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EDITORIAL

Contributions are invited on the Natural History, Geology, Antiquities and Archaeology including Industrial Archaeology, of South West Scotland or the Solway Basin, and preference is always given to original work on local subjects. Intending contributors should, in the first instance, apply to the Editors for 'Instructions to Contributors', giving the nature and approximate size of their paper. Each contributor has seen a proof of his or her paper and neither the Editors nor the Society hold themselves responsible for the accuracy of scientific, historical or personal information in it.

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Limited grants may be available for excavations or other research. Applications should be made prior to 28th February in each year to the Hon. Secretary. Researchers are also reminded of the Mouswald Trust founded by our late President Dr R.C. Reid, which provides grants for work on certain periods. Enquiries and applications for grants should be made to Primrose and Gordon, Solicitors, Irish Street, Dumfries.

The Council is indebted to Historic Scotland for a substantial grant towards the publication costs of Dr John Barber's paper on The Linear Earthworks of Southern Scotland and to the Mouswald trust for a generous grant towards the printing costs of Mr Allan Wilson's paper Roman Penetration in Eastern Dumfriesshire and beyond. The publication costs of Mr Strachan's paper on Albie Hill have been met by a welcome grant from the Centre for Field Archaeology, Edinburgh University and the costs of the colour illustrations accompanying Prof Brookfield's paper on Hutton, Hall and Jameson have been largely met by a generous subvention from a Society member who wishes to remain anonymous. The Council is also much indebted to a member for a donation towards the publication costs of Dumfries Burgh Records.

The illustration on the front cover is of the Wamphray cross-slab from the article *The Early Church in Dumfriesshire* by W.G. Collingwood, in volume XII, Series III (1926) of these *Transactions*. It is discussed afresh by Prof. Richard Bailey in *Whithorn Lecture* No. 4 (1996).

HUTTON, HALL AND JAMESON IN DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY (SOUTH-WESTERN SCOTLAND): theory-driven interpretations of the same rocks

by Michael E. Brookfield

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Geology developed as a new science primarily in the first three decades of the 19th century, with enormous progress in observing and recording actual features. Nevertheless, this progress was made almost entirely within Werner's Neptunist framework - only partially modified in places by Hutton's Plutonist ideas. One of these places was, of course, Scotland, where Hutton and his disciples initially had the most effect. Dumfries and Galloway, in particular, was one of the main areas where controversial observations and interpretations were made by the foremost protagonists in the Neptunist-Plutonist dispute.

This paper tries to show two things which are often forgotten in the usual interpretations of geological history, based as they are on the eventual success of Hutton's uniformitarian ideas. First, in most places, actual rock exposures can equally plausibly be interpreted with either Neptunist or Plutonist ideas. Second, 'Hutton's opponents were good geologists and logical thinkers, especially Jameson who, supported on the wings of Wernerism, did such a lot to advance the science of geology' (Tomkeieff, 1963, p.402). Many of the Wernerian objections (ably summarized in Murray, 1802) were very pertinent at the time. The eventual success of Plutonism was not pre-ordained.

In the late 18th to early 19th century, participants in the Scottish Enlightenment tended to be men of independent private means with networks of friends owning various estates scat-

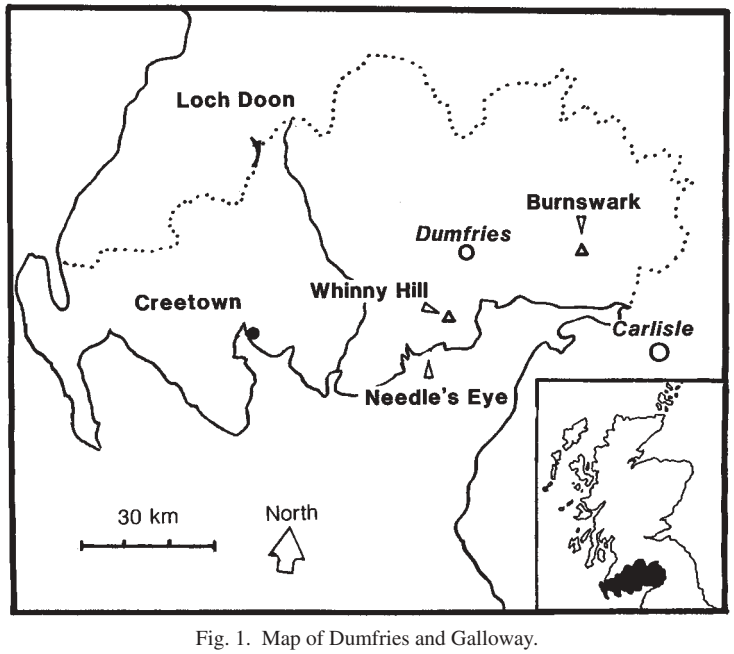

Fig. 1. Map of Dumfries and Galloway.

tered about Scotland. The counties of Dumfries and Galloway had many such estates (and still do). So it is not surprising that many of the protagonists visited the area to observe features to back up their theories. Dumfries and Galloway have not developed much since these early days and the modern roads do not follow the earlier ones. So, one can easily follow the old routes between country houses along roads and landscapes little altered since the days of Hutton, Hall and Jameson (fig. 1) and one can also study the same exposures that they did: exposures which are far less decisive supports of the Huttonian theories than might be thought.

In 1786, Hutton (together with his friend John Clerk) explored Galloway to examine the junction of granite and schist and confirm his ideas on the molten, intrusive nature of granite.

> 'We now were eager to see the junction of the granite country, which I knew to be at the head of Loch Dune, with the schistus strata of the south of Scotland. In the year 1786, therefore, Mr Clerk and I set out by the shire of Ayr, to search round the coast of Galloway, in order to find the junction of the granite mountains with the schistus or vertical strata, of which I knew that Galloway consisted.
>
> We were extremely fortunate in finding what we looked for in two different places in Galloway: first; in the mountain of Cairn's muir, between two and three miles from the Ferry-town of Cree; and, secondly, in a little bay upon the sea-side, about mid-way between Covend and Saturness point on the Solway frith. Here we were as much satisfied, as we had been the year before, that the granite had invaded the schistus of Alpine strata, having not

Fig. 2. The Needle's Eye from the west.

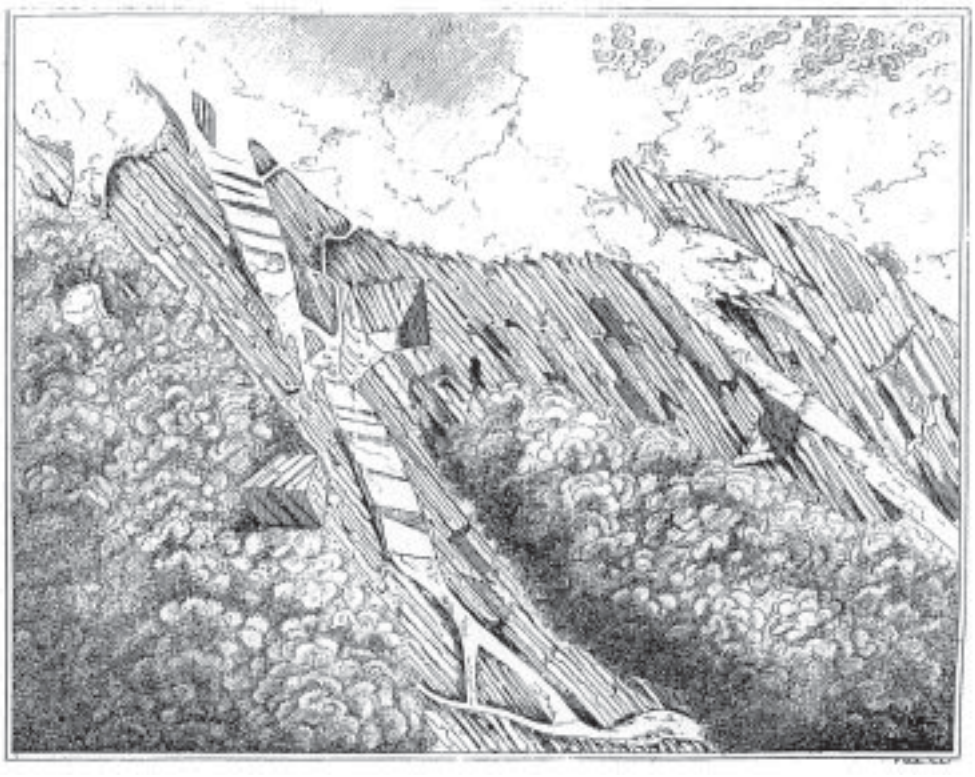

Fig. 3. Hall's drawing showing cross-cutting relationships of granite to greywacke at Hog Knoll, near New Galloway (Hall, 1815, Plate V).

> only broken and floated the schistus in every way possible, but in the last of those two places, we found the granite introduced, for some length, in small veins between the stratified bodies, giving every mark of the most fluid injection among the broken and distorted strata.' (Hutton, 1794, p.80).

The Cairn's muir locality is now obscured, though James Hall excavated exposures in the same area (see below). The coastal cliff exposures are, however, little altered since Hutton's day. And his localities are easily found since they lie around a prominent coastal feature called the Needle's Eye (fig. 2). Here, the Criffell granodiorite and its satellite intrusions have intruded along, cut across, and veined the Silurian greywackes (fig. 4).

In 1807, James Hall excavated areas around Cairn's muir, illustrating the relationships of the granodiorite to the greywacke (fig. 3). Nevertheless, although he pointed out that granodiorite veins cut across the steeply dipping greywacke, he also noted that some ran parallel to the greywacke layering for some distance. The only marginal alteration he noted was the development of mica within a foot or so.

> 'The strata, which continue here in a vertical position, meet the granite on the surface at an angle of about 45 degrees. The dike runs for about twenty-three or twenty-four feet between two of the strata; it then starts across them, and resumes nearly its first direction...' (Hall, 1815, p. 101).

Fig. 4. Syenite sill parallel to layering in greywacke, Needle's Eye.
Note absence of metamorphism at contacts.

Fig. 5. Metamorphism of greywacke to mica schist at contact with granite, Needle's Eye.

Fig. 6. Sedimentary and tectonic calcite-cemented breccias and veins, Needle's Eye.

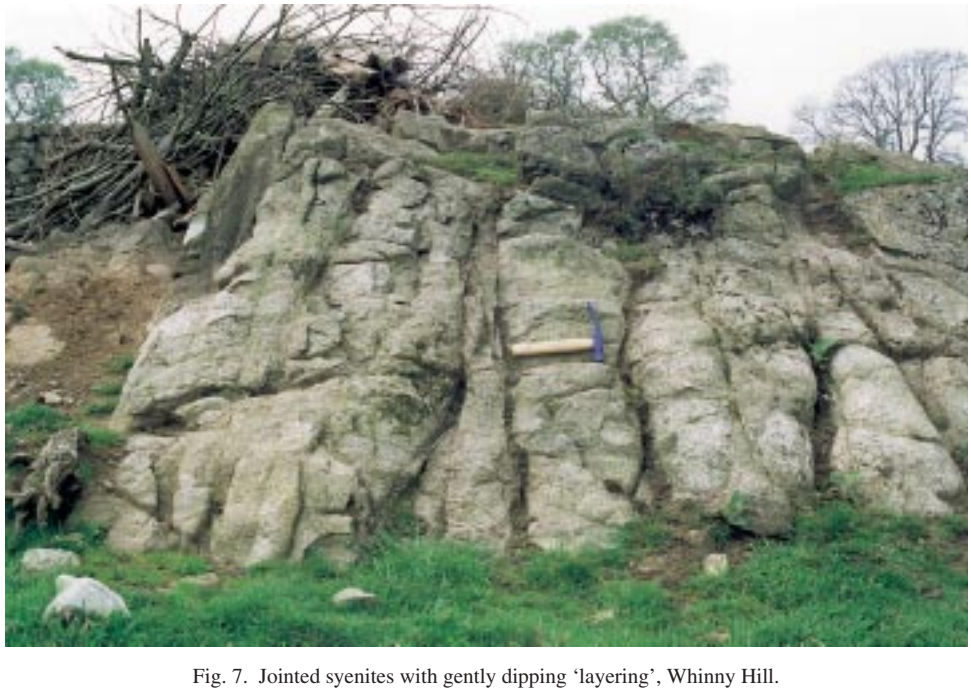

Fig. 7. Jointed syenites with gently dipping 'layering', Whinny Hill.

> 'In the immediate neighbourhood of the granite, to the distance of a foot or two, and not more, the stratified matter has in many instances assumed a highly micaceous character, so as to deserve the name of Mica-slate, and perhaps of gneiss' (Hall, 1815, p.102).

This can also be seen at the Needle's Eye (fig. 5). It is this alteration which is most difficult to explain with Neptunist concepts.

But, the outcrops are not as convincing as Hutton and Hall state. The greywackes (and thin interbedded slates and phyllites) are almost uniformly regionally metamorphosed in these sections to subgreenschist facies. So, there is usually no marked contact metamorphism of the country rock except around large intrusions. Many of the intrusive bodies form sills parallel to the layering in the greywackes. The outcrops, in the absence of metamorphic effects can be interpreted in Wernerian terms as precipitates from ocean waters, with cross-cutting offshoots and veins caused by precipitation in cracks.

Furthermore, west of the Needle's Eye, the granite veined greywackes are (as we now interpret it), unconformably overlain by, and faulted against, Carboniferous breccias. These breccias are mostly worn away at the Needle's Eye, leaving both tectonic and sedimentary veins of calcite-cemented greywacke breccias both overlying and within the main greywackes (fig. 6). These veins are actually precipitated out of solution around fragments and within cracks in solid and cold rocks. And this is exactly how Jameson interpreted the same outcrops in 1814..

> 'The rock is composed of syenite and of slaty felspar, which are variously intermixed with each other.' (Jameson, 1814, p. 545). 'This slate, which is of a brownish-red colour, is a compound of compact felspar, and scales of brown-coloured mica: it is the same nature as some of the slates at the junction on Whinny Hill already described, and is traversed by veins of red syenite. The slate is but a modification of the syenite, - a fact which shews that the slate, syenite and veins, are of contemporary formation. A little to the west of the Needle's Eye, there are patches of a conglomerate, composed of fragments of the various rocks of the district..' (Jameson, 1814, p. 546).

> 'The rocks of the Needle's Eye and the neighbourhood, afforded to the active and enterprising mind of Sir James Hall proofs in favour of the Huttonian theory of the Earth; to me they were interesting as illustrations of the doctrine of contemporaneous formation.'(Jameson, 1814, p.547) [Hall's paper was read in 1812, though not published until 1815].

Further to the east, Jameson's Whinny Hill localities have also remained unchanged since he visited them. Here, coarse syenites, contain abundant rounded lumps of greywacke, and are overlain by jointed syenites (fig. 7). We now consider the syenites to be intrusions, the rounded lumps as xenoliths incorporated within the syenite while it was still molten, and the layer-like appearance due to jointing. Nevertheless, Jameson's (1814) descriptions are accurate: only the interpretation is different.

> 'The syenite in this hill is commonly of a grey, seldom red colour, and composed of grey felspar, green hornblende, grey quartz, and brown-coloured mica... The general structure is granular; some varieties, however, are slaty; while others, besides

these structures, exhibit also variously formed contemporaneous portions of hornblende, of hornblende and felspar, of felspar and mica, and of felspar and quartz, varying in size from an inch to several feet in diameter, which give to the rock a conglomerated aspect.... There rests upon the coarse granular syenite.. strata of syenite, having the fine granular, compact, and slaty structures, ranging from NE. to SW., and dipping to the SE. under an angle of 60°. They vary in thickness from one foot to six or seven feet.' (Jameson, 1814, p.541-543).

Some of the larger relationships of strata could be seen even further to the east, on Burnswark Hill. This hill consists of steeply-dipping Silurian greywacke, unconformably overlain by Devonian sandstones and Carboniferous basalt lavas. Curiously, it was to Burnswark that Jameson first applied the term 'unconformity', which Hutton never used. Figure 8 shows Jameson's interpretation above the generally accepted modern (late 19th century) interpretation. Since the tops of the lavas are not exposed, then the critical evidence for intrusion - baking of the overlying sedimentary rocks - is not there.

