieved respectability and substance for on 9th March, 1553, he received Letters Patent granting to William Graham alias Carlisle the house and site of the late priory of Armathwaite, a Benedictine Nunnery. He was ancestor of the Grahams of Nunnery with whom we are not concerned. William left Nunnery to his second son, Fergus. But he must have provided for his eldest son, Arthur, just as well. According to Burleigh this Arthur Graham was "dwelling in Blotewood (sic) in Scotland." T. B. H. Graham says that Arthur lived at Redkirk which adjoined Blaatawood.⁷ Actually the Graham of Redkirk's descent stems from Arthur.

It has been suggested that Blaatawood was acquired by Arthur's father. This may well have been the case but there is no evidence to support it, save that this area after the battle of Solway was overrun by the English and with-

⁴ C. and W. Trans., n.s., x.v., p. 143.

⁵ Cal. of State Papers. vii., p. 157.

⁶ Cal. of State Papers, xii., pt. 1., p. 560.

⁷ C. and W. Trans., n.s., xi., p. 61.

out a Scottish Warden—a prisoner in England—whilst the Crown was vested in an infant girl and the court dominated by the English interest. Fortunately in 1617 Arthur's descendant received a crown confirmation of his titles.⁸ It appears that Arthur and his heirs male on 3rd August, 1544, were granted by John Carruthers of Holmendis the £20 land of Blawet with the fishings of Skarris and Loupis (later called Coupis). To this was added on 6th November, 1550, the £10 land of Torduff on charter by Michael lord Carlyle to Arthur and Esota Carlyle, his spouse, jointly and their heirs.

Arthur (i.) was apparently succeeded by his son, William, recorded on a tombstone at Annan that omits the progenitor Arthur (i) and was salvaged from the disappearing old churchyard at Redkirk by Richard Graham of Blaatawood between the years 1815-1820.⁹

“ Here lyes the 4 worthi lairds of Blatwood

William the first, Arter the second

William the third, Fergus the fourth

and their ladies

erected by William Graham the fifth laird of Blatwood

Provost of Annan 1696.”

The next laird of Blatwood was Arthur (ii.), grandson of Arthur (i.).¹⁰

In 1569 we first hear of Arthur Graham of Blaatawood and Bessy Graham, perhaps his wife but not so named, in a boundary dispute with George Graham of Ranpatrick and Margaret Irving (not stated to be spouses). Both parties were ordered to remain in Edinburgh till local commissioners had dealt with the dispute.¹¹ In 1575-6 Arthur was ordered to cease molesting Cristell Armstrong in Barngleish who had acted for 20 years without impediment as a bailie of the Warden in the Langholm area and was Crown tacksman of

⁸ R.M.S., 1609/20, 1716.

⁹ Carlyle Aitken MSS., fragment in MSS. Various, vol. XXI.

¹⁰ R.M.S., 1609/20, 1716.

¹¹ R.P.C., ii., 69.

that farm. The Armstrongs, another unruly clan, were on their way out. So it is not surprising to find that on 5th February, 1583-4, Arthur Graham received a Crown charter of the £5 lands of Barngleish, paying £5 as feu duty.¹² In the previous May a company of the Scottish Warden forces had arrived at Blaatawood and reft from those lands 50 ky and oxen belonging to Arthur's tenants. The Lords at once ordained the Warden to restore the goods or their named prices and to pay the tenants £150.¹³

But though relative affluence had been achieved, none of Arthur's natural instincts as a Borderer had been much modified. In 1581-2 with others he was called before the Privy Council to answer for a recent border fray.¹⁴ In 1590 in an act ordering prominent Borderers to find caution for the behaviour of their dependants Arthur Graham of Blaatawood and Richard Graham of Ranpatrick are named.¹⁵

Arthur Graham had two recorded sons, William, who succeeded, and John Graham, alleged to have been a sustained follower of Drumlanrig.¹⁶

In 1602 William Graham of Blahartwode is found complaining against the Irvings of Bonshaw¹⁷ and in September, 1603, he and John Johnston of Newbie borrowed 2500 merks scots from Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig.¹⁸ In the previous year he had owed the same John Johnston £10 3s 4d.¹⁹ He cannot have had a long life for in May, 1616, Fergus Graham was retoured heir to his father, William, in the £10 land of Blaatawood and the fishings of Skairs and Cowpis in Annandale.

¹² R.M.S., 1580/96.

¹³ R.P.C., iii., 584. The same year an Archie Graham of Blaatawood (surely referring to Arthur) was surety in 2000 merks that Richard Graham called the Plomp should enter at Dumfries (R.P.C., ii., 46). This is an interesting allusion to a Graham of Plomp some 20 years before there is notice of Fergus Graham of Plomp, the first undoubted ancestor of the Baronets of Netherby.

¹⁴ R.P.C., iii., 455, 577.

¹⁵ R.P.C., iv., 790.

¹⁶ R.P.C., iii., 607.

¹⁷ R.P.C., vi., 470.

¹⁸ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 98, 9 January, 1604.

¹⁹ Annandale Peerage Evidence, p. 885.

Fergus Graham is the best authenticated member of this family. He married (contract dated at Newbie, 16th November, 1617) Sarah Johnston, eldest daughter of Robert Johnston and of Barbara Douglas, spouses.²⁰ This contract bears ample witness to the way families trimmed their sails in those days. Lord Maxwell had been forfeited and executed for the murder of Johnston, the then Warden. The Maxwells were in disgrace and the Johnstons in the ascendant. So Fergus had hastily realigned the family policy. He aimed high and successfully. Furthermore the amount of tocher provided with the bride was always nicely assessed on the status of the bridegroom. The 3000 merks of tocher establishes the social status of Fergus as son-in-law of the Tutor of Johnston during that young laird's minority. He was no longer a boisterously and unruly Borderer. Under the contract he undertook to infest his wife in his 10 merkland of Tordoch in the parish of Ranpatrick. But everything was not at all well with the Johnstons of Raecleuch. The tocher was not forthcoming so rather than sue his in-laws Fergus assigned the contract to Francis Scott of Carterton who successfully sued in 1635 Robert Johnston of Stapilton as heir to his father, Robert of Raecleuch.²¹ Another point in this marriage contract should be noted. In it Fergus is described as Mr Fergus Graham. This implies a University degree, a Master of Arts. Yet he has not been found elsewhere so described. Fergus certainly had a brother, Arthur Graham, holding a life tenancy of a piece of land called Sandhills within the £10 lands of Annan²² who was in a position to lend the sum of £80 to Robert Johnston of Swynfurd in August, 1636.²³

In 1619 Fergus lent to his brother-in-law, Robert Johnston of Howcleuch, £80,²⁴ and within six years found him-

²³ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 523, 25 November, 1639. In 1642 a James Graham of Blaatwood, who had a dispute with Archibald Douglas of Dornoch relating to those fisheries, may well have been another brother of Fergus (R.P.C., vii., 347).

²⁰ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 200, 16 December, 1619.

²¹ Acts and Decrees, 3 March, 1635.

²² Reg. of Deeds, vol. 520, 5 March, 1639.

²⁴ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 295, 27 July, 1620.

self in prison. He was in debt to John Murray, earl of Annandale, for an unstated amount and had been lodged in the Edinburgh Tolbuith and had to find caution before he was released,²⁵ giving a bond of relief to his cautioner.²⁶ This may have been only a temporary relief.

By 1621 commenced the troubles with the Murrays of Cokpool who owned adjoining lands. The dispute lasted many years and must have impoverished Fergus. With his brother, Arthur, he had begun to build a march dyke on Braikenhall. There was opposition when Fergus tried to plough the land which had not been tilled for 60 years. An action was raised against them and their mother, Elizabeth Graham.²⁷ This seems to have been the start of a long and ruinous litigation. His difficulties were enhanced by the Irvings who seized on the opportunity of his embarrassment. In 1626 occurred the well-known siege of Stabletoun "which pertained to Fergus for three years," in right of his wife. It was seized by the Irvings of Bonshaw, victualled and filled with armed men and became a refuge for broken men. The Privy Council ordered the laird of Amisfield to eject the Irvings.²⁸ This episode is fully narrated in the *Book of the Irvings*, p. 54-56.

Meanwhile the litigation with the Murrays was in full swing. Fergus was put to the horn—technically outlawed. To appear in court in Edinburgh he had to obtain a crown protection which in 1631 was renewed so as to enable him to defend himself in court²⁹ and again in 1638 he obtained a further protection from his creditors for a year.³⁰ But in the end Fergus Graham must have triumphed over his adversities for in 1649 were passed two Acts of Parliament in favour of Fergus and his son, William, regarding (i.) a decret of removal at the instance of the earl and (ii.) suspending letters of horning proceeding on the above decret

²⁵ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 381, 3 June, 1626.

²⁶ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 403, 17 January, 1623.

²⁷ R.P.C., xii., 494-5.

²⁸ R.P.C., 2nd ser., i., 226, 287, 378.

²⁹ R.P.C., 2nd ser., iv., 98, 111, 130.

³⁰ R.M.S., 1634/51, 801.

and mentioning William and Arthur his sons, George Graham son of John Graham of Reidkirk, William Graham son of George Graham called the Roust, and George Graham son-in-law of the said Fergus.³¹ But the cost must have been ruinous for in 1650 Fergus and his wife, Sarah Johnston, and their "eleven puir children" brought an action against the earl for their sustenance.³² These eleven poor children must have been a figure of speech in the pleadings for most of them must have reached manhood. No effort is made here to follow them.

Fergus could not have survived long after 1649 when his eldest son, William, is mentioned,³³ and by 1657 William Graham of Blaetwood was suing Archibald Johnston in Howcleuch for the mails of Over Howcleuch.³⁴ This William was provost of Annan as early as June, 1677,³⁵ and was a member of Parliament, 1669-72.³⁶ He had married Elizabeth Irving and the spouses on 24th October, 1704, infett Robert Johnston, son of the late Adam Johnston, burgess of Annan, in some burgh property.³⁷

Another William Graham of Blaetwod, a surgeon in Annan, died in February, 1760, his testament being given up by his only son, Richard Graham, writer in Edinburgh.³⁸ His armorial tombstone is in Rerrick.³⁹

Another family tombstone at Annan runs as follows: "Here lies Richard Graham of Blatwood who died on 17th October, 1829. Also Hannah his second daughter who died 7th September, 1852, aged 52."⁴⁰

Of yet another descendant of "Long William Graham" a note should be recorded. His eldest son according to

³¹ A.P.S., vi, pt. i, 453, 515.

³² Acts and Decrees, vol. 553, f.135.

³³ Acts and Decrees, vol. 546, f.194.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 587, f.196, and vol. 161, f.51.

³⁵ Dalrymple Decrees, vol. 70.

³⁶ Foster, p. 157.

³⁷ P.R.S., vii., f.58.

³⁸ Dumfries Tests, 26 August, 1772.

³⁹ D. and G. Trans.

⁴⁰ Mr Carlyle Aitken's sketch pedigree on the family (MSS. Various, vol. XXI., p. 56) is at variance with these notes.

Burleigh in 1596 was Richard Graham of Netherby, whose third son was George Graham "who dwells at the Redkirk in Scotland and married a Maxwell." George was therefore cousin of the first Arthur Graham of Blaauwood.¹ There is definite corroboration of Burleigh's statement for from the Dumfries records we learn that on 7th April, 1568, Katherine Maxwell, spouse of George Graham of Ranpatrick, was infeft in the 20/- lands of Dalschynnie in Troqueer.² Further, in 1576 George Graham of Ranpatrick is definitely stated to be a son of Richard Graham of Netherby.³ Three years later George was called on to present his sons, Christopher and George, before the Privy Council though no details are given.⁴ George Graham of Ranpatrick with Edward Irving of Bonshaw had been implicated in the slaughter of William Johnston in Hayhill c. 1581 and the following February they made offers to the laird of Johnston to pay 500 merks as assythment and to enter at Lochhous George Irving, son of the said Edward Irving, and Christie, the Graham son of the said George Graham, to bide their trial as the laird of Johnston should decide.⁵

No specific date or information is available as to when and how George acquired Ranpatrick. The Murrays of Cokpool were the superiors and the £20 lands of Ranpatrick and Baruche had been held of them by Edward Irving of Bonshaw by service of ward. Bonshaw had alienated the lands to George Graham, son of the deceased Richard Graham of Netherby, without the consent of his superior, Charles Murray of Cokpool, who at once enforced the legal penalty and recognised the lands which in 1604 he granted to John Murray, his brother, later earl of Annandale.⁶

It is possible that George Graham of Ranpatrick had a son, Richard Graham of Redkirk. This Richard in 1594-5 with his brothers, Fergus, Walter and Christie, participated

¹ C. and W. Trans., n.s., xi., p. 72.

² D. and G. Trans., 3rd ser., iii., 268.

³ R.P.C., xiv., 339.

⁴ R.P.C., iii., 246.

⁵ Hist. MSS. Com. Rachills MSS., p. 30.

⁶ R.M.S., 1609/20, 1574.

in the burning and spoliation of Bracoth in the Stewartry,⁷ and again in 1608 he was accused of raiding the lands of Alexander Ferguson of Isle and driving off 27 kye, 10 oxen and a grey horse.⁸ Perhaps it was his son, George Graham called Reidkirk, who was a witness in 1624 to an Annan sasine.⁹

Richard Graham of Redkirk had some dealings with William Johnston, elder and younger of Graitney, whereby in 1613 the Johnstons sold for 1000 merks to George Graham called of Redkirk a portion of the lands of Gretna called Birrelrood¹⁰ and borrowed 200 merks from the same George, here described as son of Richard Graham of Reidkirk.¹¹ Another 500 merks was borrowed on 10th November, 1613, where George is described as eldest son of the *late* Richard Graham of Redkirk.¹²

The pedigree, however, is very involved and Carlyle Aitken's MS. sketch of it is too unreliable to quote. Mr Lyell in his notes on the Mossknow titles records that on 12th April, 1653, George Graham, son of John Graham, called of Redkirk was served heir to George Graham of Reidkirk his father brother in the lands called Hoill Close and a piece of land called the Baylie, Annan, with the Mote thereof and the lands of Brigholme in the parish of Annan (MSS. Various, vol. XXI.). Finally there is on 3rd May, 1710, an Abbreviate of Ajudication (Vol. 60) by Robert Home, eldest son of the late George Home of Newpark, sometime Collector at Alisonbank, and Janet Scott, his mother and tutrix, where a Blaatswood-Redkirk connection is given. According to this in 1710 the representation of Redkirk was vested in William Graham of Blaatswood and part of the property adjudged from William was Brigholme which had belonged to the Grahams of Redkirk.

⁷ R.P.C., v., 198, and vi., 470.

⁸ R.P.C., viii., 57.

⁹ Annandale Peerage Evidence, 869.

¹⁰ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 217, 3 December, 1613.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 224, 16 July, 1614.

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 307.

Two Mediæval Crosses At Kirkpatrick-Fleming.

By DR. R. C. REID and W. F. CORMACK.

In Vol. XXXVI. of these Transactions the discovery of a second Heraldic Stone in the steading of Kirkpatrick Farm was referred to. The proprietor, Mr James Rae, stimulated by this, scrutinised more closely the buildings, which are built on or close to the site of the late mediæval tower of Kirkpatrick. In the autumn of 1959 he advised one of the writers of these notes of the discovery of a cross (No. 1 referred to below) and a visit was made to the site to view it. While there Mr Rae's children drew his attention to what they called a "butterfly" carved on the garden wall. This turned out to be the rather fine floriated cross (No. 2 referred to below). In March, 1960, the other writer and Mr Raleigh Radford inspected the crosses, and the latter reports as follows:

Cross No. 1. "Part of a floor slab walled into the west gable of the bothy above the kitchen garden at the back of the House. At the head of the slab is a poorly designed cross formy in low relief (Plate VII.); the rest of the surface is plain. The original dimensions will have been about 6 feet by a maximum of 1 ft. 9 ins. probably tapering towards the foot. It is difficult to ascribe a close dating to this simple cross; it is probably not older than the 13th century."

Cross No. 2. "Part of a floor slab walled into the base of the garden wall on the right side of the garden in front of the house. At the head is a fine floriated cross of the 14th century type (Plate VIII.). The slab will have been of similar dimensions to the other. The type of cross resembles the dated slab to Joanna Bullock (1371) found at St. James' Church, Roxburgh, and now preserved at Kelso Abbey (Royal Com. on Ancient Mon., Roxburghshire, i., p. 246)."

"There is little doubt that these two floor slabs were brought from the Parish Church as building material. They could have marked the graves of either priests or laymen."

The New Statistical Account (1841), p. 287, records that the church of Kirkpatrick-Fleming had been "partly



Plate VII.—Kirkpatrick-Fleming Crosses, No. 1.

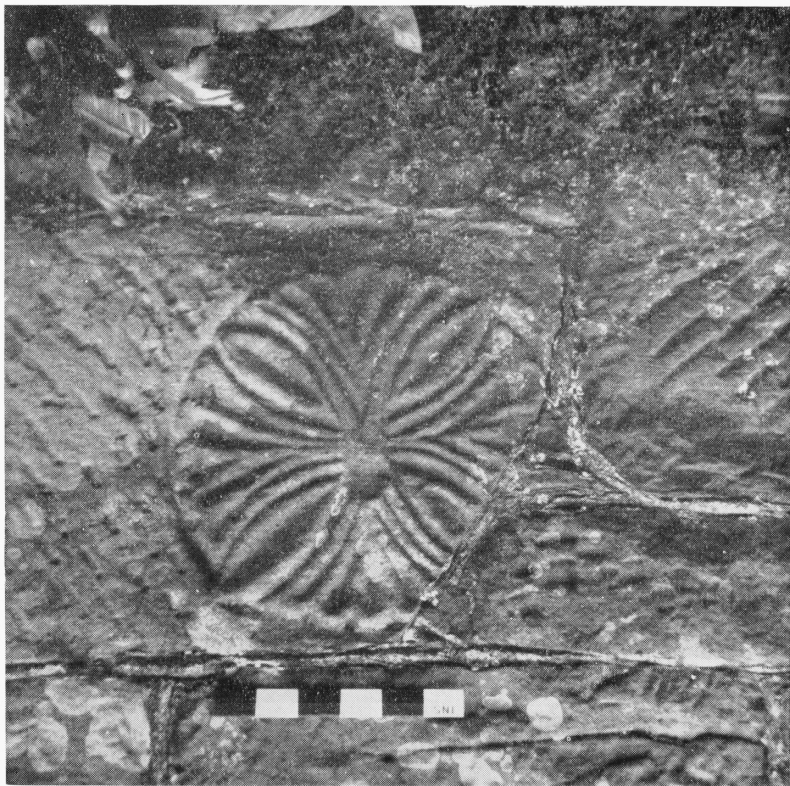


Plate VIII.—Kirkpatrick-Fleming Crosses, No. 2.

rebuilt 57 years ago," i.e., c. 1791, "but at present its interior is in such a miserable condition as again to acquire thorough repair. By a decided majority of heretors it is thought that a new church should be immediately built." So the church, in its present doubtless extended form, must date from c. 1842. But there may have been many changes since the Reformation of which there is no record. In mediæval times it may be expected to have been long, narrow and orientated. The earliest grave stones outwith the church would have stood close to the edifice and mostly on the south side. For the most effective way of entering Heaven was to be buried inside the church or, for the less fortunate, as close to the outside of it as possible. For nigh a century after the Reformation any memorials to the dead were frowned on by the Church, so the earliest post Reformation tomb stones were mid 17th century and they conformed to the ancient practice, probably ousting any pre Reformation memorials close to the church. In any later reconstruction of the edifice these 17th century stones close to the church would be imperilled and that may be the cause why no Graham of Mossknow or Irving of Kirkpatrick stones have been found in the present Kirkyard. The present edifice with its building additions has caused their removal or destruction.

During the inspection the buildings of Kirkpatrick House were examined for remains of any early Irving tower. In the recently reconstructed barn of the farm are the remains of a 17th century house, but of an earlier tower there were no signs. Yet the two heraldic and dated stones supply a key to the past. High up over the entrance in the interior of the barn there is a stone dated, doubtfully, 1543. Mr Rae on a further examination doubts the last number. It is worn but he thinks it should be read as 1548. Historically he may be right, and the stone would then belong to the original tower which must have been one of a number of stone towers, like Bonshaw and Woodhouse, that were erected on the banks of the Kirtle by the Irvings after the battle of Solway.

The heraldry of the stones proves that for over 100 years there must have been Irvings possessing the site, though very little save a list of names can be recorded of them. The earliest reference is in 1573, May 11, when Edward Irving of Kirkpatrick is mentioned in a submission to arbitration between Irvings and Grahams.¹ He may have been the builder of the original tower. Then on 24th December, 1594, Walter Irving of Kirkpatrick with other Irvings and a host of Johnstons were respite for the slaughter of John lord Maxwell at Dryfesands.² In 1597 there was a Francis Irving of Kirkpatrick with Watt Irving his brother implicated in the spoliation of John Greir of Rigside.³ In 1620 Thomas Irving of Kirkpatrick and William and James his sons and Samuel Irving in Kirkpatrick (brother of Thomas) failed to appear in an action against them by Edward Irving of Wysbie and the Captain of the Guard was ordered to apprehend them.⁴ In 1624 the same Thomas Irving was cautioner that James Johnston of that ilk will not molest Mr Thomas Chalmers minister of Kirkpatrick-Fleming or his family.⁵

Thomas was dead by 1649 when his brother Samuel Irving was infeft as his heir⁶ and Samuel at once infeft his wife Agnes Charteris in an annualrent furth of Kirkpatrick.⁷ It was perhaps in the lifetime of this Thomas that the old tower of 1548 was pulled down and a more modern structure erected of which substantial remains still survive in the barn. From the heraldic stone of 1674 recorded in the Hist. Mon. Com. Report, No. 325, we must infer that Samuel completed the structure that year. His testament was recorded on 19th November, 1686, his executor being his daughter Rosina Irving spouse of Thomas Willisone in Betinbushe. It may be assumed that this was when the family ownership of Kirkpatrick came to an end.

¹ Annandale Bk., i., 32.

² Bk. of Caerlaverock, ii., 498.

³ R.P.C., v., 380.

⁴ R.P.C., xii., 360.

⁵ R.P.C., xiii., 601.

⁶ P.R.S., v., 289-90.

⁷ *Ibid.*

In addition to the two heraldic stones and the two medieval crosses, there is also at Kirkpatrick, and marked on the O.S. map as "monument" the stump, eight-sided, 8 ins. across flats and 2 feet high, of another possible medieval cross shaft also removed from the churchyard. According to tradition, as narrated by Mr Rae, it was erected or re-erected in its present position to commemorate the spot where a John Scott who resided at Kirkpatrick was slain by Fergus Graham of Mossknowe in 1730. A dispute arose between Scott and Graham, it is believed over a lady, one account is that it started in the inn which lay between Kirkpatrick House and the Kirk; Scott was armed with a flail, and acting to some extent in self defence, Graham ran him through with his sword, and had to flee the Country. Scott's tombstone in the Churchyard reads as follows:

"Here lyes the body of John Scot who was murdered by the hand of Fergus Graham of Mossknow upon the 21st day of November 1730 of age 51. Also William Scott who died at Kirkpatrick 20th January 1800 aged 80 years and Mary Rodick his spouse who died 7th March 1825 aged 98. Also Barbara Scott their daughter who died 14th August 1849 aged 78 years."

There is no evidence when this stone was erected but it is not just set in the ground like so many of its neighbours, but into a freestone base indicating probably a later erection. It may well date from the interment of William Scott in 1800 or even of Mary Rodick in 1825. The cutting of the inscription looks too fresh and unweathered for 1730. Inevitably some doubts can be thrown on the details of the tradition. The Justiciary Records have been searched in vain from 1699-1770. There is a very useful slip index for this period but it contains no mention whatsoever of Fergus Graham who obviously could never have been brought to trial. There must have been some enquiry but not enough evidence to sustain a charge of homicide, let alone murder. Yet there seems to be a persistent tradition that after the slaughter Fergus was vainly pursued along the road to Langholm. He certainly disappears from history.

A few notes on his background may be added. The first of the family was a William Graham of unknown origin, perhaps descended from Blaatawood,⁸ and born in 1628. He went as a Divinity student to Edinburgh University where he graduated on 15th April, 1645. He became minister of Kirkpatrick-Fleming before 1655. He married (date unknown) Margaret Irving daughter and heiress of David Irving of Mossknow who was a brother of William Irving of Bonshaw. This David Irving as early as 1620 had been infeft by his brother, Bonshaw, in an annualrent of £100 out of lands in Lochmaben parish⁹ and, apparently on marriage with Jean Murray, infeft in 1634 under reversion for 9800 merks in the 40/- lands of Mossknow.¹⁰ This was followed by the acquisition of the 40/- lands of Righheids being part of the £5 lands of Cavertisholm, from James lord Johnston on wadset for 2400 merks.¹¹ David Irving also lent money to Arthur Irving of Skailles on which he foreclosed in 1653.¹² It is rather remarkable that neither David or his wife Jean Murray could sign their names especially as David Irving of Mossknow was appointed on 17th August, 1640, by James lord Johnston as tutor to the testator's son.¹³ David Irving died at the close of September, 1659 (see his Testament). All these properties, none of them feus or freehold, David Irving had transferred in 1657 to Mr William Graham, minister of Kirkpatrick-Fleming.¹⁴ This may be

⁸ In some notes in the handwriting of J. Carlyle Aitken amongst the Mossknowe Papers, he is alleged to have been a son of Fergus Graham of Blaatawood. This William in 1627 married Rosina Scott of Beltenmont. His son was the Rev. William Graham of Mossknowe, who married Margaret Irving, daughter of David Irving of Mossknowe, brother german to William of Bonshaw, and was succeeded by Major (sic) William Graham of Mossknowe, who married Isabella Herries of Spottis (sic). But Aitken is not to be trusted too far.

⁹ Mossknow Papers, 14 March, 1620.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7 June, 1634.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13 April, 1639.

¹² *Ibid.*, 30 November, 1653.

¹³ Annandale Bk., i., 87.

¹⁴ Mossknow Papers, 24 July, 1657. The lands were all redeemable in the total sum of 7000 merks. In 1698 Mr William Graham (ii.) contracted with William Johnston, earl of Annandale, to convert his wadset rights into a feu by paying the earl an additional 3000 merks (*Ibid.*, 31 March, 1698).

the approximate date of his marriage with Margaret Irving.

Mr William, the minister, died in March, 1673 (see his Testament). By his wife, Margaret Irving, who died in August, 1691, Mr William Graham had the following known issue:

- (i.) Mr William Graham (ii.) of whom hereafter
- (ii.) David Graham of whom nothing is known unless he was the man of that name taken prisoner at Preston.
- (iii.) Jean, eldest daughter and spouse (1672) of William Irving of Bonshaw.¹⁵
- (iv.) Margaret, spouse of Mr David Graham, minister of Kirkmahoe.

What little is known from the Mossknow Papers of Mr William Graham (ii.) can be supplemented from other sources. He must have had a University degree, probably from Edinburgh, for a man of that name graduated there in 1645. He entered H.M. Customs in 1702 and became Collector at Alisonbank, Gretna.¹⁶ We are indebted to Mr T. Christopher Smout, M.A., for the following note:

“ According to papers preserved among the Laing MSS. (II., 490) in Edinburgh University Library, William Graham acted as Collector of Customs and Foreign Excise at Alisonbank for two quarters of the customs year November 1st, 1701-November 1st, 1702, namely from 1/2/1702 to 1/5/1702 and from 1/8/1702 to 1/11/1702. The other two quarters of that year were taken by George Home of New Park and in the succeeding year 1702/3 the Collectorship was in the hands of George Home and the laird of Capenoch, who was none other than James Grierson, the last male of Capenoch, who died in 1715 (D. and G. Trans., XXXV., p. 137). The appointment to the Collectorship was in the hands of the Tacksman of the Customs and Foreign Excise who farmed these taxes from the Government, and from whom Graham would have received his salary. Under him at the Customs port, a surveyor and waiters would be responsible for levying duties on all exports and imports at the precinct. As Alisonbank was on the land border with England, it was one of the precincts that were abolished following the Union of 1707, which removed all duties on commodities passing between the

¹⁵ P.R.S., new series, vol. I., f. 182.

¹⁶ P.R.S., 2nd series, vi., f. 314.

two kingdoms. Before 1707 the trade through the area consisted largely of cattle driven south by the drovers for the London market, together with linen cloth loaded on pack ponies to be peddled in England. The returns were more various; but drovers and peddlars came home from the south with an assortment of small wares ranging from saddle furniture to sugar, tobacco and dried fruits. A favourite import was English wool, despite English prohibition of the export of this commodity. Smuggling in both directions was endemic and customs officials rode the Borders looking for droves passing by unfrequented tracks into England, and watching for the return of the packmen. Frequently the waiters were sent to watch at fairs and markets on both sides of the border to take note of what was bought and sold for the export and import trades. Illegal import of sugar and tobacco, which paid a high Duty, was very popular and there were several cases of alleged smuggling around 1700 and during the collectorship of George Home and Capenoch. William Graham's tenancy of the post seems however to have been a quiet one, which may merely imply that he was not very enthusiastic or efficient in pursuit of malefactors. He is last heard of in a letter dated 2/12/1702, announcing that he is travelling to Edinburgh to clear his accounts with the Tacksman. At least he was prompt in balancing the books. His successors, especially Capenoch, had to be sent many reminders from the Edinburgh office before they condescended to make a reckoning of their tenure at all."

He was served heir to his father on 21st June, 1686. His mother, Margaret Irving, died in August, 1691, but her testament was not given up by Mr William till 1729 and recorded on 10th August, 1731. This delay may have been associated with his financial difficulties. He married (contract dated 21st April, 1682) Isabel Herries, daughter of the deceased Mr William Herries of Harthat (P.R.S., 2nd ser., iv., 162). She died on 20th March, 1737.¹⁷ Mr William Graham (ii.) was certainly alive on 11th September, 1730, when he was infeft in Skails.¹⁸ The date of his death is unknown, for though the kirkyard has been searched for all Grahams and Irvings no Mossknow stone was found though some 15 table stones are piled in a corner which the searcher

¹⁷ P.R.S., 21 April, 1764.

¹⁸ Mossknow Papers.

was unable to note without assistance. The spouses are known to have had the following issue:

- (i.) David Graham,¹⁹ who must have died young.
- (ii.) Fergus Graham described in 1740 as eldest son of Mr William Graham (ii.). He was the alleged murderer.
- (iii. and iv.) Janet and Ann Graham, daughters of the deceased Mr William Graham (ii.) of Mossknow, who in 1771 gave discharge to William Graham (iii.), now of Mossknow by decreet of judicial sale on 6th July, 1763, of certain sums affecting the estate to which they had right as assignees of their mother, Isabel Herries. Payment was made by John Graham, younger merchant in Dumfries.²⁰

It is not yet established that Fergus Graham succeeded his father, Mr William (ii.), for there was indeed little to which to succeed. Indeed in 1862 Mr T. J. Carlyle wrote that:

“ the Grahams of Mossknow had settled there before 1698 but genealogists in referring to the antecedents of the family go no further back than 1715 when the proprietor then was a supporter of the Pretender.”²¹

Mr William (ii.) is not likely to have made that mistake but his son Fergus certainly joined the rebels thus explaining the complete blank in the family papers, for fines or forfeiture would have followed.

Little is known of local men implicated in the Rebellion of 1715. John Riddell in one of his note books that somehow had strayed into the Signet Library (the rest are all in the National Library) recorded having seen a list of rebels in the Munsch's Charter chest, for the Maxwells of Munsch's are known to have been rebels. But in a recent emergency evacuation for Royalty of a room at the Signet Library that note book went amissing. When the present laird pulled down a large part of his ancestral house a charter chest, traditionally consumed in a previous fire, came to light full

¹⁹ P.R.S., viii., f. 248

²⁰ P.R.S., 14 October, 1771.

²¹ D. and G. Trans., 1865/6, p. 30.

of titles and papers. The titles were sent to his solicitors and have been reported on by the National Register of Archives. But the papers were destroyed. Fortunately Mr Athol Murray has located in the Register House²² just such a list of rebels, the provenance of which is not known, from which the following local names have been extracted:

A list of the most considerable Scots and English noblemen and Gentlemen with the number of their servants taken at Preston, 15th November, 1715.

William Irving of Knockhill; Robert McClellan of Brascob; Johnston of Wamphray; [] Maxwell of Cowhill; Edward Maxwell yr of Garnselloch; Mathew Hairstanis brother to Craigs; Samuel Maxwell [? of Newlaw]; John Maxwell of Steilston; William Maxwell yr of Muncies; George Maxwell his brother; James Grierson yr of Lag; Gilbert Grierson his brother; William Luthcart late officer of Excise at Dumfries; Robert Carruthers of Rammerscales; Fergus Graham son of Mossknow; Archibald Tod and William Johnston, portioners of Dumcrief; George Carrick inkeeper in Dumfries; David Graham (undescribed); and James Reid in Hoddam.

Here is positive proof that Fergus Graham was implicated and perchance that David Graham mentioned may have been his brother.

No trace of his trial has been found but Mr C. Roy Hudleston suggests (*per. litt.* 29/9/60) that our Fergus may perhaps be identical with the Fergus Grahame, presumably a Jacobite exile, whose letters from Liege, Bar-la-Duc and Kendal during 1717 to 1724 are mentioned in Hist. MSS. Com., Various Collections, iv., p. 138.

Mr William Graham (ii.) became Collector of Customs at Alisonbank which is described as the port of Gretna, in 1702, apparently succeeding or assisting George Home of Newpark. As he was responsible for handling public funds he had to find substantial cautioners for his integrity resulting in his giving a back bond to Mr John Carruthers of

²² Irvine-Robertson Papers, No. 72.

Denbie over all the Mossknow property.²³ Such security was essential for in 1689 Bernard Ross, who had been appointed Collector at Alisonbank, had collected but not recorded in his books toll for 1500 sheep and 180 nolt for which he was charged in the Privy Council. He had also apparently collected without authority tolls which should have been collected at Carlisle and all the drovers were protesting.²⁴

Even before the Rebellion William Graham was in financial difficulties in some unknown connection with John Armstrong of Creive. On 31st March, 1708, they both granted to John Sharp of Hoddam a bond of corroboration for the accumulative sum of £14211 scots on which Sharp secured adjudication on 29th June, 1710. Both Graham and Armstrong are stated to have died "notoriously bankrupt and insolvent" and Mathew Sharp of Hoddam, brother of John, obtained right of action by general service on 2nd June, 1740, against the Mossknow estate. The following year Sharp raised a summons of ranking against some 35 persons including creditors of the late Mr William Graham (ii.) and Fergus Graham of Mossknow, his son and heir, and the estate of Mossknow was sequestrated on 10th February, 1742. A long delay followed till on 25th February, 1762, Decreet of Ranking was pronounced and the estate exposed to roup at the upset price of £1918 15s 2½d sterling. It was bought for £4000 sterling by William Graham physician in Jamaica who found caution for payment of the said sum to the creditors²⁵ and Decreet of Sale (Dalrymple, vol. 307, 6th July, 1762).

William Graham (iii.), the new owner, late surgeon in the parish of Westmorland in Jamaica and grandson of Mr William Graham (i.) of Mossknow, was the eldest son of Mr David Graham, minister of Kirkmahoe, c. 1716, who had married Margaret, daughter of Mr William (i.), minister of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, with issue the said William (iii.),

²³ P.R.S., 2nd series, vi., f. 314.

²⁴ R.P.C., 3rd series, xiv., 458.

²⁵ Extracted Processes (Dalrymple) and Decreet of Sale (Dalrymple), vol. 307, 6 July, 1762.

Archibald, David, John, Mary and Isabel.²⁶ William (iii.) must have returned from Jamaica where presumably he had prospered, for on 20th August, 1753, he was admitted a burgess of Dumfries (ticket at Mossknow). He was the progenitor of the present owners.

Some notes on Kirkpatrick-Fleming Church may be appended.

The church site of Kirkpatrick-Fleming must be of great antiquity. Association with St. Patrick may be surmised but not established, but this group of small parishes almost certainly dates from the Dark Ages and the spread of Christianity amongst the Welsh speaking Britons from Strathclyde. The mother church of the group may well have been Gretna for in one of the earliest references to the parish it is described as Kirkpatrick Juxta Gretno. This status was probably maintained in the Anglian settlement in Dumfriesshire, developing into definite parishes in Norman times.²⁷ Towards the close of the 12th century Kirkpatrick-Fleming was one of the churches in Annandale gifted by William de Brus to the Priory of Gyseburn in Yorkshire.²⁸

Very little light can be thrown on Kirkpatrick-Fleming during the first 50 years of the Reformation. It is very doubtful if the church functioned at all as an institution. The edifice may well have been destroyed in the period of Solway Moss and Pinkie when enormous damage was suffered on the Scottish Borders. East of a line from Annan through Lockerbie to the head of Dryfe water this destruction seems to have been thorough and complete. It was perhaps not without real cause that in 1526 the Armstrongs boasted, according to Magnus the English envoy, that they had destroyed 52 parish churches *in Scotland*, apart from their depredations in England. Elsewhere the figure of 30 churches is given.²⁹ Amongst these destroyed churches was

²⁶ Scott's *Fasti*, new edition, vol. 8, p. 176, quoting Dalrymple Deeds, vol. 109, 19 December, 1718.

²⁷ D. and G. Trans., xxxv., p. 17.

²⁸ D. and G. Trans., xxxii., p. 145.

²⁹ *The Armstrong Borderland*, p. 79.

probably the group of small pre-Reformation parishes centred round Kirkpatrick-Fleming—Gretna, Ecclefechan, Rainpatrick, Kirkconnel, Irving and Luce, the last three of which may never have been rebuilt but absorbed by Act of Parliament in 1609. Support for this suggestion can be found in *The Thirds of Benefices (S.H. Soc.)* by Dr Gordon Donaldson who on pp. 286-297 has recorded from the Accounts of the Collectors for Dumfriesshire, Annandale, Kirkcudbright and Wigtoun the names of all ministers, readers and Exhorters for 1563-72. In this list no such parish functionaries figure for Kirkpatrick-Fleming or the rest of that group of parishes. Certainly no one was paid to serve those churches before 1573. Mr Donaldson has shown how in Galloway the great bulk of the pre-Reformation clergy were quite willing to continue to serve under the Reformed Kirk.³⁰ One would have expected the same in Dumfriesshire and examination of the list for 1563-72 shows that, save in the Border parishes, such was the case, for though qualified ministers were few and far between, church services were maintained in country parishes by exhorters and readers.³¹ No minister, exhorter or reader is recorded anywhere for Kirkpatrick-Fleming and it was not till after the Act of 1609 that a minister is recorded there.

In that year on instructions from the Archbishop of Glasgow, Mr Robert Hunter, minister of Sanquhar, was sent down to arrange for religious ministration in Kirkpatrick-Fleming. He found that George Irving of Woodhouse was in possession of the teinds and apparently the Kirklands by gift under the Privy Seal dated 14th March, 1606, and as successor to Robert Johnston, "last vicar thereof."³² Robert Johnston as son of the deceased John Johnston of Newby had been presented on 8th January, 1577, by the Crown to the parsonage and vicarage of

³⁰ D. and G. Trans., xxx., p. 38.

³¹ Dr Donaldson informs me, *prs. litt.*, 30.11.60, that in the volume of Assignations for 1586 only three readers are shown for the whole of Annandale, at Moffat, Ruthwell and Annan; and not a single minister but a great series of blanks.

³² R.S.S., vol. 75, f. 35.

Kirkpatrick-Fleming, vacant by the death of Mr Peter Stewart, last parson and vicar.³³ In other words the property of the church was in lay hands and the visit of Mr Robert Hunter was to reclaim and restore the rights of the Reformed Kirk to whatever was left of the church of Kirkpatrick-Fleming. This no doubt was to conform to the policy of the Church as represented by the Crown grant on 10th May, 1597, to Mr John Johnston, one of the Masters of the new College of St. Andrews, of the thirds of the benefices of the kirks of Moffat, Kirkpatrick-Juxta, Wamfray, Johnston, Applegarth, Hutton and Sibalbie to be expended on the plantation of Kirks in the "countrie of Annandaile," the inhabitants of which are described as "for the maist pairt barbarous pepill without religiounis."³⁶ It was a sound and natural policy to make the parishes of the County outwith the line of devastation help to pay for restoration of the devastated area.

Mr Robert Hunter's visit to Kirkpatrick-Fleming led to a riot. The parish must have been pre-warned of his visit, for not only had some congregation gathered, but an opposition as well. He was at once challenged by George Irving of Woodhouse, but was allowed to preach whilst Irving sought reinforcements. At the end of his address he was assaulted by Irving and his friends and though the congregation came to his assistance he was chased for a mile from the kirk before he got away. This riot occurred on a Sunday in the kirkyard of Kirkpatrick and provides no evidence as to the useable state of the church edifice. The preaching may have been in the open.³⁵

But Hunter and the Archbishop were not to be deterred and by 1611 one Thomas Copland was official minister there. He may well have been unhappy in his benefice for in 1615 he was translated to Redkirk.³⁶ For three years there was

³³ R.S.S., vol. 45, f. 15. Robert Johnston was certainly a layman.

Mr Peter Stewart must have been a cleric.

³⁴ R.S.S., vol. 69, f. 251.

³⁵ R.P.C., viii., p. 382.

³⁶ Scott's *Fasti*, new edition, II., 250.

an apparent vacancy, then Mr Thomas Chalmers was presented on 27th November, 1618. He served the church till July, 1649, when he was deprived, dying in February, 1673. No further riots are recorded but in 1623 the hostility to the ministrations of Mr Thomas Chalmers took another form. An attempt was made to burn down his house and his family within it. Details are missing but one Symon Graham in Logan was suspected of the outrage and was apprehended by the Earl of Nithsdale. The Privy Council ordered that Symon be tortured, first by "putting him in the bootis,"³⁷ whilst a year later James Johnston of that Ilk had to find Thomas Irving of Kirkpatrick as cautioner that Kirkhill would not molest the minister or his family.³⁸ At his deprivation in July, 1649, Mr Thomas Chalmers was succeeded by Mr William Graham who had graduated at Edinburgh in April, 1645.

³⁷ R.P.C., xiii., p. 363.

³⁸ R.P.C., xiii., p. 601.

ARTICLE 8.

Sir John Clerk's Journey to Carlisle and Penrith, August, 1731.

By W. A. J. PREVOST.

"A Journie to Carlyle and Penrith, Agust, 1731," is one of a number of journals which Sir John Clerk (1684-1755) of Penicuik wrote, partly with the object of recording his observations, but mainly for the benefit of his family and their posterity. This was Sir John's purpose in writing his "Memoirs," the story of his life which, with an introduction and notes by John Gray, was published by the Scottish History Society in 1892. With only one exception, none of these journals have ever appeared in print, and as Sir John makes only casual references to these expeditions in his memoirs, the journals are therefore interesting additions to his published writings.

Sir John made several "trips" and "journies" into the English Border country, of which this journey to Penrith in 1731 was one. Without exception, all his journals are proof of the baronet's interest in agriculture, architecture, forestry and country life, but especially in Roman history and the Roman occupation of Great Britain. This account of his journey to Penrith is no exception, for it is a lengthy journal, covering 71 pages of manuscript, of which at least a quarter are taken up with Roman or other antiquities. Pages 15-67 of the MS. describe his journey south from the Border to Penrith, the countryside through which he passed, a visit to Lowther Castle and its policies, Eden Hall with a dissertation on the Musgrave family, Whinfell Forest, and, finally, his account of the Carlisle Assizes, which he attended as a spectator, and about which he has much to say. These 53 pages, covering his visit to England, are being published separately in the Cumberland and Westmorland Society's *Transactions*. The remaining 18 pages, which are concerned only with his journey north of the Border, are the subject of the present paper.

Sir John left Penicuik on Saturday, 14th August, and broke his journey at Drumcrieff near Moffat, whence he departed for Carlisle on 16th August. The first 13 pages of the journal record this part of his tour and are mainly concerned with his visit to the Roman fort at Birrens, his purchase of three Roman altars there, his observations on the still legible inscriptions and his attempts to decipher them. After his visit to Cumberland and Westmorland he returned to Drumcrieff on Thursday, 26th August, where (besides attending to some family business) he arranged for two carts to go to Ecclefechan and bring back his Roman altars. These in due course found their way to Penicuik and eventually to the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, where they now repose. With a "Laus Deo" the story comes to an end at Penicuik on 2nd September.

I have made no alterations to the spelling with the exception of modernising Sir John's use of "u" instead of "w," as in "widoue." I have modernised his use of capitals and introduced my own punctuation into the text. I am indebted to Professor Eric Birley for footnotes 6-10 and for the appendix in which he discusses the significance of this primary account of the discovery of the three altars.

"The Journie."

The occasion of this journie was partly for health and partly to see my second sone George at the school of Louder (*Lowther*) about 3 miles from Penrith with one Mr Wilkinsone, a very fit man for his business in all respects.

I left my owne house Pennycuik on Saturday the 14 of Agust about 8 in the companie of Mr Clerk, a friend of mine, with 2 servants. I travell'd in a chaise with 2 horses and had a spare horse led by one of my servants.

In 5 hours we came to the Bile¹ where we dined and at 4 in the afternoon we sett out for Moffat and my little house of Drumcrieff where we arrived half an houer after 7. Had no accident by the way. The weather very fine and not very hot as it had been for some days before.

¹ The Bield, on the Moffat-Edinburgh road, 15 miles from Moffat.

On Sunday the 15 we went to Moffat kirk in the afternoon and heard a very good sermone from Mr Wallace,² minister there, recommending charity, and there was a collection for the poor in that place who came to drink the waters. I visited after sermone My Lady Galloway³ who came there for a scurvy and the sones of My Ld Garlies who were there only to wait on their grandmother, the eldest about 11 years of age. At night I return'd to Drumcrief.

On Munday the 23 (*read 16*) a little after 7 we took jurnie for Carlyle and in 4 houres $\frac{1}{2}$ came to Echelfeche, a village belonging to the Duke of Queensberry and distant from Drumcrief about 15 miles. The way all along was exceeding good. We had the Roman cassey (*causeway*) for about 12 miles only for it turns off to the left over the hills about Lokerbee. There are several remains of Roman forts by the way. The cassey commonly runs in straight lines for a mile or half a mile together and is made up of great stones at bottom with gravel above. It is very remarkable that even in hard, gravelly grounds this cassey is continued, tho' there never seem'd to be any use for it. This is to be ascribed partly to vanity in having patent and convenient roads over all Britain, and partly to distinguish the high roads from others of less consequence. This highway used to be called by the Saxons Watling Street and runs from London to the wall of Antoninus Pius in Scotland. There were many stations by the way and none of them so fare as I remember above 10 or 12 miles from one another. The most remarkable station to my apprehension in Scotland is one at Midlebee (*i.e.*, *Birrens*), belonging now to the Duke of Queensberry. It is about half a mile from Midlebee kirk on the side of a little brook and about 2 miles from Echelfeche. It is now called the Birns but for what reasone I cannot

² Robert Wallace, minister of Moffat, 1723-1733.

³ Presumably the Dowager Lady Galloway, widow of Alexander, 3rd Earl of Galloway, who died in 1690. She was Sir John's mother-in-law. Her two grandsons were the sons of Alexander Stewart, who was Lord Garlies from 1694 till 1746, when he became the 6th Earl of Galloway. He died in 1773.

well tell except it be deducible from the word Brigantes, a people who by the accounts of Ptolemy and Amianus Marcellinus did inhabit the north parts of England and south west of Scotland as will be better demonstrable from a stone found on the side of this camp some few weeks agoe,⁴ with 2 others of less consequence. At Echelfeichen I heard of these stones and went to see them in the possession of a poor old widowe woman, one Mrs Bell, to whom the ground belongs.⁵ Follows a description of these stones.

The first is a piece of sculpture about 3 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ high. It represents the Goddess of the Brigantes. She has a kind of crown on her head, is clad in a long robe with a globe in one hand and a javelin in the other and at the bottom is this inscription⁶ . . . Note this statue when found was in most places gilded and no doubt had at first been gilded all over.

The next of these stones is an altare very entire but the inscription a little difficult by the change of the Latine language to the worse. The letters are as fresh as if done lately but some of them inverted⁷ . . .

The third stone has been build in a wall. It is about 3 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ high and contains these words⁸ . . .

I have reason to believe that on this stone stood the statue of the god Mercury and that it lies buried in the rubbish where all the 3 stones were found.

(*Note, added later.*) I guessed right. The statue was found 2 years after but much broken and useless.

⁴ A letter, dated 10 August 1731, from Joseph Corrie in Dumfries informed Sir John of the discovery of Roman carvings and inscriptions at Middlebie. Corrie "desired Scotsbridge to take care of them," and on the back of the letter gave his rendering of the inscriptions. (Clerk of Penicuik MSS. 2591.)

⁵ A marginal note in Sir John's "Memoirs," p. 138 f., records that Mrs Bell (*of Scotsbrig*) was using stone from the Roman camp to build a "little stable."

⁶ C.I.L., VII., 1062, figured and discussed by Dr James Macdonald in P.S.A.Scot., xxx. (1896), 133-136. Sir John's reading and speculations about this and the two further inscriptions found with it need not be printed.

⁷ C.I.L., VII., 1069, P.S.A.Scot., *cit.*, 136-138.

⁸ C.I.L., VII., 1070, P.S.A.Scot., *cit.*, 138-140.

The place where these stones were found is about 20 feet from the outmost vallum of the camp or station. It seems to have been a temple or place of arms where the Roman standards had been set up, for such were usual and not always within the camp. It may likewise have been a burial place. The foundations of the walls are remaining and are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ thick. The length of the building appears to be about 36 feet and 12 in breadth. I believe there may be more stones of value lying there and possibly may be dig'd for, because I bought them from the poor widowe woman to whom they belonged at a guinea each. Their freshness as I understand was oweing to her care about them, for no sooner than they were found she ordered them to be brought to her house and wash'd them up with sand and water. Some of the letters are carved with as great nicety as cou'd be done by the best of our carvers. I got our landlord at Echelfechen immediately to remove them from the widow's house to his barn.

This camp at Midlebee deserves very well the consideration of the curious antiquary. It consists of 2 squares, a greater and a less. The great square contains within it at least 62,500 square elles, it being a square of about 250 elles each side, and the lesser contains about 50,000 square elles.

The shape is this (see fig. 10).

A in the largest camp are long buildings which I take to have been stables for the horses.

B is Midlebee brook (*Mein Water*) which upon inundations has wash'd away both the sides of the camps on the South.

C are little farmes or houses within the little camp or prætorium and these houses for the most part with all their yards are made ex lapide quadrante taken from the ruins of the houses which have been originally in the camp. In one of these houses is an imperfect inscription . . .⁹ I was told by a woman there that there is another in the barn and

⁹ C.I.L., VII., 1077.

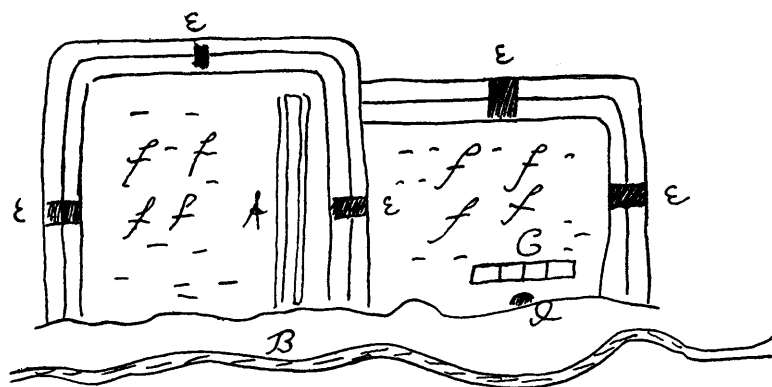


Fig. 10—Birrens.

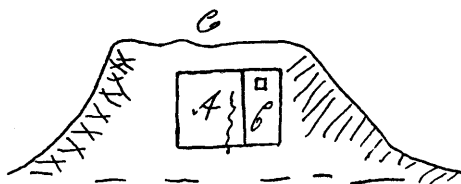


Fig. 11—Burnswark.

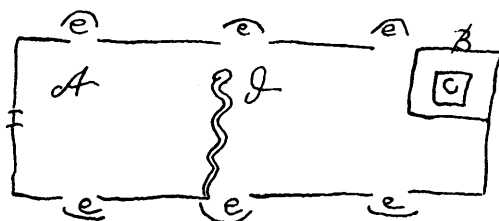


Fig. 12—South fort on Burnswark.

there are so many heaps of walls and houses overgrown with grass and rubbish that I doubt not but there are many curious stones and inscriptions to be found there. There was a piece of gold of Constantius Chlorus found here some years ago. I had it from Mr Maxwell of Midlebee and gave it to the E. of Pembroke who presented me with 3 pieces of antient gold coins for it. This piece of gold was very curious of its kind for it had a hole in the edge of it by which it was hung, as it seems, for an ornament about the neck and was struck only on one side, the other being altogether plain.¹⁰

These camps, or rather one with its *prætorium*, appear to have been very considerable in the days of the Romans, for most of the ditches have been faced with square stones and the buildings within have been most of them of stone and lyme. There are many vestiges of these and the lyme and stones so united together as if cast in iron.

As for the name this place had in former times I scarcely doubt but it was originally a town of the Brigantes and was afterwards converted into a Roman station. About a mile and a half from it to the northward is a famous hill called Burnswerke of this shape (see fig. 11). This hill is to be seen at least 30 miles round and so was fit for a Roman camp as there is indeed one with a *prætorium* on the south side of it marked A b. I make no question but this is the *Castra Exploratorum* mentioned in the *Antonini Itinerarium*, tho' I know some of the commentators and later geographers make the *Castra Exploratorum* to have been Bullness (*Bowness on Solway*) or Blatto Bulgieum about 8 miles to the westwards of Carlyle, or rather Neitherbee, the seat of the Lord Preston, about 8 miles to the north east of Carlyle where there is a camp and some Roman sculptures to be seen at this day. See Mr Gordon's *Itinerarium* and the representation of a man sacrificing.

Upon both sides of Burn's Hill is a Roman camp, each about 300 elles in length and 200 in breadth. That on the

¹⁰ Cf. Sir George Macdonald's observations, *P.S.A.Scot.*, lii., 218 f., pointing out that it was a genuine coin, the reverse of which had been smoothed when it was being converted into an amulet.

south side is the finest. It has a prætorium on the corner. Within it and in this prætorium is a square space where the general's tent stood. There is a spring in the middle of it. This is the true figure of the camp (see fig. 12).

A the camp. B the prætorium. C the place for the general's tent. d a spring. eeeeeee are mounds of earth cast up to defend the entries of the camp.

After I had purchased my 3 stones and dined I proceeded from Echelfechen to Carlyle where I arrived in 4 heures, it being about 12 or 14 miles distant. The way is in many places stony by reasone of the Roman high way. However it is tollerable for either coach or chaise . . .

(Hereafter the journal covers Sir John's visit to England, for which see my paper in the Cumberland and Westmorland Society's Transactions, N.S., LXI.)

On Wednesday the 25 about 8 I took journie back to Drumcrief with Mr Clerk. We pass'd the frith very well, tho' there was some rain fallen but the tide was gone. About midday we came to Echelfechen where I found my 3 antient stones . . .

I return'd this night in safety to Drumcrief, making in my chaise about 4 miles in an houer. I observed it was about 4 heures travell to Echelfechen and about as much to Carlyle when I went into England and on my return, the horses being harty, I made the journie in 7 heures.

On Thursday 26 I visited some of my friendes in Moffat but this was not till the afternoon, for the forenoon was rainy as it had been all night.

On Fryday 27 I met Mr Corie, my niece's (Dolly's) factor at Midlebee and cleared the last years accompts with him.

On Saturday the 28 I went a little to sport and fishing, tho' the day was not very good.

On Sunday the 29 I heard sermon at Moffat (*and*) on Munday the 30 I went to Moffat and was present at a

ball in the afternoon, tho' I stayed there only about an houer. This day I had sent 2 carts to Echelfeche to bring away my 3 antient stones and they return'd with them to Drumcrief next day where they now are to lye for a few weeks.

On Tuesday 31 I went on a heyct near Drumcrief to decide a common between the D. of Queensberry and the Lady Brakenside.¹¹ Several gentlemen mett with me on the fields and we din'd together at Brackenside. This is a very sweet, wild, retir'd place and has abundance of oak wood near it.

On Wednesday 1 Sep I found my self not very well and was trubled with a lousness, but next day I was able to take journie homewards to Pennecuik where I arrived about 7 in the evening. I left Drumcrief only about half an houer after nine in the morning and was an houer and a half at Brughton. The day was exceeding rainy but the chaise made the journie very easy.

Laus Deo.

1 Sep 1731.

J. C.

Note.—As all the observations here are taken in a haste and written immediately after, so it happens that there are many escapes and interlineations, but the reader may depend on it that the facts are exactly mentioned.

APPENDIX.

By Professor ERIC BIRLEY, F.S.A.

Sir John Clerk's journal clears up a number of problems which have hitherto baffled inquirers; it also throws fresh and welcome light on the anatomy of the "annexe" to west of the fort still to be seen at Birrens, and incidentally it gives in some respects the best early account of Burnswark. In footnotes 6-8 I have cited Dr James Macdonald's discussion of the three altars in the Edinburgh Society's

¹¹ Margaret Chalmers, widow of William Carruthers, who died in 1720. The lands of Breckonside march with those of Woodfoot, Woodhead and Craigbeck, which were then the Duke's property.

Proceedings (P.S.A.Scot. xxx., 1896), where good illustrations of them are given, as well as the standard epigraphic references to CIL. VII.; but in some respects it will be better to refer to James Macdonald and James Barbour's book, published by this Society in 1897, *Birrens and its Antiquities*, which gives some important details about the history of the site, as will be seen presently. In addition, it has been profitable to refer to the third volume of the *Stukeley Letters and Correspondence* edited by the Rev. W. C. Lukis (Surtees Society, vol. 80, 1887), in which several of Sir John Clerk's letters on the subject have been printed, including his speculations about the readings of the three altars, omitted from Mr Prevost's transcript as printed above.

First of all, the chronology. Writing to Roger Gale on 10th October, 1731, Sir John notes that the altars were found "in July last," a few weeks therefore before his visit; as Mr Prevost has shown in footnote 4, it must have been the letter from Joseph Corrie, dated 10th August, which first notified him of their discovery. That footnote and the next confirm that the "poor old widowe woman" from whom Sir John bought the three stones at a guinea each was Mrs Bell of Land, as inferred by Macdonald and Barbour, *op. cit.* 8, footnote; and from their researches we may add (what does not follow clearly from Sir John's account) that the findspot was west of the "annexe"—which Alexander Gordon had missed, hence his failure to note them in the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*. Sir John had sent word of the discovery, with drawings of the three stones, to John Horsley some time before he wrote to Gale, for the letter of 10th October (Surtees Soc., 80, 395-400) quotes Horsley's opinion about the relief of Brigantia on one of the altars; and Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, published after its author's death on 12th January, 1731/32, includes a plate (*Scotland* no. 7 *beta*) and two pages of discussion (p. 341 f.) of the three texts, noting that

"Baron Clerk, who first took any care or notice of them, has farther enriched with them his curious and valuable collection of *Roman* antiquities; and by sending an accurate

drawing of them has added one obligation more to the many the learned world and myself are under to this great antiquary."

The stones are also referred to by John Ward, Horsley's learned correspondent on epigraphic matters, in his "letter to the author," *op. cit.* pp. [353]-[355], in the light of correspondence on the subject with Roger Gale.

It may be added that in another letter to Gale, dated 5th November, 1731, Sir John adds further details about the gilding of the statue (Surtees Soc., 80, 403):

"In my last I told you that this fine lady had been gilded, and most of the gold leaf was upon her when first found, which by the way, shows the excellency of that metall."

He also adds a paragraph about his visit to Cumberland and Westmorland . . .

As to the later discovery of the broken statue "2 years after," confirmation is provided by yet another letter, dated 24th September, 1733 (Surtees Soc. 80, 410), in which he tells Gale that:

"Since I had the pleasure of writing to you last, I hapned to be in the south parts of this countrey, and in the old Roman station at Middleby . . . I found this broken statue discovered. It was found in the very place where my pedestall was gott two years ago, and is most certainly all I can have for the Mercury wanted . . ."

One later reference deserves reproduction while we are about it, likewise printed by Lukis (Surtees Soc. 80, 435); it is a letter from the Rev. Simon Currie (1713-1759), then Presbyterian minister of Haltwhistle, to the Rev. Benjamin Peile (1716-1790), Presbyterian minister of Hexham, under date 6th June, 1757, and giving, incidentally, the text of CIL. VII. 1063, P.S.A.Scot. xxx. 147 f., of which the first printed account was by Thomas Pennant, who saw the stone fifteen years later. Currie writes as follows:

"Herewith I send you an inscription which I got in Scotland last week, when over to see my friends at a place called Middlebie, which I think has been an old station, or rather camp. When I was a boy at school there, there were several stones found, and carried to Edinburgh . . . N.B.—The stone was removed as soon as found."

Next, for the findspot and Sir John's plan of the site. It is evident from his account that the temple in which the three stones were found lay to the west of what he calls "the largest camp," and that that was Roy's "annexe," namely the more westerly fort long lost to sight through stone-robbing and agriculture and only recently rediscovered by air photography. Sir John's sketch-plan shows far more detail than Roy's survey (reproduced by Macdonald and Barbour, p. 2), as if to show that its obliteration had already begun in the thirty years or so between Sir John's visit and Roy's; and his "long buildings which I take to have been stables for the horses" deserve special notice: it looks as if the "annexe" may in fact have contained substantial stone buildings, and one cannot help but wonder whether it was not from it, though it was on the Land property, that John Leach carted off so many hundreds of tons of stone, *circa* 1815 or perhaps a year or two later; for his account, as reported to James Barbour by Alexander Hewison in 1895 (Macdonald and Barbour, p. 14 f.), indicated that much of the stone came from the north and west sides of the camp—and it is as certain as certain can be that the visible fort had ramparts of turf only. Here, surely, we have added reason for undertaking fresh excavations at Birrens; we must reckon seriously with the possibility that the "annexe" really represents, at least in its later stages, a substantial fort with rampart of stone and stone internal buildings, and not merely the turf and timber "Agricolan" fort which we have all tended to interpret it as.

As to the date of the temple, it may be noted that all three altars—that to Brigantia as well as the two dedications to Mercury—may be assigned on epigraphic style to the first half of the third century at earliest. The fact that they were in a temple outside the west rampart of the "annexe" perhaps indicates that it was then still fortified, if not that in the Severan reconstruction it had been converted into a more important fortification than the still visible fort; the corollary would be a greatly increased garrison, perhaps to house

exploratores or the like, as well as the milliary cohort for which the fort afforded accommodation in the second century.