The outcrops used by these early geologists to back-up their theories can, in many cases, be explained equally convincingly with either theory. The role that theory plays in determining how people view factual evidence should never be minimized. Nor should views that were equally plausible at the time be damned as due to dogmatic and prejudiced interpretation. Hutton's explanations were eventually proved correct by a mixture of observa-

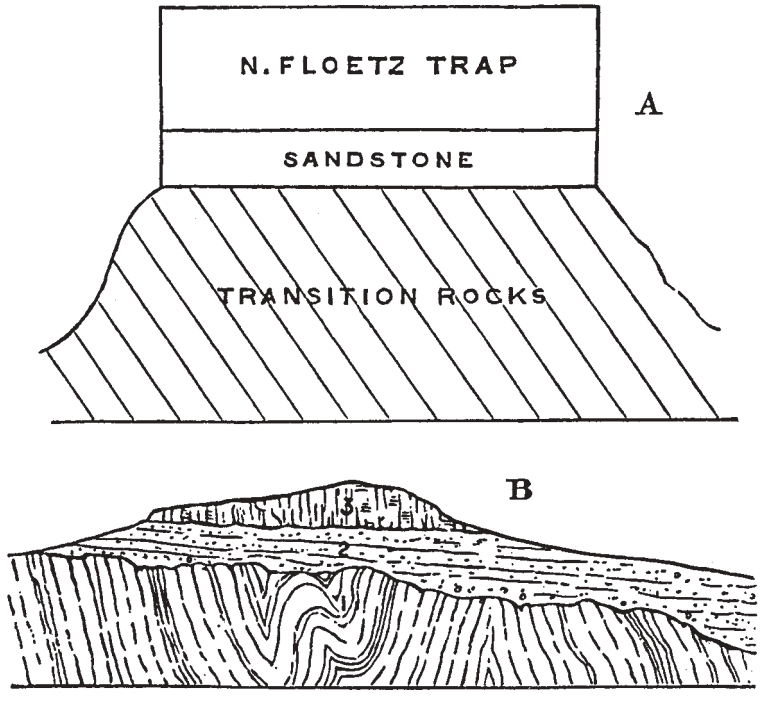

Fig. 8. The unconformity on Burnswark: A, according to Jameson; B, according to Geikie (1879)(from Tomkeieff, 1963, fig. 11).

tion and experiment (for example, Hall's studies on artificially crystallizing melted rock). Nevertheless, Jameson's explanations of the exposures he studied in Dumfries and Galloway were equally valid at the time.

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EXCAVATIONS AT ALBIE HILL, APPLEGARTHTOWN, ANNANDALE, DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

by Richard J Strachan

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Abstract

Excavations and a watching brief were carried out on a cropmark enclosure site at Albie Hill, Applegarthtown, Lockerbie. in advance of proposed mineral extraction associated with the A74-M74 upgrading. The work was commissioned by Balfour Beatty Construction (Scotland) Limited. Fieldwork confirmed the nature of the enclosure ditch and a substantial number of pits, post-holes and fire-spots were discovered across the field, with a distribution focused outside the enclosure. Sherds of coarse pottery from a pit appear to be later prehistoric in date, and an iron sickle blade from another pit may represent a votive deposit. The site appears to be a palimpsest representing the surviving fraction of a range of activities present on a free-draining, low-lying gravel hill. This report is a summarised version of a full archive report which has been deposited in the National Monuments Record of Scotland.

Introduction

The Centre for Field Archaeology (CFA) was commissioned by Balfour Beatty Construction (Scotland) Limited to carry out an archaeological evaluative excavation and intermittent watching brief in 1993 at Albie Hill, Applegarthtown, Dumfries and Galloway, NGR: NY 109 842 (Fig. 1). This work was undertaken in advance of a proposed mineral extraction development associated with the upgrading of the A74 to motorway status.

The Site (Figs. 1-2)

The site was situated on the northern summit of Albie Hill, a broad, flat hill c. 60m OD, approximately 7 km to the north-west of Lockerbie and 0.5 km to the east of Applegarthtown. It comprised an enclosure, identified as a cropmark on aerial photographs, measuring approximately 0.6 hectares in size. The archaeological evidence generally verified the cropmark evidence visible on the aerial photographs, however, the ditch did not continue to the west. Two linear ditches orientated north-east/south-west were detected by excavation (Fig. 2).

The enclosure is formed by two separate lengths of ditches: a discontinuous curvilinear ditch (the southern perimeter ditch) and two parallel, linear ditches (the northern perimeter). The southern perimeter ditch also incorporates a possible double palisade trench. The area thus enclosed measured c. 50 m north-west/south-east by c. 120 m north-east/south-west, with entrance gaps visible on north-eastern and south-western sides. The perimeter ditch of the enclosure appears to have had a number of different elements incorporated in its construction.

The southern perimeter ditch was examined in three trenches (5, 7 and 10) and its position could be traced during the watching brief. This ditch was of varying width (0.75-2.3 m) and depth (0.15-0.75 m), with two possible entrances, measuring approximately 3 m and 8.5 m wide, in the north-eastern and south-western sides. The fills examined in the various excavated sections are all relatively similar and particle size indicated reasonably rapid infilling either by deliberate backfilling or as a result of severe weather conditions.

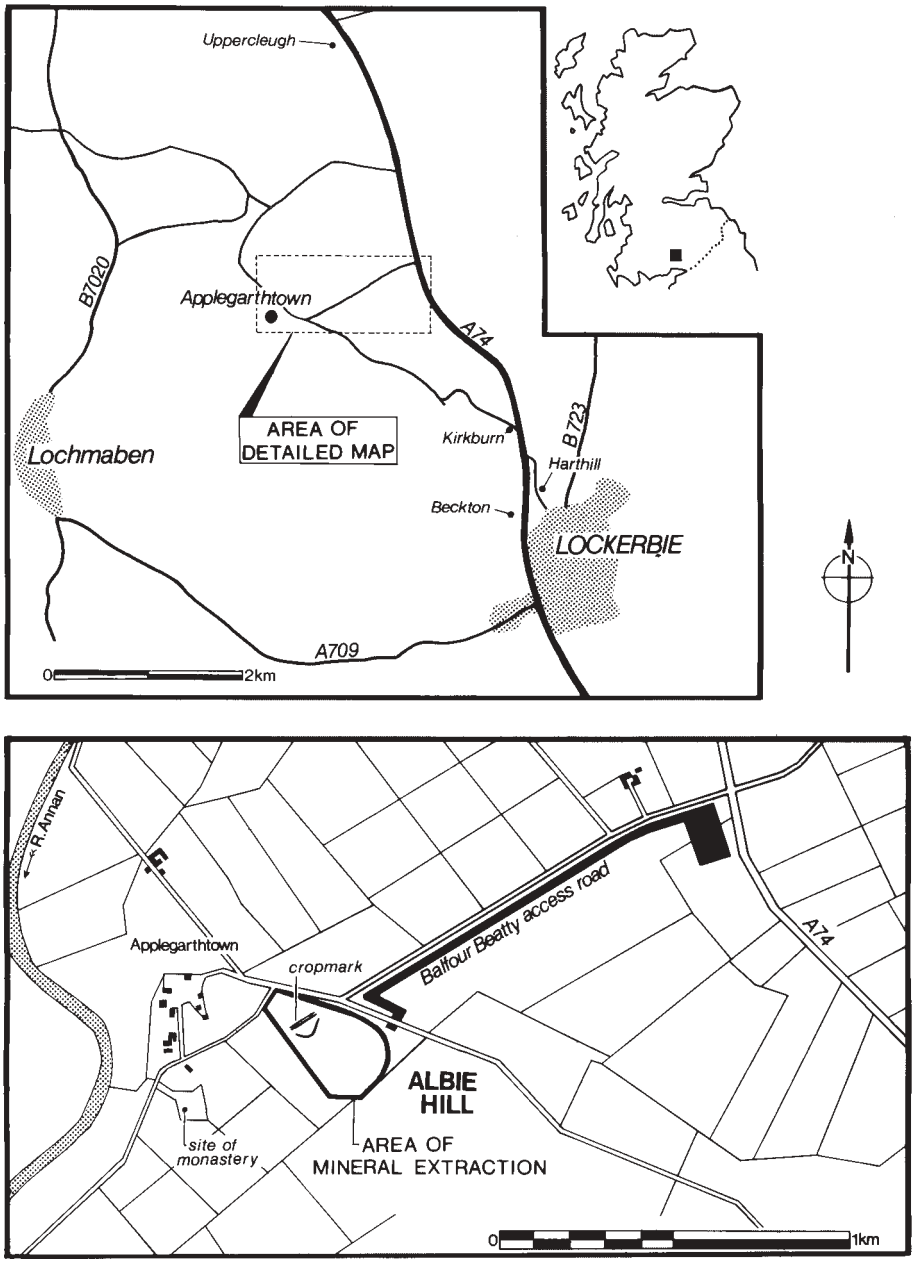

Fig. 1 - Location Map, showing access road and area of mineral extraction.

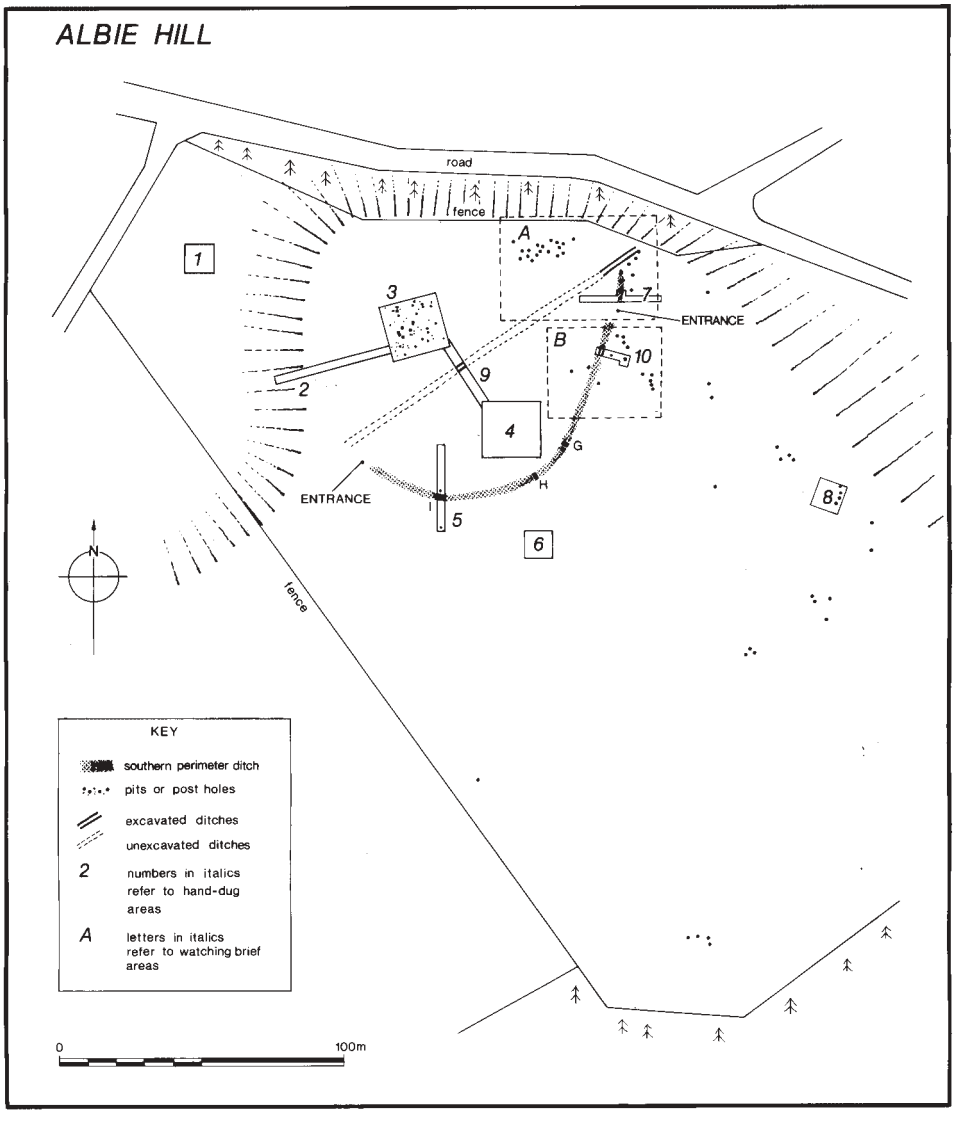

Fig. 2 - Map of Albie Hill with Trench Locations (1-10) and Watching Brief Areas (A and B).

Two parallel ditches, possibly forming part of a truncated double palisade feature, were identified on the alignment of the southern perimeter ditch in Trench 10. They were approximately 5.5m apart, and measured c. 0.75m and 0.68m wide respectively. Both were 0.10m deep and had shallow sloping sides. Continuations of these parallel ditches were not successfully located during the watching brief.

Two parallel linear ditches orientated north-east/south-west were located, approximately 1.3m apart and measuring 0.92m and 0.44m wide and 0.20m and 0.12m deep respectively. Both ditches have gradual sloping sides and rounded bases. These features appear to be contemporary with the southern perimeter ditch, and appear to form the northern perimeter of the enclosure, or a sub-division within it. However, their position, in a direct line between the A74-Applegarthtown link road and the site of a monastery at Applegarthtown, has led to the suggestion that these ditches, being approximately 1.3m apart, are the ruts left by wheeled traffic leading to the monastery. The monastery at Applegarthtown has been equated with the historical but unidentified monastery *Brumescheyed* (Reid, 1926-8; 1956-7).

Activity outside the enclosure is apparent from the concentration of pits and post-holes located in Trench 3 and Area A to the north, and the scatter of pits in virtually all sectors examined in the eastern half of the field. This concentration of dug features in the northern part of the site and the absence of pits, between the southern ditch and the chord formed by the double linear feature may be indicative of a variation in activity.

Artefactual Evidence

7 sherds including base and rim of thick coarse pot (Fig. 3).
Iron Sickle blade, overall surviving length 180 mm. (Fig. 4)
Miscellaneous sherds of blue-and-white glazed pottery
7 pieces of slag: one piece forming a half crucible bowl shape.
9 stone artefacts: 3 possible coarse stone artefacts, one of which possibly fragment of perforated stone split along the axis of perforation; 2 broken chert cores, 3 chert artefacts; 2 pieces of cherty material.
Iron nail

The artefactual evidence recovered from Albie Hill is extremely poor considering the level of activity evident from the number of features. No finds were made from any of the ditch contexts and a direct date for the enclosure ditches cannot be inferred. Many of the artefacts recovered are unstratified surface finds offering little information regarding the date and function of the site. The worked stone artefacts which, although indicative of early prehistoric activity on Albie Hill, were recovered at such a low density that it is more likely that they represent a background effect rather than a focus of activity related to the enclosure (Finlayson pers. comm.).

Of the stratified finds the most important are the sherds of coarse pot from a pit in Trench 3 (Fig. 3) and an iron sickle blade (Fig. 4) found in the primary fill of a pit in Trench 10. Cowie (pers. comm.) notes that the Albie Hill pottery can be compared to vessels of Cool's type I, as defined in the light of work on the ceramic assemblage from the hill-fort at Broxmouth, near Dunbar, and other sites in south-east Scotland (Cool 1982). This class of pottery is one of the typifying features of her so-called 'Middle Assemblage' characterised by a recurrent range of associated artefacts. Cool suggests a date centring on the fourth

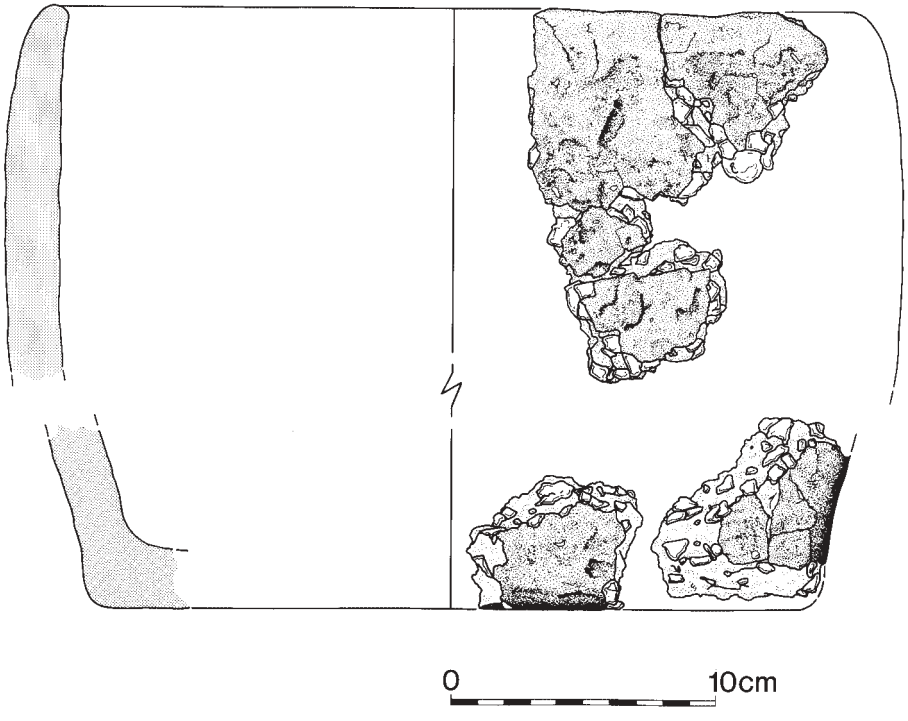

Fig. 3 Reconstruction drawing of coarse pot.

century uncal BC [5th-3rd centuries cal BC] for the emergence of the 'Middle Assemblage' (1982, 99), but subsequent reconsideration of the dating evidence indicates that it may have a broad chronological range possibly encompassing the second half of the 1st millennium cal BC (Hill forthcoming). No other stratified diagnostic finds were made in this trench from which a supporting date can be drawn, but it is not unreasonable to suggest that the surrounding pits in this trench are contemporary, since intersections between features here are rare.

The sickle is of balanced type, where the initial curve of the blade lies behind the axis of the tang. The balanced sickle first appears in the late pre-Roman Iron Age, although it is commoner in Roman contexts (Rees 1979, 458; Manning 1985, 51). The earliest Scottish examples so far come from the Roman Iron Age, in the hoards of Carlingwark and Blackburn Mill, and from Traprain Law (S Piggott 1953; Burley 1956, no 481). While the sickle cannot be closely dated by itself, a consideration of its deposition suggests an Iron Age date is likely: this is consistent with the pottery from the site. It was probably deposited during the back-filling of the pit as an offering, in a belief system which viewed the sickle as symbolic of agricultural fertility, perhaps to bring luck in future harvests (F Hunter pers. comm.).

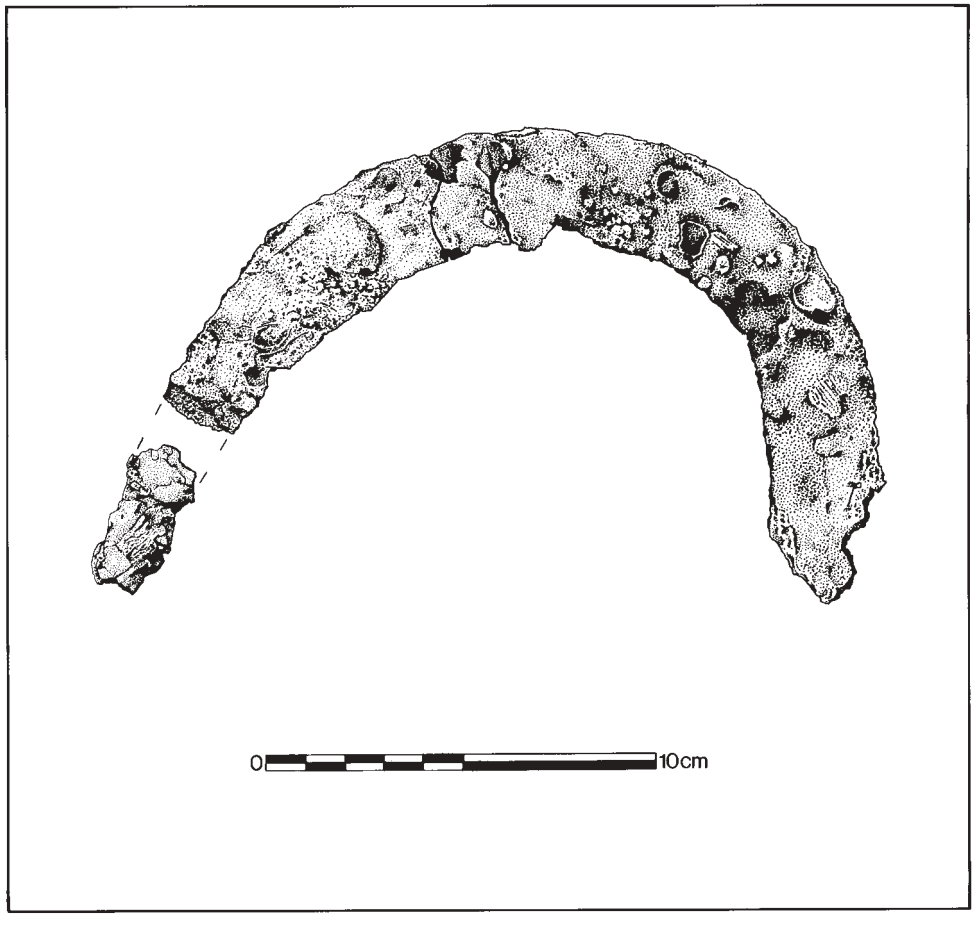

Fig. 4 Iron sickle blade.

The presence of stratified and unstratified iron slag, one piece adopting the form of a crucible, indicates that some iron-working was taking place in the vicinity of the site although the focus of this activity was not located.

The excavated evidence and the limited range of artefacts recovered has left no clear indication of either the date or function of the enclosure. It would appear that a number of periods are represented, from early prehistory, through the Iron Age and onwards. This is perhaps unsurprising given the favourable location for settlement.

Examined in isolation, the excavations at Albie Hill appear inconclusive. Viewed in a wider context with similar enclosure sites on gravel hills, most notably at Harthill (Cormack 1964) and at Uppercleuch (Terry, 1994), there are a number of similarities. These include ditched enclosures of around 0.5-1 ha in size with possible internal sub-division of space, surrounded by pits, fire-spots and metalworking debris. The information available on these sites is relatively poor due largely to truncation by ploughing, the nature of their discovery and rapid rescue excavation.

Archive

A data structure report detailing the stratigraphy etc. in full, has been lodged with NMRS and with Dumfries & Galloway Region (Strachan and Finlayson 1993). A full version of this report has also been deposited with NMRS as an archive..

Acknowledgements

The pottery report and sickle report were respectively compiled by Trevor Cowie and Fraser Hunter both of NMS.

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ROMAN PENETRATION IN EASTERN DUMFRIESSHIRE AND BEYOND

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Summary

Established and potential routes of Roman penetration are examined. A possible course is outlined from Carlisle northwards along Eskdale linking forts at Netherby, Broomholm and Raeburnfoot. The Annandale road is reviewed and recent developments highlighted. The Nithsdale road is examined and the pre-Turnpike road system investigated for a possible Roman line particularly between the forts at Carzield and Drumlanrig. Along Ewesdale and Teviotdale the possible course of a Roman road is explored following discovery of a probable Roman watch tower at Ewes Doors (Britannia ***28,*** *1997, 410). Between Annandale and Nithsdale the traditional course of a Roman road linking forts at Ladyward and Carzield/ Dalswinton is reconsidered following recent discoveries. Between Eskdale and Annandale the Roman road is sought along the B723 linking forts at Raeburnfoot and Ladyward. East of Raeburnfoot the Roman road linking Eskdale and Lauderdale is examined following recent fieldwork. The history of roads linking Moffatdale and Tweeddale is investigated for clues to a possible Roman road linking forts at Milton, Oakwood and Newstead. Finally, the road between Nithsdale and Clydesdale linking forts at Drumlanrig and Crawford is reviewed following recent survey. Within the article or in the Appendix, the possibility of further links in the Roman network is explored.*

A map of the area discussed appears on page 36 infra.

Introduction

The aim of this survey is to review and extend our knowledge of the Roman road system in Eastern Dumfriesshire and beyond. The contributions of earlier antiquaries and more recent writers are examined in the light of subsequent research, fieldwork and excavation often initiated and sponsored by corporate bodies such as the Royal Commission. Their recent Inventory on Eastern Dumfriesshire (RCAHMS 1997) did not examine Roman roads as such and this survey is complementary in that respect. It is also complementary to the survey on Roman penetration in West Dumfries and Galloway where research priorities are outlined (Wilson 1989, 1). A significant contribution to research is made by early maps and aerial photography pre-dating recent land development and road improvement.

A *LONGITUDINAL ROUTES*

1 ESKDALE: Carlisle to Raeburnfoot

(a) The Eden to the Esk: Carlisle to Netherby (St Joseph 1952A, 1ff; Margary 1973, 455ff, Routes 7f and 868)

The military foundation of Carlisle dates to 72/73 AD (Caruana 1992, 45 ff) when it is suggested Cerialis extended his campaign against the Brigantian rebel, Venutius, into Dumfriesshire (Birley 1953, 41; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 35; Hanson and Campbell 1986, 87;

Shotter 1994, 22ff; RCAHMS 1997, 171; Wilson 1998, 12f; Maxwell 1998 B, 49). The road north of Carlisle was either built then by Cerialis or later by Agricola *c* 79/80 AD.[1] Its existence is confirmed by the Antonine Itinerary of the 3rd century AD where the distance between *Luguvallium* (Carlisle) and *Castra Exploratum* (Netherby) is recorded as *XII* miles in *Iter II* (Rivet and Smith 1979, 147ff). Its course was described as 'very certain' in the early 18th century (Horsley 1732, **2,** 409) and later that century indicated as running through Blackford to the Esk at or near Longtown church (Roy 1793, 104). The road north from Carlisle probably ran along Scotch Street to a bridge crossing over the now defunct south channel of the Eden at The Bitts, NY 4095 5635, a bridge possibly extending over wide alluvial flats from Carlisle Bank to Stanwix Bank (Hogg 1953, 155f, fig 7; Caruana and Coulston 1987 43ff, fig 2; McCarthy, Caruana and Keevil 1989, 299, map; *Britannia* **29**, 1998, 382). Across the Eden the road was sectioned at NY 4001 5698 and metalling 1m thick was discovered resting on natural clay (*Britannia* **25,** 1994, 263f).[2] The road probably by-passed the Hadrianic fort of 3.98 ha at Stanwix, NY 401 571, housing an *ala milliaria* with cavalry capable of striking deep into southern Scotland (*Britannia* **16,** 1985, 272, fig 13; *TIR* 1987, 72 and refs). Excavation of the fort in 1939-1940 determined its precise location and clarified the course of the road immediately north of the Eden (*JRS* **31,** 1941, 129f). The route suggested earlier last century was rejected (Mac Lauchlan 1858, 75) in favour of a course running north in a straight line along Scotland Road and then a green lane or hedge marking the parish boundary past Newfieldhead and Harker Grange (Haverfield 1899, 186f and 1917, 239f). Mike McCarthy informs me, however, that no trace of the road was found in trenches laid across this line in 1998 *c* 1.5 km north of Hadrian's Wall, implying that either the road has been completely destroyed or the projected line needs amending. He has pointed out that the land either side of the Gosling Sike is particularly wet and boggy.[3]

Harker Grange has been regarded as a potential signalling location and 183m to the north, a possible *agger* was recorded 4.27m wide with further traces beyond. The A7 may mark the Roman line from *c* NY 3968 6193 (St Joseph 1952A, 3). At Blackford the A7 runs on a considerable embankment towards Westlinton, though this could be modern. In 1725 it was reported that during a journey from Scaleby Castle to Netherby, a Roman fort was observed on the Lyne where antiquities had been discovered (Stukeley 1776, **2**, 57). Two possible locations have been suggested (Birley 1961A, 230f). The first is at or near Kirklinton where Roman ashlar was built into the fabric of the church (Collingwood 1923, 233). A fort in such a location would have lain on a Roman road conceivably linking the forts at Brampton or Castlesteads with Netherby perhaps near the line of the A6071 (*TIR* 1987, 20, 58 and 60). Roman finds have been discovered near Kirklinton but there is no structural evidence to confirm fort or road.[4] The second and more likely location is at Westlinton on the road

1 The discovery in 1962 of a hoard of Vespasianic *asses* on the line of the road at Stanwix Bank, may indicate an Agricolan origin for the road north from Carlisle (Caruana and Coulston 1987, 50 and fig 2). The suggested military site at Etterby, NY 369 573, may indicate a line of march northwards (*Britannia* **28,** 1997, 415).

2 A relief of Mercury was found at Stanwix before 1874 at 'the junction' of the Stanegate with the road north from Carlisle (Wright and Phillips 1975, 70, no 181).

3 Roman coins found on the projected line include an unidentified coin at Edenmount, NY 3997 5680, *denarii* of Trajan at Harker, NY 3845 6050 and Antoninus Pius dated 147 AD at Kingstown, NY 399 592 and west of the line at Kingmoor, an *as* of Claudius at NY 3884 5805 (Shotter 1986, 256 , 1989, 41ff, 1990, 234 and 241 and 2000 forthcoming; Richardson 1990, 92). An early glass *phalera* was reported as being found west of Scotland Road but it may have been found originally near the Cathedral (Toynbee and Richmond 1953, 41).

4 South of Kirklinton, *asses* of Claudius and Nero found at Scaleby, might indicate early Roman penetration but most of the Roman stones found at the castle or church came from Birdoswald or Castlesteads; east of Kirklinton a *denarius* of Trajan was found at Hethersgill (Collingwood 1923, 232f; Shotter 1986, 256, 1989, 41, 1990, 234, 1994, 21ff, and 1995, 77). Traces of a road have been found, however, between the forts of Castlesteads and Brampton (Mac Lauchlin 1858, 70; Collingwood 1923, 214; Birley 1961, 139).

north from Carlisle. There is no record, however, of structural remains or finds but a small post guarding the crossing of the Lyne perhaps on the high ground south of the river is possible. Modern bridge construction has destroyed earlier crossings. The A7 immediately north of Westlinton runs on an embankment. On the north bank east of the present road, the remains of the Turnpike can be observed leading from the river. It may mark the Roman line to the north but at Sandysike it ran east of the A7. Between Sandysike and Howend, the A7, Turnpike and pre-Turnpike all deviate slightly from a straight line and may obscure the Roman course (Hutchinson 1774; OS 6" map, Cumberland, 1st ed, 1868, sheet X). Evidence for the Roman road might therefore be found in fields bordering the A7 north of Sandysike. North of Howend the A7 follows the Turnpike and may indicate the Roman line to Longtown.[5]

At Longtown, the Roman road may perhaps be marked by the straight length of Netherby Street running past Scaurbank. The pre-Turnpike ran closer to the Esk than the present road but above the flood plain and can still be observed at Crofthead (Donald 1774). It is possible the pre-Turnpike marks the Roman line to Netherby but there are also other tracks (OS 6" map, Cumberland, 1st ed, 1868, sheet VI). The precise location and size of the fort at Netherby, NY 396 717, are unknown but its function was to keep watch on Eskdale and Liddesdale. In 1671 Daniel Fleming reported finds but structural remains were not recorded until the 18th century (Birley 1954 6ff and refs; Prevost 1962, 250f; *TIR* 1987, 58 and refs). Recent excavations may have uncovered a granary (*Britannia* **28,** 1997, 415). Both John Leland and Reginald Bainbrigg, who visited the site in 1539 and 1601 respectively, cite evidence of Netherby as a silted up port (Birley 1961A, 229).[6] The most important finds are inscriptions dating from the time of Hadrian before 128 AD to the mid 3rd century (*RIB* 1995, 321ff, nos 965-984). The possibility of earlier and later occupation cannot be excluded. Flavian occupation at Broomholm may imply the same at Netherby as suggested by the *aureus* of Nero reported by Fleming (Camden 1695, 843). The neighbouring outpost fort at Bewcastle (*TIR* 1987, 7) was occupied until the 4th century and therefore the same might be expected at Netherby. The possibility that these two outpost forts were linked by a road cannot be excluded but formidable terrain may have prevented a direct connection. It has been suggested, however, there could have been a branch road from Eskdale along Liddesdale though its possible objective is not clear (Birley 1954, 30).[7]

5 The pre-Turnpike ran on a different line south of the Halls Burn, now the unclassified road to Arthuret Knowes and Longtown past Fauld Mill (Donald 1774; Taylor and Skinner 1776, pl 4/3; Hutchinson 1794, **1**, 43 map). The dedication slab built into the fabric of Arthuret church clearly came from Netherby (*RIB* 1995, 325, no 976). The spear blade found in a garden at Graham Street, Longtown is too corroded to identify (Richardson 1990, 44, no 90, fig 23).

6 An anchor was discovered in the early 18th century at Netherby (Gordon 1726, 16).

7 It is conceivable that the estate road running through the North Lodge at Netherby on a direct course for several miles through Lamb Hill, might mark such a line but this could also apply to the pre-Turnpike from Blacklane to Haithwaite (Hutchinson 1794; OS 6" map Cumberland, 1st ed, 1868, sheet VI). Near the former line an *ae* of Constantius I was found at Park End Farm, Easton (Shotter 1990, 239).

(b) Lower Eskdale: Netherby to Langholm (Margary 1973, 461, Route 868; RCAHMS 1981, 16 no 72 and 1997, 310, no 1225)

The tradition of Roman penetration in Eskdale is early and persistent despite late Victorian scepticism (Camden 1586, 479f; Maitland 1757, **1**, 204; Pennant 1790, **2**, 85; Roy 1793, 105; *OSA* 1794, **11**, 528, **12**, 614, **13**, 597 and 1795, **14**, 421f; Chalmers 1807, 139 and 153; Stuart 1845, 259; *NSA* 1845, **4**, 404, 420 and 490; Macdonald 1894, 317). The objective of a Roman road north of Netherby was the fort at Broomholm and a possible course could have run above the flood plain at Liddel Strength, NY 4017 7415 (Roy 1793 pl XXIII; RCAHMS 1997, 190, fig 202). An old road running directly on this line may still be observed at Riddings Farm but its southward course has been destroyed by the disused Carlisle to Hawick railway at Black Roots (OS 6" map, Cumberland, 1st ed, 1868, sheet VI). An immediate obstacle facing the subsequent route was the Liddel. Earlier writers refer to a crossing below Liddel Strength perhaps due to the mistaken assumption of a Roman post there (Gordon 1726, 98; Maitland 1757, **1**, 206; Pennant, 1790, **2**, 85; Roy 1793, 105). One writer even confuses Liddel Motte with Netherby (*OSA* 1795, **14**, 421). A crossing at this location would have posed considerable problems to Roman engineers in negotiating the flood plains of Esk and Liddel and would have led to a route northwards on low-lying land very close to the Esk as indicated by the pre-Turnpike to Canonbie church (Roy 1755 sheet 7/12/1; RCAHMS 1981, 20, no 110). The discovery of Roman finds at Canonbie does not constitute evidence for the presence of a Roman road there let alone Roman occupation.[8] It is also unlikely that the Romans would have chosen such a circuitous route close to the Esk necessitated by the elongated loop of the river at Kettle Holme. An alternative crossing must be considered.