On Burnswark, little need be said here, except that Sir John gives a clearer idea of the prominent hill-fort than any of his contemporaries, and a sketch-plan of the south camp which brings out particularly neatly the point which it was left to James Barbour to establish by excavation, namely that the "redoubt" in its N.E. angle, Sir John's "prætorium," is structurally independent of and earlier than the rest of the camp. Sir John had visited Burnswark at least twice before, as is shown by a letter of his to Gale, undated but assignable with certainty to 1729 (Surtees Soc. 80, 264), and it had been described—rather fancifully—by Gordon in the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726), pp. 16-18 and plate 1; for the excavations of 1898, cf. P.S.A.Scot. xxxiii. 198-249, with James Barbour's excellent plan.

ARTICLE 9.

**Thomas Pennant, the Hoddam Castle Collection,
and Roman Antiquities from Birrens.**

By Professor ERIC BIRLEY, F.S.A.

Thomas Pennant (1726-1798), the most indefatigable of the 18th-century antiquarian travellers, paid two visits to Dumfriesshire—rapidly, on his way home in 1769, and at leisure three years later. His *Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides, 1772* (1776) vol. i, 102-105, records the observations which he made at Birrens and Burnswark and an enjoyable call at Hoddam Castle, where

“instead of finding a captive damsel and a fierce wårder, met with a courteous laird and his beauteous spouse; and the dungeon not filled with piteous captives, but well stored with generous wines, not condemned to a long imprisonment.”

He gives a brief account of the castle's history, from its building by John, lord Herries, and then continues as follows:

“In the walls about this house are preserved altars and inscriptions found in the station at Burrens: as they do not appear to have fallen under the notice of the curious, an enumeration of them perhaps will not be unacceptable; therefore shall be noted in the appendix.”

Plate xlv., from drawings by his servant and artist, Moses Griffith, duly illustrates three inscriptions and the upper part of a tombstone, under the heading “ANTIQUITIES AT HODDAM CASTLE,” but it is inserted in his Appendix viii. (vol. ii., 406-410), entitled “Of the ANTIQUITIES found at the STATION at BURRENS”; the four stones illustrated are described as nos. I.-IV., after which he continues:

“These four are engraven in plate. The following are preserved with them in the same place.”

There follows a list of fifteen items, numbered 1-14 (two of them carrying the number 11); it will be convenient to deal with the second no. 11 first of all, for Pennant notes that it does not in fact come from Birrens:

“This was found on the Roman road, in the parish of Hesket, between Carlisle and Penrith.”

(a) The Hesketh Milestone.

He gives the text of the inscription as IMP. CAES. FLAVIO VALERIO CONSTANTINO PUBLII FILIO INVICTO AUGUSTO, manifestly expanding, incorrectly, an abbreviated original; no later writer has seen the stone, but Huebner, when publishing it as CIL VII 1177, was able to offer an acceptable text from a MS. note in Richard Gough's copy of Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford: IMP C / FL VAL / CONS / TANTI / NO P F / INV / AVG — *Imperator Caesar Flavio Valerio Constantino Pio Felici Augusto* being the proper expansion. The stone was evidently a milestone, as its short lines and its dedication to an emperor, without further details, indicate. It was presumably from Gough's MS. note that Huebner added that the stone was found in 1760. Some northern correspondent of his must have looked for it at Hoddam in vain, hence his additional observation that it must have perished there.

What remains quite unexplained is, how the stone came to Hoddam in the first instance. My first inclination was to suspect that the "courteous laird" had perhaps been travelling through Hesketh at the time of its discovery and had acquired it there and then for his collection. But I have recently come across evidence for at least one intervening link in its history: in the Society of Antiquaries' minute-book x, at Burlington House, p. 365 f., the minutes of the meeting of 4th June, 1767, include a drawing of the inscription, exactly matching Gough's version of its text, with the following note:

"This Altar was found last year (i.e., in 1766), upon, or very near the Military Roman Road leading from Penrith to Carlisle; & is now deposited at Armathwaite Castle, the Seat of William Milbourn Esqr."

Neither the county histories nor the Cumberland and Westmorland Society's *Transactions* have more than passing references to William Milbourn of Armathwaite Castle, but fortunately I have been able to draw on Mr C. Roy Hudles-

ton's unwarranted knowledge of Cumberland worthies for the following note:

"William Milbourne is a character who reminds me forcibly how much there is to be done. I am sure that he was an interesting personality, whose career is worth putting into print. On 1 January 1763 he wrote to the bishop of Carlisle, Charles Lyttleton (1714-1768), an account of a sudden decrease of the river Eden at Armathwaite on 28/29 December 1762, when it fell two feet; there was an intense frost, and fish were frozen to death: the account was read to the Royal Society on 13 January, 1763 and was printed in the 'London Magazine.' I have a copy of Milbourne's will, which is worthy of being printed; it is dated 28 October, 1766, and among the bequests is one to Miss Polly Dobinson of ten guineas 'and my ring set with one brilliant diamond and six small brilliant diamonds, my head of Alexander cut upon an onyx or pebble and my enamelled gold trinket of the story of Tarquin and Lucrece.' Milbourne was buried in Armathwaite chapel on 5 September 1769."

I can find no trace of any contact between Pennant and Milbourne, nor did Pennant visit Armathwaite on either of his journeys through Cumberland (1769 and 1772), so that we need not adopt the counsel of despair to which Dr James Macdonald resorted in discussing another item in Pennant's list (of which, more later), supposing that he had in error included under Hoddam, or Birrens, a stone which he had copied elsewhere. It seems more likely that after Milbourne's death the stone was acquired by the laird of Hoddam—unless indeed Sir William Maxwell had seen and drawn it at Armathwaite and had then included the drawing among those of Birrens antiquities which, as we shall see, he furnished for Pennant's use. Meanwhile, I should be grateful for any information which students of Dumfriesshire families can give about the Cumberland connections of the Hoddam family, or of Sir William Maxwell of Springkeld.

(b) The Hadrianic Inscription.

No. 10 in Pennant's list, discussed by Dr James Macdonald in P.S.A.Scot., xxx 149 f., is given by Pennant (ii. 409) as

"An inscription. *Imperator* CaesARI TRAJANo HADRIANo *Legio secunda Augusta*."

Macdonald concluded that this text "was almost certainly transcribed from a Cumberland stone," citing the Morton MS. in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for the following note:

"This inscription is in a house of Jockie Graham's in Eskdale, fixed in a wall, set up, it appears, by the <i>Legio Augusta Secunda</i> in memorial of the Emperor Hadrian."	IMP. CAES. TRA. HADRIANO. AVG LEG. II. AVG. F.
---	---

He pointed out that the MS. was probably written by James, earl of Morton (1738-1768), and that the house referred to must be the Grahams' seat at Netherby, on the Esk in Cumberland; Reginald Bainbrigg of Appleby went to Netherby in 1601 and sent Camden an almost identical transcription of the text in time for it to be printed in the 1607 edition of the *Britannia*, whence Holland's English version of 1610, p. 781:

"But now dwelleth here the chiefe of the Grayhame family, very famous among the Borderers for their martiall disposition: and in a wall of his house this Romane inscription is set up, in memoriall of Hadrian the Emperor, by the Legion surnamed *Augusta Secunda*."

Now Gordon and Horsley alike had sought the stone in vain, ten or fifteen years before Lord Morton was born; the wording of his note is manifestly not derived from autopsy but from Holland's version (apart from its insertion of "Jockie," which does not fit into the pedigree of the Graham family either in Camden's day or in his own).

Macdonald was following Daniel Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (1851) 396, and Huebner (CIL VII 961), in supposing that only one inscription was in question, namely that which Bainbrigg copied for Camden at Netherby.

But that supposition involves very serious difficulties:

(1) Pennant's mixture of types implies that the stone in his Hoddam list read TRAIAN (not TRA.), and it lacked the terminal F(ECIT) of Morton's copy or FEC(IT) of

Bainbrigg's: *prima facie* it seems unlikely that it can have been the same stone.

(2) It is difficult to see how a stone, sought in vain by Gordon and Horsley, could have come to light and been given away by the Grahams (who were keen collectors of Roman inscriptions and sculptures) without any record of the matter.

(3) The case of the milestone, already considered, implies that any stone at Hoddam would have been annotated accordingly if it was known not to have come from Birrens.

For these reasons it seems best to conclude that the inscription in Pennant's list did in fact come from Birrens, and to reject Huebner's assumption that the Netherby inscription had somehow been removed thence to Hoddam (cf. my brief discussion, CW2 liii. 21).

(c) The Hoddam List.

When we take into account, however, the fact that Pennant's list contains (as Dr James Macdonald pointed out) a number of Birrens items which were in Sir John Clark's collection and unquestionably were not seen by Pennant on his visit to Hoddam, it becomes necessary to reconsider its contents and their significance. The half-dozen stones which Moses Griffith drew were unquestionably at Hoddam, but it does not follow that all or any of the others were seen by Pennant himself. Indeed, he provides what we might term an escape-clause; for in the "*Advertisement*," vol. i., p. iv., he makes acknowledgments to "Sir William Maxwell, Bart., of Springkeld, with variety of drawings, found at the Roman station at Burrens." It is for consideration whether the series of fifteen items, already referred to, may not in fact represent a list furnished *in toto*, with drawings, by Sir William Maxwell; he or Pennant (it is not clear which of them) knew that not all of the items were in fact preserved at Hoddam, for a footnote at ii. 409 observes that "Numbers 7, 8, and 14, were purchased by the late Sir John Clerk, of Penycuik, near Edinburgh." Yet that footnote in itself, taken in conjunction with the note on the Hesket milestone,

seems all the more to confirm the Birrens provenance of the remaining items in the list.

It will be convenient to repeat the list here, with brief annotations:

1. "Part of the figure of Victory, with one foot on a globe. Her vest and part of her wings only are to be seen." Also seen at Hoddam by Bishop Pococke, in 1760 (James Macdonald, *P.S.A.Scot.* xxx. 122, citing Pococke's "Tours in Scotland," *Scottish History Society*, p. 33).

2. Tombstone of Afutianus (*CIL VII 1078*), next recorded at Knockhill near Ecclefechan (*P.S.A.Scot.* xxx. 145).

3. Altar to Fortune (*CIL VII 1063*), also at Knockhill (op. cit. 144).

4. "A fragment of an earthen vessel, with a naked female leaning on a column." Evidently figured samian; the figure-type is probably D. 184=O. 322, particularly favoured by CINNAMVS of Lezoux.

5. "Another, with part of a boar beneath a tree. This perhaps alludes to the Caledonian forest. The fragment of the inscription above the boar is only II. TVN. . ." Figured samian again; the figure-type is most likely D. 826=O. 1641, the charging boar to r. of which CINNAMVS was by far the greatest user; it seems possible that the inscription is a misreading of the second half of his middle-sized retrograde stamp.

6. C.L. / PED. BR. P. (Taken by Macdonald, following Huebner and Haverfield, to be identical with either *CIL VII 970*, in the Netherby collection, or 864, at Naworth; but the reading differs from both those texts.)

7. Altar to Mercury (*CIL VII 1070*, Horsley's Sc. xxxvi.).

8. Altar to Mercury (*CIL VII 1069*, Sc. xxxv.).

9. "A piece of an ornamental stone, inscribed *Legio XX Vict.*" (*CIL VII 1075*, taking it to be a mis-reading of a Sixth Legion stone long in the Clerk collection at Penicuik, though not known to Horsley: cf. *P.S.A.Scot.* xxx 140 and 149.)

10. The Hadrianic inscription, discussed above.

11. "Another piece of a vessel, inscribed *Sac.EROR.*" This is presumably the potter's stamp *SACEROM*, of the Antonine potter *SACERO* of Lubié (rather than *SACEROF* of the Western-dorf potter of that name).

11. The Hesketh milestone, discussed above.

12. "An inscription in memory of one *Pervica*, by her mother *Julia*. *Dis Manibus Sacrum JULIA PERVICAE Filiae*. Mr Horsely, No. LXIV. Northumberland, preserves one of the same kind." (Horsley's stone is *CIL VII 743*, of which the best published reading is that of R. G. Collingwood, *AA4 ii. 99*, no. 172:

dis m. Pervicae filiae; Dr James Macdonald followed Huebner in supposing Pennant's inscription to be a garbled version of the Greatchesters one, but that is difficult to accept—d. m. s. Iulia Pervicae fil. seems likeliest to be the true reading, namely a memorial to a Julia daughter of Pervica. The reference to Horsley is plainly for another instance of the name Pervica, and Pennant is aware that this is a different stone.)

13. "A fragment containing AXAN / CONIS." (CIL VII 1077, Sc. xxxii.; Horsley, p. 207, noting that the stone was built up in one of the houses at Middleby, adds: "Baron Clerk, who was so obliging as to send me the draught and account of it, intended, I believe, to remove it to his own seat." But it was still "in a house there" when Bishop Pococke visited Birrens in 1750, as Macdonald pointed out, P.S.A.Scot. xxx. 121.)

14. The altar to Brigantia (CIL VII 1062, Sc. xxxiv.).

If we review the list as a whole, bearing in mind Pennant's annotation about nos. 7, 8, and 14 being in the Clerk collection and his specific attribution of the second no. 11 to Hesket in Cumberland, there seems no necessity to reject Birrens as the provenance of the other items. All that will be needed is to bear in mind the credit to Sir William Maxwell for "variety of drawings, found at the *Roman* station at *Burrens*," and to realise that that is the true basis of the list, rather than Pennant's "The following are preserved with them in the same place." Sir William Maxwell thus becomes of all the more interest, as a Dumfriesshire antiquary who paid active attention to Roman remains in the second half of the 18th century; it could be wished that Pennant had reproduced his drawings instead of giving only the printed list, with its often incorrect expansions of the abbreviated inscriptions.

But if Maxwell sent Pennant a list of items from Birrens and not from Hoddam itself, the item marked exceptionally as found at Hesket need never have left Cumberland: it might represent nothing more than an additional Roman inscription, recently discovered, of which Maxwell had knowledge and which he thought worth communicating to Pennant. In that case, the missing milestone is perhaps really still to be sought at Arnathwaite, where it unquestionably was in 1767.

Captain Thurot's Expedition.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL J. R. H. GREEVES, B.Sc.

On the 17th May, 1960, a ceremony took place at Kirkmaiden Church, Monreith Bay, near Port William, at which was unveiled a plaque to the memory of François Thurot, a French Naval Officer, believed to be buried in the churchyard.¹ Captain Thurot's exploits occasioned much worry and anxiety 200 years ago, and it may be of interest to recount something of the man and his history.

François Thurot was born at Nuits, a small town in Burgundy, on 22nd July, 1726.² According to the account which he himself gave to the Rev. John Francis Durand, who knew him well and published a pamphlet on his life,³ his paternal grandfather was an Irishman, Captain Farrell, in the army of James II., who followed his sovereign to France and was employed in some capacity in the Royal household at Paris. While there he married Mlle. Thurot, whose uncle was a member of the parlement of Paris. The young couple went to Boulogne, where Captain Farrell died 3 months before the birth of a son; his wife dying soon afterwards, the child was brought up by her relatives and took her name. This boy married three times, his second wife being a vintner's daughter, Mlle. Picard, who died in giving birth to a son, the object of these notes. The lad was of an adventurous disposition and when 15 years old sailed with a smuggler, a distant relative; and finally arriving in the Isle of Man, took service with a gentleman of Anglesey, who had a flourishing smuggling trade with Ireland. Thurot proved useful and was for a time sent to live in Carlingford, Co.

¹ Wigtonshire Free Press, 19th May, 1960.

² J. K. Laughton: *Studies in Naval History*; London, 1887. Chapter X., "Thurot."

³ Rev. J. F. Durand: *Genuine and Curious Memoirs of Thurot*; Daniel Blow, Belfast, 1760 (see Belfast Newsletter of 11th April, 1760). *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (hereafter referred to as U.J.A.), Series ii., vol. ix., p. 155, states "No copy of this pamphlet is known to exist"; but it was reprinted very largely in *Annual Register* for 1760.

Louth, to oversee certain affairs for his master, and there he learned to speak English. He later left this employment and went to Dublin where, being in very low water financially, he got a situation as valet to Lord "B—," with whom he stayed for 2 years under the name of "Dauphine" (!!). Later he had some position in the North of Ireland with Lord Antrim, but the lure of smuggling was too much for him and he managed to make quite a lot of money before things got too hot for his liking. He fled to Edinburgh and made the acquaintance of a shipowner who engaged him for one of his vessels trading between Edinburgh and London. From 1748 to 1752 he lived in London or its vicinity, trading between England and France, and while there he met the clergyman above-mentioned.

So much for Thurot's own story. The truth appears to be rather different; according to J. K. Laughton⁴ he was the son of an innkeeper and postmaster, but nothing is said of Irish origin, although this may well be factual. Educated at the Jesuits' College, Dijon, he was apprenticed to a druggist, but got into bad company and, after robbing his aunt of some silver articles, he fled to Dunkirk and got a berth as surgeon on board a privateer, which was captured very shortly afterwards by the British, as a result of which he was imprisoned at Dover.⁵ After about a year he managed to escape, and stealing a small rowboat, he got across the Channel and reached Calais. As a result of the publicity he received for this admittedly courageous act, he attracted the notice of the Marechal de Belle-Isle, who advised him

⁴ Loc. cit. The Authorities cited are: (a) Durand's "Memoirs," of which he says "the account which it gives of Thurot's early life and active career is simply and entirely false; it has not even the semblance of truth." (b) *Adresse à Messieurs les Representans de la Nation Française*; by Mlle. Thurot, 1790. (c) *Vie du Capitaine Thurot*; par. M., xxx., Paris, 1791. (d) *Journal Historique du Capitaine Thurot dans sa Croisiere sur les Côtes d'Ecosse et d'Irlande*; Dunkerque, 1760. (e) *Journal de la Navigation d'une Escadre Française, partie du port de Dunkerque aux ordres du Capitaine Thurot, le 15 Octobre, 1759.*

⁵ See Belfast Newsletter (hereafter referred to as B.N.L.), 8th April, 1760, which quotes a letter from Paris published in the Amsterdam Gazette.

to take up a seafaring career. This he did, and shipping as a boy on a privateer he rose so rapidly that after two cruises he was given an independent Command, and "by his activity, energy and good fortune won some reputation and a large share of prize-money; so that when Peace was concluded in 1748 he was in a position to fit out a merchant ship at his own risk and expense." Residing mostly in London from 1748 to 1752, he apparently lived with an Irish girl who later followed him to France and is said to have been on shipboard with him when he was killed;⁶ they may have been married as he certainly left a woman (nee Smith) who claimed to be his widow (and in whose cause the Marechal de Belle-Isle took a kindly interest),⁷ and a six months old daughter who, in 1790 was awarded a pension of 1000 francs by the French Government.

He was evidently a fairly extensive smuggler; in July, 1753, his ship, the *Argonaute* of Dunkirk, 160 tons, was seized by British Customs Officers in the neighbourhood of Baltimore in S.W. Ireland, and he also apparently fell foul of the French Authorities, being imprisoned, first at Dunkirk and afterwards at Paris, about 1754-5, for smuggling. However, the Seven Years War was imminent; his reputation as a bold seaman procured for him a commission in the French Navy and he was given command of the *Friponne*, a small sloop, in which he harried British shipping in the Channel. Later he obtained a squadron consisting of two 36-gun frigates, the *Marechal de Belle-Isle* and the *Chauvelin*, and two small sloops; with these he sailed from St. Malo on 16th July, 1757, and until January, 1759, when he paid off at Dunkirk, he harassed the coastal waters of Scotland and Ulster, taking many small prizes and having several substantial engagements with British vessels, notably one with the *Dolphin*, 24 guns, and *Salisbury*, 28 guns, on 26th May, 1758, off the Firth of Forth.⁸

⁶ See B.N.L., 13th March, 1760.

⁷ See *Ibid.*, 25th April, 1760.

⁸ For an extended account see Laughton, *loc. cit.*

Howe's destruction of Cherbourg in August, 1758, so enraged the French that they determined to invade England and Thurot was given the task of making a diversion in the north, while the main force under the Marquis de Conflans and the Duc d'Aiguillon operated against the south. Accordingly he was placed in command of a squadron of five ships—*Marechal de Belle-Isle*, 48 guns; *Begon* and *Blonde*, 36 guns each; *Terpsichore* and *Amaranthe*, 24 guns each, with a complement of 1270 men.⁹ This force was ready at Dunkirk to sail on 5th September, 1759, but did not get out of harbour until 15th October, there being a number of English ships preventing; when it did manage to slip away and get to Ostend, a storm blew up during which *Begon* broke her cable and drove out to sea; the others followed and on 26th arrived at Gothenburg where they remained until 14th November when they left for Bergen, where they arrived on 17th after passing through a violent storm during which *Begon* was apparently lost with all hands.

They stayed at Bergen until 5th December when they sailed for the British coast. More bad weather frustrated them and from 14th to 27th December they were beating about the Faeroe Islands without being able to land. Food was running short and a Council of War was held on 1st January, 1760, at which strict rationing was agreed upon. For several weeks they continued to beat about the Scottish Islands, getting provisions wherever they could, and on 24th January, having at last a favourable wind, they made towards Ireland with a view to landing at Londonderry. Here again a storm prevented them, blowing them out to sea. when actually off the mouth of the Foyle, where they had arrived on 6th February. "Such a storm arose that we were all

⁹ See B.N.L., 11th March, 1760; where is printed "Journal of the late expedition under M. Thurot from a French Officer in said expedition and now a prisoner in this city" (Dublin); but Laughton (*loc. cit.*) gives *Belle-Isle* 44 guns, *Amaranthe* 18 guns and a total of 2200 men, and adds a 6th ship, *Faucon*, 18 guns; and says that the latter disappeared at the same time as *Begon*. She is not mentioned elsewhere as far as I can trace. See also Annual Register for 1760.

alike to be lost"; Blonde had to jettison four guns; Amaranthe got separated from and never rejoined the squadron,¹⁰ which had to make sail for Islay to repair damage and get provisions.

When Islay was reached the men were literally starving for want of food. Two residents, Messrs Campbell and MacDonald, going aboard under the impression that the squadron was British, were hospitably entertained and a bargain was struck whereby the French were supplied with "48 beeves" at 50 shillings each and 5 tons of flour (or oatmeal) at 50 guineas. Belle-Isle was drawn up and the leakages caulked, and on 20th February the three ships sailed once more for Ireland, arriving off Carrickfergus on 21st at about 10 a.m.¹¹ All the wine on board having been given to the men "to animate their courage,"¹² they captured two small fishing boats and proceeded to land some 600 men near Kilroot, about 2 miles south of Carrickfergus. The garrison consisted of a detachment of General Strode's Regiment, the 62nd, commanded by Lt.-Col. John Jennings. The Castle was in a poor state for defence, having a large breach in the outer wall; and there was very little ammunition. The colonel sent out several parties to delay the French who were marching on the town, and a considerable amount of house-to-house fighting took place, during which a number of the enemy were killed and Brigadier Flaubert (or Flobert), the commander of the French troops, was wounded. The British finally retired into the Castle, which was strongly attacked, but the enemy was repulsed with substantial loss. The available ammunition was, however, soon exhausted, and the

¹⁰ She limped into St Malo on 25th February, with her men more dead than alive. See Annual Register, 1760, which quotes a despatch from St Malo dated 25th February.

¹¹ Samuel M'Skimin: History of Carrickfergus: new edition with additional notes by E. J. M'Crum; Belfast, 1909. The above account of the voyage is compiled from the "Journal of the late expedition under M. Thurot" (loc. cit.) and the Annual Register, Despatch re Amaranthe from St Malo, 25th February, 1760.

¹² Journal as above.

garrison forced to capitulate on honourable terms.¹³ Nine officers and 188 other ranks were made prisoner.¹⁴ The Articles of Capitulation provided for no plundering of the town, but a certain amount was indulged in, various houses being broken into and the Church plate stolen.¹⁵ The principle wants of the French were food and drink and, as Carrickfergus was not able to supply these needs, the Rev. David Fullerton with a French officer were sent on 22nd with a flag of truce to Belfast to demand provisions to the value of £1200, with the threat of burning both Carrickfergus and Belfast if the demand were not complied with. After some delay the required stores were despatched and were put on board by the French on 24th and 25th.

Meanwhile neither the Government nor the local volunteers had been idle. As soon as possible after the news of the landing reached Dublin, the Government despatched a Regiment of Horse, and gave instructions for detachments from several regiments of Foot and squadrons of Dragoons to converge on Carrickfergus from various directions. At

¹³ For the Terms, see B.N.L., 13th March, 1760; also U.J.A., Ser. ii., vol. x., p. 70, quoting B.M. Add. MSS. 32903 F.39, which is endorsed "Copy Articles of Capitulation betwixt Lieut. Colonel Jennings and Monsieur Dusoulie." They are signed by Dusoulie "Commandant de Bataillon au service du Roi de France" and John Jennings, "Lt.-Col. of His Britannick Majesty's 62nd Regiment of Foot," and countersigned by Brig. Flaubert "Dans mon lit à cause de ma Blessure, 21 Fevrier, 1760, à Carrickfergus."

¹⁴ U.J.A., loc. cit., p. 69, quoting B.M. Add. MSS. 32903 F.37. The estimates of casualties vary greatly. M'Skimin (loc. cit., p. 83) says the British had 2 killed and 3 wounded, the French some 50 killed and the same number wounded. Major-General Strode, in a letter to the Duke of Bedford, dated 22nd February, says "The French lost 4 or 5 and our people 3 or 4." (U.J.A., loc. cit., p. 190, quoting MSS. of the Earl of Donaghmore, Hist. MSS. Comn., 1891.) Col. Sandford, writing from Belfast, 4th March, 1760, says of Col. Jennings "He killed near 100 of the Enemy and did not lose more than 12 of 15 of his Men killed and wounded." (U.J.A., loc. cit., p. 140, quoting B.M. Add. MSS. 32903 F.90.) It is likely that the truth is that the British lost 3 or 4, and the French, who were the attackers, perhaps a couple of dozen.

¹⁵ On 21st October following, the Irish House of Commons granted compensation for losses to the inhabitants, to the amount of £4585 12s 0½d, of which £17 was for the Church Plate. (M'Skimin, loc. cit., p. 83, quoting Journals of the House of Commons and Parish Register.)

the same time orders were sent to Captain John Elliot, who was in Kinsale Harbour with his squadron, consisting of the frigates *Aeolus*, 32 guns (Capt. Elliot); *Pallas* (Capt. Clements), and *Brilliant* (Capt. Loggie), 36 guns each, to sail and intercept the enemy. By morning of 26th February he had arrived off Dublin, whence he reported progress to the Lord Lieutenant. While there he "had information from the Fishermen that the enemy were then at Carrickfergus; I made all the despatch possible to attack them there, and got off the entrance of the harbour that evening, but the wind being contrary and blowing very hard I could not get in."¹⁶

As well as this, no less than 50 companies of Volunteers, consisting of 5352 all ranks, from Counties Antrim, Armagh and Down assembled for the defence of Belfast and the relief of Carrickfergus. They were for the most part poorly supplied with ammunition, but some of the local Volunteers, met at Bellahill near Carrickfergus, sent out scouting parties who were seen by the French and are thought to have hastened the latter's departure.

In the meantime the enemy, who had all gone aboard on 26th were unable, owing to the strong N.W. wind, to get out of the harbour until about 1 a.m. on 28th when they finally left the port, a very short time before the arrival of the advance-guard of British troops. Once clear of the harbour they passed the entrance to the Lough and made course for the Isle of Man. At 4 a.m., as soon as they had rounded the Copeland Islands off the County Down coast, they were seen by the British squadron making S.S.E., and being observed immediately changed course towards Scotland, "being less than one league to windward" of the

¹⁶ B.N.L., 7th March, 1760; Capt. Elliot to Lord Lieutenant: Despatch from Ramsay, I.O.M., dated 29th February, in which he mentions having written to the Lord Lieutenant on 26th, off Dublin. Elliot later rose to be Admiral of the Blue, and Capt. Clements died as Admiral (superannuated) in 1797. (Memoirs of Bishop Hildesley; Rev. Weedon Butler, 1799, pps. 393, 400 notes. I am indebted to Mr W. R. Serjeant, B.A., Librarian-Archivist of the Manx Museum, Douglas, for drawing my attention to these Memoirs.)

British, who gave chase. About 7 a.m. *Aeolus* began to fire her "chace guns" at *Belle-Isle*, which were replied to by the latter's stern chasers. About 9 a.m. *Aeolus* overtook *Belle-Isle* and gave her a broadside which she returned "and put her helm a-weather in order to board *Aeolus*, when her bowsprit came between the main and fore shrouds; it was carried away and then her stern scraped the side of *Aeolus* and fell astern of her. It was during this time that great execution was done among the French by the constant firing of great and small shot; she then dropping astern, the *Aeolus* bore down upon her and gave her a starboard broadside; the *Aeolus* falling then astern, the other two English frigates came up and gave the *Belle-Isle* a broadside each, one of which carried away her main yard—and passed ahead of her to make room for *Aeolus* who went so close before she fired that her bowsprit went in between her main and mizen shrouds and in that situation continued firing at each other until the *Belle-Isle* struck, a little before which the *Aeolus* carried away *Belle-Isle*'s mizen mast with her bowsprit."¹⁷ Shortly before *Belle-Isle* struck, *Blonde* ran foul of her and the three ships were locked together until the end. Neither *Blonde* nor *Terpsichore* showed much fight and quickly struck, *Blonde* to *Aeolus* and *Terpsichore* to *Brilliant*.¹⁸ The losses, as reported by Elliot were, on the British side:

Aeolus—killed 4, wounded 15;
Pallas—killed 1, wounded 5;
Brilliant—killed 0, wounded 11;
 Total—killed 5, wounded 31;

and on the French side, killed and wounded about 300. The French account puts their losses at 90 hors-de-combat, which

¹⁷ B.N.L., 11th March, 1760: Account by John Kelly, a seaman who joined *Aeolus* in Dublin as pilot, 26th February.

¹⁸ See B.N.L., 8th April: Letter written on board *Aeolus* in Ramsay Bay, dated 29th February. Elliot's account is more laconic: "About nine I got up alongside their Commodore, and in a few minutes after the engagement became general, and continued very briskly for an hour and a half, when they all struck their colours . . ." (Despatch to Lord Lieutenant dated Ramsay Bay, 29th February, in B.N.L., 7th March; also B.M. Add. MSS. 32903 F.92.)

probably does not include the less severely wounded.¹⁹ 25 officers and 416 men were made prisoner; of these 4 officers and 39 men were seamen.²⁰ During the action Captain Thurot was killed. The ships were got with great difficulty into Ramsay Bay, being "all greatly disabled in their masts and rigging" and Belle-Isle in a sinking condition; it was some days before Captain Elliot was able to return to Kinsale, where he arrived with his three prizes on 10th March.²¹

There is a certain amount of conflicting evidence as to where Thurot was buried. A letter written from Ramsay a few days after the fight²² states that his body "was brought on shore there and interred with all military honours, the Ships having fired Minute Guns while he was interring." This, however, seems to be erroneous; the generally accepted story is that his body was thrown overboard during the action (or perhaps afterwards by mistake) and was one of several which drifted ashore on 1st March on the Galloway coast, where it was recognised by the initials on the body-linen; the burial took place in Kirkmaiden Churchyard where the tablet to his memory was recently erected.²³ This account is borne out by a letter dated 6th May, 1760, written by the Rt. Rev. Mark Hildesley, D.D., then Bishop of Sodor and Man, who met Captain Elliot in Ramsay. The Bishop gives an account of the action which took place off his own estate, Bishop's Court; and confirms that the French threw Thurot's body overboard before Belle-Isle was captured. "Lieut. Forbes of the *Aeolus*, who perceiving the Belle-Isle's deck pretty clear, took the opportunity to jump into her, and strike the colours with his own hands; and at the same time found the French hero just fallen with the last broadside,

¹⁹ Elliot's Despatch, loc. cit.

²⁰ B.N.L., 4th March, where the names and regiments of the officers are given. See also B.M. Add. MSS. 32903 F.33, quoted in U.J.A., loc. cit., p. 141.

²¹ Annual Register, 10th March, 1760.

²² B.N.L., 7th March, quoting letter from Ramsay.

²³ M'Skimin, loc. cit., p. 86, note (quoting "British Battles by Land and Sea") elaborates and says "He was sewed up in one of the silk velvet carpets of his cabin and cast into the sea."

and his own men throwing him overboard." The Bishop also mentions the story being current of the burial having taken place at Ramsay, on which he pours scorn. He obtained the bowsprit of Belle-Isle and set it up in his garden "as a memorial of our deliverance."²⁴

Thus ended, at the age of 30 years, the life of one who had been a thorn in the side of the British during a considerable part of his short career, and whose name is remembered when those of many more notable commanders are forgotten. He was "an opponent who had never shut his eyes to the principles of honour, generosity and humanity, and who was scarcely less lamented by his British foes than by his own countrymen."²⁵ In person he is described as "a well-made young man, seems to be about 28 years old, his size rather of the lowest and of a fair complexion. He speaks English well."²⁶ He is further described as "rather robust than genteel, rather comely than handsome—very brown and extremely florid, with a small scar under his left eye."²⁷ "He was at once amiable and terrible, and joined to an intrepid courage, a very uncommon humanity. Those who knew him give a prodigious character of him and say that, had he lived a few years longer, he would have equalled, if not surpassed, Le Bart or Guay-Trouin."²⁸ To judge from his record, the latter sentiment would appear exaggerated; but the recent ceremony at Kirkmaiden gives fitting, though tardy, recognition to a brave man and an intrepid naval commander.

J. R. H. G.

²⁴ *Memoirs of Bishop Hildesley*, loc. cit., pps. 388-390.

²⁵ William Laird Clowes: *The Royal Navy*; London, 1898, vol. iii., p. 231.

²⁶ *Annual Register*, 1760, quoting letter from Islay.

²⁷ Laughton, loc. cit., p. 362

²⁸ B.N.L., 1st and 8th April, quoting *Amsterdam Gazette*.

Letters from Dumfries to a Scottish Factor at Rotterdam, 1676-1683.

By T. C. SMOUT, M.A., PH.D.

INTRODUCTION.

In the third quarter of the 17th century, the traditional ties between Scotland and the Low Countries were still very strong. Three Dutch wars in 25 years, born of English and not of Scottish enmity, had strained but not broken them. The greatest overseas market of the Scots remained in the Netherlands, despite the wars, the decline of the old staple port at Veere, and the increasing difficulties of tariff obstructions and changing commercial conditions. Dutch universities and schools were still the Mecca of Scottish students; Dutch armies and navies employed some of the finest Scottish mercenaries; Dutch Calvinism served as a model and inspiration to the persecuted Presbyterians of later Stuart rule. The United Provinces, in fact, held more than their share of Scottish fortune hunters and refugees, and of all their cities, Rotterdam had the biggest population of Scots—it was said about a thousand—with their own church, traditions, and social life.¹

The secular leaders of this Rotterdam community were the merchants, and among them, none was better known on both sides of the North Sea than Andrew Russell, who came from Stirling to Holland in 1668, and remained there most of the time until 1696, building up a prosperous business both as a trader on his own account, and as factor to a great many men in Scotland who traded to the Netherlands. After his death, his will was disputed, and his papers came by a devious route into Register House, Edinburgh.² Here, among many thousands of personal and business letters, I have found eight addressed to him from Dumfries: no doubt

¹ W. Steven, *Scottish Church at Rotterdam*, p. 123.

² Scottish Record Office: Andrew Russell Papers.

he received others which have been lost or destroyed, but this very small total reflects the fact that hardly anywhere in the Lowlands was more remote from Holland than Dumfries. The letters, which are reproduced below, are not less interesting for that. They are transcribed with their original spelling, but with modern punctuation inserted into what was in most cases an unbroken flow of words.

The first two letters come from George Archbald, physician in Dumfries. On the face of it, they contain little apart from expressions of friendship and gratitude for help that Russell and his wife had given them in Holland: probably Russell acted *in loco parentis* while Archbald studied medicine at Leyden or Utrecht, a function that he was often asked to perform by the fathers of young students going to Holland, and which consisted of doling out their allowances as and when he thought fit, and advising them in all manner of matters both material and spiritual. It cannot have been an easy office, but the very genuine warmth of the letters is typical of the affection that the factor almost always aroused in his charges. They also seem to have met in Scotland, probably when Russell stayed in Edinburgh during the third Dutch War. The request for second-hand Dutch medical books to be sent to Dumfries is an interesting testimony to the great reputation of Dutch medicine among physicians all over Europe.

There is also an undercurrent in both letters of strong religious sympathy. John Brown, to whom Archbald refers in the first letter, was a minister who had opposed the Restoration of Charles II. on religious grounds. Subsequently he had been expelled from Scotland, and joined a number of other exiles in the congregation of the Scottish church at Rotterdam, from which he was, in fact, hounded out by diplomatic pressure in 1677. Russell himself was an elder and deacon of that congregation, and frequently held conventicles of the banished clergy in his own home. In 1683, Russell and several others were suspected by the Privy Council of complicity in the murder of the Archbishop of St.

Andrews.³ Certainly Russell *was* an uncompromising Presbyterian, though he was not as fanatical or as dangerous as the Government at one time believed. Archbald was of the same creed, and regarded his friends in Rotterdam as a precious branch of the true church, singularly blessed in their Dutch "resting place" while believers at home were persecuted. Since any letters ran a risk of disappearing into the hands of Government spies *en route*, it is understandable that his language was veiled.

The remaining six letters were from three Dumfries merchants, and are almost exclusively concerned with the business of trade between Holland and Dumfries. Together, they throw an interesting light on the mercantile habits of the day. One way in which the Dumfries men could trade was by coming over themselves to Holland with their goods, taking advice from Russell about how they should do business, and returning with their purchases. It is clear that each of the correspondents did this at one time or another, and when young James Lockhart went for the first time he carried a letter of introduction from both George Archbald, the physician, and John Reid, an older merchant with whom Russell was already acquainted (letters II. and IV.). The other method was to consign the goods to Russell, instruct him to sell them at the best prices, to buy a return cargo, and to send that home, for which factorial service Russell would receive commission: all three men evidently had recourse to this also. Whichever type of venture was planned, Russell was always indispensable. It was also necessary to hear regularly from him about market conditions in the Netherlands. Much money could be lost by lack of information, but the factor had scores of correspondents all over Scotland, and was not always able to give the Dumfries men the prompt attention they would have liked. It is a point of considerable interest that the only Scottish port mentioned by name in these letters as the port of consignment is Bo'ness.

³ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 3rd Series, Vol. VII., pp. 21, 112, 275, 403-4, 455-6. Steven, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

Evidently a fair amount of Dumfriesshire trade was done through this rapidly developing harbour on the Forth, linked by pack-horse routes to the burghs of the west. At the other end, goods might be sent to either Veere or Rotterdam: in 1683, the Conservator made a real effort to force all goods once again through the Staple, and John Reid's complaint about it (letter V.) was characteristic of much Scottish merchant opinion. In the event it was a small inconvenience, for almost everything landed at Veere passed through the hands of Scottish factors in the employment of Russell and his friends at Rotterdam, and was immediately shipped coast-wise to the latter port to be disposed of through the usual channels.

The commodities most often mentioned in these letters as exports from Dumfries are skins and hides, which leant themselves easily to transport to Bo'ness by pack horse. Cloth—it would be the rough white Galloway cloth of the west which Russell himself bought for sale to the Dutch—is mentioned in Letter V. The curious sugar “pennits” of the same letter were presumably some kind of sweet, and, as the factor had evidently pointed out, they were unsaleable in Holland, which was the home of fancy confections at the time. The reference to sending an envelope of Scottish pearls in Letter VIII. is interesting: perhaps they came from the Water of Fleet, which Sir Robert Sibbald in 1698 mentioned as famous for its pearl oysters.⁴

The imports, as might be expected, were more various: dye-stuffs, linseed, onions, whalebone, and fine Dutch cloth are all mentioned. The last was still being ordered in 1683, two years after an Act of Parliament had forbidden such imports⁵—thus quickly could a law fall into disuetude

(Letter VIII.).

On one occasion, James Lockhart asks that the return of his cargo out should not be in goods, but in Dutch

⁴ National Library of Scotland: MS. 33.5.16, *Discourse anent the Improvements may be made in Scotland for advancing the Wealth of the Kingdom*, p. 98.

⁵ A.P.S., VII., p. 348.

coin, to enable him to buy another consignment for Holland as quickly as possible (Letters VI. and VII.). This, apart from the offer of Archbald to pay for his text-books by a bill on an Edinburgh merchant (Letter I.), is the only direct reference to transmitting a balance in either direction. It was evidently normal among these Dumfries men to make their cargo out pay as nearly as possible for what they imported, and to take their profits in Scotland.

One final impression remains from these letters—of a merchant brotherhood of Scots that spanned the North Sea, that was intimate, tight and friendly, in which everyone knew those with whom they did business, and generally trusted them. It is what the English mean when they call the Scots “clannish”: to a Scot, the word is not exactly right, but it will do.

Letter I.

George Archbald, Dumfries, 19 May, 1676.

Sr,

I ever retain the just sentiments of that kyndness you shewed me both at home and abroad, and, if ever Capable shall be readie to express it in any thing concerns you or yours, I live at a distance from hearing how you are, yett I hop to knou (through the Lord's assistance) at Edr. withyn a moneth; I have written to Mr John Brown and given him account how it hath fared with this part of the countrey since I came from you, and hou it is with us at this tyme, who will inform you, and I desyre not to trouble you further only haveing desyred the kyndness of him and presuming to divert him a little to buy mee hereafter, or when occasion of Auctions falls out, any book or books of medicin he hears newly commended, I might entreat you to doe me the favour to despurse the money for mee, to drau any Bill upon me to be answered to your brother in Lau or any other friend at Edr. which I hop shal be raized thankfully by mee, and this is all I have to troubel you further withall, only my wyfe presents her service to yours as her old and familiar acquaintance as I doe, who am sensibel of her kyndness also

when I was a traveller. I shall long to hear of your weelfare and still wish you happiness and your peace where you are whill I am to be Sr

Yours affectionat Friend and Servant,

Geo. Archbald.

presenting my service to Mr Rbt McQour, fellow traveller.
[From Scottish Record Office: Miscellaneous Papers, 264².]

Letter II.

George Archbald, Dumfries, 28 March, 1681.

Good Sir,

Haveing the occasion of this bearer I hold it my duty to salute you by these few, and signifie that I yet doe still remember your kyndness unto mee when I was under your tutelage and direction, and the kyndnesses of your worthie spouse. I would reckon it my comfort to enjoy your fellowship alwayes, but since I cannot, I congratulate those who have it; and doe heartilie wish you all weel-fare in that place where the Lord hath casten your lott, which I believe be (at this tyme) a resting place. My humble service to your worthye wyfe and to Mr Gordon who possiblie hath forgotten mee, and to Caitlock if you see him, signifie to him his family and daughter's familie are in health. Earlstoun hath been Dangerouslie sick, but it hat please the Lord to restore him before I left him. The Lord be with you, and thus I rest, Good Mr Russell, your most affect. and unfeigned servant,

Geo. Archbald.

I desyre you may help this young man with your advyce if he requyre it.

[From Scottish Record Office: Uncatalogued MSS. of Andrew Russell, box II.]

Letter III.

William Corbett, Dumfries, 27 March, 1680.

Worthie Sir,

Houping this shall ffynde you and your bed fallou in good helth, these are to disayer you, Sir, tto send with eney

Honest Skipper the tous thatt packet my skinns, ffor I forget them when I came away from yow, for you may send them to John Knox in Barroustones; and let me know what skins saills att wt yow, which is all, wt my Choysie respects to your self and bed fellow I am Sir

Your Humble Servant,

William Corbett.

Sir sell the skins sent wt the ffirst occasion ffor packing sume gouds.

[From Scottish Record Office: Miscellaneous papers, 259¹.]

Letter IV.

John Reid, Dumfries, 28 March, 1681.

Sr,

I expect before this yow have received my last together with that small parcell of skins, and that yow have wssed your indevors to sell them for the best. Sir, if they be comt to your hand and yow heve maide saille of them I desayer that the accomptt may be sent by the first post. Sir, the birer heirof, James Lockart my Comerad being ane strainger abrode I most earnestlie recommend him to your caire: he is treuly a very honest young man, and one whom I hope will cairie himselfe sivelie, so, sir, heving experience of your kyndness to my selfe in the Like Conditione, I am the more bold to recommend him to yow. I resolve to have a littell parcell of skins more over shortlie and, if the Lord will, I resolve my selfe to sie yow towards ye Last of May. Not trubling you further, bot expects your caire in this, I am, Sir,

Your very much obliged servant,

John Reid.

present my respects to your kynde spouse and Mr Gray, and shou to him that his weife and famillie is in ther ordinar helth.

[From Scottish Record Office: Uncatalogued MSS. of Andrew Russell, Box II.]

Letter V.

John Reid, Dumfries, 5 February, 1683.

Sir,

I receaved yours daited the 10th of decembr wherin you shew me that your Last was to accompany the goods sent wt Eduart Hodge which as yeit is never come to my hande. I had only a line from John Knoxt wt your Last, whereine he gives me ane accounte of the arayvell of thes goods together wt the oniones so that I admire of the misarriveing of that Letter. However, sir, thes are to desayer yow to send me ane exact accounte of thes goods, and if my Clothe be sold wch I left wt yow, that I may know how they are paid, all wch I expect yow will not faille to give me ane accounte of by the first post, togither wt the accounte of the prices Currante of our goodes. I am sorie we may not have the fridome to transporte our goods to Rotterdame; however, Sir, I desayer yow to informe me what trustie factor you will recommendie me to in Camphier. If it pleas god, I goe thaire this seaseone, which wt my dew respects to yow self and keind spouse together wt all friends wt yow is all from

Your much oblidged and redy servante,

John Reid.

when yow send your Letter drect it to this plaice to be left at Mr James Mourhead Sherugen Apothecary In Edinburgh his shope.

Sir, as for the Shouger pennits, yow most be at the pains to dispose of them any way yow can raither then loose them altogither, but he is ane unsiville companione of whome I had them.

[From Scottish Record Office: Miscellaneous papers, 308¹.]

Letter VI.

James Lockhart, Dumfries, 15 November, 1681.

Ingenous Sir,

Yors Receaved. I have sent yow six packs of sheip-skinnes, is 30 score, which is five hunder fleems; also 3 fardells

salted neat-hides, is 32 hides in the 3 fardells; as also on fardell dry ditto, is 28; which I desire ye may sell to the best advantage. Pray, Good Sir, Cause have a cair that they be in good Caise when they com [to yo]r hand. The Skines are Good, only thers some of them little [so] Cause mix them weill, for I am off mind that the buyers saw the verrie worst of my last. The hides ye may sell either by weight or by peice, as ye think most fitting—I tryed the weight of the salted-hides and the were 51 stn 13 lbs bare weight and the dry 17 stn 2 lbs; This I write, Sir, that ye may know how to sell them by the peice of ye think fitt. Sir, I need nott desire yow to sell these goods to the best, for ye know what mercatts I gott when last with yow. The neet preceeds of all I desire yow Can, only two hogshead of Lintseed about 18 p. hogs: In goods. Iff these goods Come to yor hand in tyme I hope I may expect the returne against March or therby, against which tyme I intend to send yow more, and to see yow about the beginning of summer. This with my hearty respects and humble services to yow, yor wife, and to yor servant Robert, is all at present from,

Yor Much Obleidged freind and servtt,

James Lockhart.

Balie Corbett and my ffather have their hearty respects presented to yow and yor wif; John Reid is not here at present. Iff John Mcconie have receaved my letter and bought that peice Cloath, I desire ye would give him the money and send it to me.

[From Scottish Record Office: Uncatalogued MSS of Andrew Russell, box 6.]

Letter VII.

James Lockhart, Dumfries, 11 February, 1682.

Ingenous Sir,

I sent out of our toun to the ness 30 score sheep skines wt 28 salted and 32 drie hides to be Consined to you, I know nott give the be yett Come to yor hand; they went out of our toun about Martinmann, the nett proceeds wherof I wrote

to returne in dollars, and Now I have sent yow 4 score sheip skines wt 41 neat hides wherof their are 3 salted; these 5 score marked TL wt blacke, butt the 41 hides have no mark, I hastned these hides after the rest yt they might be sold together. As for the Lintseed I wrote for, I desire ye would buy non except ye think it Can Come hom in tyme, and if the money Cannot be returned against the midle of aprill, let it lye till further order, but, Sir, if their were any possibility of returning it against then I would gladly had it returned, for I intended their wt to have bought some other goods to have brought over wt my self in May. Good Sir, I neid not desire yow to sell thes to the best, for ye know what mercatts I gott last, I desire ye would write to me p. first after this shall come to yor hand. This (wt my hearty respects and humble service) is all at present from,

Yor affectionate freind and servant,

James Lockhart.

Sir,

I desire yt ye would returne if it were butt pairt of the money against aprill if ye Can.

[From Scottish Record Office: Miscellaneous papers, 260².]

Letter VIII.

James Lockhart, Dumfries, 8 January, 1683.

Sir,

I admire yt I have not ere now receaved a line from your hand; and I would have been Content to have payed twice the price of on to have had one from yow; I sent yow twenty score and ten skines, and I know not if they be Comt to yor hand. I desire, Sir, if ye have receaved them and they be sold, that ye would send me p. first 300 yellowwood, two doz: grein worsetts and 2 doz: cloth coloured, 6 doz: finest plane point wrapes and 4 doz: finest ditto holt, with 100 lb whalbon if ye think I can doe good wt it heir at 12 sh. per lb. These things I would desire yow to send only upon Condition the goods be sold and ye think they May be heir against may, only these 300 yellowwood must not be wanting upon

any account. I sent yow Inclosed in a letter some pearles.
I earnestly request yow to send me a letter as soon as this
shall come to yor hand, for it was mostly the cause of my
writing to hear from yow, for I mind to buy no skines till
I hear yor rates. This is all at present from,

Your Most Obleidged Servant,

James Lockhart.

Sir,

I will expect yor answer p. first post wt yor rates of
mercates.

[From Scottish Record Office: Uncatalogued MSS of Andrew
Russell, box 3.]

ARTICLE 12.

The Valuation Book Of The Shire, 1667-1692.

By W. A. J. PREVOST.

The valuation book of the shire of Dumfries¹ contains the valuation roll for the year 1667 amounting to 41 pages, and for the year 1676 amounting to 44 pages.^{1a} The remaining 267 pages record "all the Acts and Sederunts" of the Dumfries Commissioners and are certified exact copies of the original signed minutes. The Commissioners' first responsibility is clearly defined in the minutes of their first meeting when they "certified the valuation" and "proportioned" the share of any taxes imposed which were to be paid by the respective parishes. In this capacity they dealt with all matters and complaints concerning the valuations, with the imposition of locality and the raising and the upkeep of the militia, and they were also responsible for the administration and collection of the excise. They raised funds and apportioned the yearly stent for the upkeep of roads and bridges, and in particular conformed to Acts of the Scottish Parliament and imposed taxes to meet the demands of His Majesty's Supply which was part of Scotland's contribution towards the upkeep of the British fleet and armed forces.

In these proceedings they are variously called "Commissioners of Valuation," "of Militia," "of Excise,"

¹ This manuscript, dating from May, 1667, is in the archives of the County Clerk, Dumfries, together with 18 other volumes which record the Proceedings of the Commissioners up till April, 1867. MS., 1912, in the National Library of Scotland records the proceedings from 1693 to 1711. Originally catalogued as 1692-1711 the earlier date has now been corrected. MS., 1912, contains the original signed minutes, of which the certified copy is included in the volumes in Dumfries. MS., 1912, was the backbone of a paper, "The Commissioners of Supply for Dumfriesshire, 1692-1711," which was published in Vol. XXXVI. of the Transactions. When writing that paper the author was unaware of the existence of the earliest volume which contains the answers to several problems which have now been solved. These two papers covering the period 1667-1711 are complementary.

^{1a} See "The Valuation Roll of the County of Dumfries," with an appendix showing the alterations made in the roll since 1671. Published in 1827.

" Assyse " or " Assisement," and sometimes the minutes of one and the same " sederunt " designate the same commissioners present with all three titles according to the business transacted. In 1688 and after they are invariably called " Commissioners of Supply," a name which persisted till as recently as 1930, but as no useful purpose is served by discriminating between their individual and separate appointments they are hereafter referred to as just Commissioners, whose business was " imposing public burdens " on the shire² (See Appendix A).

The Commissioners held their first recorded meeting in Dumfries on 31st May, 1667, and amongst those attending were the Earl of Annandale, *preses*; the Earl of Queensberry, the Earl of Nithsdale and Mr Robert Lauder their clerk.³ Their first duty was to impose the supply in accordance with a recent act and they hoped that each parish would manage to pay its proportion out of the excise collected from the " brewers." This expectation was never fulfilled and later in the year the Commissioners were forced to make up a deficiency by stenting upon the land rent. Taxation and the tedious, repetitive procedure associated therewith constituted the bulk of the business carried through by the Commissioners, an unrewarding study covering pages of the manuscript. Nevertheless the use of locality as recorded in the valuation book has something to add to the story of the period with which this paper deals. Locality, in this connection, was an apportioned requisition imposed on certain parishes for the provisioning of garrison troops and especially of cavalry when proportions of hay, straw and corn, based on the valuation roll, were delivered and sold to the forces. This produce of the country people was paid for at statutory prices, but of this, more anon.

² R.P.C., 1675, p. 474. See C. S. Terry, "The Scottish Parliament."

³ Lauder was succeeded by John Sharp (later "of Hoddam") in September, 1678, when Sharp was appointed to serve the Commissioners. Sharp had been made Sheriff and Commissary Clerk in 1673 (R.P.C., 1673, p. 88) and remained in office for over forty years. He was dead by 1723. Lauder is sometimes referred to as "Clerk to Excise."

At this same sederunt the Commissioners appointed two collectors of excise—George Johnstone in Wreathes for Dumfries and Nithsdale, and Bryce Blair for Annandale and Eskdale. The former was instructed to attend at Thornhill and Dumfries on certain days at the beginning of each quarter to receive the excise, and in like manner Bryce Blair attended at Lochmaben and Annan. These arrangements were modified from time to time. For example, the year following Johnstone was appointed collector for the whole shire and again, in 1673, he was nominated to collect the supply while Alexander Wallace of Carzield collected the excise in the Burgh of Dumfries. They were assisted by “stenters” and “collectors” in every parish chosen for their integrity, and indeed it seems that the system was based on the honesty of all concerned. The duty on beer due to the excise was estimated on the quantity of malt used by the brewers and on brandy by the amount of the finished article sold, the sum total being then certified on oath before a magistrate. The collectors for the shire had power to imprison those who did not pay, and on one occasion two men who refused to “depone” were both fined and imprisoned.⁴

The collectors were also given the unpleasant task of ensuring that the Commissioners’ edicts regarding the imposition of locality were carried into effect. This was almost an annual occurrence, for the government had sent down into Dumfriesshire numbers of horse and foot to be quartered in the county on account of the “recent troubles” which had originated in Dalry in 1666 and it was a continual drain on the resources of the country people who were most reluctant to part with any of their hard won winter’s keep. In summer the horses of the dragoons were fed on grass but in winter this was an impossibility. In February, 1679, Claverhouse wrote to Linlithgow to the effect that his dragoons were unable to buy fodder for their horses and that they could not subsist any longer without a locality. He had arranged to meet the Commissioners at Thornhill about

⁴ MS., 10 December, 1672; 27 April, 1675; 8 August, 1679; 21 October, 1679; and 14 February, 1682.

furnishing hay and straw but only Queensberry and Craigdarroch had turned up which was not a quorum and nothing was settled. As regards prices fixed he thought it odd that soldiers should pay more for hay and straw than a "stranger."⁵ It was aggravating for both parties and on one frustrating occasion the collector, Thomas Kennedy by name, requested the Commissioners to relieve him of his duties as collector and "Magazine keeper," but again the Commissioners ruled that they were not a quorum and "ordered" him to continue in his office.⁶

An early example of the procedure involved is found in the sederunts of the winter of 1667/68 when the Commissioners ordered the provost of Dumfries to make efforts to provide Major Simpson of His Majesty's Guards with corn, hay and straw for fifty troop horses and twelve officers' horses, at prices fixed by Act of Council. This was to be purchased by the excise, and the Commissioners of Excise were granted power to constrain the country people to sell if they were unwilling to do so. Two "purveyors" were appointed to carry this into effect and were restricted to "the bounds and space" of 12 miles from Dumfries to fulfil these requirements. Storage accommodation, which included the Bishop of Galloway's teind barn, was provided in the town and the magistrates were made responsible for the issue of the forage to the troops. The daily ration for each horse worked out at 16 lbs. of hay or 18 lbs. of straw which compares not unfavourably with the 12 lbs. of hay, 10 lbs. of oats and 8 lbs. of straw for bedding⁷ issued to horses of the British army during the Great War (See Appendix B).

On 3rd September, 1668, the Privy Council issued orders anent raising a militia in the shire and appointed the Earl of Annandale to be colonel of the foot and Lord Drumlanrig captain of the horse. The establishment of the regiment

⁵ Napier's "Memorials."

⁶ MS., 24 December, 1690, p. 338.

⁷ MS., 28 January, 1668, p. 57. See also R.P.C., 18 December, 1667, p. 381; and 2 January, 1668, p. 385

of foot was laid down as 800, reduced the next year to 700, and the horse as 88. The shire was to provide standards and trumpets, and the heritors were made responsible for the rest of the arms and equipment, including the payment of 18/- Scots for each horseman for keeping the days of rendezvous, the muster parades conforming to the act. On 25th September the Commissioners appointed two of their number to go to Edinburgh with a letter to the Lord Chancellor, asking him for clarification on certain matters, including "what proportion of powder and match" they were allowed. They were also instructed to buy ten colours for the foot and one or two drums for each company. "Two of the best brazen trumpets to be bought with a standard of whyte sattin with a silver fringe" were for the use of the horse. Trumpets and drums, their replacement or otherwise, are mentioned from time to time in the manuscript. In 1674 the salary of the "trumpet" of the militia troop was fixed at £100 Scots yearly, and in 1675 it appears that the "drums" of the regiment were owed £77 sterling for the seven years bygone. The daily rates of pay authorised to be paid out of the excise were—for a Corporal of horse 3/-, a trumpeter 2/8, a lieutenant of foot 4/-, a sergeant 1/6 and a drummer 1/-, all in sterling.^{7a}

In due course Commissioners of Militia were nominated for each presbytery, and officers, all of whom were Commissioners, were appointed as follows: Major, John Dalyell; Captains of foot, Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, John Carruthers of Holmends, John Johnstone of Elsiefields, Ambrose Johnstone of Poldean, James Johnstone younger of Corehead, William Douglas of Morton and Robert Maxwell of Carnsalloch; Lieutenant of horse, Robert Ferguson of Craigdarroch; Cornet, Robert Lawrie of Maxwellton.

Finally it was ordained that the cost of the regiment of foot should be on the valuation of the shire, and the Commissioners of Militia were to see that the various orders were

^{7a} MS., pp. 122-3. In letter from His Majesty's Cashkeeper authorising payment out of excise.

carried out. In this, however, they were at first unsuccessful since the heritors were not co-operating in the matter of drawing up lists of the men for service. An attempt to obtain the proportions by interrogating parishioners about the former levies of 1643 and 1648⁸ was a failure and the Commissioners were constrained to write to the Lord Chancellor that "wee are ashamed" . . . "at the difficulties occurring within our shyre" and at the delay in raising the regiment.

Next year (1669) the proportions were settled and for the 700 men now forming the Earl of Annandale's regiment Dumfries furnished 40 men, Sanquhar 4, Annan 4 and Lochmaben 3; and for the making up of the balance of 649 the Commissioners ordained that each 300 merks of valued rent should equip and clothe one man. The heritors were to furnish them "compleatly in arms, two pairt Musket and third pairt picks" conforming to Act of Council.

In September the Commissioners approved of a general rendezvous for the horse and foot to be at Locharbriggs and threatened dire penalties of fining, imprisonment and distraining of goods and gear for any man refusing to "undergo the service." Any resettlers of absentees were to be fined "at the pleasur" of the Commissioners.⁹ "And ilk souldier who absents himself from the general rendezvous to pay the soume of thrie pounds Scots toties quoties by and attour of imprisonment And to the intent the severall souldiers in each company may be the better encouradged."

Arising out of an Act of Council dated 7th April, 1670, the Commissioners considered the mending of highways, bridges and ferries, and appointed some of their number to inspect and estimate costs for such work within their own presbyteries. It was found that there was a big amount due to be spent on Cluden Bridge where "ther is a considerable

⁸ There was an "outreik" of the militia in 1691, when it was found that there were no drums, arms or colours in the country. About this outreik there is little recorded. MS., 9 and 16 June, 1691.

⁹ See R.P.C., 8 October, 1668, pp. 547-3.

Lenth gone,"¹⁰ and it was therefore decided to draw up a petition to the Lords for permission to levy a toll on all animals using the bridge in order to raise the funds required. There is no suggestion that this was ever granted.

In November next year (1671) overseers were appointed for the repair of the Bridge of Scaur which was to cost £200 Scots, and it seems that the Commissioners were relieved to hear that the defect to the Bridge of Drumlanrig was under water "and so cannot be helped the tyme of the year." Craigdarroch and John Alison were to consult with some judicious workmen to get advice as to how the work could be carried out. "Lykeways the Comitty think fitt that John Alison transact & comune with Mr Andrew Ross anent Enterkine way from the Cleugh of Enterkine to Inglistoun¹¹ And that James Hunter of Auchenbeynthie¹² and Archibald Douglas brother to Mortoune and James Espie in Inglistoun oversee the said work weekly about so long as the work endures with twelve shilling for ther pains. If the committie think fitt John Alison of Spangkow¹³ and James Hair in Glenwharrey¹⁴ be overseers to the highwayes betwixt Sanqr and Kyil;¹⁵ likewayes that Auchenbeynthie, Arch Dowglas and James Espie oversee the highwayes betwixt Sanqr & Drumlanrig; and lykewayes think fitt Carnsalloch¹⁶ and Gawin Broun¹⁷ to be overseers of the highwayes and bridges betwixt Aldgath foord & the foot of Locker."¹⁸

There are no reports recording what or if any of this work had been carried out but in 1675 both Cluden and Drumlanrig bridges were again needing attention, and in 1684 the Commissioners petitioned the Privy Council for aid in improving two miles of road through "Lochermosse."