It is more likely the Romans chose higher ground to the east for the road to Broomholm and the most likely crossing would be the Hall Pool ford where the Rowan Burn flows into the Liddel, NY 4065 7550 (OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheet XLIV). The most likely line for a Roman road is the unclassified ridge road running immediately north of the ford through Hugh's Brae and Prioryhill, named after the medieval Canonbie priory, NY 4000 7588, (RCAHMS 1997, 324, no 1804). At NY 4034 7632 the road runs through what appears to be a sub-rectangular enclosure with pit alignment, but unlikely to be Roman (RCAHMS 1981, 19, no 105 and 1997, 98 and 289, no 128). Where the road swings to avoid the now disused railway between Prioryhill and Byreburnside, evidence of an earlier straighter road has been observed from the air (AP 541/A/468, 26.4.49, 4402). This is almost certainly the line of the Roman road described as 'plain to be seen' through Canonbie Moor (Maitland 1757, **1**, 204), and running past Newtown of Canonbie by the roadside at Hugh's Brae (Roy 1755 sheet 7/12/1 and 1793, 105; AP above). Beyond Byreburnside, the North British Railway, opened between Carlisle and Hawick on 1st July 1862, has probably destroyed the road as well as the SW gate and part of the defences of the Roman camp at Gilnockie, NY 3895 7922 (*OSA* 1795, **14,** 421; Macdonald 1923, 92ff; RCAHMS 1920, 27f, no 45, fig 28, 1981, 16, no 71 and 1997, 183f and 309, no 1218). The parallelogram-shaped camp of *c* 10.18 ha with six gates and *tituli*, may belong to St Joseph's series II

8 An *aureus* of Nero was found in the church glebe *c* 1840 (*NSA* 1845, **4**, 490; Macdonald 1918, 241; RCAHMS 1997, 311, no 1245), and also at Canonbie, pieces of flue tile (*TDGNHAS* **28**, 1949-50, 227) and an *ae* of Antoninus Pius found very recently in the village (DM 1997.16).

camps of Flavian date (St Joseph 1969, 114). A Roman road north of Byreburnside may have run through the camp at Gilnockie or continued in a direct line to Claygate where it is claimed the B6318 marks the Roman line past the camp to Nether Mumbie.[9] The B6318 north of Upper Mumbie is not Roman as its course is determined by the railway which destroyed earlier roads on a higher line along Tarrasfoot Hill.

The Roman fort at Broomholm lies across the Tarras Water, NY 3781 8140, (RCAHMS 1981, 15, no 70 and 1997, 8 and 171ff, fig 183 and 309, no 1219 and refs). The modern crossing with its substantial engineering and steep ascent has destroyed the Roman crossing. The fort of *c* 1.8 ha and south annexe of 0.7 ha, was discovered in 1960 by Richard Feachem and excavated by Charles Daniels [10] who established two Flavian periods; it was succeeded by a Trajanic/Hadrianic fortlet of *c* 0.8 ha (*JRS* **55**, 1965, 202 and refs).[11] There may have been pre-Agricolan occupation (RCAHMS 1997, 177). Close scrutiny of St Joseph's and other air photographs, failed to show roads issuing from the gates, though they clearly indicate a complex of ancient roads and banks across the site (APs 541/A/524, 13.5.50 nos 3141-2; *CUCAP* CLW 71-74, 17.5.80). A Roman road was marked on earlier OS maps running NW and then NE from the fort (Lewis 1849, **1,** 147; OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheet XIII; Reid 1960, 128). Excavation of this road by RCAHMS revealed an 18th century road (RCAHMS 1981, 16, no 72). Two roads were sectioned, however, both north and south of the fort, by the Eskdale and Liddesdale Archaeological Society, one clearly 18th century but the other much older, disturbed and destroyed in places from medieval times onward (*DES* 1960, 26). It is conceivable this second road could mark the Roman line.[12]

Beyond Broomholmshiels the B6318 does not follow the Roman line. The Esk valley here is too steep-sided, requiring substantial modern concrete reinforcement above Skippers Bridge reminiscent of that on the A76 at Dalpeddar Hill in Upper Nithsdale. The pre-Turnpike ran on the cliff top and then descended to join the High Street in Langholm along the Hall Path, also partially destroyed by the railway (Roy 1755 sheet 7/11/1; APs 541/A/524, 13.5.50, 4175-6). The Hall Path may well indicate the line of the Roman road as it descends to a probable crossing of the Ewes at Erkinholme. At the junction of Esk and Ewes, a small Roman post might conceivably guard the crossing in the haughlands above the flood plain near the site of the medieval castle (OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheet XLV).[13]

9 Robert Riddle reported the discovery of a pick-axe on the 'Roman road' at Claygate but the drawing is too inadequate to confirm Roman origin (*Archaeologia* **10**, 1792, 481f, pl xl/6).

10 Lindsay Allason Jones informs me that the Archaeological Practice at Newcastle University will produce a report on the excavation of the site by Charles Daniels.

11 A hoard of perfectly preserved *aurei*, three Nero, two Vespasian and one Domitian, was discovered *c* 1782 at Broomholm (Macdonald 1918, 241f; Robertson 1978, 197; RCAHMS 1997, 310, no 1250).

12 Across the Esk at its confluence with the Tarras, a *denarius* of Antoninus Pius was dug up in the garden of Irvine House in August 1924 (Macdonald 1934, 30; RCAHMS 1997, 311, no 1247).

13 Above Langholm on Whita Hill, NY 376 841, a remarkable hoard of Roman coins was found including an *as* of the early 3rd century AD and a small *ae* of Constantius II (Robertson 1974, 129 and 1978, 209, no 29; RCAHMS 1997, 310, no 1249).

(c) Upper Eskdale: Langholm to Raeburnfoot (Margary 1973, 462; RCAHMS 1980, 15, no 71, 1981, 16, no 72 and 1997, 310, no 1225)

It would not be unnatural for the Romans to have linked Netherby and Raeburnfoot by road (Richmond 1948, 117). The literary record of Roman penetration is persistent. The traditional course of the road outlined since the 18th century and supported more recently (Graham 1950, 233f), has been challenged (Reid 1960, 128f). The possible course has been investigated by RCAHMS. The traditional route crossed the Esk at a ford below Murtholm at Kiln Cleugh, NY 368 839, then ran along Eastons and Gaskells Walks to a ford over the Wauchope Water at NY 354 838, before heading north (Maitland 1757, **1**, 204; *OSA* 1794, **11**, 528, **12,** 614, **13**, 597 and 1795, **14**, 421f; Chalmers 1807, 139 and 153; Stuart 1845, 259; *NSA* 1845, 420; Hyslop and Hyslop 1912, 115; AP 541/A/524, 13.5.50, 4177).

There is lack of agreement, however, on the course of the road beyond the Wauchope crossing. The last mentioned writers outline the road as a well defined *agger* running diagonally across the north edge of Becks Moss to Calfield fort, perhaps the settlement at NY 3379 8369 (RCAHMS 1997, 304, no 948), then appearing intermittently before being lost on the moor but reappearing behind Westwater and at the head of the Boyken Burn. Along its route Roman bridges are referred to at the Wauchope crossing, Loganhead and Pingle (Hyslop and Hyslop 1912, 114ff). There is no evidence to substantiate this account and nothing has been observed from the air. A different route has been identified north of the Wauchope ascending Mid Hill and then running along Clerk Hill making for a crossing of the Esk at the Potholm ford, NY 355 877 (this latter stretch marked 'Roman road' on the OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheet XLV). This stretch is still preserved as a terrace on the north face of Clerk Hill but appears insufficiently substantial for a Roman road and may be associated with quarrying. These suggested lines of Roman road follow too circuitous a route involving several river crossings, to be in accord with normal Roman practice (Reid 1960, 128f). Perhaps some of the earlier writers were unduly influenced by the discovery along the suggested route of an *aureus* of Otho and perhaps two further coins *c* 1782 in the holm at Wauchope Bridge *c* NY 354 838 (*OSA* 1794, **13**, 597; Macdonald 1918, 242; RCAHMS 1997, 311, no 1248).[14] This discovery, however, could not have influenced Maitland but along with most other writers, he appears to assume the road ran along the west side of the Esk to a Roman post at Castle O'er,[15] though one writer did mention a post at Raeburnfoot (Stuart 1845, 259). An alternative course for a Roman road in Upper Eskdale must be considered.

Roman surveyors and engineers are more likely to have chosen a route along the east bank of the Esk to Raeburnfoot, an ancient line of communication through significant medieval burghs at Staplegordon and Westerkirk and numerous earlier forts and pre-medieval as well as later settlements (RCAHMS 1997, 197ff and 297ff). A cross found at Staplegordon has been dated *c* 600 AD (Radford 1956). After crossing the Ewes near the pre-Turnpike

14 RCAHMS cites a location for the find at *c* NY 361 845 and therefore suggests the original location was the Townend Bridge, NY 3630 8469. I know of no reason, however, to question the location at Wauchope Bridge.

15 Roman or Romano-British finds have been made in the Castle O'er area, including a blue glass melon bead and fragments of another and a further four of blue faience, a glass armlet of Kilbride-Jones 1938, type 3 probably F, and a Roman lamp (DM Old Register 504/4 and 682; RSA 1/789-90; RCAHMS 1997, 21, 78f, figs 71-73, 298 and 306f, nos 650, 1035 and 1097), but there is no evidence to suggest a Roman site.

crossing at Erkinholm (Roy 1755 sheet 7/11/1), a Roman route could have skirted round Castle Hill and then along Chapelpath, Holmhead and Longfauld Wood where four separate tracks, one metalled, ran towards Potholm (OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheet XLV; APs CPE/SCOT/UK 282, 27.8.47, 3076-7 and 541/A/468, 20.4.49, 4335). From Potholm a Roman road could have run through Staplegordon to the south side of Golf Hill where there are early settlements (RCAHMS 1997, 304, nos 933-4). None of the present tracks are Roman but a Roman road could have been destroyed by agriculture. Possible cultivation terraces have been observed near the proposed line at NY 346 886 and NY 351 885 (RCAHMS 1981, 17, nos 81 and 82). There is aerial photographic evidence, however, of a road running along the Esk from Potholm past Staplegordon Motte then turning northwards and running along the west side of the plantation leading to Golf Hill (AP CPE/SCOT/UK 282, 27.8.47, 4079).

From Golf Hill a Roman line could be marked by the old unclassified, well designed, sometimes terraced, hill road across the Dowglen, Burnfoot and Rig burns to Cuil Plantation. It runs on a ridge above the Esk floodplain,[16] passing early settlements at Burnfoot, Thrumcaps Yard and Cuil (RCAHMS 1997, 299ff, nos 689 and 928-931).[17] This ancient road has been resurfaced in the Westerhall estate where it holds to higher ground, at times involving substantial cutting, not least through the Hizzie Birren earthwork at NY 3157 8998 (RCAHMS 1997, 304, no 927). The road then makes for a well engineered, recently rebuilt crossing of the Kirk Burn. If Roman, such a crossing may have been bridged. Modern bridges across all the burns along the road, have destroyed evidence of earlier crossings. The antiquity of the road may be indicated at Kirktonhill where the line of the road runs through the the medieval church, NY 3127 9033 (RCAHMS 1997, 324 no 1801).[18] The present unclassified road is clearly a subsequent diversion different in character to the rest of the road. Near Nether Knock the diversion may have rejoined the original line (OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862 sheet XXXIV) and where the unclassified road again diverges from the older road and makes for Mid Knock, it is again different in character. The older pre-Turnpike road which may be Roman, runs on a higher line along the Kirkgill Bank to Georgefield, past early settlements (RCAHMS 1997, 304, nos 962 and 966). Along this latter stretch, more than one track has been observed (Roy 1755 sheet 6/12/3; OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheets XXXV and XXXVI).

There are five possibilities for a Roman road north of the Meggat. The first possibility is the pre-Turnpike from Billholm round Bank Head Hill to a ford over the Esk below Crurie, NY 248 949, and then to Eskdalemuir (Roy 1755 sheet 6/11/3). A crossing and recrossing of the Esk is unlikely to have appealed to Roman engineers. A second possibility is indicated by a track running past early settlements at Shiel and Billholm (RCAHMS 1997, 303,

16 This well-engineered old hill road runs north east from Golf Hill through Sorbie Hass and before Langholm became a separate parish in 1703, was the main road from Staplegordon to the Ewes (Elliot 1954, 8).

17 Across the Esk at Carlesgill, NY 330 880, a very slightly worn *ae* of Constantine I minted at Arles, was dug up in what had been an orchard (Robertson 1963, 140; RCAHMS 1997, 311, no 1246).

18 There was a Romano-British settlement across the Esk from Kirktonhill at Boonies, NY 305 901, which produced several Roman finds including three sherds of coarse ware, one dated probably Flavian/Trajanic and another 1st/2nd century AD, a bronze brooch of Fowler type A3 datable to the first three centuries AD, a fragment of a glass bracelet of Kilbride-Jones 1938 type 3A and two splinters of similar glass (DM 1984.9.1 and 2; Jobey 1975, 135ff, fig 8/11 and 12; RCAHMS 1997, 304, no 963).

nos 904 and 907) and then the Turnpike, the B709, up the east side of the Bankhead burn at Shaw Rig, where the road runs on a substantial terrace obscured by forestation. Beyond this point the B709 is certainly not Roman and an alternative must be sought. A third possibility is a road observed on aerial photographs over Craigie Hill to Shiel Rig (APs 541/A/440, 30.7.48, 3153-4) and a fourth a road similarly observed over Westerkirk Rig (APs 541/A/526,13.6.50, 3259-60). There is no evidence of these two roads continuing beyond the stretches indicated on the photographs (*DES* 1958, 19; Reid 1960, 130f; RCAHMS 1980, 15 no 71).

A fifth possibility must be considered, that the unclassified road from Georgefield up the east bank of the Meggat passing early enclosures or settlements at Effgil, Megdale and Glendinning (RCAHMS 1997, 303ff, nos 887, 955, 956 and 1073), might indicate a Roman line. This road, which is a continuation of that along the Esk, is to be noted for its directness of course running in straight stretches above the flood plain with cutting and embanking where necessary. There is evidence of four possible road crossings of the Stennies Water at Effgil. East of the present bridge are the remains of the foundations of a predecessor and east of that a further cobbled foundation and beyond that a ford. A possible small quarry pit was observed east of the road south of Megdale. The road up the Meggat leads to a ford at Glendinning. A Roman road across the Meggat at Glendinning, would be expected to run north west. Such a course might conceivably be indicated by a track running along the east bank of the Glendinning Burn and a further stretch of road may be indicated west of the burn on an aerial photograph (AP 541/A/440, 30.7.48, 3226). A clue to the subsequent course may be provided by an impressive old hill road running south across the Rae Burn from the fort at Raeburnfoot. It proceeds on a direct course above the flood plain along Clerk Hill passing the early settlement at NY 2535 9857 (RCAHMS 1997, 108 fig and 303, no 885). This road might conceivably mark a Roman line continuing across the Clerkhill Burn to Clerkhillgrains and then along the north side of Lamb Hill. Traces of a metalled road heading due east to the Glendinning Burn may be observed on aerial photographs, which might conceivably link up with the road previously described along the Meggat (APs same sortie 3229-31).

The possible course outlined above for a Roman road in Upper Eskdale will require the discovery of Roman structures to establish its origin, possibly a small post in mid reaches near Kirktonhill and perhaps a watch tower in its upper course through more mountainous terrain. The small Roman fort of *c* 0.64 ha, discovered in 1810 at Raeburnfoot, NY 2510 9908 (*NSA* 1845, **4**, 402ff), provided evidence of only a single period of Antonine occupation. It had a turf rampart with north and south gates, timber buildings and cobbled streets and lay within a larger enclosure of 2.12 ha with a clay rampart, being either earlier in date or a contemporary annexe (Robertson 1962; *TIR* 1987, 64 and refs; RCAHMS 1920, 68ff, no 172, fig 56, 1980, 15, no 70 and 1997, 5, 92, 108 fig and 177f, figs 83 and 189, and 309, no 1217 and refs).

2 ANNANDALE TO CLYDESDALE: Carlisle to Redshaw Burn

(a) Lower Annandale: Carlisle to Ladyward (St Joseph 1952A, 2ff, pls I, II and IIIA; Margary 1973, 455ff, Route 7f; RCAHMS 1981, 16, no 73 and 1997, 310, fig 182, no 1221)

This road has attracted attention for centuries and despite late Victorian scepticism (Macdonald 1894, 298ff) its existence is now firmly established. There is little doubt it branched off from the Eskdale road (Route 1a). The precise point of departure is unknown and depends on the location of the Esk crossing. This has been suggested as Canonbie (Gordon 1726, 98) or Netherby (Horsley 1732, **1,** 114 and map opp 380), which is recorded as twelve Roman miles from Birrens in Iter *II* of the Antonine Itinerary (Rivet and Smith 1979, 147ff). Other earlier writers refer to a crossing at or below Longtown church (Maitland 1757, **1,** 191; Roy 1793, 104; Chalmers 1807, 133; Stuart 1845, 255). Haverfield located the crossing at Rosetrees ford, NY 361 661 (OS 6" map, Cumberland, 1st ed, 1868, sheet X; Haverfield 1899, 187), but it has now become generally accepted at the Roost, NY370 669 (St Joseph 1952A, 4; Margary 1973, 456). This crossing, where many tracks converge, is in direct alignment with the Annandale road to the north and the ridge of Arthuret Knowes to the south. Arthuret Knowes is ideal for signalling but was subject to much quarrying after the Second World War. Haverfield's choice of crossing led him to suggest the Annandale road left the Eskdale road at Westlinton where there may have been a Roman post (Route 1a), but the substantial embankment running north west along the Lyne is presumably a flood barrier. It is more likely, on topographical grounds, that the roads diverged north of Westlinton possibly near Sandysike where two old roads ran westwards towards the Roost, one alongside and the other through Hopesike Woods (OS 6" map, Cumberland, 1st ed, 1868, sheet X).