¹⁰ MS., 27 May, p. 123; and 30 June, 1670, p. 125.

¹¹ Inglestone near Enterkinfoot. See Crawford's Map. Ref. MS., 1 November, 1671, p. 184.

¹² Auchenbainzie where the Hunters had long been established.

¹³ Spango in Kirkconnel.

¹⁴ Glenwharrie in Kirkconnel.

¹⁵ Kyle, a district in Ayr on the Ayr-Dumfries border.

¹⁶ Carnsalloch in Kirkmahoe, the home of Robert Maxwell.

¹⁷ Gavin Broun of Bishoptoun. (See Dumfries Tests.)

¹⁸ Crawford's Map shows "Locker" Bridge. MS., 1 November, 1671.

This was only passable in times of drought or hard frosts, and the Commissioners pointed out that if this was done it would not only shorten the distance by about 10 miles but would also save many lives into the bargain. The Lords appointed a voluntary contribution south of the Forth, to be collected and administered by the minister of Mouswald.¹⁹

Owing to a threat of invasion, which was one of the reasons for forming the militia, Charles II. had increased his fleet from his own resources in the south. He was, however, in need of men and he asked the Scottish parliament to send him 1000 landsmen to be levied proportionately from the several shires in Scotland. The men, properly clothed, fit for service but unarmed were to be sent to Leith whence they were to be taken by sea to England to serve on board the fleet or as required. Therefore in March, 1672, the Privy Council sent instructions to Dumfries concerning the 41 men for whom the shire were responsible, and the Commissioners at once appointed "leaders" for the levy, allowing them 10 merks Scots for each man's maintenance and 19 merks for his clothing. The men were to be handed over on 26th April at Locharbriggs whence they would be conducted by Robert Dalzell to the port of embarkation. The Commissioners stressed that four of their number would examine the men before their departure and satisfy themselves in every respect, particularly as regards the men's clothing which was "a blew cloath coat, weel lyned with sufficient whyt stuff or serge, getted;²⁰ double soled shoes, stockings and black hatt, two shirts and two gravatts and honest breeches and coat att the rate of twentie four pounds Scots, which mounting above said will be narrowly notised att the said place by the Commissioners."²¹

Five of the leaders each failed to produce their man, but Queensberry found 28, Buccleuch 7 and Westerhall 1, and this balance of 36 eventually found its way to Leith.

¹⁹ Not in the MS. See R.P.C., 22 July, 1684, p. 65.

²⁰ Gete, geit . . . a 16th century word meaning "to border" (a garment). Punctuation suggested by A. J. Aitken, *Diot. of the Older Scottish Tongue*.

²¹ MS., 15 April, 1672, p. 195. See R.P.C., 1672, pp. 478-9.

In July, 1675, the Privy Council ordained that a garrison of 50 foot and 12 horsemen should be quartered in the castle of Dumfries for the suppression of conventicles,²² and the Commissioners were instructed to meet with Captain Dalyell, the garrison commander, to see that satisfactory accommodation was provided. In August a committee reported that "the vaults and second stories are sufficient, the other two stories are not so sufficient, Bot certain dales (deals) lying there to repair them And that the ruiff is not altogether watertight withall. That the first two stories are sufficient enough for the convenie of a greater garrisone than is appoynted in that place."

The garrison was to be paid out of "his Majesties Annuitie of excyse" and Carzield the burgh collector was ordered to provide "496 ells of pledding for 31 bedds for the sd horse & foot att 5 sc Scots per ell *inde* (thence) 124 lib. Item coverlets conform 82 lib. 19 sh. Item harden (sacking) conform 84 lib. Item to each 8 souldiers a fyve quart pott 4 lib per piece. Items 6 pans two quart per piece. Item three quart stoups & 6 cups. Item 30 loads of peats weekly 2 sh per load. Item seven pound weight of Candles weekly fyve shill per pound."²³

Complying with an Act of Convention of "Jany last,"²⁴ the Commissioners met on 4th September, 1678, and all those present, with the exception of Sir Patrick Maxwell, Rennalburne, and James Carruthers, signed the Oath of Allegiance. This is the first occasion on which the formality of oath taking is mentioned, though it had been a *sine qua non* for all persons holding positions of public trust ever since the Restoration, and it is significant that the three recusants desired to have until the next meeting to consider thereupon, and thereafter removed themselves. Their names do not appear again in the manuscript and it is probable that they refused to subscribe the "Declaration" which is given in

²² See R.P.C., Vol. IV., pp. 425-6 and 473.

²³ MS., p. 272. See M'Dowall's "Hist. of Dumfries," pp. 410-412 and 426.

²⁴ R.P.C., 18 January, 1678, p. 324.

full in the proceedings for that day. The Declaration was additional to other oaths and had been imposed since it was considered that the Oath of Allegiance was not sufficiently stringent to secure the results intended. It was first subscribed by the Privy Council in 1663. All who signed it declared that it was unlawful to take up arms against the King and that the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were unlawful oaths, but great difficulty was experienced in enforcing the act and in some cases it was known for a burgh to be without any civic members.²⁵

The Earl of Queensberry was one of those Commissioners present who did qualify, a notable occurrence, for in these matters the Earl was very broadminded. Early in January he had been ordered to convene all the heritors at Thornhill for the purpose of subscribing the Bond²⁶ which was somewhat similar in tenor to the oaths and declaration but those signing it received the protection of the Privy Council and were to be free of all molestations by officers and soldiers. Queensberry carried out the order and, though he himself had delayed signing, wrote to the Duke of Hamilton on 6th February informing him that all the heritors of Dumfries had done so "save a few pitifull persons," and what astonished him most concerning those people who refused was that most of them were "Annandale peopell and knou no moir off religion or civell deportment than brutes." He explained that neither he nor any of his people say any reason why they should suffer "for a principle they never owned" and that the only reason they did so sign was their determination to prevent the quartering of the troops upon them. This was a reference to the invasion of the Highland Host and the action taken was at any rate effective in stopping the Highland troops from marching on to Dumfries.²⁷

The oath is given in full in October, 1690, when all the Commissioners had to swear allegiance to King William

²⁵ See A.P.S., VII., pp. 405-406; and R.P.C., 1661-1664, p. XIII.

²⁶ See R.P.C., 28 and 29 January, 1678.

²⁷ J. R. Elder, "The Highland Host," p. 66.

and Queen Mary,²⁸ and in June the next year Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick²⁹ was reminded to write to the Lords of Council "giveing them ane account of the Commrs of this shire that has qualifed themselves in obedience to the late act."³⁰

1678 was an unhappy year in Scotland for the government was determined to suppress the Covenanters and were taking active steps to do so. The Highlanders had been drafted into Ayrshire and Claverhouse was conducting operations in Dumfriesshire, but the proceedings of the Dumfries Commissioners are uninformative about contemporary events. It is significant that Grierson of Lag, in company with Ferguson of Craigdarroch, was made a Commissioner in June,³¹ and Lag was present at the next meeting in September. He was a fairly regular attender till 2nd May, 1689, his last sederunt before his fall from grace and imprisonment nineteen days later.³²

Claverhouse is first mentioned indirectly when, on 2nd May, 1679, his lieutenant, Bruce of Earlsall, met the Commissioners with a demand that they would impose localities as he had been refused fodder by several persons for furnishing the horse and dragoons quartered in the shire. They at once allowed him 12 lbs. of hay and 4 lbs. of straw per day for each horse, for two weeks.³³ A week later Nithsdale, Carnforth and Carnsalloch reported that they had "communed" with Claverhouse and recommended that a further two weeks' provisions for 150 horses should be provided "and recommends to the Earle of Queensberry to convene the haill commrs in order to the settling with Claverhouse anent any

²⁸ MS., 4 October, 1690, when five Commissioners signed.

²⁹ Sir Thomas was then the leading Commissioner, and at sederunts was usually preses. When six companies of foot (600 men) were outreiked in June, 1681, Kirkpatrick of Closeburn was appointed Lt. Col. by Act of Parliament. MS., pp. 344-5 refers, but no record in A.P.S.

³⁰ MS., 9 June, 1691. See A.P.S., 13 June, 1690, p. 150. The oath to be taken before 1 August, 1691.

³¹ A.P.S., 29 June, 1678.

³² See Trans. D. and G., 1957/8. Athol Murray, "Auld Lag."

³³ Authority for Earlsall's demand. Acts of P. Council, 17 January, 1679, and 18 February, 1679.

urther matters relating to the rest of locality or what else shall hearken to occur betwixt the Commrs & Claverhouse."

There is no record of any such meeting having taken place. At that time the Commissioners were only meeting about four or five times a year which Earlshall had discovered to his cost. "We are exceedingly abused," he wrote, "by exacting on us for hay and corn . . . The Commissioners for regulating our locality live at such a distance that they will never meet; and three being a quorum, they will do nothing if they be under that number."³⁴ Claverhouse had also written to Linlithgow in a similar strain. "My Lord, I know not how to do for hay, now when we lay so strong, nor are we likely to get money."³⁵ However he was able to write on 6th May, "My Lord, we have now got a locality here, with a great deal of difficulty. My Lord Q. has been very unkind to us . . ."³⁶

In other respects the year 1679 was uneventful, excepting an unfortunate affair occasioned by the non-payment of six years' salary amounting to £9 sterling which was owed by the Commissioners to their doorkeeper.

"The comitie having called befor them John Hanyng ther doorkeeper and rebuked him for his miscarriage towards the Commrs in giving them charges of horning, he acknowledged his fault and promised never to doe the lyke in tyme comeing to any of the Commrs, and especially the Earle of Queensberry . . ."³⁷

In March, 1680, Earlshall repeated his demand to the Commissioners for locality for Claverhouse's own troop of 75 horses, and Mr Dalmahoy, Quartermaster of the King's Guard of Horse, did likewise.³⁸ In January next year (1681) the garrison in Dumfries were provisioned and for their com-

³⁴ Napier's "Memorials," Vol. II., p. 192. Letter dated 17 March, 1679, at Dumfries.

³⁵ Napier, op. cit., 21 April, 1679, at Dumfries.

³⁶ Napier, op. cit., 6 May, 1679, at Dumfries.

³⁷ MS., 23 October, 1679.

³⁸ See Napier's "Memorials," Vol. III., p. 454, for the officers and troops commanded by Claverhouse.

fort "the high rouses" of the castle were furnished with beds and the windows filled up with "divot."

In 1682 Claverhouse wrote that he had again failed to meet the Commissioners but was satisfied with the arrangements they had made for the 60 horse in the garrison.³⁹ In 1683 garrisons at Caitloch, Lochmaben and Ballagan under Captains Dalyell and Strachan were supplied with hay, straw and corn from the adjacent parishes "till the horse go to grass or removit." In fact for the next nine years not a year passed but there was some provision made for government troops. A special occasion (1684) was the holding by the Marquis of Queensberry, Lord Drumlanrig and Claverhouse of their famous Justiciary Court in Dumfries.⁴⁰ This opened on 2nd October, 1684, and reopened at Kirkcudbright on the 13th. At a sederunt held on 16th September, when Lag was *preses*, the Commissioners "considering that Claverhouse troupe are to attend the ensuing justiciarie court at Drumfreis which will engage them to putt their horses to hard meit, and that in reasone they should be provided with corne, hay or straw during the continuance of the said court," they ordered forage for 64 horses for three weeks to be brought in. It has been implied that the only inconvenience suffered on this account was the supply of candles by the burgh, but in so far as the adjacent parishes were concerned this was an understatement. However five years later the burgh really did have something to complain about, and the Commissioners were faced with a situation which was not only beyond their control but which was literally the last straw.

The story begins when the King in 1689 ordered the two regiments of horse commanded by Major-General Sir John Lanier and Colonel Langstoun, the regiment of dragoons under Colonel Hayfords and the regiment of foot under Colonel Hastings to proceed from Scotland to Ireland.

³⁹ Napier, *op. cit.* Letter Claverhouse to Queensberry, dated 22 February, 1682, at Dumfries.

⁴⁰ See R.P.C., 1684, pp. 557-617

Lanier's horses were in Lanark and were directed to Loch Ryan but the other three English regiments were ordered to embark at Kirkcudbright early in September, 1689.⁴¹ Hayfords was in Edinburgh whence he was due to leave on the twelfth of September, with baggage horses supplied by the magistrates and sheriff clerk.⁴² On that same day a major of Langstoun's horse met the Dumfries Commissioners and informed them that the ship for their transportation had not reached Kirkcudbright and that his regiment would **have to stay in Dumfries** until it did. It seems that they had then been there for some days and that their efforts to buy sufficient fodder locally had met with no success. The Commissioners at once arranged for the six neighbouring parishes to bring hay into the town, enough for three nights only. Four days later, before this hay had been delivered, a quorum of Commissioners was summoned hastily and informed that Hayfords' dragoons were also coming to lie in Dumfries till their ship was ready, and Hayfords had written that he must be provided with forage, "otherwise they will have to take it where it can be had." He demanded provision for 600 horse "from two nights to two nights" till such time as they could embark.

The Commissioners were in a quandary and were only able to lay on a new locality of hay for three nights upon eight of the next adjacent parishes and to authorise the issue of corn out of the teind barn in Dumfries as long as it should last. And in case the regiments should stay longer they added a further locality upon the rest of the parishes in Nithsdale and Annandale, only enough to serve the regiment ten nights or so. This could not be delivered in the time allowed and when the dragoons arrived on 17th September they were allowed to help themselves. Next day the only three Commissioners available were again hastily summoned and in desperation ordered the whole shire and Stewartry who had not allready furnished locality to send in hay with-

⁴¹ R.P.C., 19 September, 1689, p. 317.

⁴² R.P.C., 7 September, 1689, pp. 234-235.

out delay. This order applied to outlying parishes as far afield as Moffat, Wamphray and Glencairn, and as the corn in teind barns was not enough they met again on the 19th and ordered " a peck of great corne to be brought in for each 4 stone of hay."

It was probably about this time that Sharp of Hoddam was ordered to draw up and send to Edinburgh an appeal for help, for on the 23rd September the Privy Council recorded in their register a petition from the Commissioners of *Supply* which referred to the arrival of Langstoun's horse " about 18 days ago " and their quartering in Dumfries for ten days or thereabouts to the heavy burden of the inhabitants, and how a quorum of Commissioners of *Assessment* had taken action as related to do what they could for Hayfords' dragoons.⁴³

The dragoons had been allowed to " furrage the countrie, it was most lamentable to see the distructione that ther was made of the cornes about the towne, and to hear the outcry of the poor harryed people that presently followed." Fodder could not be brought in from outlying parishes and some of the heritors in the nearer parts " proved absolutely refractory " to pay any locality, pretending that they were not obliged over 6 miles. The Commissioners craved the Lords to consider the insupportable burden laid upon them, especially the town and six parishes nearest it, and requested that two troops be sent to Annan and Ecclefechan, a third troop to Lockerbie and Lochmaben and a half troop to the Kirkland of Glencairn for their quarters. Finally they asked that all those who had losses over and above the locality imposed should be recompensed in some manner and that the whole shire should bear the burden. The Lords asked for an account of the damage done, and ordered General Lanier to " enlarge the quarters " of the troops under his command.

Lanier obeyed and ordered two troops to Newtoun of Galloway and another troop to the Bridge of " Minniave,"

⁴³ R.P.C., 23 September, 1689, pp. 322-323.

but this reshuffle displeased the Commissioners who, on 27th September, declared that the sending of one troop to Moniaive would "discomode the whole order and method" and that they had already taken provision to the regiment "and should give no ease either to the shire or toun. Therefore they think it not necessary or fitt to make up the order for removing that troupe." The crisis was past and at a sederunt on 10th October orders were given for the inbringing of 58 baggage horses which Hayfords had demanded to help him on his way to the coast. At the same time John Sharp was sent to Edinburgh to apply for the locality and other damages, and to obtain authority to pay the money expended on the English forces out of the excise and supply. Two committees were appointed to forgather at Thornhill and Dumfries where they would meet all those who had suffered loss and to make an account of the damages sustained (See Appendix C).

These claims were soon submitted and were agreed before the year was out.⁴⁴ Early in November the Lords authorised payment to the two Dumfries merchants who were entrusted with the collection of the minister's teinds, and to the magistrates of the burgh for hay and corn shawes taken by the dragoons, besides the meat and drink supplied to Colonel Hastings' regiment which had been five nights in the town.⁴⁵

Finally, on 19th December,⁴⁶ the Privy Council were "pleased to allow some former accompts of quartareings" which had not been presented opportunely by the persons concerned, "they being upon their lawful affairs in the country at that tyme."⁴⁷

⁴⁴ MS., 1 November, 1689.

⁴⁵ R.P.C., 8 November, 1689, pp. 480-482.

⁴⁶ R.P.C., 19 December, 1689, pp. 573-574.

⁴⁷ On 6 May, 1690, the manuscript records that fodder for 3000 horses for three days was ordered to be brought in. These horses belonged to English cavalry who were being sent from England to Ireland, where they took part in the Battle of the Boyne, which was fought on 1 July. According to the manuscript they were making for Kirkcudbright. A "contingent" of this force encamped for the night at the Haugh of Urr (Ref. David Frew, "The Parish of Urr," page 34), and it seems that a large

[Continued at foot of next page.]

APPENDIX A.

These Commissioners must not be confused with the "Commissioners for the Shire." These dignitaries and their history are the subject of a chapter in C. S. Terry's "The Scottish Parliament," 1603-1707. Very briefly, these "most qualified and wise barons" were chosen by the "electors" to represent them in Parliament. Dumfriesshire, by the Act of 1567, sent two, a number increased by the Act of 1690 to four. Terry, in his chapter on the "Riding" of Parliament, refers to the clothing to be worn on this occasion by the Commissioners of Burghs and the Commissioners of the Shires. The shires had to provide their representatives with foot-mantles which were made of black velvet, and the Act of 1661 ordained the Commissioners "always at the rising of each Parliament" to make over their foot-mantles to the Shire "to be disposed as they shall think fitt." The only mention of these Commissioners noted in the proceedings is in a sederunt held on 12th August, 1702, and concerns one of these ceremonial robes.

"The said day the Commrs being informed by Collistoun that ther is one of the food mantles of the shire in the custody of Robert Corsane, stabler in Dumfries, They doe therefore recomend to Robt. Lauder, Collector, to get the same from the said Robert Corsane, and to pay him what expense he hes been at in repaireing the samen and some small gratuity for his paines in keeping therof."

As previously related, the Commissioners of Supply were appointed and a reference to this in the proceedings for 3rd February, 1661, is as follows.

detachment marched on into Galloway. It is related that King William's cavalry passed through Stranraer and reached Portpatrick, where they embarked for Donaghadee. (Ref. M. C. Arnott, "Stranraer in Earlier Times.") A contemporary account of troop movements to Ireland is contained in Bonnivert's diary in the British Museum. Bonnivert, a trooper in a cavalry regiment, embarked at Hoylake, near Chester, on 17 June, 1690, and landed at Whitehouse, in Belfast Lough, on 20 June. He noted that Bangor on the south shore, which he sailed past, was "famous for Duke Schomberg landing there with the forces under his command."

" The Commissioners think fitt there be ane letter drawn to their Majesties privie council representing the unfrequency of the meeting of the Commrs named by act of parliat, both for imposeing the supplie and ordering the magazines, and recomends to John Sharp their clerk to deliver the said letter and procure ane speedy returne of ther answer therof . . . "

APPENDIX B.

These proceedings contain no evidence to show that the Commissioners' edicts regarding payment for the supply of hay, straw and corn were carried out according to the letter of the law. It is quite clear that the financial burden was distributed fairly among the heritors but there is no proof whether any monies due to them were ever paid. It seems almost certain that they were and the fact that the Commissioners themselves were affected by their own impositions must have safeguarded their neighbours. The Commissioners had cause to complain on one occasion about the long continuing " cess " and would, one feels sure, have had a good deal more to say had certain garrison accounts been reported as outstanding. The following extracts from four sederunts show how the system worked.

Sederunt, 2nd January, 1668, when the Commissioners dealt with Major Simpson's demand. " And therfor doe ordain George Johnstoun, collector, and James Tait, burges of Drumfreis, to be purveyors for inbringing hay and straw from the shyre of Nithsdale and Stuartry of Annandale, for furnishing the saidis troupers att the rates and pryces contained in the said act of Council within the distance therin contained, be at fyve shilling scots for ilk stone of hay or eighteen pound weight of straw. And conform to the act of Council the said George Johnstoune and Bryce Blair in Annan, collectors of the excyse, are ordained to advance to the purveyors a moneths provision att the rate forsaid, which collectors are to have retention of so much of the souldiers pay as will satisfie the advance, together with the allowance of a horsemans pay to each of these tua purveyors for ther services in furnishing the said provision. And if any pairt of the provision of hay or strae shall be remaining not made use of by the troupers att the tyme when they shall be called away or removed, the purveyors shall receive the said remainder undisposed on, And pay back to them the rates above exprest. And ordaines the

respective parishes to take back ther respective proportions that shall be left unspent from the purveyors att the rates forsaid. And farder ordaines the saidis purveyors to pay those frae [whom] they shall receave the said hay and strae att ther own hous att the saidis rates."

Sederunt, 29th March, 1683. "The Commissioners being mett this day and haveing consideratione for the provisione of the garrisone of Caitloch, which hes bein provyded four weeks out of the paroches of Glencairne, Tinrone, Penpont, Keir, and Closeburne, Queensberries lands exempted, which they find to great ane burden for the places; and therfor as Commissioners they desyre and requyre the clerk & collector to ishew furth orders in ther name for the paroches of Drumfreis, Holliwood & Kirkmahoe to pay in to the Garisone of Caitloch ten stone of hay or straw with tue pecks and ane half of corne out of each thousand merks of valuation, together with ane load of peats and twentie penneis for candle. This provisione most be certified [by] them, most be in upon Tuesday and Thursday equally; and if they failzie they are to be cessed for it . . ."

Sederant, 9th December, 1684. "The said day the Commissioners haveing considered that provisione of locality for the garisone apoynted to be fixed within the shyre should be furnished in tyre cumeing . . . They ther for find that the 85 horse apoynted to ly in garisones will be furnished by 2810 mks of valuation for each horse; and recomends to Sir Robert Dalzell, Carnselloch, Cowhill and Mr James, collector, to adjust with Capt Strahan (Strachan) annent the uther particulars relating the garisones in the best means possible; and failzeing therof to order the same with any uther they think fitt; and apoynts the pryce of the said locality to be as formerly, being 2 sh 6 d per stone hay, 2 sh per stone strae, four pounds per boll small corne, 8 lib per boll great corne; and ordeanes the colector and clerk to poportione the same, and recomends to the said comittie to speak the commanding officer of the garisone to sie that redie payment be made of the pryces of the said corne, utherwayes that the same will be represented."

Sederunt, 4th February, 1961. The Clerk was ordered to make public intimation "this day over the Cross to the whole persons liable for payment of the two moneths & ane half Cess imposed by the last sederunt, & that they make payment thereof att 57 sh Scots out of each 100 Mks of valued rent to Thomas Kennedy their Collector . . . As also that the whole persons who hes furnished any locality to the troupe of dragounes now lying here, give in to the said Thomas Kennedy what receipts they have gotten from the said dragouns of ther said provision conformes to ther former sederunt."

APPENDIX C.

The troop movements which took place in Dumfries and Kirkcudbright can to some extent be traced from the Privy Council Register which contains the numerous accounts and claims for quarterings and damages occasioned by the English forces.⁴⁸ These accounts were submitted to the Privy Council following a "proclamation" for regulating the army's payment for their quarters, either to be paid at the time or "stated in fitted accompts under the hands of their officers." This Act was dated 17th September, 1689. There are at least 68 pages in the register of officers receipts for hay, sheep for slaughter and quarterings, besides many claims for losses and damages sustained by the people.

These accounts contain details of what was, for those times, a military operation on a large scale. They also give an inkling of when the embarkation took place, though not how it was carried out. This, in so far as the infantry were concerned, was not very difficult, but the embarking of over 1000 horses was a considerable undertaking. The loading facilities at the port of Kirkcudbright were unlikely to have been very efficient.

As to when it all happened it is surmised that a fleet of transports reached Kirkcudbright not later than the 30th September. Langstoun's regiment were there waiting, having left Dumfries on about 15th September, and the first unit of the forces was taken on board on the 1st October. This was Langstoun's own troop of horse and the rest of his regiment followed suit and may have all been embarked by the evening of 3rd October, when two troops of Colonel Hayfords' dragoons arrived from Dumfries. On the 4th some or all of Colonel Hastings' regiment of foot were also in Kirkcudbright and embarking went on apace.

The remaining six troops of dragoons left Dumfries on the 5th, and some may have started to embark that evening, for any delay in what must have been a lengthy proceeding

⁴⁸ R.P.C. 1639, Dumfries pp. 676-707. Kirkcudbright pp. 725-762.

would have held up the departure of the "fleet." At any rate the ship carrying Captain Farmer's troop of Langstoun's horse lay off shore on the 6th and 7th, and sheep for slaughter were sent out on the 7th and 8th for the use of the infantry who were on board the "Swan of Lancaster" and the "Swalo." If the wind and weather were favourable the fleet may have sailed on the 9th.

There is no reference to the number of ships available as transports, but there were at least four. These were three "small yaughts" with their own masters and commanders under the command of Captain Rotch of the "Charles" galley. It would be unreasonable to assume that even one regiment of cavalry could be crammed into these small vessels, which were not operating a ferry service? However some ships may have made a return journey to fetch Hayfords' baggage. This, and a rear party could not have left Dumfries before the 10th and probably left the town on the 14th when the last and latest receipt was signed by one of the dragoons.

Both "The Charles Galley" (36 guns) and "The Swallow" (32 guns) appear to have been identified. The former has been noted in 1691 and later, from the Masters Logs in the Public Record Office, in 1702-3 and 1705-6! the latter in 1703-6.

These two ships were at the building of Rudyerd's Lighthouse on the Eddystone Rock which was completed in 1709. John Smeaton's "*Narrative of the Building of the Eddystone Lighthouse*," 1791 edition, contains a plate of the lighthouse and immediately to the left of it, in the foreground, is "The Charles Galley" under full sail.

Further Surface Finds At Burnswark.

Noted by W. F. CORMACK, W.S.

It will be remembered that some surface finds were made at Burnswark in 1957 and noted in these *Transactions* Vol. XXXVI., p. 185.

Early in 1960 further ploughing for forestry purposes took place, this time between the "south" Roman Camp and the Hill Fort, i.e., in no-man's-land. Thereafter several searches over the disturbed ground were made by Mr Robert Little of Lockerbie and the writer of this Note, extending until new vegetation covered the bare earth.

In all, ten further lead GLANDES or sling-bolts were recovered. These were distributed as follows: In the gorge of centre gate on south side of the Hill Fort (Barbour's South Gate "B"—4; Between outer and inner ramparts of the Hill Fort to the east of that gate—5; half-way between that gate and the South Camp—1. Nine of these are illustrated in Plate IX., along with the two found by the writer in 1957. Their weights are shown (following Barbour) in grains. In the hope that this type of missile may be reported by the public from other sites, these glandes have been passed by kind permission of Sir J. W. Buchanan-Jardine of Castlemilk, the proprietor of Burnswark, a small selection to Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, and the rest to the Burgh Museum, Dumfries.

It will be recollected that no less than 67 lead glandes were found at Burnswark by Barbour in 1898, and that these are fully discussed and a selection figured in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. XXXIII. By a coincidence, also early in 1960, the only lead glans from elsewhere known to Barbour and Dr Christison, one (which is figured in the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society, XV. 200) from Bird-oswald on Hadrian's Wall, came into the possession of Mr G. A. Murray Brown of Kinnelhook, Lockerbie, a member

of our own Society, who has arranged for it to be passed to Tullie House. The opportunity was however first taken of including it in Plate IX. for comparison purposes.

Also lying half-way between the centre gate of the Hill Fort and the South Camp there was found by the writer of this Note an iron SPEARHEAD in good condition and of a rather unusual type.

It is now 10.4 ins. long; an unknown length of the extreme tip appears to have been broken off. The blade is very narrow, with a maximum width of 0.75 ins. just above the base and with edges very slightly concave, so that for most of their length they are almost parallel; the width below the fracture at the tip is 0.2 in. The blade is "diamond" shaped in section, with a ridge on each face. The socket is 4.4 in. long, not split, 0.8 in. in diameter at the base; there is a small depression just above the base, which may be a rivet-hole now filled with rust, and there is a fragment of the wooden shaft in the socket.

This find, which is illustrated in Plate X., after treatment and photography by the National Museum of Antiquities for Scotland, was submitted for examination to Mr J. W. Brailsford, F.S.A., head of the Sub-Department of Pre-history and Roman Britain of the British Museum, who provides the above description and who writes: "When I first saw this spear head at Edinburgh it reminded me of the slender Roman spear heads (perhaps cavalry lances) of the type found in mid-first century contexts such as Hofheim (pl. XVII. Nos. 3, 8 and 15), Maiden Castle (fig. 91, no. 8), and also from Hod Hill, Dorset (unpublished). A closer study of these has established that in fact the Burnswark spear head is not really of the same form; the Hofheim and the other examples are not so exceedingly narrow and 'spikey' as that from Burnswark. In view of its find place one should perhaps look for analogies to the Burnswark spear head among later, i.e., 2nd to 4th Century types. Certainly there is nothing similar from Newstead, Traprain Law or the three hoards published by Professor Stuart Piggott, P.S.A.S.

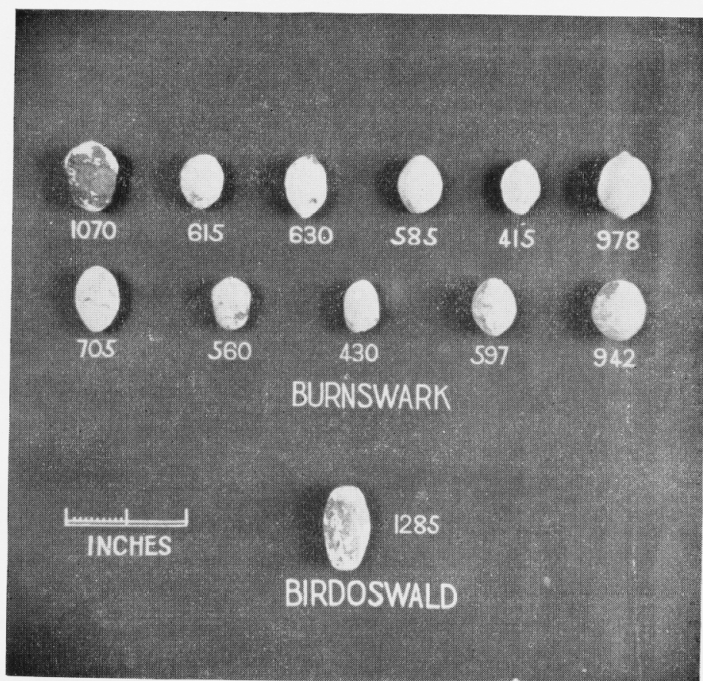


Plate IX.—Sling-bolts from Burnswark.



Plate X.—Iron Spearhead from Burnswark.

(Photo. Nat. Museum of Antiquities)

LXXXVII. The only parallel which I can quote is Jacobi's *Das Römerkastell Saalburg* pl. XXXVIII. no. 10, which must be Flavian or later."

The spearhead has been added by permission of the proprietor of the ground to the remainder of the Burnswark material in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. Following on the find an intensified search was made for further objects with the assistance of a metal detector kindly loaned by Messrs Pearson and Finlay, Veterinary Surgeons, Lockerbie, but without success.

The facilities allowed by the proprietor and the co-operation of his forestry staff have been greatly appreciated.

ARTICLE 14.

Addenda Antiquaria.

Freshwater Mollusca from Mein Water, Dumfriesshire.

By J. S. SHILLITOE, M.INST.B.E, F.G.S.

In 1959, a geotechnical site investigation was carried out at Mein Water, Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, to determine the nature of the underlying deposits.

One of the boreholes (Map ref. 32032—57435) was put down from the surface through the Recent Alluvium of the Latest Terrace (H.M.S.O.), but not penetrating the basal gravel stratum.

The following section was revealed:

Black brown peat, 8 ft. 6in.;

Grey peaty silt, 1 ft. 0 in.;

White pure silt, 1 ft. 6 in.;

Gravel, not penetrated fully.

The mollusca were found to be very numerous in the peaty silt, sparsely distributed in the white silt, and non-existent in the upper peat and basal gravel strata.

The following freshwater mollusca were kindly identified by Mr S. P. Dance:

Stratum	Gastropoda	No.	Lamellibranchia	No. of Valves
Peaty Silt	<i>Lymnaea peregra</i> (Müller)	51	<i>Pisidium nitidum</i> Jenyns	5
	<i>Valvata cristata</i> (Müller)	8	<i>Pisidium hibernicum</i> West	6
	<i>Planorbis laevis</i> Alder	2	<i>Pisidium milium</i> Held	2
	<i>Planorbis crista</i> (L.)	3	<i>Pisidium casertanum</i> (Poli.)	1
White Silt	<i>Lymnaea peregra</i> (Müller)	4	<i>Pisidium nitidum</i> Jenyns	1
	<i>Valvata piscinalis</i> (Müller)	2		
	<i>Planorbis laevis</i> Alder	3	<i>Pisidium casertanum</i> (Poli.)	1

As far as the author can ascertain, this is the first time these mollusca have been found fossilised in the area.

All these freshwater mollusca are to be found living to-day in the shallow slow-running waters of the rivers, streams, lakes, and marshes in the Southern Uplands, though, according to Ellis (1951) certain members such as *Planorbis laevis* Alder, *Planorbis crista* (L.), and *Pisidium hibernicum* West, would be on the western boundary of their present day distribution.

It is seen from the above table that not only was there a very marked increase in density of the Molluscan population in the peaty silt layer, but also that the number of genera, and species of certain genera increased also. The dominant member of both strata was *Lymnaea peregra* (Müller).

According to Ellis (1951), the latter was the oldest living member of these Mollusca in both strata, the oldest stratum in which it has been found fossilised in the British Isles being in the Upper Pliocene (Butleyan Crag.). *P. hibernicum* West in the peaty silt, and *V. piscinalis* (Müller) in the pure silt, were the youngest living of these mollusca, the oldest stratum in which they have been found fossilised being in the Middle Pleistocene. The rest of the mollusca, have been first recorded in the strata of Lower Pleistocene age.

A personal communication from Mr S. P. Dance states that the presence of *P. laevis* Alder and perhaps *P. hibernicum* West, suggests a cold climate. This is borne out by the relative thinness of the two strata concerned.

P. laevis Alder has, since the beginning of Post Glacial Times, tended to have a more northerly distribution in the British Isles, and with its lack of numbers in these beds, one might infer with the evidence of a cold climate that both the pure silt and peaty silt strata were laid down towards the end of the Pleistocene Age and beginning of the Holocene Period.

According to Zeuner's views (1959), the gravel and pure silt layers could have then been laid down during the cold Last Interstadial of the Last Glaciation before the final flickerings of the Scottish Readvance Ice Sheet had ceased, i.e., approximately just before the time of the formation of the Fennoscandian Moraine in Scandinavia. During the subsequent stadial, which formed the Fennoscandian Moraine, no ice sheet would actually pass over this area, and the silt layer would not have been removed by erosion during this very cold period, though sedimentation would cease. With the passing of this final stadial of the Last Glaciation, the return of warmer but cold temperate conditions at the start of the Holocene Period would cause the peaty silt layer to be laid directly on to the pure silt layer. To place these beds at an earlier date, i.e., at the start of Upper Pleistocene Times is impracticable, since the probable effects of erosion by ice, and subsequently water which formed this glacial overflow

channel (Pallister, 1952), would have removed these strata before the start of the Holocene Period.

The reason for the lack of more recent additions amongst the mollusca, other than those mentioned, could be due to the lack of time necessary for these relatively slow moving creatures to migrate from more favourable areas, and also due to the lack of favourable migratory routes.

The above evidence therefore suggests the following sequence of events:

(1) Swift flowing water, from the breakup of the last but one Stadial of the Last Glaciation, capable of carrying the gravel deposited in the basal bed.

(2) Slower flowing water, in the cold Last Interstadial, depositing the pure silt layer, and supporting a sparse Molluscan population at the end of Pleistocene Times.

(3) Sluggish, well oxygenated water, with abundant marsh vegetation growing in it, depositing the peaty silt layer, and supporting, in a cold temperate climate, an abundant molluscan population at the start of Holocene Times.

(4) Stagnant water, with peat formation, to the present day.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

The author would like to thank Mr S. P. Dance, of the Zoology Department of the British Museum (Natural History) for identifying the specimens discovered in the borehole, and Mrs M. D. Maclean, and Messrs R. S. C. Eckford and A. E. Truckell, of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society for help in checking past papers and records.

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Cluden : Cledyfein

By JOHN MACQUEEN, M.A.

It is now almost a hundred years since Skene (*Four Ancient Books*, ii., 402-3) made the suggestion (i.) that *cledyfein* in *Book of Taliesin* 29 was the same as the *clutuein* of *Book of Taliesin* 61, and (ii.) that the word was the name of the Galloway River Cluden. The first of these suggestions is palpably wrong, and the second has no very obvious probability. *Cledyfein* represents the Mn. Welsh spelling *cleddyfain*; Skene was misled by the single *d* of the manuscript spelling. So too it was the association of Cledyfein with Picts on 29 that made him assume a Galloway setting; Skene believed in Galloway Picts. The recent appearance of Sir Ifor Williams's *Canu Taliesin* (Cardiff, 1960) provides a further opportunity to test Skene's hypothesis.

The relevant text is this (I have supplied punctuation and capitals):

Gwyr a digawn godei gwarthegawc,
 Haeardur a Hyueid a Gwallawc,
 Ac Owein Moŋ Maelgynig deuawt,
 A wnaw Peithwyr gorweidawc.
 Ym pen Coed Cledyfein
 Atuyd kalaned gwein,
 A brein ar disperawt. (*Canu Taliesin*, 14, 34-40.)
 Men who make cattle-sheds,
 Haearddur and Hyfaidd and Gwallawg,
 And Owain of Anglesey, whose custom is that of the warband
 of Maelgwn,
 Who makes the Picts lie low.
 At the end of Dagger Wood
 Corpses will be rotten,
 And ravens scattering.

Gwallawg, in all probability, is the Guallauc of *Historia Brittonum* 63, who fought with Urien of Rheged against Hussa, and whose name heads Genealogy IX. in Harleian MS. 3859. I have shown in my *St Nynia* (Edinburgh, 1961), 55-61, that Urien is probably not to be connected with Galloway. Like Haearddur and Hyfaidd, Gwallawg makes cattle-sheds in which to keep the spoils of his plundering raids. There is nothing to suggest that the Picts against whom Owain of Anglesey fights belong to any other country than Pictavia. If Owain is to be regarded as a descendant of Maelgwn, there may be some reference to the ancestral connection of his line with Manau Gododdin on the borders of Pictavia. Compare, too, the narrative

from the *Black Book of Chirk* quoted by Morris Jones in his *Taliesin*, p. 47.

The most likely situation for Dagger Wood is surely therefore Pictavia? There is no need to assume that Cledyfein, "Daggers," is the name of a river. The place-name may even be Pencoeed and the translation "Pencoeed of the daggers" with reference to the battle fought there.

None of the other more or less uncertainly identified place-names of the poem—Prydyn, Perth, Gowrie, Brechin, Troon, Beith—suggest that a Galloway name should also appear. The probability that Coed Cledyfein or Pencoeed was in Pictavia seems to me overwhelming.

Lord Maxwell in Dumfries, 1523.

The following entries appear on the reverse of fol. 50 of the first Burgh Court Book (1506-42, with gaps). Lord Maxwell, who figures in these entries, has not appeared in the preceding hundred pages except in an occasional humdrum reference. The entries comprise the entire business of the meeting of 23th (or 27th—the numerals are blurred) May, 1523: the preceding meeting, of 6th May, and the succeeding one, of 3rd June, are normal business. The nearest entry which suggests anything out of the ordinary is that of 18th June, 1522, when the Council decides that each acre of the common land should pay two terms male in advance "and hais ordanit Thom meknacht till resaiff the samin to by thair gunnis and powdir and all utheris things that is neidfull for the comon profett."

The very obscure language of the entries in which Maxwell figures is not at all typical of the volume as a whole, as it is proving very plain and straightforward in its language: the phraseology and grammar is different, too, though the hand is the clerk's, as usual: he may have copied from a text provided by Maxwell's secretary. The meeting is one of the "Secreit Consale," not the Den Court or an Inquisitio or a Borrow Court—the Secreit Consale meetings are usually though not always community business. This one is unique so far however in being "chosin and suorn befor my Lord Maxwell." After listing those present it goes on:

The samin daye the secret consale fornamit be the awiysse of my lord maxwele in Jugement sittand and hais statuit & ordanit that all fremen & inhabitants in the burgh of drumfries for the comon wele & singlair proffett of the samin that na man dissobey the officers & ministars of Justice that it sal nocht be lefull to na freman to causs nor solist na (there follows a deleted word which might be "man" or "ony") party to burgh nor land to cum to in the contrary (it looks like contrary and not the usual contrair) the ministars of Justice and thair decrets & acts & sentence quhen the ministers of Justice and officers procediss in the execution

of thair office be the precepts of thair office & thair witness ?men that na manyr of waye (waye deleted) man to burgh nor land be thair?warnyt (this last word indistinct) party cum in thair contrair vndir expelling of thair of the burgh tynsale of thair fredome & putting of thair persons in preson.

The samin daye my lord maxwell present in Jugement suorn in the present of the said secreit consale that geiff ony man to burgh or land dissobeys the ministars of Justice & of thair office in the execution of Justice and quhat (there follows a word of which only the first and last letters remain: first could be "t" or "c" and last "n" or "m") the saids ministers of Justice menys thame to the said lord of ony particular person to burgh or land beand Inobedient to the quhilk thai mak nocht (or may nocht—word blurred) minister Justice that the said lord sall wyth his kyn & frends pas apon thame & bring thame he beand present & the parteis be thai nocht present alls sone as thai can be apprehendit wyth in the toun that he sall be redy & bring thame to Justice.

The samin daye it is statuit & ordanit be the said lord & Secreit consale that quhen the comon bell beis rung that all manner of man & nychbours inhabitant of the burgh for the tym thai (deleted) cum incontinent to the prowest & ballies of the samin cum to the tolbuyth stair quhilk bell sall nocht be rung wythowt ane greit causs the provest or ane bailzie beand present undir the pane of xviii ss & his ps (deleted) person to be ponist at the will of the said consale.

The samin daye it is statuit & ordanit be the said secreit consale that the alderman baillies & officers & all nychbours of the said burgh that ilk man be redy on the markett daye wyth th—geyr apon thame & thair sufficient wappynis in thair buythts redy to pas wyth the saids aldirman & ballies to resist ony partyss doand ony truble wythin the toun quhilk prowest & ballies sall keip the said markett daye wnder the pains contenit in the statuts of befor.

Though the language is involved the meaning is clear enough: the Council, "chosin & suorn befor my lord Maxwell," rules that anyone resisting the ministers of justice or their officers in the execution of their duties shall be imprisoned, banished, and lose their freedom: then Lord Maxwell, "suorn in the present of the said secreit consale" undertakes, when requested by the ministers of justice, etc., that he with his kin and friends shall arrest persons who have refused to come in will and bring them to justice. Lord Maxwell and the Council also lay down regulations anent the ringing of the bell in event of emergency and the Council orders the alderman (this is the normal word: the two occurrences of provost in this entry are the first in the volume although he is

termed "prepositus" at election) bailies and officers and population to assemble armed on market day with their weapons ready in their booths "to resist ony persons doand ony truble wythin the toun." "The statuts of befoir" do not occur in the surviving parts of the volume back to 1506—but then there are numerous gaps.

The point of these entries is that not even when, later, in the century, a Lord Maxwell is Provost, does he play such a commanding part: clearly there is some emergency: what is it, and under what authority is Maxwell acting—his own, or as Warden: or are burgh affairs a normal responsibility of a territorial lord? It would not appear so from the fact that this is his first appearance. My personal feeling is that this may be a family fight: it may or may not be significant that in the list of the Inquisitio which forms the next entry the name of Edward Johnstone, one of the chief men of the town, has been deleted and then re-entered: he is the only Johnstone on the list: but too much weight cannot be put on this.

We are indebted to Dr Jan Rae of the National Library, who did his Ph.D. thesis on the Borders at this period, for the following note:

"The background to these entries in the Dumfries Court Book would appear to be the Hapsburg-Valois conflict on the continent. When in August, 1521, England allied itself with Spain, France was bound to make effective the Scottish alliance; and in November, 1521, Albany was sent to Scotland with the specific intention of creating trouble in the English rear. After January, 1521/2 the normal system of redress of border outrages at days of truce appear to have broken down and frontier disturbances were encouraged by both governments. The entry in the Court Book for June, 1522, relating to guns and ammunition is probably concerned with defensive measures in the burgh in this phase of the hostilities. Early in 1523 the English, in spite of large scale commitments on the continent felt free to organise an invasion of Scotland, forcing the Scottish government to make preparations to meet their advance.

Robert Lord Maxwell was appointed Warden of the Western Marches on 10th August, 1515, and his appointment was renewed on 22nd May, 1517 ("Letters and Papers Hen. viii., ii.I.795; A.D.C. "Public Affairs," p. 90). On 15th March, 1523, James Johnstone of that ilk was associated with him in the Wardenship (Fraser "Annandale," i.p.xxx.; but quoting no authority for the statement). This was almost certainly part of the defence preparations; for in 15th May, 1523, the two men, along with the wardens of the other marches, were given specific instructions on the inauguration

of a defensive receiving system and an offensive intelligence system (A.D.C. "Public Affairs," p. 169).

I would suggest that Maxwell is interfering in Dumfries burgh administration directly as the result of the powers given to him by these instructions in order to ensure that he could rely on the burgh and the burgesses to play their part in defence by providing an obedient and effective administrative system and by being prepared for actual battle. I very much doubt Maxwell was using his office in the course of a feud with Johnstone. It is clear that at this time the two men were actively associated in administration; nor do I think that the situation which led to the outbreak of the violent feud later in the century, had at this time developed."

The reference to Edward Johnstone as provost may well screen an incipient rivalry between the co-Wardens and the Johnstone family's success. No doubt there was a bargain.

[Ed's.]

The Barochan Falconry Heirlooms.

By JOHN GLADSTONE OF CAPENOCH.

Mention is made in falconry literature of the Fleming of Barochan (Renfrewshire) falconry heirlooms: since 1872 these have been at Craichlaw, Kirkcowan, Wigtownshire; and a note regarding them may therefore be of interest.

Under the Will of William Malcolm Fleming (d. 1852), last of Barochan, Barochan was inherited—on the death of his last surviving sister, Catherine Fleming, unmarried, in 1863—by his cousin,¹ William Charles Stewart Hamilton (b. 1831, d. 1876), 5th of Craichlaw. He sold the estate in 1872 but most of the contents of the house, including the falconry heirlooms, were brought to Craichlaw, where they have since remained. Craichlaw is now the property of W. C. S. Hamilton's granddaughter, Mrs Diana Gladstone, wife of the present writer.

William Malcolm Fleming was the only son of Malcolm Fleming of Barochan (b. 1745, d. 1819) by his marriage to Elizabeth Fergusson of Doonholm, Ayrshire.

The falconry heirlooms are as follows:

1. **Falcon's hood**, in cuir bouillé, ornamented with silver thread and some seed pearls. Inside is the following inscription: "This hood was presented by James IV. of Scotland to Malcolm Fleming of Barochan as a memorial of the Barochan Tiercel beating the King's falcon. The precious stones which adorned this hood were stolen in the year 1600. The Flemings of Barochan had the honorary post of Falconer to the King in Scotland² in virtue of which Malcolm Fleming of Barochan was present at the Coronation of George IV., accompanied by his falconer, John Anderson, carrying a tiercel on his wrist."³

2. **Merlin's Hood**, used about 1810 by Malcolm Fleming of Barochan.

This and the preceding item are described and illustrated in "Falcons and Falconry" by Arnold Fleming (1934), p. 3, and are referred to in the same author's "Flemish Influence in Britain" (1930), Vol. 2, p. 365; also in Salvin and Brodrick's "Falconry in The British Isles" (1855), p. 6/7.

3. **Carved Ivory Hawking Whistle**. When Mr Matthew Nicol, of Messrs Gurr Johns and Co., the valuers, saw this in 1956, he said he thought it dated from the early 19th century: it was possibly given to, or made for, Malcolm Fleming, the falconer.

4. **Set of 15 Hawking buttons**, made of copper, each having on it the device of a hawk attacking a heron; these buttons were perhaps connected with the Renfrewshire Subscription Hawks, which were kept by Malcolm Fleming. (Anthony Jack, secretary of the Falconers' Club, in litt., 23rd April, 1955, and Salvin and Brodrick, *op. cit.*, p. 6.)

5. **Portrait of Col. Thomas Thornton** (b. 1757, d., 1823), labelled "Russell [and] P. Reneigal pinxit Thornville Royal, 1792." Col. Thornton, whose home was at Thornville Royal (Yorkshire), was a notable falconer and is known to have visited Malcolm Fleming at Barochan when he was in Scotland. (T. Thornton: "Sporting Tour in England and Scotland (1804), p. 22.)

A reproduction of a picture similar to that at Craichlaw is the frontispiece of Col. Thornton's "Sporting Tour in France" (1806). There is another version of the picture at The Durdans, Epsom; this was purchased by the 5th Earl of Rosebery about 1870 and is now the property of his granddaughter, the Countess of Halifax; it is the picture referred to in "Sport in Art: Falconry," by J. E. Harting in "The Magazine of Art" (1896), p. 181.

Another copy of the picture, which had belonged to the 1st Viscount Ullswater, was sold at Sotheby's in 1941 ("The Connoisseur," March, 1941).

Another copy is at Castle Howard, Yorkshire.

6. **Two books on Falconry** which came from the Barochan Library: Simon Latham, "Falconry," 2nd Ed. (1633), in contemporary binding, and James Campbell, "A Treatise of Modern Falconry" (1773), in original boards.

There are copies of both these books, and also of the 1st Ed. of Latham's "Falconry" (1614 or 1615) in the late Sir Hugh Gladstone's Bird Library at Capenoch.

7. **Portrait of Malcolm Fleming of Barochan**, on horseback, with his falconers, John Anderson and John Harvey, painted in 1811, by James Howe. This picture is referred to in Sir James Caw's "Scottish Painting" (1908), p. 197.

It was engraved by Charles Turner, of London (brother of J. M. W. Turner) and a number of these engravings — both coloured and black-and-white—are in existence. There is one of each at Pollok House, near Glasgow. A coloured engraving, which used to be at Craichlaw, is now the property of Admiral Sir Edward Evans-Lombe, of Marlingford Hall, Norwich, a grandson of W. C. S. Hamilton, as also are a pair of aquatint engravings—by R. Pollard, published February, 1788—of fox-hounds which had belonged to Col. Thornton, named "Dash" and "Modish."

A copy, of smaller size, marked on back "James Howe, 1815," of Howe's picture of Malcolm Fleming, is at Dumfries House, Ayrshire, the property of the Marquis of Bute.

Another copy was recently seen by Mr H. R. H. Woolford, Deputy Keeper of the National Gallery, Edinburgh, at Carberry Tower, Musselburgh (Lord Elphinstone).⁴

8. **Sketch of John Anderson**,⁵ Malcolm Fleming's falconer, said to have been made by Andrew McGeorge (b. 1810, d. 1891). It is inscribed "Sketched from Life at Bellfield, April, 1834."

Salvin and Brodrick (p. 6) mention a picture of John Anderson at Barochan, "a faithful likeness of him as he appeared in a court dress (of the time of James I.) on the 19th July, 1821, at the coronation of George IV., having been engaged by the Duke of Atholl to present a cast of Falcons to the King, that being the tenure by which the Dukes of Atholl held the Isle of Man of the Crown, viz., the presentation of a cast of Hawks at each coronation."⁶ This picture is not now at Craichlaw, but at Leith Hall (Aberdeenshire) there is a picture which may be the one referred to. Leith Hall was the home of Christina Leith-Hay (née Hamilton) (d. 1891), a sister of W. C. S. Hamilton of Craichlaw, and the picture may have been given to her.

NOTES.

1. They were in fact third cousins: W. M. Fleming's great-grandmother, Elizabeth Hamilton, who married Patrick Fleming of Barochan, was a sister of William and Charles Hamilton, 1st and 2nd, of Craichlaw; the latter was the great-grandfather of W. C. S. Hamilton.
It would appear that the family of Fleming of Barochan is now extinct. (See "Herald and Genealogist", (1865), Vol. 2, pp. 245/9.)
2. It is doubtful whether this statement is correct; there appears to have been no official appointment.

3. There is also a pair of silver spurs which belonged to the Malcolm Fleming who lived temp. James IV. of Scotland.
4. There are at Craichlaw portraits of Malcolm Fleming, by David Martin, and of his wife, Elizabeth Fergusson, of Doonholm, by an unknown artist.
5. According to Salvin and Brodrick (p. 7) John Anderson was born at Currie, Midlothian, about 1760, and died, at Ashfield, near Glasgow, in 1833. He succeeded John Hainshaw as Head Falconer at Barochan and retired following the death of Malcolm Fleming in 1819.
6. c.p. "Scots Peerage," ed. Balfour Paul (1904), Vol. 1, p. 490.

Finds and Sites, 1960/61.

The major excavations of the year—Trustie's Hill, the small Roman fort on Fleuchlarg, North of Gatehouse, John Clarke at Bankhead Roman site, Kirkconnel, Miss Robertson at Raeburnfoot, the joint effort by the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate, Edinburgh University Dept. of Prehistoric Archaeology, and this Society, at Camp Hill near Trohoughton—have all been dealt with separately or will be in due course: the same applies to some of the smaller sites—Mr Thomas' notes on the mediaeval building beside the Port William-Glenluce road, on the possible early precinct enclosure at the chapel at Isle of Whithorn, and on the hermitage on Ardwall Island: but this leaves quite a number of discoveries and minor excavations to be dealt with.

When a long-fallow meadow was being cultivated on Cormaddie farm, near Holywood, in the Spring of 1960, a curious low mound of small burnt and fragmented stones, very even in size, and embedded in black wood ash, was noted in a damp hollow beside a small stream. This was investigated by General Scott-Elliot and proved to be about 80 feet in diameter and over 18 in. thick, with a rammed clay floor below. The whole was obviously connected with some industrial process, but what that was not even the National Museum could think.

In March and early April of 1960 General Scott-Elliot sectioned a possible ancient road-line crossing the field between the Bankend Road and the house belonging to Mr Kinghorn, the architect, on the ridge-top: several sections of what appeared to be heavily denuded road-bed were uncovered.

In February, 1961, the General observed on a Government high-level aerial survey photograph a very fine double-ditched circular enclosure with a hut-circle visible within it, at map ref. 030771, on Redhills farm, a little along the Collin Road from Roucan, near Torthorwald. When examined on the ground by the General and the writer it proved to be on a low ridge or promontory the top of which had the appearance of being artificially

flattened. This is an important site: the owner has been contacted and has no objection to a trial excavation—probably a section of the ditch system—in the Autumn of 1961.

In the same month the General investigated a field on Horse-close farm, near Ruthwell, which showed suggestions of a rectangular site on the aerial photograph and which when visited proved to be particularly well suited for human occupation, being a plateau gently inclined inland and commanding from its seaward side a very wide view of the Solway and of the Nith estuary. Trenching revealed one clear ditch and a considerable area of black occupation soil at one side of the field and another ditch of different dimensions at the other side of the field. Here again it is hoped to carry investigations further in the Autumn.

Still in the same month, General Scott-Elliot investigated a site on Bankend Hill, map ref. 025680, suggested by traces on the aerial photograph, and found a ditch with a tumble of stones in it, another ditch apparently utilised later by an oven-type fireplace with its flue much blackened with accumulated material—some type of kiln?—and still another ditch with an apparent fireplace in it. These ditches so far do not tie up with each other.

In April, 1961, a site on Rue farm near Fourmerkland Tower, was reported to Dr Harper and he and the writer went to investigate: it proved to be a narrow "passage" some 18 in. wide and deep, the sides of neat small split stones and the roof of large boulders, the clearing away of one of which in the course of ploughing the field—again it was a field not cultivated before in living memory—had revealed the "passage." The site was then thoroughly excavated by General Scott-Elliot and proved to be a fine example of a grain-drying kiln with long flue sloping slightly downhill and wide, carefully built "bowl": traces of a barn were also found and much cobbling, suggesting the presence of other farm offices. A piece of pottery datable to the second half of the fifteenth century was found firmly stratified beside a low partition wall. The whole complex occupies a low, truncated mound at the foot of a gentle slope just across a wet hollow from Fourmerkland Tower: an old road leads past the kiln site towards the Tower. Some two hundred feet away from the kiln site is a low mound of exactly the same mixture of small fragmented burnt stone and black ash as the one investigated last year at Cormaddie: there is little doubt that it and the kiln and barn complex are connected with an early phase of the tower.

The very important burial complex covering apparently the period from Secondary Neolithic to Middle Bronze Age, on Birkhill Farm, near Lockerbie, now being carefully excavated by Messrs Cormack and Little will, it is hoped, be fully reported upon in a later volume of the "Transactions."

Mr Cormack and Mr Little have also been responsible during 1960-61 for the discovery of a remarkable lance-head and a number of lead sling-bullets at the entrance to the Iron Age fort atop Burnswark: the lance is now in the National Museum of Antiquities—it may well be Roman—and the Roman sling-bullets are at Dumfries Museum and Tullie House Museum, Carlisle.

Mr Mason, a Dumfries bulldozer operator with Messrs Haley, came upon a hoard of eighty-odd mid-fifteenth century coins, mostly James III., while clearing the line of a new road—along the line of an old field lane on Burnfoot Farm, Dunscore: these were submitted to the National Museum of Antiquities as Treasure Trove and are being examined by Mr Stewart, the specialist on this reign. In February, 1960, Mr William Spence Brack, a forestry worker, of Ae Village, brought in a very fine sub-Viking axe dating possibly to the tenth century found at the Brant Point, Mitchellslacks, in the Queensberry foothills, among old settlement sites.

In June of the same year a Boy Scout, a pupil of Wallace Hall Academy, found a large spear or lance head in the bed of the Scaur water immediately below Scaur Bridge, Penpont, while helping construct a line of stepping-stones across the stream. This is coarse blacksmith work and the sixteenth century would fit it very well—the Dumfries records of this period abound in references to spears and lances. In the Autumn during ditching operations on Steilston Farm, a very fine richly decorated flat bronze axe with slightly hammered-up sides was turned up. It had been found some time within the last sixty years, heavily filed, and lost again: but despite the filing it is still a handsome piece. Several quern-stones have been found—one in a stream bed on Dalshangan, Dunscore, one near Tynron village, and one in the tumble of stones in the wood just downstream from the site of Kirkbride on the Skyre Burn. A fine flint point of Secondary Neolithic type was found in Mrs Penman's garden at Rockcliffe: and oyster shells were recovered from the great shell-midden atop the raised beach some 600 feet from the present shoreline in Stranraer, plus a solid wooden wheel from the upper surface of the midden.

A fine polished stone axe of Langdale stone was found on Kirkpatrick Farm, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, the first Neolithic axe recorded for this South-Eastern corner of the county.

Sir Neil Johnson-Fergusson found, just North of Springkell, on the line of an old lane where a metalled surface is known to exist three feet down, a small coin of Constantius the Second, minted in 355-61: from its worn condition it cannot have been dropped much before 370 at the least. Mr Brian Lord took the writer to see a large defensive site in a wet hollow in the angle of the Castle-Douglas and Lochfoot Roads near Foremannoch

Farm: it is not mentioned in the Inventories and is a large circular structure with ditch and stony perimeter, standing in the midst of a swamp: moles were busily bringing up large amounts of black charcoal. Since August, 1960, Messrs Haley have been bringing in antlers and bones including vertebrae of a large red deer from the bottom of the 28 ft. pit they have dug beneath six feet of water in the bed of Lochrutton Loch: it lies beneath successive layers of peat and gravel and could well be of interglacial date.

General Scott-Elliot has brought in a fragment of mediaeval pottery from the field adjoining Glencaple village, on the South side of the road over the ridge from Bankend, and a sinker or loom-weight of an early type from the ridge above Bankend. A group of brightly stained and apparently roughly shaped axe-like stones and a small neat stone rubber come from a small rectangular site abutting on the Deil's Dyke on Drumbuie Farm just South of Kirkconnel in Upper Nithsdale, and a rubber, whetstone or loom-weight from a potato clamp on Cocklicks Farm, near Annan.

Field survey groups led by Dr Reid have established that the old church of Kirkcormack, on the Dee, incorporating several 15th-century features in its fabric, is actually in the bailey of the fine Kirkcormack motte, and that an ancient road, earlier than the eighteenth century and mediaeval roads, is observable at several points near the Corse of Slakes road heading towards Creetown from the Roman site North of Gatehouse. A small much-bleached Neolithic stone axe has been reported from up the Moffat Water near Moffat and another small Neolithic axe "found in Gallo-way" has come in to the Museum. A very fine barbed tanged flint arrowhead found near Brow Well many years ago and now mounted as a brooch has been shown to the writer. Mr Cormack has brought in a small collection of flint flakes and a core, some showing tooling, from the meadow above the cliff at the South side of Monreith Bay, on Blairbuie Farm: one piece was a few hundred feet away from the others and just at the foot of the two standing stones at the South end of Blairbuie Loch.

Miss Nisbet, of Paisley Museum, reports a hitherto unrecorded promontory fort just West of Adam's Chair on the East side of Rascarrel Bay and some small circular settings of stones on the margin of Auchencairn Moss—they might have been cradles for peat-stacks.

Miss Nisbet and the writer did a hurried walk over Rough Isle in the Urr estuary in early April and, besides the recent agricultural riggs, found a suggestion of a promontory fort at the seaward end of the island and a long narrow rectangular building with the doorway apparently in the end, in a secluded hollow near the S.E. corner of the island.

Study of the high-level Government aerial photographs has revealed a sub-rectangular site lying athwart the Stonehouse Loaning near Dumfries: much of its embanked perimeter is clearly visible on the ground.

Review.

The publication of both "St. Nynia" by Mr John MacQueen (Oliver and Boyd, 1961, 10/6) and Mrs MacQueen's translation of the poem, "The Miracles of Bishop Ninian" (pp. 21 in these "Transactions") makes this indeed a notable year for students of Christianity in Scotland, "long before" St. Columba, as Bede puts it.