The precise course north of the Esk was identified in the 18th century through Springfield, formerly called Barrowslacks (Maitland 1757, **1,** 191; Macfarlane 1906, 383). Sir John Clerk observed the road on 16th August 1731, running twelve miles in straight lengths with large stones for bottoming and gravel above (Prevost 1961, 130). The *agger* can still be observed on the north edge of Mill Hill Wood with a fair sprinkling of sizeable cobbles near the unclassified road to Gretna station. A large boulder at NY 3483 6748 and another sizeable stone at NY 3395 6773, perhaps boundary markers, indicate the line. North of the wood the road realigns NW, angling obliquely across fields where it was observed from the air approaching the Sark (St Joseph 1952A, 4).[19] The Roman crossing at Plumpe has been destroyed by the predecessor of the present bridge. Across the Sark the Roman line is probably indicated from Hill Toll House by the medieval Barrasgate as suggested in 1748 (Macfarlane 1906, 386f). Converted from pre-Turnpike to Turnpike after 1777 and rebuilt by Telford after 1815, the B7076, formerly the A74, runs on an embankment immediately north of Gretna Old Smithy (OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheet XLIV; Macfarlane 1906, 387; McKeague 1997, 61ff; RCAHMS 1997, 53, fig 47).[20]

At Kirkpatrick Fleming, a day's march from Carlisle, a camp of 5.64 ha lies within another of 25.4 ha, much destroyed by roadworks in 1968 at NY 2806 7020 (*DES* 1968, 14; *TIR* 1987, 47 and refs; RCAHMS 1997, 57, 174 and 183f and 309, no 1216 and refs). Excavation before upgrading of the A74, revealed what may be an annexe to the larger camp, a feature common in St Joseph's series III camps, but 2nd century AD pottery found in the ditch, casts doubt on an assumed Severan date (St Joseph 1969, 114ff; Leslie 1991A

19 A Roman coin has been found in the Sark near Gretna (RCAHMS 1997, 311, no 1244).

20 A *denarius* of Trajan was found at Gretna in 1981 (Shotter 1990, 235).

and B; *Britannia* **27,** 1996, 402). It is possible, however, this ditch could belong to an as yet undiscovered third independent enclosure, possibly a fortlet (Mercer 1997, 29 and Arch 44). The possible temporary camp at Fauldingcleuch, NY 2707 7819, is now regarded as an agricultural enclosure (Mercer 1997, 15 and Arch 24). Excavation in 1990 failed to discover the Roman road at *c* NY 2772 7039. Its true course may lie further south where excavation in 1991 at NY 2771 7032, revealed a spread of cobbles *c* 9m wide and 0.2m deep within a dark brown compact soil, laid above a layer of light grey clay packed with small cobbles resting on an orange clay subsoil; in an adjacent field to the east, a line was seen in melting snow indicating alignment with the then A74 (Leslie 1991B, 9ff, pl 1). Evidence of a road on a straighter alignment, parallel with but north of the A74 before conversion to dual carriageway, has been observed from the air between Grahamshill and Kirkpatrick Fleming and between Newton and Nether Woodhouse, the latter after a possible slight change of alignment NW (AP 106G/SCOT.UK 40, 4.5.46, 3074-6).[21] Between NY 2789 7031 and NY 2572 7158 a hard ridge *c* 5m wide may mark the road (Christison 1891, 230) and a possible *agger* has been observed by RCAHMS at NY 2537 7179.

No evidence can now be seen of the road between Merkland and Birrens involving a crossing of the Kirtle Water,[22] although the road was visible in the 18th and 19th centuries (Roy 1793, 104 and pls XXIV-XXV; Stuart 1845, 123 and 255, pl 1). Earlier this century it was found to be 5.49m wide under a few inches of soil (Codrington 1918, 161) and in 1939 was observed from the air (St Joseph 1952A, 5, pl XXXIV). Two marching camps, the second and smallest of 2.5 ha, overlook the haugh of the Mein Water, along with a fortlet at Broadlea, NY 2178 7481, NY 2199 7466 and NY 2246 7446 (St Joseph 1951, 57f; Robertson 1975, 9 and 227; RCAHMS 1997, 179 and 183, fig 190, nos 1213-1215).[23]

The fort at Birrens (*Blatobulgium),* NY 2180 7513, identified in 1723 by Peter Rae and excavated in 1895, 1936-37 and 1962-67, was part of a Roman complex. A small Flavian fort of 0.53 ha, assumed to be Agricolan, was succeeded by a Hadrianic fort of 1.68 ha and then an Antonine fort of 2.07 ha, destroyed and rebuilt *c* 158. Two triple-ditched enclosures, one inside the other, possibly annexes west of the fort, indicate successive periods of occupation, the earliest suggested as Antonine. Two temporary camps have been identified east and north west of the fort at NY 2245 7502 and NY 216 753. A survey by Manchester University identified the Annandale road for over 75m north west of the site, discovered that the suggested *mansio,* NY 2166 7528, was irregular in plan and established that one of the two construction camps predates both fort and annexe (Macdonald 1923, 72ff; Birley

21 A Roman gold handle with buffer terminals bearing the inscription *HELENVS F(ECIT)* on one terminal and *MB* on the other, was found not far from the road in 1766, *c* 0.5m beneath the surface on Cove estate, NY 266 704 (*Archaeologia* **2**, 1773, 40, pl III/4); north of the road at Raeburnhead Farm, NY 2878 7120, an Alexandrian *ae* of Probus dated 279 AD was found *c* 1955 (DM 1955.96; Robertson 1963, 140).

22 Higher up the Kirtle, a well worn *ae* of Constantius II minted at Thessalonica 355-61 AD, was found 1m below the surface of a modern track one mile north of Springkell House (Robertson 1963, 140). The Roman altar found in 1814 in a small vicinal camp on the banks of the Kirtle near Springkell, probably came from Birrens (*CSIR* 1984, 4, no 5, pl 2; *RIB* 1995, 643, no 2098; RCAHMS 1997, 311, no 1242). The sculpture and two altars discovered at Burnfoot House, NY 2516 7444, were reported as found *c* 1810 in the adjoining fort at Birrens (*CSIR* 1984, 10, no 20; *RIB* 1995, 642ff, nos 2095 and 2104; RCAHMS 1997, 311, no 1240).

23 It has been suggested that the coincidence of marching camp and class II henge at Broadlea, NY 2193 7464, indicates that the Annandale road mirrors henge alignment on the route from the Lower Kirtle Water to the Annan valley (Loveday 1998, 23, figs 2.2 and 2.3).

1938; St Joseph 1951, 57f and 1952A, pl IC; Robertson 1975; Frere and St Joseph 1983, 122f; pl 73 and refs; *TIR* 1987, 8 and refs; *DES* 1996, 31f; *Britannia* **28,** 1997, 410f, fig 8; RCAHMS 1997, 3ff and168ff, figs 8-10, 184ff and 309, nos 1211 and 1212 and refs).[24]

Beyond Birrens the road was observed in the 18th century passing the farm of Land [25] and ascending Middlebie Hill (Roy 1793 pls XXIV and XXV), an observation confirmed from the air by Crawford in June 1939. Two temporary camps, one inside the other, the larger with a *titulus,* have been identified at Middlebie Hill, NY 2098 7647 (RCAHMS 1997, 184 and 309, no 1210 and refs).[26] Beyond Middlebie Hill the road is visible only as eroded terracing on either side of a possible ford at West Gill, NY 201 770 (stretch marked 'Roman' on OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheet XI). Near Burnswark the Roman road is joined at NY 1909 7793 by the unclassified road from Ecclefechan which marks its course.[27] South of the junction there is now no evidence of the Roman road but it was mapped in the 18th century (Roy 1755 sheet 6/13/2) and observed by Crawford in 1924 during drain laying (St Joseph 1952A, 6, pl IC). The Roman road then diverges from the modern road at NY 1881 7816 and curves round the west shoulder of Burnswark Hill (St Joseph 1952A, 6f, pl ID). It is possible there could have been a link from the Annandale road near Burnswark to the mouth of the Annan where temporary camps have been discovered (Appendix Route 1).

Two temporary camps, possibly connected by tracks, occupy north and south slopes of Burnswark Hill, NY 185 790 and NY 188 785, the south camp overlying a fortlet, NY 1891 7867. The site has produced coins of Trajan and Antonine pottery (Miller 1952, 219; Frere and St Joseph 1983, 32ff fig 5 and pl 18, both with refs).[28] Recent fieldwork has contributed significantly to our knowledge of Burnswark, hinting at re-use of a possible Hadrianic or even Flavian site (RCAHMS 1997, 3ff and179ff and figs 180 and 191-4, no 1206 and refs; Maxwell 1998B, 49). While it has become generally accepted that the camps are practice works (Davies 1972; Jobey 1978, 98f), the possibility of a short siege in the second half of the 2nd century cannot be excluded (Birley 1940, 317; Keppie 1989, 67; Maxwell 1998B, 47; Wilson 1998, 20). At Burnswark plantation, the *agger* is well preserved *c* 7.31m wide with side ditches at NY 1859 7826, and 63.98m beyond the plantation, there is a change of alignment NW as the road runs on a direct course to Courstein ridge (St Joseph 1952A, 7, pl ID). At the Gimmenbie Burn, NY 1769 7892, the *agger* was observed for 7.63m in a

24 Coins of the Late Empire have been found at Birrens (Pennant 1790, **2,** 103) but the gold medal of Constantius I is not a genuine loss (Gordon 1726, 18; Macdonald 1918, 218f). The excavations of 1895 produced an *antonianus* of Victorinus, and a bronze of Maxentius previously ascribed to Dockenflat, has been validated as from Birrens (Birley 1938, 340; Robertson 1974, 114). A fairly well worn *denarius* of Severus Alexander and a similarly worn bronze of Constantine I were found in 1946 (Robertson 1963, 134). A possible fragment of an *antonianus* of the Tetrici was found during the last excavations (Robertson 1974, 115).

25 The inscription and pine-cone finials found at Land farmhouse, NY 2516 7444, were probably taken there from Birrens in 1864 (*CSIR* 1984, 12, no 24; *RIB* 1995, 644, no 2101; RCAHMS 1997, 311, no 1241).

26 Before 1726 Gordon saw a Roman altar with inscription built into a house at Middlebie (Gordon 1726, 18; Pennant 1790, **2,** 409; *RIB* 1995, 649, no 2116; RCAHMS 1997, 310, no 1239). It presumably came from Birrens. A *patera* and iron ploughshare 355mm long were also discovered at Middlebie, the latter 2m below the surface (Camden 1806, **4**, 62). Romano-British dress-fasteners and terrets were included in a hoard of bronze objects discovered in Middlebie Moss in 1737 (RCAHMS 1997, 307, no 1095 and ref).

27 This unclassified road differs from the pre-Turnpike south of Relief which ran through Axletree and east of Langdyke and Cowthat to Ecclefechan (Roy 1755 sheet 6/13/2).

28 A Roman inscription, *RIB* 1995, 646, no 2106, is recorded as being found before 1810 near a Roman camp at Burnswark, but may have come from Birrens. A hoard of Roman coins, the latest of Caracalla, was found at Burnswark in 1725 (Robertson 1983, 417).

cutting on the north bank, while on the south bank, side ditches were enlarged by hollow-ways (St Joseph 1952A, 7f, pl IIA). Beyond NY 1743 7911 there is little trace until NY 1701 7954 where the road runs on a shelf *c* 6.71m wide. There is then a slight change of alignment on the edge of a plantation before Courstein where the road ascends to a possible signalling point *c* NY 1665 7996 (Robertson 1947, 12; St Joseph 1952A, 8). Last century a section was taken near this point showing metalling *c* 5.5m wide with a camber of *c* 0.15m but lacking kerbs and side ditches (Macdonald 1894, 309). The road now descends on a terrace, accompanied by another old road, to the Drove ford across the Water of Milk at NY 1596 8085 (St Joseph 1952A, 8f, frontispiece and pl IIB). Uncertainty of course beyond this point led St Joseph to postulate two routes, but since 1952 clearance in Mid Plantation revealed the road clearly heading for the south shoulder of Lockerbiehill and then through Lockerbie (St Joseph 1952A, 9f, pl IID and E; Margary 1973, 457f). The course through Lockerbie is unknown but Bill Cormack has drawn my attention to a Long Tack of 25th April 1773 in the Lockerbie Estate Chartulary (abridgements in Archive Centre, Burns Street, Dumfries). It refers to the Carr Gate which may have been an old road running on a line very close to the assumed Roman course, crossing Bridge Street *c* NY 1388 8168 and heading for Beckton. The straight stretch of unclassified road from Beckton probably marks the Roman line running past the temporary camp at Torwood, discovered in 1764 by George Clerk, to Dryfesdalegate whence it would have made for the fort at Ladyward. RCAHMS has observed another enclosure within the camp of 20.4 ha at Torwood, NY 1220 8198, whose *tituli* are now lost (Roy 1793, pl VII; Macdonald 1894, 310f and 1923, 90ff; St Joseph 1951, 58, 1952A, 10, pl IIIA, 1952C, 101, and 1965, 79; RCAHMS 1997, 5, 169 and 183f, fig 181, and 309, no 1207 and refs). The partially surviving fort of *c* 1.5 ha at Ladyward, NY 113 820, discovered from the air by Marilyn Brown, is situated at a cross-roads. Although unexcavated, air photos have revealed part of the defence system, internal lay-out and possible annexe to the north, of what appears to be a multi-period site (*Britannia* **20,** 1990, 312f; RCAHMS 1997, 169, 172f, 177, fig 188 and 309, no 1208).[29]

(b) Mid Annandale: Ladyward to Milton (St Joseph 1952A, 10ff, pls IIIB-D, IV and VA-C; Margary 1973, 458f, Route 7f; RCAHMS 1997, 310, fig 182, no 1221)

The course of the Annandale road immediately north of Ladyward is unknown but could be marked by the unclassified road and track crossing the Dryfe at Dryfesdalegate and heading in the direction of Broomhills farm.[30] It should be borne in mind, however, that the courses of the Annan and Dryfe near their confluence, were probably different in Roman times. A probable temporary camp has been identified at Applegarthtown in the haughland immediately west of the assumed line at NY 1032 8384 (*Britannia* **28,** 1997, 410; RCAHMS 1997, 184, fig 196, and 309, no 1209). Beyond Broomhills the causeway was observed by Crawford in 1924 approaching the Nethercleugh Burn at NY 1113 8538. It may then be marked by a bank in a plantation on the east slope of Annan Hill. Further north it was seen from the air as a crop mark in June 1939 but observed on the ground only as a slight stony

29 The previously ascribed Roman fortlet at Fairholm, NY 1264 8159, is a native site (St Joseph 1952C, 98ff, fig 9, pl XXXVB and 1976, 6; RCAHMS 1997, 298, no 634).

30 The previously considered Roman site at Gallaberry, NY 1132 8390, is a native fort (RCAHMS 1997, 298, no 632).

ridge aligned on the drive to Jardine Mains Hall, beyond which further traces were also observed (St Joseph 1952A, 11, pl IIIC and D). A section undertaken in advance of construction of the A74M at NY 1076 8785, revealed a lens of whiteish-grey sandy silt 3m wide and 0.1-0.2m thick, possibly the last trace of the road in this area (Terry 1990, 16ff; *DES* 1993, 17). The road then lies under the A74M, the B7076 and the unclassified road marking the pre-Turnpike converted to Turnpike *c* 1780 (Roy 1755 sheet 6/11/1; *OSA* 1793, **8,** 309)**.** It makes for Dinwoodie Lodge, NY 1043 9030, running past the temporary camp at Hangingshaw, NY 097 897 (St Joseph 1969, 108; RCAHMS 1978 *Air Photo Catalogue,* 7 and 1997, 309, no 1202).

The Roman road diverges from the pre-Turnpike and Turnpike at NY 1043 9030, and continues straight along the ridge top making for Watch Hill (Roy 1755 sheet 6/11/1; OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1861 sheet XXIII; APs 541/A/397, 20.5.48, nos 3314-5, 3223 and 3281). Excavations at Dinwoodie Mains Farm, NY 1045 9130, and Dalmakethar Smithy, NY 1040 9050, indicated a need to amend the OS line 15-20m to the east at the former site (Speller 1994). Beyond Watch Hill, a change of alignment NNE is assumed and the *agger* has been observed in a possible cutting before and beyond the Dalmakethar Burn. A further change of alignment NNE is then assumed and a section cut across the road on the crest of Dinwoodie Hill in August 1939, revealed heavy metalling to a width of 4.58m but no trace of kerbs or side ditches (St Joseph 1952A, 12f, fig 1, pl IVB). The road descends Dinwoodie Hill east of the earthwork at NY 1075 9242, no longer regarded as Roman (Crawford 1939 pl IIA; St Joseph 1952A, 14, 1952C, 101ff, pl XXXVIII and 1976, 1; RCAHMS 1920, 6, no 19 and 1997, 298, no 639). RCAHMS have observed on St Joseph's air photos, however, another straight-sided structure with rounded corners straddling the road at *c* NY 107 924, which might conceivably be Roman. The *agger* is again discernible at NY 1088 9259, before the road descends to rejoin the Turnpike along Scarhead Bank at NY 1095 9272 (St Joseph 1952A, 13ff, pl IVC). Once past the significant loop in the Annan, the road realigns slightly NNW and passes the standing stone north of Gateside (RCAHMS 1920, 212, no 627). The road is laid in straight stretches with further slight realignment at Newton and the crossing of the Wamphray Water. Where there is a sharp kink as the unclassified road crosses the railway at Willows Burn, it is assumed the Roman road continued in a straight line, as did the pre-Turnpike (St Joseph 1952A, 16). There is now no evidence on the ground but metalling is observable on the west side of the railway on air photos (APs 541/A/397, 20.5.48, nos 4371-2). RCAHMS has observed quarry pits and side ditches from NY 111 960-NY111 968 (*Britannia* **19**, 1988, 430f). A slight change of alignment NNW is assumed at Broomhills leading to what has been traditionally regarded as a crossing of the Annan at NY 1093 9711 (Roy 1793, 104, pl I). The large Roman camp reported south of the crossing at Darnholmshaw Knowe is now lost (Roy 1755 sheet 6/11/1; Maitland 1757, **1**, 193).

There is uncertainty as to the precise location of the crossing and several alternatives have been proposed, opposite Girthhead, the present railway crossing and between Newbigging and Nether Murthat (Robertson 1947, 13). A crossing even further north has been suggested following the discovery of a line of small quarry pits on the east bank at Poldean similar to those south of Broomhills, NY 1073 9935-NY 1065 9959 (*Britannia* **19,** 1988, 430f; RCAHMS 1997 310, no 1222). The stretch of road at Poldean appears, however, to be out of line with the general direction of the Annandale road heading down Coats

Hill to Milton and the traditional crossing appears in better alignment. There is little evidence of the road on the west bank south of Milton, though traces of a causeway were reported by Crawford in 1924 and observed by St Joseph at Nether Murthat, NY 1013 9837-NY 1000 9876 (OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1861, sheet XXIV; St Joseph 1952A, 16, pl VA; Margary 1973, 458). More recently at Cogrie, NY 1091 9711, traces of a 3m wide causeway were exposed in the river bed *c* 8m downstream from the railway viaduct, projecting 4m from the northern bank and consisting of dressed sandstone blocks with grooves or drains at each side (*DES* 1997, 25). These could be a feature associated with the viaduct construction or they might conceivably have been part of a paved ford with a watersplash element such as does occur on Roman roads (Margary 1965, 159). If the railway and the Roman crossing coincide, then it is to be expected that a significant stretch of the road may have been destroyed by the railway. It is conceivable the quarry pits observed at Poldean could represent a link road from Annandale to Moffatdale and beyond (Route 8).

Excavations were conducted at Milton, NT 0924 0142, between 1938 and 1960 by John Clarke who discovered two successive forts of Agricolan and post-Agricolan date, the second with a south annexe. Aerial photography has added to our knowledge. Recently a double ditched annexe has been discovered on the east side of the northern defences of the Agricolan fort, but the suggested fortlet contained within the Flavian forts is native (RCAHMS 1997, 300, no 718). The fortlet in the Middle Field at NT 0920 0118, showed two Antonine periods; a small marching camp with *tituli* has been discovered to the south at NT 0925 0099 (Clarke 1947, 1948, 1949, 1951 and 1952A; St Joseph 1951, 58 and 1955, 85; RCAHMS 1997, 4ff and169ff, fig 187, no 1196 and refs).[31] Another camp may await discovery in the eastern half of the forts. In 1960 John Clarke invited me to join in what was an unsuccessful search for the assumed pre-Agricolan 'oblique' ditch. The possibility of Cerialan occupation at this site, however, cannot be excluded (RCAHMS 1997, 171). There is uncertainty as to whether the road issuing north from the fort is the main road or simply a service road leading to the Annandale road which may have by-passed the fort to the east. Beyond Milton a stony track becomes a clearly defined *agger* from *c* NT 0903 0183 (St Joseph 1952A, 16f, pl VC).

(c) Upper Annandale to Upper Clydesdale: Milton to Redshaw Burn (St Joseph 1952A, 16ff, pls VD-E, VI, VIII and IXA; Margary 1973, 459f, Route 7f; RCAHMS 1997, 310, fig 182, no 1221)

The Evan Water is crossed at the Johnstone Ford, NT 0874 0243. At least five temporary camps have been discovered near the crossing. One camp of *c* 17.26 ha to 23 ha or more, with Stracathro-type gateways probably of Agricolan date, was found in 1977 south west of the crossing at Bankend, NT 084 020; Guard established a single period of occupation (*Britannia* **9,** 1978, 418f; Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 30f, fig 9; *DES* 1994, 12; *Britannia*

31 Recently found at Milton, NT 0937 0134, is a bronze figurine of probable Roman date (Green, Cowie and Lockwood 1985, 43ff; RCAHMS 1997, 310, no 1227) and a number of Roman Republican and early Imperial coins (Bateson and Holmes 1998, 530 and 554).

26, 1995, 337; RCAHMS 1997, 24f, fig 17, and 309, no 1197). At Barnhill on the north side of the crossing, another camp of *c* 11 ha at NT 085 025, was predated by a fortlet at NT 085 028, both suggested as late 1st century AD; east of these at NT 0880 0270, was a camp of *c* 23 ha possibly subsequently reduced (St Joseph 1977, 133; *Britannia* **16,** 1985, 267; Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 21, 25 and 30f, fig 9; Neighbour, Armit, Finlayson and Ralston 1994, 7ff, fig 1; RCAHMS 1997, 58, 177f, 183f, figs 53 and 195, and 309, nos 1195, 1198 and 1199 and refs). The fortlet at Barnhill is situated close to Milton but its strategic position at the Evan crossing may guard a junction of the Annandale road with a road up Moffatdale.

Across the Evan Water the course of the Annandale road was mapped last century (OS 6" map of Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1861, sheets IX and XVI). It has been identified as a stony ridge east of Lochhouse Tower, NT 0835 0325, though a section taken subsequently by the CFA at NT 084 035, failed to discover it (St Joseph 1952A, 17f, pl VD; *DES* 1991, 14). A straight course is assumed from Johnstone Ford but a change of alignment NNW is implied in a stony ridge on the ascent to Coats Hill at NT 0783 0432. Sections cut in this area last century revealed paving and widths up to 4.58 ha (Christison 1891, 230; Macdonald 1894, 315). A further section taken at NT 074 051 on Moffat Golf Course in 1996 revealed a single layer of small to medium stones in a loam and clay matrix up to 7cm deep (*DES* 1997, 25). In 1974 RCAHMS identified a possible signal station on Coats Hill, NT 0743 0482, oval in plan, measuring 16.4m by 14.2m, surrounded by a narrow shallow ditch and a slight earth and stone bank. Confirmation by excavation is awaited but the site is visible from both White Type, which it resembles, and the Johnstone Ford.

Near the north end of Chapel Plantation the road is carried in a cutting 54.84m long and 6.09m wide and *c* NT 0740 0513, the *agger* measured 6.4m wide with a camber of *c* 0.46m. Its course is then obscured by an unclassified road at NT 0727 0535 but north of Chapel Hill cottage, the course is clear running past Hillhouse plantation at NT 0701 0587 where it measured 7.31m wide with a camber of 0.61m and western side ditch (St Joseph 1952A, 19, pl VE). A section cut across the road on Chapel Hill in 1893 revealed a width of 6.41m with a layer of small stones 0.30m deep, laid on a layer of large stones 0.28m deep, mixed with sand and resting on a bed of clay (Macdonald 1894, 314f). For recent work in this area see *DES* 1998, 28. Quarry pits occur west of the road at NT 068 082 and again in a series on Black Rig where the road changes alignment 18° NNW aiming for Ericstane Hill (St Joseph 1952A, 20, pl VIIIA). A section taken by the CFA in 1990 at Yoke Knowes on Muckle Hill, NT 0623 0783, revealed further quarry pits (*DES* 1991, 14). Over Muckle Hill the road can be traced by change of colour in vegetation. A section taken across the road, presumably at NT 0622 0822, not 0123 0376 as reported, revealed a layer of tightly packed small stones in brown sandy loam and clay on top of a course of large stones; the latter were set in a layer of grey sandy clay with a further two layers of clay beneath, laid on solid rock (Yates 1983, 95ff). At this point the road is preserved within a forestry plantation.

The road then descends to a possible bridge crossing over Holehouse Linn and north of the crossing, a partial section cut in 1939 revealed sandstone blocks packed to a width of 5.49m (St Joseph 1952A, 21, pl VIIIB). Another section cut in 1945 at NT 061 088 revealed a width of 12.81m. A central cambered carriageway of 3.66m was flanked on the east with a paved surface *c* 5.49m wide and possible side ditch; it was flanked on the west with a paved surface of local greywacke rubble of similar width, laid on greyish blue silty

clay 0.61m thick resting on the natural rock (Robertson 1947, 14). Quarry pits continue to be seen and small cuttings to ease the course over uneven ground (Crawford 1939, 283, pl IIIA; St Joseph 1952A, 21f, pls VI and VIIIB; Margary 1973, 459). On Gilbert's Rig there is a realignment of 4° N (St Joseph 1952A, 22, pl VIIIB), whence the road runs through moorland on Archie's Hill to Auldhouse Bridge where cuttings have been observed (St Joseph 1952 A, 22f, pl VIIIC).[32]

The Annandale road then crosses and recrosses the A701, assuming a more sinuous course for the next five miles as it climbs Ericstane Height, accompanied at times by medieval, pre-18th, 18th and 19th century roads (Inglis 1924, 213ff).[33] At White Type, NT 0557 1192, *c* 50m from the road as it swings WNW, a Roman signal station was observed in 1939 (Crawford 1939, 282; St Joseph 1952A, 23f, pls VII and VIIID; Maxwell 1976, 36ff, figs 1 and 3; RCAHMS 1997, 173, fig 185, and 309, no 1200). The site is within view of Redshaw Burn to the north and provides a commanding view down Annandale. The Roman road follows a winding course approaching Annanhead Moss where it is joined by later roads; it runs in a straight stretch before swinging north to cross the Hassockwell Burn at NT 0491 1249 (St Joseph 1952A, 24, pls VII and VIIID). After being lost it reappears with quarry pits to the south, ascending Divoty Knowes. On the summit, NT 0480 1292, the road resumes its NW course accompanied by a hollow-way. It now descends to the March Burn where embankments suggest a possible bridge crossing. The road then turns west to cross Rowantree Grains at NT 0412 1386. At NT 035 138 the CFA conducted excavations in 1990 where Roman, medieval and 18th century roads converge and obtained evidence of the medieval road (*DES* 1991, 65). Erosion has worn down the road which has been improved and resurfaced more recently. The *agger* is again visible accompanied by an 18th century road, approaching the fortlet at Redshaw Burn, NT 0300 1398 (St. Joseph 1952A, 25, pl IXA). The fortlet was discovered in 1939 and is situated 560m south east of the summit of Errickstane Hill, with a commanding view down the Evan valley. The fortlet of 0.3 ha is probably Antonine with an annexe subsequently added on the east to serve possibly as a waggon park (Crawford 1939, 281f, pl IIB; RCAHMS 1978, 134f, no 259; *TIR* 1987, 65 and refs). On the course of the road beyond Redshaw Burn see Wilson 1996, 2ff and on the possibility of a Roman road linking Upper Annandale and Upper Tweeddale see Appendix Route 2.

32 The postulated signal stations at Gilbert's Rig, NT 0602 0993, and Bushel Beck, NT 0611 0807, are not Roman (Crawford 1939, 281, pl IIIA; St Joseph 1976, 1).

33 It has been suggested that a rare open-work gold crossbow brooch found in 1787 at Ericstane Brae, celebrating the *vicennalia* of Diocletian on 20th November 303, could have been lost by a Roman officer travelling on the Annandale road in the early 4th century, possibly during the northern campaign of Constantius I in 306 (Curle 1932, 370f, fig 4, no 32; Hassall 1970, 107; *RIB* 1991, 10, no 2421.43; RCAHMS 1997, 310 no 1228).

3 NITHSDALE: Wardlaw to Drumlanrig and Beyond

(a) Lower Nithsdale: Wardlaw to Drumlanrig (St Joseph 1952B, 44ff; Margary 1973, 466, Route 77)

Earlier antiquaries referred to a Roman road up Nithsdale from Annandale (Gordon 1726, 18 and map; Maitland 1757, **1,** 193; Camden 1789, **3,** 324; Roy 1793, 104f). There was awareness, however, of a possible Roman site at Wardlaw (Camden 1789, **3,** 325; Pennant 1790, **2,** 108; *OSA* 1793, **6,** 31) but it is unclear whether a road or a line of march was envisaged to the north (Chalmers 1807, 105; Stuart 1845, 60). Late Victorian scepticism questioned its existence (Macdonald 1894, 316) but following investigation by Crawford, St Joseph and RCAHMS, further sites were discovered in Lower Nithsdale confirming the existence of a road whose course is much less certain than that in Annandale. There are two Roman sites at the mouth of the Nith, at Wardlaw, NY 0240 6687 and Lantonside, NY 0107 6611. The former of 2.96 ha is now regarded as semi-permanent with an annexe possibly linked to the native fort immediately to the south at NY 021 666, where there may have been a signal station; the latter site is a fortlet with an annexe and may be part of an Antonine series (*OSA* 1793, **6,** 31; Crawford 1939, 284, pl IVA; Birley and Richmond 1942, 156f; Truckell 1950, 203f; St Joseph 1951, 58 and 1952D, 117ff, fig 10; *Britannia* **9,** 1978, 419 and **16,** 1985, 267; Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 23f, fig 6, pls VIB and IXB). The possibility of a Roman harbour has been postulated at Caerlaverock (Miller 1952, 198; St Joseph 1952D, 120) and a specific site suggested (Simpson 1953, 123f). St Joseph observed a road 9.15m wide leaving the east gate at Wardlaw which may have run along the ridge to Bankend Hill, NY 025 680.

A Roman road would have run on the high ground between the Nith on the west and Lochar Moss on the east which would have been much more formidable in Roman times than today.[34] Three possible routes may be considered in the search for the Roman road. The first may be indicated by field boundaries and stretches of old road running directly from Wardlaw through Muirpark and Upper Conheath to west of Trohoughton (OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1861, sheet LV; APs F2258/RAF/4736, 13.10.47, 0024, 0025 and 0037). The second is the unclassified road leading to Trohoughton where early Christian burials were found within the fort at NX 9963 7269 and traces of a much ploughed out road were discovered on a possible Roman line at NY 998 727 (AP 106G/SCOT/UK 145, 12.7.46, 3138; *DES* 1960, 27; Simpson and Scott-Elliot 1964).[35] The third runs further east through Kelwood to Craigs Farm (AP same sortie, 3140).[36] North of Trohoughton a possible Roman temporary camp has been observed in crop marks at Lochbank, NX 9960 7355 (St Joseph 1976, 7). A Roman road with the forts at Carzield or Dalswinton as its objective would have passed through the environs of Dumfries where Roman finds have been discovered (Wilson 1989, 14, fn 67).[37]

34 Roman finds from the Moss include a silver coin of Fufius Catenus struck in 82 BC, part of a hoard of silver coins found in the Sike (Jardine 1867, 13 and 18), a bronze cup with dancing *bacchantes* and an onyx *intaglio* of Mars Gezwidus, both found 2.75m deep in the moss as was a bronze torc incorporating melon beads (*Archaeologia* **34,** 1852, 83ff, pl XI), a *modius* of mixed metal found *c* 1.5m below the surface at Tinwald (*OSA* 1791, **1,** 160) and presumably the gold coin of Trajan found in good condition (Macdonald 1918, 242).

35 A Celtic head was discovered on Rose Hill in 1977 (Dodds 1978, 182f) and a Roman sandal may also have been discovered at Trohoughton (*OSA* 1793, **5,** 142).

36 This route passes by Bailie Knowe Mote, NY 0154 7048, where iron cauldron chains of the Great Chesterford type probably datable to the 3rd or 4th century AD, have been discovered (Close-Brooks 1986, 69ff).

37 Additional discoveries include an *as* of Domitian minted at Rome, found at the garden of 138 Annan Road (DM 1982.54; Bateson and Holmes 1998, 532).