Wilhelm Levison, who called the attention of British students to this poem by his article, "An Eighth Century Poem on St. Ninian" ("Antiquity," Vol. XIV., Sept., 1940), argued that it and the twelfth century "Life of Ninian" by Ailred of Rievaulx seemed to be based on the same lost Life, and that accordingly Ailred was speaking the truth when he claimed to be presenting a version of such a document. This obviously took his material back at least to the eighth century, by the latter part of which the existence of the poem is proved by a contemporary letter.

And now Mr MacQueen, approaching the evidence as a linguist, begins (pp. 2, 3) by demolishing at one stroke the chief grounds for the view hitherto accepted, that this source document could not be earlier than the Anglian occupation of Galloway, namely the Anglian personal names in several of the stories which appear both in the "Miracula" and in Ailred's "Vita." He points out that these are all found in stories of posthumous miracles at Ninian's tomb, appended to the accounts of the saint and his doings in his lifetime. They provide accordingly no grounds to reject the likelihood, which Mr MacQueen regards as substantial, that the main body of the source document was produced by Celtic hands, though rewritten, and the appendix produced and incorporated, by Anglian monks at Whithorn. He considers further that the Latin version was probably translated into Old English and that it was this that was used by Ailred, as shown by his insertion of an Old English phrase in his Latin "Vita," and notes that this fits in with Ailred's own statements that "a barbaric language had hidden the life of the saint," and that his purpose was "to bring it out from a rustic language." This seems to afford further confirmation of Ailred's general truthfulness and it is interesting to note that Mr MacQueen considers that even his statement that, before Ninian left the Picts, he consecrated bishops "is an echo of the older Celtic church rather than a projection of the custom during Ailred's own lifetime." (p. 85.)

Mr MacQueen stresses Bede's contacts with Whithorn, to whose bishop, Pecthelm, he refers several times. Accordingly he could presumably draw upon any sources there available. Mr MacQueen, as a linguist, rejects the assumption that his words "ut perhibent," as the story goes, suggest that Bede had no written source, on double grounds: that the phrase is as often used of the written as of the spoken word, and that its place implies that it does not relate to the whole account and may indeed only modify the statement that Ninian taught long before Columba.

He further suggests that the words "Anglorum gens" may perhaps be construed English "church," and that accordingly Bede's comment that it has "just now begun to govern" need not conflict with the view that Galloway had been occupied by the Angles by the middle of the seventh century. This is, as he points out, more in harmony than a very recent occupation with Bede's own statement (Vxxiii.) that a bishop had been recently elected to the district called "Candida Casa" on account of the increase in the number of the faithful.

Accordingly Mr MacQueen inclines to date the ultimate Celtic written source before the end of the sixth century and the Anglian version sometime in the early eighth.

Turning to the "Miracula," we see that though it does not profess to be a life of St. Ninian, it opens with four introductory chapters, three of which speak respectively of his visit to Rome, his mission to the Picts, and his building, after his return home, of a church hallowed by the sanctity of Martin and called, from the first, by his name. A later chapter, between the stories of miracles in Ninian's lifetime and those of posthumous wonders, tells of his death; and told also, in a part now missing, of his burial at Whithorn, if we may judge by the chapter heading.

Finally the poet rejoices in Ninian's holy life, including his meditation of heavenly wisdom in a cave of fearful darkness.

We must indeed be grateful that this poem has been brought out for the first time both from Latin and from, to British readers, the obscurity of a German publication.

ANNE ASHLEY (M.A.).

PROCEEDINGS, 1959-1960

9th October, 1959.—The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Ewart Library at 7.30 p.m., with the retiring President, Dr Harper, in the chair. The accounts of the Hon. Treasurer were adopted and the list of Office-Bearers recommended by the Council was confirmed. There were elected nine new members and one Junior. The retiring President spoke in appreciation of the work of the late Mr Irvine as Vice-President and then vacated the chair in favour of Mrs McLean, the new President. Dr Harper then delivered his address on "Some Eighteenth Century Dumfriesshire Doctors" (printed in full in the "Standard," 17th October, 1959).

23rd October, 1959.—Miss Anne Robertson, M.A., F.S.A., of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, addressed the Society on "Some Unconsidered Trifles in Archaeology." Under the three headings, folk, roads and serendipity, she gave an account, with colour slides, of the present state of the Antonine Wall, of the Roman roads leading thereto and of "happy discoveries" in her recent excavations (see "Standard," 31st October, 1959).

6th November, 1959.—The lecture by Professor A. C. O'Dell, of the Department of Geography at Aberdeen University, was on his excavations on "St. Ninian's Isle and its Treasure." The island is one of the lesser Shetland group. Colour slides were displayed of the Isle, of various sections of the excavations and of the valuable and unique treasures discovered by the Professor and his team of student workers. The treasures are of major national importance and their ultimate home is still a matter of discussion (see "Standard," 21st November, 1959).

20th November, 1959.—Miss Rosemary Cramp, lecturer on Anglo-Saxon Antiquities at Durham University, chose as her subject, "The Anglo-Saxon Sculptures in Dumfriesshire," re-assessing the work of the late W. J. Collingwood in these "Transactions." She illustrated her lecture with lantern slides showing examples of Dumfriesshire Crosses with others from Yorkshire and elsewhere for comparison (see "Standard," 25th November, 1959).

4th December, 1959.—Miss E. P. Beattie, Scottish Regional Officer to the Botanical Society of the British Isles and contributor to the Nature Notes column of the "Edinburgh Evening News," lectured on "Coastal Plants," illustrated by colour slides which resulted in a considerable discussion (see "Standard," 12th December, 1959).

29th January, 1960.—"Sardinia and its Birds" was the title of the address delivered by Professor N. F. N. Meiklejohn, Professor of Italian at the University of Glasgow and Vice-President

of the Scottish Ornithological Club and editor of the journal, "Scottish Birds" (see "Standard," 10th February, 1960).

12th February, 1960.—Mr James Taylor, M.A., B.Sc., formerly headmaster of Dalbeattie High School and now lecturer of the Glasgow University Extra-Mural Department, delivered a lecture on "Some Plant Communities in Galloway," illustrated with fine colour transparencies (see "Standard," 20th February, 1960).

26th February, 1960.—Caerlaverock Castle and the excavations there by the Ministry of Works drew an audience of 70 members and friends to hear Mr J. MacIvor of the Ministry lecture on that topic which was followed by a long and animated discussion (see "Standard," 12th March, 1960).

11th March, 1960.—This was a joint meeting at Gracefield with the Camera Club. Unfortunately the lecture by Mr A. F. Park, F.R.P.S., officially-sponsored lecturer of Kodak, Ltd., had been cancelled in very sad circumstances and Mr Austin, a member of the Society, with Mr Smith of Lockerbie, at short notice took Mr Park's place lecturing on "Bird Life in Colour," illustrated by films taken on the Isle of May, at Bamborough, Southernness and Carsethorn; some 80 members and friends of both Societies were present.

FIELD MEETINGS, 1959-60

7th May, 1960.—This was an afternoon excursion to Drumlanrig Woods and Dalgarnock. Mr W. Austin acted as leader and drew attention to pied flycatchers, grey wagtails, dippers and redstarts. The party then proceeded to Dalgarnock Churchyard where Dr Harper pointed out various monuments and the site of the former home of Mrs Elspeth Buchan, founder of the "Buchanites."

28th May, 1960.—On this date the Society spent a whole day at Kirkmadrine and Glenluce under the leadership of Mr A. E. Truckell, lunching at "The Judge's Keep" at Glenluce. At Kirkmadrine Mr Truckell spoke on the 5th-7th century inscribed stones and Mr Brewis, M.P. for Galloway, conducted the visitors round the family vault of the McTaggart-Stewarts at Glenluce Abbey. Mr Truckell was again the speaker and the custodian showed the party round the ruins (see "Standard," 4th June, 1960).

18th June, 1960.—Shinnel Glen and Tynron were the objectives of this excursion under the leadership of Dr Harper. The interest of this afternoon was mainly geological and botanical and the celebrated juniper-wood of Tynron was noted in passing.

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

Membership List, 1st March, 1961

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., Observa- tory House, Durham City	1935
Blackwell, Philip, F.B., Lt.-Commander, R.N. (Ret.), The Ark, Warblington Road, Emsworth, Hants.	1946
Borthwick, Major W. S., T.D., 54 Darrick Wood Road, Orpington, Kent	1943
Breay, Rev. J., The Vicarage, Shepreth, Cambridge	1950
Brown, J. Douglas, O.B.E., M.A., F.Z.S., Roberton, Borgue, Kirkcudbright	1946
Buccleuch and Queensberry, His Grace the Duke of, K.T., P.C., G.C.V.O., Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill, Dumfries	—
Burnand, Miss K. E., F.Z.S.Scot., Brocklehurst, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1941)	1943
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

LIST OF MEMBERS.

211

M'Culloch, Walter, W.S., Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
*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 H. E., Pincod, Eaglesfield, Dumfries- shire (Ordinary Member, 1931) ...	1947
Stuart, Lord David, M.B.O.U., F.S.A.Scot., Old Place of Mochrum, Portwilliam, Wigtownshire ...	1948
Thomas, C. H., O.B.E., Southwick House, Southwick, by Dumfries ...	1950
Thomas, Mrs C. H., Southwick House, Southwick, by Dum- fries ...	1950

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Adamson, D., Doonholm, Castle-Douglas Road, Dumfries ...	1958
Adamson, Mrs D., Doonholm, Castle-Douglas Road, Dum- fries ...	1958
Anderson, Mrs E., 21 Oaklands, Chapelcross, Annan ...	1960
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
Balfour-Browne, Miss E. M. C., Goldielea, Dumfries ...	1944
Balfour-Browne, V. R., J.P., Dalskairth, Dumfries ...	1944
Banks, James, "Scarknowe," St. Anne's Road, Dumfries	1960
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, James, Mains of Westerkirk, Langholm	1960
Begg, Miss R. E., Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1952
Bell-Macdonald, A., Rammerscales, Lockerbie	1958
Biggar, Miss, Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Biggar, Miss E. I., Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Birkinshaw, Dr E., Cairnyard, Lochfoot, Dumfries	1958
Black, Miss Amy G., Burton Old Hall, Burton, Westmore- land	1946
Blackett, Major C. W. S., Arbigland, Kirkbean	1960
Blake, Brian, 97 Scotby Road, Carlisle	1953
Bone, Miss E., Stable Court, Castle-Douglas	1957
Boyes, Miss M., 34 Cardoness Street, Dumfries	1957
Bradley, Miss Moira P., Rotchell House, Rotchell Road, Dumfries	1960
Brewis, Mrs F. D. D. M., Ardwell, Stranraer	—
Brown, Miss E., Glencotho, Broughton, Biggar	1960
Brown, Mrs M. G., Caerlochan, Dumfries Road, Castle- Douglas	1946
Bunyan, David, c/o Moffat Academy, Moffat	1955
Buchanan, John, Sunnysdene, Mainsriddle	1957
Bullan, R., 46 Vancouver Road, Eastriggs	1958
Byers, R., Munches Kennels, Dalbeattie	1951
Campbell, Alexander, Spindrift, Carsethorn, by Dumfries ...	1956
Campbell, Eoin, St. Nicolas, Ballplay Road, Moffat ...	1960
Campbell, Mrs E., St. Nicolas, Ballplay Road, Moffat ...	1960
Campbell, Mrs Margaret, Spindrift, Carsethorn, by Dum- fries	1956
Campbell, J. Keith, Low Arkland, Castle-Douglas	1959
Campbell, Mrs Keith, Low Arkland, Castle-Douglas ...	1953
Campbell, J. A., The Laurels, Victoria Road, Dumfries ...	1959
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
Clark, Dr J. A., 4 Ladyfield Cottages, Glencaple Road, Dumfries	1960
Clarke, John, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 95 Hyndland Road, Glasgow, W.1.	1947
Clavering, Miss M., Clover Cottage, Moffat	1948

Cluckie, James, Lochanlee, Ardwall Road, Dumfries ...	1955
Cochrane, Miss M., Glensone, Glencaple, Dumfries ...	1946
Coles, Francis E., Glebe House, Dumfries ...	1957
Cormack, David, LL.B., W.S., Royal Bank Buildings, Lockerbie ...	1913
Cormack, Wm., Starney, Lockerbie ...	1951
Coulthard, William, Wellholme, Scotby, by Carlisle ...	1959
Cowan, Mrs H., Chapel Hill, Glencaple ...	1958
Cowie, Dr Iain D. S., Glenmarge, New Abbey Road, Dum- fries ...	1959
Crabbe, Lt.-Col. Sir J. G., O.B.E., M.C., L.L., 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
Cunningham, John, 20 Queen Street, Lochmaben ...	1958
Cunningham-Jardine, Mrs D. A. J., Fourmerkland, Loch- maben ...	1960
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, Mrs J. Edenbank, Laurieknowe, Dumfries ...	1959
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
Drew, Dr R. L., 32 Hospital Road, Annan ...	1959
Drummond, Mrs Gordon, Glenalva, Albert Road, Dumfries	1944
*Duncan, Arthur B., B.A., Gilchristland, Closeburn, Dum- fries (President, 1944-1946) ...	1930
Duncan, Walter, Newlands, Dumfries ...	1926
Duncan, Mrs W., Newlands, Dumfries ...	1926
Dunlop, Mrs, C.B.E., D.Litt., 73 London Road, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire ...	1952

Eckford, R. S. C., Summerhill, Grange Road, Moffat ...	1956
Edwards, Frederick J., M.A., 113 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries ...	1953
Fairbairn, Miss M. L., Benedictine Convent, Dumfries ...	1952
Farries, T. C., 1 Irving Street, Dumfries ...	1948
Ferguson, Ronald, Woodlea House, High Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire ...	1953
Fleming, Mrs N., Bonshaw, Charnwood Road, Dumfries ...	1960
Flett, David, A.I.A.A., A.R.I.A.S., Craigrowan, Carsluith, Creetown, by Newton-Stewart ...	1947
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., C.A. Radio Station, Lowther Hill, Wanlockhead, Abington, Lanarkshire ...	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., M.C., 20 Abercromby Road, Castle- Douglas ...	1947
Gair, James C., Delvine, Amisfield ...	1946
Gair, Mrs J. C., Delvine, Amisfield ...	1960
Gair, John, Delvine, Amisfield ...	1945
Galbraith, Mrs, Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan ...	1949
Gallan, W. C., Inverlorne, Robison Drive, Dumfries ...	1960
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, Miss Janet I., Glenesk, Sherwood Park, Lockerbie ...	1958
Gibson, Mrs R. M., Lochenlee, Ardwall Road, Dumfries ...	1957
Gillam, J. P., M.A., F.S.A., Bank House, Middle Street, 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
Glendinning, Mrs Mary, Glenburn, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1957
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
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., Crichton House, Crichton Royal, Dumfries (President, 1956-1959)	1947
Harper, Mrs M., Crichton House, Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1952
Harris, Bernard F. D., Benmore, Pleasance Avenue, Dum- fries	1955
Haslam, Oliver, Cairngill, Colvend, Dalbeattie	1927
Hay, Miss Margaret, Strathisla, Glasgow Road, Dumfries	1961
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
Hendry, Miss H. W., Kildonan, Montague Street, Dumfries	1956
Henry, Mrs Janet, 153 Kingstown Road, Moorville, Car- lisle	1953
Hewat, Rev. Pat., Grantchester Parsonage, Cambridge ...	1960
Hopkin, P. W., Sunnyside, Noblehill, Dumfries	1948
Hull, Christopher R., Denbie, Lockerbie	1956
Inglis, John A., Achadh nan Darach, Invergarry, Inverness- shire	1951
Irvine, Mrs James, 4a Johnstone Park, Dumfries	1952
Irving, E. J. B., A.I.E.E., Balgownie, Bellevue Road, Kirkintilloch, Dunbartonshire	1959
Irving, J. W., Milnhead, Kirkmahoe	1957
Jameson, Mrs A. M., Ardmor, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Jenkins, Miss Agnes, 2 Langholm Place, Dumfries	1946
Jobbins, J. K., 14 Oaklands, Chapelcross, Annan	1960
Johnston, F. A., 11 Rutland Court, Knightsbridge, London, S.W.1	1911
Johnston, Major F. J., 61 Chester Square, London, S.W.1.	1957
Johnston, Lt.-Col. Patrick, Bury Hall, Therfield, Royston, Herts.	1956
Johnstone, Miss E. R., Cluden Bank, Moffat	—
Johnstone, J. E., Albany Bank, Dumfries.	1955
Johnstone, Major J. L., Amisfield Tower, Dumfries ...	1945
Keillor, Rev. J., The Manse, Mouswald	1960
Kellett, Dr. J. R., Ferndene, Crossmichael Road, Castle- Douglas	1955
Keppie, J. Fraser, Knockwalloch, Kirkpatrick-Durham	1961
Keppie, Mrs J. F., Knockwalloch, Kirkpatrick-Durham ...	1961
King, Norman, 9 Lathom Road, Southport	1954
Laidlaw, Miss Margaret, 84 High Street, Lockerbie	1953
Laidlaw, W., Hecklegirth, Annan	1958
Lamont, Mrs J., Lochpark, Kirkpatrick-Durham	1958
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., 33 Canberra Road, Gretna	1949

Lord, Brian L., Castlehill, Kirkmahoe	...	...	...	1960
McAdam, Dr. William, Maryfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries	...	...	...	1952
McAdam, Mrs. Maryfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries	...	...	...	1953
McCaig, Miss, 26 Royal Avenue, Stranraer	...	...	...	1953
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, T. W., Lettrick, Dunscore	...	...	...	1958
McCracken, Dr. Kenneth M., Inglestone, Kelso	...	...	...	1955
McCulloch, Lady, 37 Fleet Street, Gatehouse, Castle-Douglas	...	...	...	—
MacDonald, Rev. Fraser Ian, Manse of Tinwald	...	...	...	1956
MacDonald, Mrs J., Glenower, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries	...	...	...	1960
MacDonald, J. A. B., 7 Langlands, Dumfries	...	...	...	1952
MacDonald, I. A., H.M.I.S., Clairmont, Dumfries Road, Lockerbie	...	...	...	1952
MacDonald, M. M., Oakdale, Glencaple Road, Dumfries	...	...	...	1960
Macdonald, N. H., Hazelwood, Laurieknowe, Dumfries	...	...	...	1952
Macdonald, Mrs N. H., Hazelwood, Laurieknowe, Dumfries	...	...	...	1952
McDowall, Miss P., Meadowpark, Kirkmahoe	...	...	...	1957
McElroy, James, 7 Carlingwark Street, Castle-Douglas	...	...	...	1957
McGhie, Miss Mary, Fairleigh, Dunmuir Road, Castle-Douglas	...	...	...	1957
McKerrow, Henry George, Whiterne, Albert Road, Dumfries	...	...	...	1953
McKie, Joseph, 44 Terregles Street, Dumfries	...	...	...	1954
McKinna, Miss Mary T., 10 Bank Street, Wigtown	...	...	...	1960
McKnight, Ian, 3 Langlands, Dumfries	...	...	...	1948
McKnight, Mrs I., 3 Langlands, Dumfries	...	...	...	1948
McLean, Mrs M. D., Ewart Library, Dumfries	...	...	...	1946
Macmillan, Miss S. M., Penshurst, Glasgow Road, Sanguhar	...	...	...	1959
MacMillan-Fox, Mrs M. M. G., Glencrosh, Moniaive	...	...	...	1950
MacMillan-Fox, Miss J. M. G., Glencrosh, Moniaive	...	...	...	1950
McQueen, Miss Flora, Ford View, Kippford, Dalbeattie	...	...	...	1954
MacQueen, John, M.A., The University, Edinburgh	...	...	...	1952
McRobert, Mrs F., 2 Stewartry Court, Lincluden	...	...	...	1948
Maitland, Mrs C. L., Cumstoun, Twynholm	...	...	...	1952
Mangles, Rev. J. L., B.Sc., Manse of Troqueer, Dumfries	...	...	...	1952
Marshall, Dr. Andrew, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries	...	...	...	1947
Marshall, Robert, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries	...	...	...	1955
Martin, J. D. Stuart, Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Lochmaben	...	...	...	1946
Martin, Mrs J. D. S., Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Lochmaben	...	...	...	1946
Matthew, Mrs C. M., c/o National Commercial Bank, Queen's Park Branch, Glasgow	...	...	...	—

Matthews, Niven S., Mabie House, New Abbey Road, Dumfries	1961
Maxwell, Major-General, Sir Aymer, C.B.E., M.C., R.A., Kirkennan, Dalbeattie	1946
Maxwell, G. A., Abbots Meadow, Wykeham, Scarborough	1937
Maxwell, Mrs Sheena, 15 Gordon Road, Edinburgh, 12	1954
Maxwell-Irving, A. M. T., B.Sc., 22 Brunswick Square, Hove, Sussex	1957
Menzies, Mr, Elderslie, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1952
Menzies, Mrs, Elderslie, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1952
Millar, James, M.A., B.Sc., The Rectory, Closeburn	1949
Millar, Mrs J., The Rectory, Closeburn	1949
Miller, Miss Jean, 9 Dumfries Road, Castle-Douglas	1951
Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 13 Heriot Row, Edinburgh, 3	1908
Mills, A. W. F., Milton Park Hotel, Dalry, Castle-Douglas	1957
Mills, Dr Edward, Lyndhurst, Kelton, Dumfries	1958
Mills, Miss S., Garfield, Glencaple	1959
Mitchell, Mrs E. J., 79 Great King Street, Edinburgh	1953
Moore, C. H., 6 Lonsdale Terrace, Edinburgh, 3	1958
Morton, Miss T. D., 35 George Street, Dumfries	1947
Mucha, Dr. Muriel, Crichton Royal	1955
Murray, A., M.A., 33 Inverleith Gardens, Edinburgh, 4	1957
Murray, Col. G., Waterside House, Keir, Thornhill	1953
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
Mushet, Andrew, M.A., Schoolhouse, Amisfield	1955
Neison, Miss C., Penshurst, Glasgow Road, Sanquhar	1956
Newman, F. H., Auchenhay, Corsock	1959
Nielson, W. W., 33 Spen Road, West Park, Leeds, 16	1957
Nimmo, Mr Ian, M.R.C.V.S., 3 Moffat Road, Dumfries	1960
Nimmo, Mrs I., 3 Moffat Road, Dumfries	—
Nodwell, Mrs, 66 King Street, Castle-Douglas	1957
Oatts, Mrs N. A., Ironmacannie Mill, Balmaclellan	1956
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
Paulin, Mrs N. G., Holmlea, New-Galloway	1950
Payne, Mrs, Milnhead, Kirkmahoe	1953
Pearson, Gordon, Blencathro, Rotchell Park, Dumfries	1960
Pigott, Lady, Closeburn Castle, Dumfries	1945
Prentice, Miss Barbara, Moray House, Edinburgh	1959

Prevost, W. A. J., 26 Coates Gardens, Edinburgh, 12	1946
Pullen, O. J., B.Sc., Highfield, Motherby, by Penrith	1934
Rae, Mrs J. O., Quaintways, Arnmannoch Road, Loch- rutton, Dumfries	1958
Rainsford-Hannay, Mrs F., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of- Fleet	1946
Rantell, Mrs Kathleen, The Studio, Mill Street, Dalbeattie	1956
Readman, James, at Dunesslin, Dunscore	1948
*Reid, Dr R. C., F.S.A.Scot., Cleughbrae, Mouswald, Dum- fries (President, 1933-1944)	1917
Roberts, E. L., Tadorna, Caerlaverock	1960
Roberts, Mrs E. L., Tadorna, Caerlaverock	1960
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
Rodgers, Dr James, Mountainhall, Bankend Road, Dum- fries	1952
Rodgers, Mrs Joyce, Mountainhall, Bankend Road, Dum- fries	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
Russell, James A., M.A., Ph.D., J.P., F.S.A.Scot., F.E.I.S., The Schoolhouse, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1960
Russell, Miss W. E., Woodland View, Glencaple	1961
Sainty, D. L., M.A., LL.B., Waterside, Ringford	1956
Scott-Elliot, Maj.-Gen. J., Kirkconnel Lea, Glencaple	1957
Scruton, R., Dryfesdale House Hotel, Lockerbie	1959
Shaw, R. Cunliffe, M.Sc., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Overleigh House, East Cliff, Preston	1960
Shiels, Miss, Balfraggan, Holywood Road, by Dumfries	1951
Simpson, A. J., The Academy, Lockerbie	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, James, Rigghead, Collin	1953
Stirling, A. McG., 6 Kilndale Terrace, Kirkcudbright	1959
Stone, J. C., Trelill House, Trelill, Bodmin, Cornwall	1958
Straton-Ferrier, Mrs E. I., Bonshaw Tower, Kirtlebridge, by Lockerbie	1959
Sutcliffe, Miss I. M., B.A., Borrowdale, Newton-Stewart	1958

Sydserrf, Peter, The Grove, Dumfries	1950
Tait, Dr A. C., Netherlea, Bankend Road, Dumfries ...	1960
Tallerman, Mrs, Myholm, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1953
Taylor, James, M.A., B.Sc., Drumskeoch, Colvend, by Dalbeattie	1933
Taylor, Mrs J., Drumskeoch, Colvend, by Dalbeattie ...	1961
Taylor, Robert, St. Maura, Gartcows Crescent, Falkirk ...	1950
Thomson, Miss Mary, 7 Carlingwark St., Castle-Douglas ...	1959
Tinning, J., Albany House, Dumfries	1958
Todrick, Dr A., Windrush, Rotchell Park, Dumfries	1953
Truckell, A. E., F.S.A.Scot., 12 Summerville Avenue, Dumfries	1947
Truckell, Mrs A. E., 12 Summerville Avenue, Dumfries ...	1958
Urquhart, James, M.A., 5 Brachead Terrace, Rosemount Street, Dumfries	1946
Walker, Dr Mary, Croft-an-Righ, Wigtown	1960
Walker, Miss, Dryfeview, Lockerbie	1960
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
Walker, W. M., 17 India Street, Edinburgh, 3	1960
Walls, Canon R. C., 393 Fulwood Road, Sheffield, 10 ...	1957
Walmsley, Miss A. G. P., 4 Albany, Dumfries	1951
Walmsley, T. H., 16 St John's Road, Annan	1954
Watson, Miss Jessie, Woodland View, Glencaple	1956
Waugh, W., March House, Beattock	1924
Weeks, Mr D. J., Torwoodlea, Westfield Road, Dumfries ...	1960
Weeks, Mrs S. M., Torwoodlea, Westfield Road, Dumfries	1960
Welsh, Adam, Greensleeves, Watery Lane, Weymouth, Dorset	1959
White, J. R., The Hostel, Crichton Royal, Dumfries ...	1958
Williamson, Miss M., Burnside of Culshan, Kirkpatrick-Durham	1961
Wilson, John, M.A., Kilcoole, Rae Street, Dumfries ...	1947
Wilson, Mrs J., Kilcoole, Rae Street, Dumfries	1957
Wilson, Paul A., Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.	1961
Wishart, Eric, 3 Catherine Street, Dumfries	1959
Wishart, Mrs Jean, 3 Catherine Street, Dumfries	1959
Wolfe, A., 31 Fleet Street, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1959
Wylie, Miss J. M., 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.

Dobie, Miss Judith H., Stormont, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1960
Gair, Alan, Delvine, Amisfield	1954
Keenan, Marie, Maryville, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries	1956
Lamont, John, Lochpark, Kirkpatrick-Durham	1958
McAdam, Miss Alison, "Maryfield," Bankend Road, Dumfries	1960
MacCalman, C. D., Braeside, Islesteps	1957
Miller, Jean, Benbecula, Annan Road, Dumfries	1956
Murray-Usher, James N., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Robinson, Miss Felicity, Balvaig, St Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries	1960
Ross, Colin, Clifton, Rosemount Street, Dumfries	1955
Scott, John, Glenkiln, 16 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries	1955
Whyte, Christopher, Granary Cottage, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1959

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, per Jackson & Co. (Book- sellers), 73 West George Street, Glasgow, C.2	1947
H.M. Ordnance, Survey (Archæological Office, 43 Rose Street, Edinburgh, 2)	1958
Institute of Archæology, University of London, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1	1953
Kirkcudbrightshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Castle-Douglas (John Laird, B.Sc., B.L., Director of Education)	1944
Mitchell Library, Hope Street, Glasgow	1925
New York Public Library, 5th Avenue and 42nd Street, New York City (B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd.), 77-79 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W.1	1938
Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitäts Bibliothek, Prinzen- strasse 1, Gottingen, Germany	1953
Scottish Record Office, per H.M. Stationery Office, Edin- burgh	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, Edin- burgh (per Jas. Thin & Co., 55 South Bridge, Edin- burgh, 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, 1961

- Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Science House, 157-161 Gloucester Street, Sydney.
- Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Carnegie Public Library, Ayr.
- 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.
- The Council for Nature: Intelligence Unit, 41 Queen's Gate, London, S.W.7.
- Durham: Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society, Prebends Gate, Durham.
- 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," c/o 14 Theydon Park Road, Theydon Bois, Essex.
- Glasgow: Andersonian Naturalists' Society, Technical College, George Street.
Archæological Society, 2 Ailsa Drive, Langside, Glasgow, S.2.
Geological Society, 207 Bath Street.
Natural History Society, 207 Bath Street.
- Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotian Institute of Science.
- Hawick: The Hawick 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.

Stockholm 6, Sweden: Biblioteket K. Vitterhetsakademien, Storgatan 41.

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

Torquay: Torquay Natural History Society, The Museum.

Ulster: Journal of Archaeology.

Upsala, Sweden: Universitets Biblioteket, Upsala.

U.S.A.—

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

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

Cambridge, 38 Mass.: Harvard College of Comparative Zoology.

Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.

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

New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Philadelphia: Academy of Natural Sciences.

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

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

United States Bureau of Ethnology.

United States Department of Agriculture.

United States Geological Survey—Librarian: Room 1033.

General Services Administration Building, Washington 25, D.C., U.S.A

Yorkshire: Archaeological Society, 10 Park Place. Leeds.

Cardiff: National Library of Wales. Aberystwith.

Dumfries: "Dumfries and Galloway Standard"

Glasgow: "The Glasgow Herald."

Edinburgh: "The Scotsman."

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

For the Year ended 31st March, 1961

REVENUE ACCOUNT.

1960	INCOME			
£275 17 6	Subscriptions	...	...	£231 19 0
	Grants—			
0 0 0	Carnegie Trust	...	£100 0 0	
15 0 0	Dumfries County Council	...	0 0 0	
27 2 5	University of London	...	0 0 0	
0 0 0	Council of British Archaeology	...	40 0 0	
0 0 0	o/a Anwoth Excavations (per Dr Reid)	...	73 0 0	
				213 0 0
21 0 0	Donations	...	...	7 8 0
26 6 6	Excursions—Paid by Members	...	...	20 10 6
	Interest—			
8 1 0	£230 3½% War Stock	...	£8 1 0	
14 11 6	Dumfries Savings Bank	...	14 17 9	
7 12 11	Savings Account	...	11 7 6	
				34 6 3
34 8 3	Sale of Transactions	...	...	12 3 0
0 0 0	Refund of Income Tax on Deeds of Covenant (Year to 5/4/60)	...	...	30 0 0

£430 0 1

£549 6 9

Balance Sheet as at 31st March, 1961.

LIABILITIES

REVENUE ACCOUNT

Surplus at 1st April, 1960	...	£343 15 4
Surplus of Income over Expenditure for year to 31st March, 1961	...	42 15 2
		£386 10 6

CAPITAL (RESERVE) ACCOUNT

Balance as at 1st April, 1960	...	£615 3 3
Depreciation on 3½% War Stock	...	80 10 0
		534 13 3
		£921 3 9

NOTE: (I) Account has not been taken of subscriptions unpaid as at 31st March, 1961.

(II.) The sum of £100 not included in above figures is held in trust in respect of Carnegie Trust excavation grant o/a Broomholm (Langholm).

W. C. GALLAN, Hon. Treasurer.

1960		EXPENDITURE			
		Publications—			
£255	3 8	Printing of Transactions	£262	7 6	
4	4 3	Engraving of Blocks ...	20	14 0	
				£283	1 6
23	10 0	Excursions—Expenses ...	...	26	19 11
0	0 0	Anwoth Excavations Account ...	...	37	8 9
		Miscellaneous—			
76	19 7	Printing, Stationery and Postages ...	£59	1 11	
15	17 2	Advertising ...	10	8 5	
1	7 6	Council for British Archaeology (Scottish Regional group) ...	1	10 0	
0	0 0	Council for Nature ...	2	0 0	
1	1 0	Scottish Field Studies ...	1	1 0	
1	0 0	Council for British Archaeology (London) ...	0	0 0	
7	12 0	Lecturers' Expenses ...	21	6 4	
0	10 0	Cheque Book ...	0	0 0	
2	6 3	Bank Charges ...	3	0 9	
4	10 0	Caretaker ...	4	10 0	
0	0 0	Caretaker Retiring Honourarium ...	2	2 0	
2	0 0	Library Assistants' Honourarium ...	3	0 0	
2	13 11	Sundries ...	0	0 0	
				108	0 5
0	0 0	R. L. Bellhouse—re Burnfoot Excavation	15	0 0	
0	0 0	Refund of Subscription Overpaid ...	1	1 0	
0	0 0	Purchase of Aldis Projector ...	35	0 0	
4	0 0	Floral Tribute—Mr Irvine ...	0	0 0	
27	4 9	Surplus ...	42	15 2	
£430 0 1				£549	6 9

ASSETS

CASH

At Bank on Current Account ...	£77	17 8
At Bank on Savings Account ...	301	9 9
On Hand ...	7	3 1
		£386 10 6

INVESTMENTS

£230 3½% War Stock (Cost £218 10s 0d)		
Market Value 31/3/1691 ...	£138	0 0
Dumfries Savings Bank ...	396	13 3
		534 13 3
		£921 3 9

DUMFRIES, 19th June, 1961.—We have examined the books and vouchers of the Society for the year ended 31st March, 1961, and certify that the foregoing Abstract and Balance Sheet exhibit a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the Society as at 31st March, 1961. The War Stock Certificate has been exhibited.

JOHN H. KENNEDY. } Auditors.
S. G. TROUT.

INDEX

- Adhelm 22 — drawings of 132
 Ailred of Rievaulx 23 — altars from 129, 131
 Alison of Spango, John, overseer ... 174 Blair of Adamton, John de 95
 Alisonbank, customs post 119 — Bryce, collector of Excise, 170, 185
 Androgillies (Hutton), lands of 90 — Katharine, sp. of Robert Graham of
 Anglian sculptured crosses 9 Queenshaugh 98
 — Acca's (Hexham) 10 B'laatwood, £20 lands of 107, 108
 — Bewcastle 9, 12, 13 Bordland (Dryfe), lands of 90
 — Carlisle 17 Bowness, trade through 160
 — Closeburn 16, 17, 18, 20 Bracoth, burning of 113
 — Croft 10 Branrigis (Hutton), 6 merkland of ... 93
 — Dacre 11, 15 Brakinwra (Hutton), lands of ... 87, 92
 — Dewsbury 12 Brackenside, described 135
 — Durisdeer 11 Brigantia, goddess 131, 136
 — Easby 10 Brigholm, lands of 113
 — Gainford 19 Brown of Bishoptoun, Gavin, overseer,
 — Glencairn 19 174
 — Hexham 14 Brown, Rev. John, minister at Rotter-
 — High Hogland (Yorks.) 17 dam 158, 161
 — Hilton of Cadboll 18 Brus, William de 124
 — Hoddam 10, 11, 15 Burgh Ordinance anent repelling enemies
 — Kirkconnel 11, 17, 20 (1523) 197
 — Nith Bridge 17 Burnswark, lead sling bolts from ... 189
 — Otley (Yorks.) 18 — Roman spearheads from 190
 — Ovingham 16 — drawings of 133
 — Penpont 11, 20 — described 139
 — Penrith 19 "Caitlock," a Scottish refugee ... 162
 — Ruthwell 9, 11, 13 Caldecottis, William de 88
 — Tynemouth 16 Camphier 164
 — Wamphray, 11, 19 Carlyle of Temple Hill, T. J. ... 86, 92
 — Whitby 16 — of Torthorwald, 1st lord, sp. of
 Angus, George, Earl of 85 Elizabeth Kirkpatrick 94
 Annan, Baylie of 113 — Esota, sp. of Arthur Graham of
 — Fishings, Skairs and Cowpis ... 108 B'laatwood 107
 — Hoill Close 113 — John lord 95
 Annandale, Earl of, Col. of Foot, — Michael lord 96, 107
 103, 171 — lord, slain 105
 Archbald, George, physician in Dum- Carmichael of Medowflatt, John ... 93
 fries 158, 162 Carrick, George, innkeeper in Dumfries,
 Ardwell Island 80, 82 rebel 122
 Armstrong of Creive, John 123 Carruthers of Brackenside, Wm., sp. of
 — Cristell in Barnleigh 107 Margaret Chalmers 135
 Auchincass, lands of 94 — of Broomhills, William 104
 Avenel estates 87, 88 — of Denbie, Mr John 122
 — Roger 87 Carruthers of Holmains, John,
 Baldoran, lands of 98 90, 95, 96, 107
 Barnleigh, £5 lands of 108 — of Rammarskales, Robert, rebel, 122
 Barbour of Brakanwray, Adam ... 87 — of Wormanbie, Thomas 93
 Barncrosh, site of 81 Carruthers, John of 88
 Bede 22 Carruthers, Margaret, in Byashum, sister
 Bedokholm, lands of 89 of Wm. C. of Broomhills and 2nd sp.
 Bell of Mosnuik, John 101 of John Graham of Langboddam
 — of Lands, Mrs (? of Scotsbrig) ... 136 (1708) 104
 — of Scotsbrig, Mrs 131 Chalmers, Margaret lady, Brackenside,
 Betok, lands of 95, 96 99 relict of William Carruthers ... 135
 Birrens, coins from 133 — Mr Thomas, minister of Kirkpatrick-
 — described 130, 138 Fleming 116, 127

- Fleming of Barrochan, family of ... 199
 Fullerton, Rev. David 152
 Galloway, Lady, widow of Alex., 3rd earl 130
 Garrison at Ballagan 180
 — at Caitloch 180, 186
 — at Lochmaben 180
 Garvellgill, lands of 95
 Gimmonbie, lands of 95
 Gledstones, Mark, indweller in Edinburgh, 101
 Glengep, lands of 95
 Gordon of Earlston [] 162
 Graham of Auchencass, Thomas, sp. of Janet Kirkpatrick 94
 — of Blaاتwood, Archie 108
 — of Blaاتwood, Arthur, eldest s. of Wm. G. of Nunnery and sp. of Esota Carlyle 106
 — of Blaاتwood, Arthur (ii.), 107, 108
 — of Blaاتwood, Fergus, s. of William, and sp. of Sarah Johnston, 108, 109, 110, 111
 — of Blaاتwood, James (1642) ... 109
 — of Blaاتwood, Richard, writer in Edinburgh, son of William (d. 1760), 111
 — of Blaاتwood, Wm., son of Fergus G., and provost of Annan, sp. of Elizabeth Irving 110, 111
 — of Blaاتwood, Wm., sp. of Rosina Scott of Beltenmont (1527) ... 118
 — of Blaاتwood, Wm., s. of Arthur (i.) 107
 — of Blaاتwood, Wm., s. of Arthur (ii.) 108
 — of Blaاتwood, William, surgeon in Annan, d. 1760 111
 — of Blaاتwood, William (1710), 113
 — of Brakenwra, Peter de 88
 — of Claverhouse 170, 178
 — of Dalkeith, John de 88
 — of Dryfe, John, brother to James G. of Gillesbie (1582) 93
 — of Fintry, Sir Robert, sp. of Janet Lovel 85
 — of Gillesbie, James (1531) ... 93, 97
 — of Gillesbie, James (1579) 93
 — of Gillesbie, James (1635) 94
 — of Gillesbie, Janet (1606), g. dau. of John 93
 — of Gillesbie, John (1474), sp. of Margaret Johnston 92
 — of Gillesbie, John (1512) 92
 — of Gillesbie, John (1567), son of James 93
 — of Gillesbie, Robert (1512) ... 91, 92
 — of Gillesbie, Robert (1624) ... 93
 Charteris, Agnes, sp. of Thomas Irving of Kirkpatrick 116
 Clerk of Penicuik, Sir John ... 128, 135
 — George, 2nd s. of Sir John C. of Penicuik 129
 Cluden, river in Galloway 195
 — Bridge 173
 Copland, Thomas, minister of Kirkpatrick-Fleming 126
 Corbet, Wm., merchant in Dumfries, 162, 165
 Corrie, Joseph, of Dumfries (1731), 131, 134, 136
 Corsane, Robert, stabler in Dumfries, 184
 Coshogill, lands of 95
 County Council, Archives of 168
 Co-Wardens of Western March, 1523, 198
 Craigielands 99, 100
 Croftheid of Dryfe, lands of 90
 Cumstoun (Hutton), lands of 90
 Currie, Rev. Symon, minister at Halt-whistle 137
 Dalduran, lands of 90
 Dalmahoy, Quartermaster of King's Guard of Horse 179
 Dalschynnie (Troqueer), 20/- land of, 112
 Dalzell of that Ilk, Wm., slain ... 92
 — Capt. Robert 173, 174, 180
 Debateable land, division of 86
 Douglas of Dalkeith, James de (1373), 88
 — of Drumlanrig, Sir James 108
 — of Laudonia, Sir Wm. 88
 Douglas, Archibald, brother of Morton, overseer 174
 Drummerieff 130
 Drumlanrig, Lord, Captain of Horse, 171
 — Bridge 174
 Dumfries, 1684, Justiciary Court at, 180
 — Castle garrisoned 174, 179
 — the Bishop of Galloway's teind barn in 171
 Early Christianity in Scotland 75
 Ecclefechan 130, 131
 Elliot, Cap. John 153
 Espie, James, in Ingliston 174
 Ewart, Gellis, mother of Margaret Johnston 97
 Excavations, 1960-1961, notes on ... 202
 Falconers to the King 199, 201
 Falconry heirlooms 199
 Farrell, Capt., grandfather of Capt. Thurot 147
 Fenton, lands of 90
 Ferguson of Craigdarroch 178

- Graham—
 — of Knok of Hutton, William (1507), 90
 — of Langboddam, James (1606), 100
 — of Langboddam, James, slain (1612), 102
 — of Langboddam, James (1660), 99
 — of Langboddam, James (1658), s. of John and sp. of Sarah Johnston, 103
 — of Langboddam, James (1697), sp. of Rachel Johnston 104
 — of Langboddam, James (1737), sp. of Jean Maxwell 104
 — of Langboddam, John (1630), 2nd s. of James 100, 101, 102
 — of Langboddam, John (d. 1658), 103
 — of Langboddam, John, sp. of (1) Bessie Carruthers; (2) Margaret Carruthers in Byashum 104
 — of Langboddam, Robert (1579), slain (1581) 99
 — of Langboddam, Robert, s. of James G. of L. and of Elizabeth Johnston, 100
 — of Morton, Alan (1373), son of Sir John de G. 88
 — of Mosskesswra, Sir John (1355), 88
 — of Mosskesswra, Nicol (1543) ... 92
 — of Mosskesswra, William (1475), 95
 — of Mosskesswra, Wm., alias Long Will 89, 91, 104
 — of Mossknow, Fergus (1730), son of Mr Wm. G. (ii.) of M., rebel, 117, 121, 122, 123
 — of Mossknow, Rev. Wm., minister of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, sp. of Margaret Irving 118
 — of Mossknow, Mr William (ii.), collector at Alisonbank, sp. of Isabel Herries 119, 120, 122
 — of Mossknow, Wm. (iii.), physician in Jamaica, s. of Mr David S., minister of Kirkmaho 121, 123, 124
 — of Netherby, Richard 112
 — of Nicol Forest, the 85
 — of Nunnery, Fergus, 2nd s. of Wm. G. of N. 106
 — of Nunnery, Wm., alias Carlisle, s. of Long Will G. of Stuble 106
 — of Plomp, Fergus 108
 — of Queenshaugh, Thornik and Cairnie, Robert, son of John G. of Queenshaugh and sp. of Katharine Blair, 98
 — of Queenshaugh, John, sp. of Marion Stirling 98
 — of Ranpatrick, George, 3rd s. of Richard G. of Netherbie and sp. of Katharine Maxwell 112
 Graham of Ranpatrick, George 107
 — of Ranpatrick, Richard 108
 — of Redkirk, George, s. of Richard, 113
 — of Reidkirk, John (1649) 111
 — of Redkirk, Richard (1594), 112, 113
 — of Stuble, Long Will 105
 — of Thornik, Ninian, sp. of Margaret Johnston 97, 99
 — of Thornik, Robert (1475), s. of Thomas G. of Auchencass 95
 — of Thornik, Robert (1526), 95, 100
 — of Thornik, Walter, brother to Wm. lord Graham and sp. of Marion Stirling 97, 98
 — Adam, brother to Robert G. of Thornik 96, 97
 — Agnes (1737), dau. of James G. of Langboddam 104
 — Anne, dau. of Mr Wm. G. (ii.) of Mossknow 121
 — Archibald, s. of Mr David G., minister at Kirkmaho 124
 — Arthur, s. of Long Will G. 106
 — Arthur, in Sandhills, brother of Fergus G. of Blaatoood ... 109, 110
 — Arthur, brother to Fergus G. of Blaatoood 111
 — Bartholomew, brother to Patrick G. in Corrie Water (1552) 93
 — Christopher, s. of George G. of Ranpatrick 112
 — Christopher, brother of Richard G. of Redkirk 112
 — Rev. David, minister of Kirkmaho, sp. of Margaret Graham 119, 123
 — David, s. of Mr David G., minister of Kirkmaho 124
 — David, son of Mr Wm. G. (ii.) of Mossknow 121
 — David, s. of Rev Wm. G. of Mossknow 119
 — David (1631), s. of John G. of Langboddam 103
 — David in Brigmuir 102
 — David (Netherby) 105
 — David, rebel 123
 — Elizabeth, mother of Fergus G. of Blaatoood 110
 — Elizabeth (1737), dau. of James G. of Langboddam 104
 — Grame, Elizabeth, sp. of Mathew Johnston of Pettinane 90
 — Fergus the (1456) 85
 — Fergus (? s. of Long Will) ... 105
 — Fergus, brother of Richard G. of Redkirk 112
 — Francis (1631), brother to John G. of Langboddam 103

- Graham—
 — George, called the Roust 111
 — George, s. in law of Fergus G. of Blaatawood 111
 — George, s. of George G. of Rampat-r'ek 112
 — George, son of John G. of Reidkirk 111
 — George, s. of John G., called of Redkirk 213
 — George, in Windschelis (1552), 93
 — Hannah (1852), 2nd dau. of Richard G. of Blaatawood 111
 — Henry de, lord of Hutton 87
 — Grame, Henry de 89
 — Isabel, dau. of Mr David G., minister of Kirkmahoe 124
 — James (1618), s. of James G. of Langboddam 100
 — Jane, dau. of Mr Wm. G. (ii.), of Mossknow 121
 — Jean, dau. of Rev. Wm. G. and sp. of Wm. Irving of Bonshaw 119
 — Jean, only dau. of Patrick G. in Over Mossop 102
 — John, burgess of Dumfries, brother to Laird of Gillesbie 93
 — John (1618), s. of James G. of Langboddam 100
 — John (1658), s. of John G. of Langboddam 103
 — John (1737), s. of James G. of Langboddam 104
 — John, s. of Mr David G., minister of Kirkmahoe 124
 — John, s. of Arthur G. of Blaatawood (ii.) 108
 — John Francis, uncle to James G. of Langboddam 103
 — John of the Bright Sword 86
 — John in Fenton (1552) 93
 — John in Bedokholm (1552) 93
 — John in Waterheid (1552) 93
 — Johi called of Redkirk 113
 — John, late ensign in Earl of Portmore's Regiment of Foot 104
 — John (1456) 89
 — Margaret, dau. of Sir John G. of Dalkeith 88
 — Margaret, dau. of Rev. Wm. G. and sp. of Mr David Graham 119
 — Mary, dau. of Mr David G., minister of Kirkmahoe 124
 — Pait in Huchitoun 90
 — Patrick (1618), s. of James G. of Langboddam 100
 — Patrick (1631), brother to John G. of Langboddam 102, 103
 — Patrick in Corrie Water (1552), 93
 — Patrick in Over Mossop, sp. of Katharine Johnston 102
 — Richard, brother of Fergus 105
 — Richard, called the Plomp 108
 — Richard de (1456) 89
 — Robert de (1456) 89
 — Robert, called of Langboddam, executed (1615) 101
 — Robert, s. of James G. of Langboddam 99
 — Robert (1737), s. of James G. of Langboddam 104
 — Robert in Tassieholm (1506) ... 95
 — Sybilla, dau. of Sir John G. of Dalkeith and sp. of Sir Wm. Mure ... 88
 — Symon in Logan 127
 — Thomas in Bordland (1552) ... 93
 — T. B. H. 86, 87
 — Walter in Hutton (1552) 93
 — Walter in Brackinwra (1552) ... 93
 — Walter (1606), brother to Robert G. of Langboddam 99
 — Walter, brother of Richard G. of Redkirk 112
 — William, s. of George G. called the Roust 111
 — Wm., s. of Robert G. in Tassieholm, 95
 — Wm. alias Long Will ... 86, 104, 111
 — William de (1456) 89
 — Grahams, Tower of (Hutton) 87
 — nine stone houses of 105
 — tombstones 107
 — Gray, Mr, in Rotterdam 163
 — Griof of Rigsyde, John 116
 — Grierson of Capenoch, James, collector of Customs 119
 — of Lag, Sir Robert, imprisoned ... 178
 — of Lag, James yr. 122
 — Gilbert, brother to James G. yr. of Lag, rebel 122
 — Griffith, Moses 140
 — Gyseburn, priory of 124
 — Hair, James in Glenwharrey, overseer, 174
 — Hairstanes, Mathew, brother to Craigs, rebel 122
 — Hamilton, James lord 89
 — Hanyng, John, doorkeeper to Commissioners of Supply 179
 — Hastings, Col. 183
 — Hayford, Col. of Dragoons 181
 — Herries, Isabel, dau. of Mr Wm. H. of Harthat and sp. of Mr Wm. Graham (ii.) of Mossknow 120, 121
 — John lord 105, 140
 — Hesket, Roman milestone 141
 — Highland Host in Dumfriesshire ... 177

- Hillies (Hutton), lands of 90
Hoddam, Roman stones at ... 140, 145
Hodge, Edward 164
Home of Newpark, George, collector at
Alisonbank, sp. of Janet Scott,
113, 119, 122
Home, Robert, s. of George H. of New-
park 113
Hunter of Auchenbainzie, James, over-
seer 174
— Mr Robert, minister of Sanquhar,
125, 126
Hutton, mote of 89
— teinds of 91, 93
— tenement of 88, 89
Inglis in Moffat, William called ... 88
Irving of Bonshaw, Edward 112
— of Bonshaw, Wm., sp. of Jean
Irving 119
— of Kirkpatrick, Edward (1573), 116
— of Kirkpatrick, Francis (1597), 116
— of Kirkpatrick, Rosina, sp. of Thomas
Williamson in Betinbushe 116
— of Kirkpatrick, Samuel, brother of
Thomas I. of K., and sp. of Agnes
Charteris 116
— of Kirkpatrick, Thomas (1620),
116, 120
— of Kirkpatrick, Walter (1594), 116
— of Knockhill, Wm., rebel 122
— of Mossknow, David, brother to Wm.
I. of Bonshaw and sp. of Jean
Murray 118
— of Mossknow, Margaret, dau. of
David I. and sp. of Rev. Wm.
Graham 118
— of Skailles, Arthur 118
— of Woodhouse, George ... 125, 126
— of Wysebie, Edward 116
— Elizabeth, sp. of Wm. Graham of
Blaatwood, provost of Annan ... 111
— George, s. of Edward I. of Bon-
shaw 112
— James, s. of Thomas I. of Kirkpat-
rick 116
— Walter, brother to Francis I. of
Kirkpatrick 116
— William, s. of Thomas I. of Kirk-
patrick 116
— William (1500) 92
Jardine of Applegarth, Alexander ... 90
Jennings, Lt.-Col. John, at Carrick-
fergus 151
Johnston of that ilk, James,
92, 100, 176
— of that ilk, John 92, 93, 95
— of Beirholm, James 99
— of Betok, Adam, s. of Wm. J. of
Syronwhat 95
— of Betok, Adam (1689) 103
— of Betok, Herbert 96
— of Betok, John, s. of David J. in
Betok called of Kirkhill 99
— of Chapel, John 99
— of Elsiefields, John (1658) ... 103
Johnston of Gretna, Wm. 113
Johnston of Haghill, Wm. 112
Johnston of Howcleuch, Robert ... 109
— of Kellobanks, James 100
— of Kinnellhead, David (1629) ... 103
— of Mallinshaw, Robert 103
— of Middelgill, Robert 102
— of Mosskeswra, Herbert, g. son of
Mathew J. of Pettinane 89, 90
— of Newbie, John 108, 125
— of Over Mossop, Robert, merchant
burgess of Edinburgh 102
— of Pettinane, Mathew, sp. of Eliza-
beth Grame 90
— of Raecleuch, Robert, tutor of John-
ston, sp. of Barbara Douglas ... 109
— of Stapleton, Robert, s. of Robert
J. of Raecleuch 109
— of Swynfurd, Robert (1636) ... 109
— of Thornik, James 100
— of Wamphray [], rebel ... 122
— Adam, burgess of Annan 111
— Andrew, s. of James J. of Beir-
holm 99
— Archibald in Howcleuch 111
— David in Betok, called of Kirkhill,
99
— Elizabeth, sp. of James Graham of
Langboddam 100
— George in Wreathes, collector of
Excise 170, 185
— James, brother to David J. in Brig-
mure and sp. of Katharine Johnston,
102
— Mr John, advocate, s. of James J.
of Kellobanks 100
— Mr John, master of the new college
of St. Andrews 126
— Katharine, sp. of (1) Patrick Graham
in Over Mossop; (2) James Johnston,
brother to David J. in Brigmuir ... 102
— Margaret, dau. nat. of John J. of
that ilk and sp. of Ninian Graham
of Thornik and of Adam Wylkin,
97, 98
— Margaret, sp. of John Graham of
Gillesbie 92
— Rachel, sp. of (1) Walter Mitchell
of Greskine; (2) Robert Johnston in
Moffat; (3) James Graham of Lang-
boddam 104

- Johnston—
 — Robert in Moffat, sp. of Rachel Johnston 104
 — Robert, s. of Adam J., Burgess of Annan 111
 — Robert, vicar of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, s. of John J. of Newby 125
 — Robert in Greskin, slain 1629 ... 102
 — Samuel (1629), s. of David J. of Kinnelhead 103
 — Sarah, dau. of Robert J. of Rae-cleuch and sp. of Fergus Graham of Blaatwood 109
 — Sarah, sp. of James Graham of Langboddam 103
 — Thomas, brother to Laird of Johnston (1456) 89
 — Wm., brother to Robert J. of Malling-shaw 103
 — Wm., called of Langsyde, slain, 103
 — Wm., portioner of Drumerieff, rebel, 122
 Kelton, church site 81
 Kennedy, Thomas, collector of Excise, 171, 186
 Killum (Northumberland) 105
 Knockhill, Roman stones at 145
 Knox, Wm., in Barroustones 164
 Kirks, plantation of 126
 Kirkandrews, site of 81, 82
 Kirkborthwick, lands of 88
 Kirkconnel, laird of, slain 105
 Kirkcormack, site of 81
 Kirkmichael, laird of, slain 105
 Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Sir Thomas, 92, 178
 — of Torthorwald, Sir Duncan, 88, 94
 — of Torthorwald, Roger 88
 — Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Duncan K. and sp. of Thomas Graham of Auchencass 94
 — George, slain 96
 — Janet, dau. of Sir Duncan K. and sp. of Thomas Graham of Auchencass, 94
 Kirkpatrick-Fleming, church of 114
 — — crosses of 113
 — — tower of 115
 — — tombstones at 120
 — — murder stone at 117
 — — burning of the manse of ... 127
 — — early church of 124
 Knox, John, in Barroustones 163
 Landing place chapels 75
 Langbedholm, lands of 96
 Lanier, Maj.-Gen. John 180, 182
 Livingston, Colonel 180
 Lockhart, James, merchant in Dumfries 159, 160, 163, 164, 166
 Logan, laird of, slain 105
 Lovel of Ballumbie, Sir Richard ... 85
 — Janet, dau. of Sir Richard L. of Ballumbie and sp. of Sir Robert Graham of Fintry 85
 Lutheart, Wm., officer of Excise, rebel, 122
 McClellan of Barscob, Robert, rebel, 122
 McConie, John 165
 McKnight, Thom (1523) 196
 McQuar (McWhir), Mr Robert 162
 Machen, lands of 89
 March, George, earl of 88
 Marjorybanks, James, in Moffat ... 96
 Maxwell of Carnsalloch, Edward yr, rebel 122
 — of Carnsalloch, Robert, overseer, 174
 — of Cowhill [], rebel 122
 — of Middlebie, Mr 133
 — of Munches, Wm. yr. rebel ... 122
 — [of Newlaw], Samuel, rebel ... 122
 — of Orchardton, Sir Robert 104
 — of Springkeld, Sir William, 142, 145, 146
 — of Steilston, John, rebel 122
 — George, brother to Wm. M. yr. of Munches, rebel 122
 — Jean, dau. of Sir Robert M. of Orchardton and sp. of James Graham of Langboddam 104
 — Katharine, sp. of George Graham of Ranpatrick 112
 — lord in Dumfries, 1523 196
 — John, lord (1507) 90, 91
 — Sir Patrick 176
 — Robert 92
 Medieval midden at Craignarget ... 83
 Meikle Hutton, 5 merkland of 91
 Melvine, Schir Thomas, parson of Hutton, 93
 Milbourn of Armathwaite Castle, Willtam, 141
 Militia of shire, formed in 1668 ... 171
 — officers named 172
 — pay of 172
 — service in 173
 — uniforms of 173
 Military, quartering in Dumfries ... 182
 — supplies 181
 Mitchell of Greskin, Walter, sp. of Rachel Johnston 104
 Moffat (1731), visit to 130, 134
 — Adam, chopman in Edinburgh ... 101
 Mollusca from Mein Water 192
 Monastic vallums 77
 Moorhead, Mr James, surgeon apothecary in Edinburgh 164
 Morton, Douglas, 1st Earl of 89
 — James, Earl of 92

- Mosskesswra 87, 90, 91
 Mossknow, lands of 118
 Mossnuik (Crawfordjohn), lands of, 101
 Mote of Mark 59
 Mouswald, laird of, slain 105
 Munsch's charter chest 121
 Mure of Abercorn, Sir Wm. 88
 Murray of Cokpool, Charles 112
 — Mr Alex., formor of Hutton ... 91
 — Jean, sp. of David Irving of Kirkpatrick 118
 — John, Earl of Annandale ... 110, 112
 Murthat, lands of 97, 100
 Museum additions 204
 Musgrave of Edenhall, family of ... 128
 Myntoun, lands of 100
 Netherby, Graham, baronet of 108
 — Roman stone at 143
 Newpark, 2½ merkland 95
 Oath of allegiance 176
 Patrickshaw, lands of 87
 Pearls from Water of Fleet ... 160, 167
 Pennant, Thomas 140
 Picts in Galloway 195
 Pictish symbols 60, 64
 Pryde, Mr George, minister of Hutton, 93
 Queensberry, Earl of, his views on inhabitants of Annandale 177
 Rae, Dr Jan 198
 Rankin, Schir John, parson of Hutton, 91
 Ranpatrick, £20 lands 112
 Rebels in 1715, list of 122
 Reid, James, in Hoddam, rebel ... 122
 — John, elder merchant in Dumfries, 159, 163, 165
 Rodick, Mary, sp. of Wm. Scott in Kirkpatrick 117
 Roman, Antonine wall 130
 — causeway, described 130
 — fort at Netherbie 133
 Ross, Mr Andrew, overseer 174
 — Bernard, collector at Alisonbank, 123
 Rotterdam, trade with 157
 Roucan, lands of 94, 95
 Russell, Andrew, merchant in Amsterdam 157
 St Ninian, by John MacQueen, reviewed, 206
 Scaur bridge 174
 Scott of Beilenmont, Rosina, alleged sp. of Wm. Graham of Blaauw (1527), 118
 — of Carterton, Francis 109
 — of Gillesbie, John, s. of Robert ... 94
 — of Gillesbie, Robert, brother of Francis S. of Gilmanseleuch 94
 — of Gilmanseleuch, Francis 94
 — Barbara, dau. of Wm. S. of Kirkpatrick 117
 — Janet, relict of George Home of New Park 113
 — John in Kirkpatrick, slain 1730, 117
 — William in Kirkpatrick, sp. of Mary Rodick 117
 Scrope, lord 105
 Sharp of Hoddam, John ... 123, 182, 183
 — of Hoddam, Mathew, brother of John, 123
 Simpson, major of H.M. Guards ... 171
 Skalls, lands of 120
 Stirling, Marion, sp. of (1) Walter Graham of Thornik; (2) John Graham of Queenshaugh 98
 Stableton, siege of (1626) 110
 Stewart, Mr Peter, vicar of Kirkpatrick-Fleming 126
 Storey, the clan of 105
 Strachan, captain 180
 "Sugar permits" 160, 164
 Tait, James, Burgess of Dumfries ... 185
 Thornik, barony of 94
 Thurot, Capt. Francois 147
 Tod, Archibald, portioner of Drumcliff, rebel 122
 Todholes Wood, murder in 102
 Tordoch, 10 merkland 109
 Torduff, £10 lands of 107
 Torthorwald, Sir David de 87
 — Lady, her divorce 101
 Tranent, John of 89
 Trusty's Hill excavation 58
 Unthank in Ewesdale 85
 Urien of Rheged 195
 Valuation of the shire 168
 Veere, the Staple port of 160
 Vitrification 59, 64, 69
 Waffles, Mr Bernard 58
 Wallace of Carzield, Alexander, collector of Excise 170
 — Mr Robert, minister at Moffat ... 130
 Watling Street 130
 Whithorn, chapel at Isle of 71
 Williamson, Thomas, in Betinbushe, sp. of Rosina Irving of Kirkpatrick ... 116
 Williamson, James, in M'Kilgill ... 99
 Wilkinson, Mr, schoolmaster at Lowther, 129
 Wykin, Adam, 2nd spouse of Margaret Johnston 98