A clue to the course of the Roman road north of Dumfries may be provided by the pre-Turnpike linking the forts at Carzield and Dalswinton, little of which now survives (Roy 1755 sheet 5/12/2). The pre-Turnpike ran east past the Roman signal station at Carnsalloch, NX 9753 8018 (St Joseph 1951, 57) and then divided, the eastern route making for Dalswinton village and the western route to Carzield.[38] The Antonine cavalry fort of 2.95 ha at Carzield, NX968 818, had an east annexe, NX 9697 8194, and bath-house discovered in 1956 (Birley and Richmond 1942; Truckell 1955; *DES* 1956, 14).[39] The pre-Turnpike, now lost, continued past the temporary camp of 0.7ha at Gallaberry, NX 9636 8272 (Crawford 1939, 285, pl VA; St Joseph 1952D, 120f, figs 11 and 12, pl XLI),[40] and then curved NW following the Nith before realigning on a straight course to the fort at Bankhead, Dalswinton, NX 9331 8485. Two short straight stretches of this road survive on higher ground above the flood plain near the fort and could mark the Roman line. There is a complex of Roman structures at Dalswinton. A two period Flavian fort of *c* 8.7 ha at Bankfoot, NX 933 841, may have accommodated a legionary vexillation. The possibility of Cerialan occupation at this site cannot be excluded (RCAHMS 1997, 171). This was succeeded by another two period Flavian fort at Bankhead, the first of 3.48 ha and the second 4.16 ha, both with annexes. At Bankfoot, NX 9357 8397, a marching camp of 25.2 ha with external *claviculae* and two possible annexes, overlaps another camp of *c* 3 ha with Stracathro-type gates. At Butterhole Brae there is a probable fortlet at NX 9364 8447 and a possible signal station at NX 9380 8434. Across the Nith at Ellisland, NX 9285 8420, there are two small camps, one of 0.33 ha lying within the corner of another of 0.78 ha, and another possible camp observed by RCAHMS north east of Portrack House, NX 9412 8317 (St Joseph 1951, 58f, pl VI, 1955, 85f, 1958, 89 and 93, 1961, 122, 1965, 79, 1973, 217, 1976, 7ff, fig 1 and pl 1 and 1977, 132; Richmond and St Joseph 1957; Frere and St Joseph 1983, 123ff, fig 14, pl 74; Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 27, 30, pl VIIB; Maxwell 1989, 69 and fig 4.1 and 1998A, 14ff).

North of Dalswinton, the pre-Turnpike continued in a straight line and north of Brandyburn was joined by the pre-Turnpike from Dalswinton village (Taylor and Skinner 1776, pl 40/3). South of Auldgirth the railway led to deviation from the pre-Turnpike line and north of Auldgirth the A76 follows the earlier line only to the Claughrie Burn, NX 908 875. The A76 follows the Turnpike built in 1793 (*OSA* 1794, **10,** 156 and **13,** 247), but the pre-Turnpike followed a different course ascending the ridge above the Nith flood plain. A small section of straight road survives on the ridge but its subsequent course has been destroyed by the railway. It appears to have run towards the single period Antonine fortlet with possible annexe at Barburgh Mill, NX 9021 8844 (St Joseph 1952D, 123; Breeze 1974; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 22, 72f, 145 and 148; Wilson 1984, 55).[41]

Beyond Barburgh Mill it has been suggested the Turnpike road, now the A76, may mark the Roman line (St Joseph 1952B, 49). Fieldwork discussed with St Joseph suggests the pre-Turnpike may be a more likely line running in straight lengths involving substantial

38 A possible small circular Roman brooch was discovered recently in the glebe field of Kirkton church, NX 974 815 (DM 1990.57.1).

39 Near the pre-Turnpike road, a bronze coin of Valentinian was found in a mole hill on Whitehill farm, NX 9813 8092 (Macdonald 1934, 31).

40 A much worn *as* of Vespasian was found near the camp (Robertson 1983, 407).

41 A much worn corroded *ae* of Marcus, originally reported from Auldgirth, was actually found in 1950, according to museum records, opposite the fortlet at Barburgh Mill (Robertson 1963, 140; DM 1951.40).

cutting along the ridge immediately above the Nith through Dinning, Liftingstane, Shawsmuir and Rosehill (Roy 1755 sheet 5/11/2; Taylor and Skinner 1776, pl 40/3; OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1861, sheet XL; APs 541/A/549, 12.6.50, 3169-70). It has been suggested that as the Turnpike road builders rationalized existing roads, so the Romans may have rationalized prehistoric trackways straightening these out where relevant, not least on ridges (Loveday 1998, 23ff). The use of contoured ridge routes may be noted on Dere Street between the camps at Chew Green and Pennymuir (Margary 1973, 484f). Perhaps this may account for the contoured stretches linking the straight lengths between Steepends and Templand where a standing stone is located close to the road. The antiquity of this road is further indicated by the motte and bailey castle at Dinning, NX 8917 9012 (RCAHMS 1920, 33f, no 65, fig 31). To the south of Dinning, Gordon Maxwell informs me that small quarry pits may have been observed from the air.[42]

North of Templand the unclassified road follows a winding course that is not Roman. Photographic evidence suggests, however, that the straight stretch of road may have continued northwards towards Thornhill on the same alignment (AP 541/A/549, 12.6.50, no 3170).[43] This projected stretch of road runs past the standing stone at Templand Mains, the only survivor of a circle at NX 8771 9396 (RCAHMS 1920, 36, no 81), and crosses the Cample Water by the homestead, previously considered as a possible Roman signal station, at NX 8767 9480 (St Joseph 1951, 59; *DES* 1964, 27).[44] North of the Cample Water this projected course aligns with the straight stretch of the B731 and might conceivably mark the Roman line to Carronbridge.[45] Such a course north of Thornhill may be supported by aerial photographic evidence suggesting the Roman road south from Carronbridge ran on a direct line immediately west of the A76 (AP 541/A/549, 12.6.50, 3133). This would also accord with the line of the cobbled road discovered during excavation at Carronbridge, running past the temporary camp, enclosure B with *tituli*, at NX 8687 9779 (Clarke and Webster 1955; Johnston 1994, 235, 255ff, 279, 286ff, ill 3). A linear crop mark observed by RCAHMS in 1975 at Carronhill, NX 874 981, might possibly be part of another camp.

After crossing the Carron, the Roman road would probably have crossed the Nith at the Castlebank ford, NX 864 983, perhaps along the pre-Turnpike estate road at Poets Corner leading to Drumlanrig, though there appears to be two parallel tracks north of the estate road on an aerial photograph (OS 6" map Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1861, sheet XXII; AP 541/A/549, 12.6.50, 1134). The Roman fort of 1.5 ha at Drumlanrig is probably Flavian in origin, judging from the parrot's beak terminal in the ditch system, but the observable road system may be Antonine. Two small temporary camps have been discovered by RCAHMS south of the fort at NX 857 988 and NX 856 988 and another camp of 6.24 ha across the Nith at Islafoot, NX 859 991 (Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 19f, 22, fig 5 and pl VA; *Britannia* **16,** 1985, 267 and **29,** 1998, 380). It is possible a road may have run south west from the fort at Drumlanrig to the fortlet at Kirkland and beyond (Appendix Route 3).

42 Not far from the road at Berscar, NX 897 893, an early Roman *fibula* was recently found (DM 1990.49.1; Collingwood and Richmond 1969, 287, fig 102).

43 Early Christian crosses have been found at Closeburn and Thornhill (Collingwood 1926, 57f).

44 A coin of Constantius II was found in a rabbit scrape at this site (Robertson 1974, 121).

45 The *denarius* of Antoninus Pius reported as from Carronbridge (Robertson 1952, 139; Wilson 1996, 9), was an *ae* found in digging foundations for army huts one mile north of Carronbridge on the west side of the A76 (Clarke and Webster 1955, 9; Robertson 1963, 134).

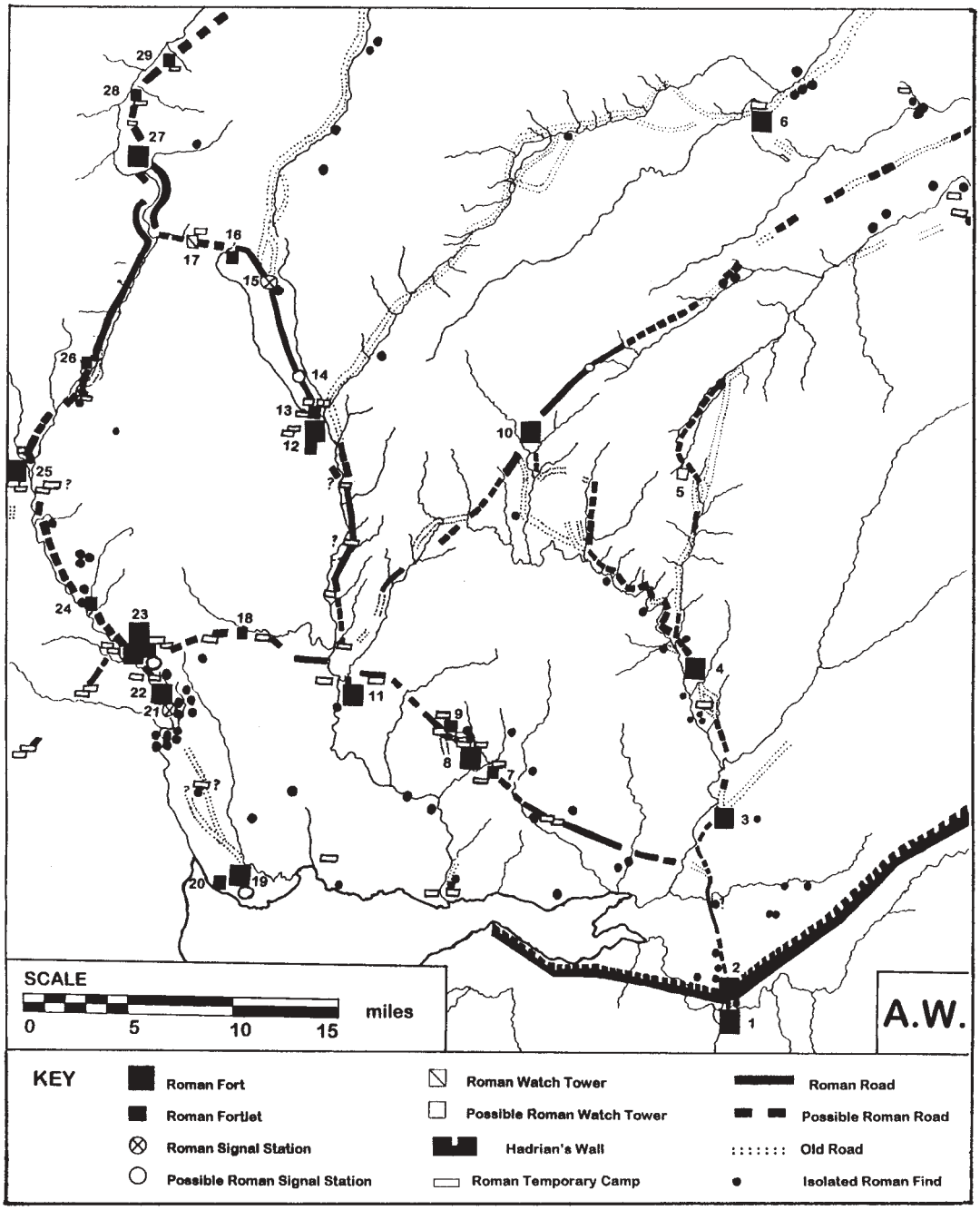

Fig. 1 Roman Penetration East of the Nith. Permanent Roman Sites are numbered as follows:
1. Carlisle, 2. Stanwix, 3. Netherby, 4. Broomholm, 5. Ewes Doors, 6. Oakwood, 7. Broadlea, 8. Birrens, 9. Burnswark, 10. Raeburnfoot, 11. Ladyward, 12. Milton, 13. Barnhill, 14. Coats Hill, 15. White Type, 16. Redshaw Burn, 17. Beattock Summit, 18. Murder Loch, 19. Wardlaw, 20. Lantonside, 21. Carnshalloch, 22. Carzield, 23. Dalswinton, 24. Barburgh Mill, 25. Drumlanrig, 26. Durisdeer, 27. Crawford, 28. Wandel, 29. Lamington.

(b) Upper Nithsdale: Drumlanrig and Beyond

For a recent assessment see Wilson 1996, 10ff.

B *LATERAL ROUTES*

4 EWESDALE TO TEVIOTDALE: Langholm to Hawick and Beyond (RCAHMS 1997, 310, no 1226)

Earlier antiquaries suggested the Roman road along lower Eskdale (Route 1), may have run to Hawick in Teviotdale and thence to Dere Street at Bonjedburgh or closer to the Eildon Hills (Roy 1793, 105; Stuart 1845, 259). The section between the Eweslees Burn and Teviothead has been subject to close examination by RCAHMS. There are stretches of old road along the east bank of the Ewes north of Langholm through Footsburn and Terrona and another across the Arkleton Burn heading for a crossing of the Ewes at Sandyhaugh, but there is no evidence of a continuous road (OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheet XXXVI). The time-honoured route up Ewesdale is along the west bank. The Turnpike, opened in 1765 (*OSA* 1795, **14,** 466), crossed from the east to the west bank below Whitshiels Knowe, its course now marked by the A7 (Taylor and Skinner 1776, pl 4/3). The pre-Turnpike, however, crossed the Ewes further south at Erkinholm and then climbed to higher ground on Wattie's Bank past the early settlement at NY 3650 8564 (RCAHMS 1997, 304, no 945). It ran on a direct course which ground survey suggests might just possibly be Roman (Roy 1755 sheet 7/11/1; OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheet XLV). Along Castle Hill, the earlier road ran on a higher line above the Turnpike. Aerial photographs suggest the two roads coalesced below Potholm Hill opposite Terrona (AP CPE/SCOT/UK 282, 27.8.47, 3076). Recent A7 upgrading obscures the course of earlier roads through Wrae, Sorbie and Brierley Bank. There has been significant road widening at the Meikledale Burn.[46]

Beyond Meikledale the A7 follows the pre-Turnpike and Turnpike roads past the standing stone at NY 3761 9273 (RCAHMS 1981, 9, no 23), to Stibbiegill Knowe and Fiddleton, a direct stretch of road consistent with Roman design (Roy 1755 sheet 7/10/1; Taylor and Skinner 1776, pl 4/2). Beyond Fiddleton there is a complex of old roads running on different lines. The A7 follows a different course to the pre-Turnpike which crossed the Eweslees Burn north of Burnfoot and then headed up the Mosspaul Burn (Roy *o c*). An old road excavated on the east bank at Burnfoot, NY 390 963, only *c* 3.66m wide with a layer of stone and soil *c* 0.46m thick and no kerbs, might conceivably mark the pre-Turnpike, though another old road was also observed on a higher level (Bellhouse 1960, 164). The present A7 continues north of Fiddleton on the west bank and crosses the Eweslees Burn south of Eweslees Farm. This may mark the line of the Turnpike (Taylor and Skinner 1776, *o c;* OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheet XXVII). There were another two old roads, however, which can be detected on aerial photographs, which did not follow the Mosspaul Burn but continued along the Eweslees Burn to Ewes Doors. The first road can be detected

46 I have been unable to locate the possible square-shaped marching camps reported at Arkleton and Meikledale (Douglas 1952, 31), unless the latter is the settlement at NY 3854 9680 (RCAHMS 1997, 304, no 957).

on the ground as a slight terrace continuing the line of the A7 on the west bank of the Eweslees Burn below Frodaw Height at NY 386 975, crossing the burn at *c* NY 380 982 and proceeding to Ewes Doors. The enclosure beside the road at NY 3855 9745, may be an early plantation. The second road appears to have followed the line of the pre-Turnpike along the east bank of the Ewesless Burn but then ran on the line of the road to Eweslees Farm and continued beyond (APs 541/A/440, 30.7.48, 3214, 541/A 526, 13.5.50, 3246 and 4246 and particularly OS/71/356, 013.7.71, 019). Either of these two roads might mark a Roman line to Ewes Doors.

Clues to a Roman line can sometimes be provided by early drove routes. Commonside Moor, west of Hawick, was a regular assembly point for drovers and three routes were used for passage to England. The first crossed the Teviot at Northhouse and ran to the Liddel, the route used by Sir Walter Scott's *Two Drovers* (RCAHMS 1956, **2,** 448, no 1017). The second ran through Linhope and Mosspaul (RCAHMS 1956, **2,** 448, no 1018). The third followed the Teviot from Commonside and the Wrangway and Eweslees Burns through Ewes Doors to the Ewes (Hardie 1942, 49f; Haldane 1952, 157). The third route may mark the Roman line. Aerial photographs suggest the existence of a carefully engineered metalled road laid out in straight stretches. Across the Eweslees Burn it climbs as a low metalled *agger* accompanied by hollow-ways on a distinctive terrace on the south slopes of Ewenshope Fell to Ewes Doors where a probable Roman watch tower has been discovered at NY 3725 9860 (APs 541/A/440, 30.7.48, 3124-7, 541/A/526, 13.6.50, 4248 and particularly OS/71/356, 13.7.71, 019 and 020; RCAHMS 1956, **1,** 448f, no 1020, 1981, 8, no 7 and 1997, 309, no 1220; *Britannia* **28,** 1997, 410). A causeway may be observed issuing from the north side of the watch tower, suggesting a link to the possible Roman road 25m to the east.

Aerial photographs taken recently by RCAHMS clearly show a sequence of old tracks issuing through the notch at Ewes Doors and making across the Wrangway Burn to the Merrypath Rig, Wisp and the Caerlan Rig, in places accompanied by hollow-ways on a terrace up to 6.1m wide (OS 6" map, Roxburghshire, 1st ed, 1863 sheet XXXVII; APs 541/A/440, 30.7.48, 3257-9 and D 20, 129-137, 10.9.97). This line may well mark a Roman course climbing the Caerlan Rig where the present well designed and engineered ridge road laid out in straight stretches, is consistent with Roman design. It runs through the earthwork damaged by quarrying at NT 3860 0316, and past the mutilated Watch Knowe ridge fort and settlement at Caerlanrig, NT 3987 0490 (RCAHMS 1956, **2,** 441, no 992 and 445, no 1004). The terrain on the ridge is reminiscent of sites chosen by the Romans and a post might be expected near Caerlanrig.[47]

A Roman road along the Caerlan Rig would imply a further course along Teviotdale possibly along the south bank. No evidence has been discovered so far of a road running continuously along the south bank although there are small isolated stretches. The pre-Turnpike crossed the Teviot near Teviothead (Roy 1755 sheet 7/9/2), while the Turnpike, like the A7, crossed at Northhouse (Stobie 1776; Taylor and Skinner 1776, *o c*). Both roads then recrossed the Teviot at Branxholme Bridge. It is open to question whether a Roman road would have crossed and recrossed the Teviot in this way. It is possible the A7 could

47 The discovery of 'Roman' urns there is questionable (*OSA* 1796, 92), but there is no doubt about the discovery of an *aureus* of Vespasian in 1856 in the garden of the farm cottages, NT 401 048, though there is a query on the report of a second *aureus* of Domitian (*Kelso Mail*, 4/8/1856; *THAS* 1902, 7 and 1945, 25; Macdonald 1939, 242).

mark the Roman line to Northhouse whence a Roman road might have climbed to higher ground away from the Teviot along Broadhaugh Hill in the direction of Whitchesters where an old road does run parallel to the river. A Roman road might well have approached Hawick on the high ground along Crumhaugh Hill and the Loan, past the 12th century motte, NT 4994 1407 (RCAHMS 1956, **1,** 135 no 233). It could then have entered Hawick through the Howgate leading to the High Street which could mark a Roman line through the town (Taylor and Skinner 1776, *o c*; OS 6" map, Roxburghshire, 1st ed, 1863, sheet XXV; APs 106G/UK/444, 24.6.45, 4165). Roy speculated there might be a Roman post at Hawick near the motte on the west side of the confluence of Teviot and Slitrig, though he actually mapped it on the east (Roy 1793, 118, pl I). In Lothian Street there is a small plateau with excellent views in all directions, not overlooked on any, an elevation of distinctive appeal to the Romans. An alternative location to Hawick for a Roman site has been suggested further east on high ground in the Denholm/Cavers area (Keppie 1993, 6). A Roman road east of Hawick is likely to have followed the Teviot as suggested by Roy but he does refer to the Eildons as a destination which raises the question of a branch road running from Hawick to the fort at Newstead (Appendix Route 4).

It is likely that the Teviotdale road would have continued in the same alignment along the south bank of the river. It is possible the A698 running immediately east from Hawick, Weensland Road, could mark a Roman line, but east of its junction with the A6088, the line is unconvincing and a Roman road may have run on higher ground through Cavers. There can be no doubt as to Roman penetration along this part of Teviotdale. This is indicated by a temporary camp of 11.2 ha near the A698 at Denholm, NT 543 177 (St Joseph 1961, 122 and 1965, 78) and another camp of *c* 15 ha on higher ground at Cavers Mains, NT 548 167 (Turnbull 1938, 64; St Joseph 1965, 78 and 1969, 107). It is likely that a Roman road along Teviotdale would have crossed Dere Street and the Jed in the vicinity of Bonjedburgh as has been suggested (Roy 1793, 106) and possibly continued along the Teviot to its confluence with the Tweed in the environs of Kelso where it would have joined the Roman road from Newstead to Berwick. While temporary camps indicate Roman penetration east of Hawick there is at present no structural evidence for the road but there is what may be a significant scatter of Roman finds along the suggested route.[48]

48 A bronze late 2nd century AD swastika brooch of a type common in the Rhineland, was found in 1930 at Denholm Hill Farm, NT 568 164 (Curle 1932, 335 and 365, no 19 and fig 35). Thirty five glass beads, some of which may have been Romano-British, were found along with an iron axe and lead counter at Cavers, Denholm (HM B1951. 1197, 1198 and 1210). A *denarius* of Vespasian dated 72-73 AD has been found at Lanton and *denarii* of the Roman Republic dated 88 and 32-31 BC were found in 1994 and 1995 at Timpendean (Bateson and Holmes 1998, 530ff). A Greek bronze coin of Ptolemy VI Philometer dated *c* 181-45 BC, was found *c* 1953 in a newly ploughed field at Timpendean Castle near a 'Roman camp at Monklaw', NT 635 226 (Robertson 1963, 149). Across the Teviot from Denholm, a Romano-British sculpture was found at Minto churchyard in 1983 and it is recorded that Roman antiquities including *amphora* fragments were also found on Minto Estate (RSA 629; Keppie 1993, 7, fig 7). South of the Teviot an *as* of Trajan or Hadrian has been found at Bedrule and a *denarius* of Augustus minted at Lyon 7-6 BC, west of Fulton Tower, NT 6055 1585 (RCAHMS 1957, **1**, 62, no 29; Bateson and Holmes 1998, 531f and 554). East of Dere Street, a number of Roman finds have been discovered along the south side of the Teviot. A bronze *patera* of possible late 1st century AD date, was found in cutting drains in 1849 at Crailing Palace Farm, NT 679 243 (Curle 1932, 365 no 23). At Eckford, a *sestertius* of Faustina was found in peat at Mosstower sometime before 1793, NT 7135 2645 (*OSA* 1793, **8,** 34; Macdonald 1918, 239f) and at Toddle Rigs, Easter Wooden Farm, in a possible dried up loch, a hoard of Romano-British metalwork was found in 1883, NT 7376 2671 (Piggott 1955, 2ff). There have been many Roman finds at Kelso (RSA Borders) including a number found at Springwood Park, NT 721 334, where a Roman post might be expected at a road junction near the confluence of Teviot and Tweed; these include over two hundred coins dating from the 1st to the 4th centuries AD, glass bangles, brooches, etc (Keppie 1993, 9; *Britannia* **26,** 1997, 412; Bateson and Holmes 1998, 534 and 554).

Three altars found at Jedburgh Abbey could have come from a fort in Teviotdale rather than Cappuck, or even Jedburgh itself (Keppie 1993, 8, fig 8; *RIB* 1995, 650f, nos 2117-8). Other Roman finds from Jedburgh include a very worn *denarius* of the late 1st or 2nd century AD found during excavation at the abbey in 1984, in the fill of a period II drain in East Cloister alley (Lewis and Ewart 1995, 16, 93ff and 132) and a billion coin of Alexandria of Maximian found at the Horsemarket, NT 6518 2080 (Macdonald 1918, 243). The hoard found on the rugby pitch is probably from a modern collection (Robertson 1963, 152). Inscriptions on the altars, however, suggest the presence of detachments from military units based at High Rochester and Risingham in the 3rd century AD guarding a military installation near where Dere Street crosses the Teviot at Bonjedburgh (Richmond 1940, 96; RCAHMS 1956, **1,** 31; *TIR* 1987, 42 and 66 and refs; *Britannia* **29,** 1998, 358 and fig 16). Such an installation would have been part of the new frontier system of *exploratores* initiated by Caracalla or a predecessor.

5 ANNANDALE TO NITHSDALE: Ladyward to Carzield/Dalswinton (St Joseph 1952B, 44ff; Margary 1973, 464f, Route 76; RCAHMS 1997, 310, no 1224)

The tradition of this Roman road is early (Gordon 1726, 18 and map; Maitland 1757, **1,** 193; Camden 1789, **3,** 324; Pennant 1790, **2,** 108; *OSA* 1791, **1,** 165 and 1793, **9,** 426; Roy 1793, 105; Stuart 1845, 99, 256 and map). Investigation this century was carried out by Crawford and St Joseph and subsequent aerial discoveries by RCAHMS have clarified the line of the road though not determined its precise course. The temporary camp of 25.5 ha at Lochmaben, NY 092 823, similar in size to one of 25.2 ha at Dalswinton, presumably marks a westward march from Ladyward (St Joseph 1969, 108; *Britannia* **27,** 1986, 374; RCAHMS 1997, 309, no 1203). The course of the road from Ladyward has been established across the Broomhill ford, NY 098 837, and then past Marjoriebanks and south of the native fort of Woody Castle at Lochbank, NY 0732 8367 (RCAHMS 1997, 137, fig 134, and 298, no 624). Sections taken across the road at Lochbank, NY 076 835, in 1939, revealed a causeway up to 4.57m wide with a layer of cobbles 0.38m thick, capped with smaller cobbles and gravel; a possible kerb was observed but no side ditches (Crawford 1939, 284, pl IVB; St Joseph 1952B, 44ff, fig 2, pls XVIII and XIX). Beyond Hugh's Knowe, NY 064 833, no immediate traces have been found. St Joseph proposed a route to Carzield through Bankhead of Tinwald, Pinnacle, Hightown and Bow Hills but his possible Roman site at Pinnacle Hill, NY 0392 8448, is likely to be medieval (RCAHMS 1920, 198, no 579; St Joseph 1952B, 48, fn 3; Feachem 1956, 60). Subsequent Roman discoveries indicate the route along the Water of Ae.

A camp of possibly *c* 1.6 ha has been found at Trailflat, NY 0488 8501 (*Britannia* **15,** 1984, 276; Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 40). The course of the road east of Trailflat might conceivably be marked by a road now destroyed in an area of considerable agricultural development. This road ran in a straight line along a slight ridge from the temporary camp at Trailflat to Belzies. What is left of the road may be seen *c* 5-6m wide at its highest point on Sheepcot Hill at Belzies, NY 0538 8467, where it realigned ESE. It is conceivable this road may have followed the Roman line. The road immediately north west of Trailflat was destroyed first by a mill lade and then the Lockerbie, Lochmaben and Dumfries Railway opened on 1st September 1863 (OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1861, sheet XLII and rev

ed 1971, sheet NY 08 SE; APs 541/A/397, 20.5.48, 4137-9; Butt 1995, 147). At Shieldhill a probable Roman fortlet of *c* 0.6 ha, affording a commanding view of Annandale, has been discovered at Murder Loch, NY 0311 8538, (Crawford 1939, 285; OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1980, sheet NY 08 NW; Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 24f, fig 7; Maxwell 1998B, 62).[49]

There is no particular reason to question the traditional Roman line through East Lanegate running on a course well above the Amisfield Burn (Roy 1793, 105). The Roman line might even be indicated by an old track running westward on a straight line parallel to, but immediately north of the unclassified road where it deviates slightly at North Cowshaw (Roy 1755 sheet 5/12/3; OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire 1980, sheet NY 08 NW). Beyond East Lanegate its westward course may be marked by the old road continuing the same alignment and climbing to higher ground at West Lanegate where the modern road swings sharply south west to Amisfield (*OSA* 1791, **1,** 165; this stretch is marked as Roman on the OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1861, sheet XLI). Across the A701 the older road runs out at NY 0064 8428 but is continued as a grassy platform 4m wide and at NY 0005 8421 takes the form of a hollow-way heading toward the Roman camp of *c* 11.4 ha at Amisfield Tower, NX 9964 8395 (Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 40).[50] Beyond Amisfield it is possible the course of the Roman road may be marked by the impressive straight stretch of unclassified road running for *c* two miles past Riddingwood House and heading for a junction with the Nithsdale road somewhere in the environs of Duncow.

6 ESKDALE TO ANNANDALE: Raeburnfoot to Ladyward (Graham 1950, 231ff; Margary 1973, 462, Route 89; RCAHMS 1980, 15, no 73 and 28, map 1 and 1997, 310, no 1223)

This road was first recognized as Roman by Richmond and subsequently surveyed by Graham but the precise course of the road is uncertain beyond Letterstone Shank. There is no trace immediately west of the fort at Raeburnfoot though aerial photographs may indicate a broad road running immediately south from the fort (APs 541/A/440, 30.7.48, 3231-2). The road is likely to have crossed the Esk by ford at NY 2510 9875. Traffic tracks were observed in arable land at Craighaugh and across the Ryehill Burn. Above the Holm Burn the road first appears at NY 2444 9786 on a terrace 110m long and 8.24m wide and then in a cutting 2m deep and 9.15m wide. East of Watcarrick Dinnings, NY 2405 9724, the road was observed in a cutting 3.36m deep and 3.05m wide, permitting a road width of up to 6.1m, the westernmost edge of the cutting being identified as Roman (Graham 1950, 231ff, pls XLIII and XLIV). Beyond the cutting, the *agger* may be indicated by a mound through the Watcarrick Forest, then a grassy strip *c* NY 2366 9696, followed by a terrace 6m wide at NY 2335 9645 and another grassy strip in the forest *c* NY 2328 9635 before all trace is lost.

49 North west of Shieldhill it has been claimed there was a Roman *castellum* in the minister's garden at Kirkmichael (*OSA* 1791, **1,** 62; *NSA* 1845, **4**, 69). Examination by RCAHMS in 1977 at NY 0024 8843, concluded that the claimed ramparts are the remnants of the original garden boundary.

50 The suggested Roman fort at Amisfield Tower, which influenced earlier writers in their choice of this route, appears to be a folly (*OSA* 1791, **1**, 165; Stuart 1845, 235; Birley and Fiddes 1958, 81ff).

At Letterstone Shank, NY 2290 9544, the Roman road is joined by the B723 which it has been suggested may mark its subsequent course at least as far as Fenton Yet (AP 541/A/397, 20.5.48, 4203; Graham 1950, 232).

Approaching the Twiglees Burn, the B723 is laid on a substantial embankment above the tributary which flows under and along its south side at NY 2285 9535. The road descends on a terrace to the Twiglees Burn (Graham 1950, 233), across which it changes alignment slightly as it ascends and crosses another burn. Aerial photographs indicate more than one road crossing the Twiglees Burn particularly on the west side where there is substantial cutting and embanking (APs same sortie 4201-3). On reaching higher ground above the next burn at NY 2235 9495, there is again evidence of an embankment raised well above the burn which flows under the road. These embankments crossing burns on the B723 may be recent but they are reminiscent of the embankments crossing low lying ground on the road east of Raeburnfoot (Route 7). Along the next stretch of road there is evidence of a deep cutting north of the road but this could be modern. Approaching the crossing of the Black Esk at Sandyford, quarry pits, not necessarily Roman, lie north of the B723. Attention has been drawn to older tracks north of the road at NY 219 945 and 209 937 (Graham 1950, 233). There is further evidence of *agger* and a cutting immediately before the crossing. The complex history of road construction along this line is revealed in at least five different road crossings at Sandyford. Immediately north of the present bridge are two crossings, the first with significant stone revetment and the second with reinforced concrete revetment on both banks. These three bridges and their significant abutments may have destroyed earlier crossings by ford though two such crossings do survive on the east bank. The first lies north of the three bridges and the second and perhaps earliest, lies south of them, possibly enlarged by hollow-ways. A ford crossing used by earlier roads is evident on the west bank immediately north of the present bridge (AP same sortie 3207).

There is some uncertainty as to whether the present course of the B723 from Sandyford to Berryscaur marks the Roman line though later roads could have destroyed any evidence. An alternative route to the B723 is possible. This might be indicated by an old track heading directly NW for the Dryfe along the Murthat Burn from Sandyford towards Waterhead. It runs north of the native fort at Rangecastle Hill, NY 1899 9366 (RCAHMS 1997, 138f, figs 136-8 and 298, no 647), and crosses the Dryfe in its upper reaches continuing SW along the north bank, its antiquity evidenced by its almost complete erosion in places by the river (AP 541/A/397, 20.5.48, 3210). This track has been modernized as from Closs, NY 1755 9305, running past the medieval Gillespie Tower, NY 1717 9192 (RCAHMS 1920, 107f, no 287). It crosses the B723 at Boreland and originally joined it at Berryscaur, NY 1625 9075. It runs too close to the present contours of the Dryfe, however, to be Roman, but a Roman road could have run on a higher line before joining the B723 at Berryscaur. Such a road may be observed between Closs and Gillespie but has no distinctively Roman features. A re-examination of the B723 west of Sandyford on aerial photographs, reveals evidence of an older straighter road with side ditches in two stretches where the B723 deviates (APs same sortie 3207-3210). The straight stretch of the B723 crossing the Boreland Burn could mark a Roman line. This may therefore suggest the B723 marks the Roman line east and west of Fenton Yet but no evidence has been observed from the air or on the ground of a Roman crossing of the Dryfe at Boreland. Perhaps the crossing was below Blindhillbush (OS 6" map Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1861 sheet XXXIV).

The route of the B723 from Berryscaur through Blindhillbush and Milton of Dryfe to Sibbaldbie, is consistent with Roman design and may well mark the course of the Roman road. It is unlikely, however, that the Roman road crossed the Dryfe at Sibbaldbie as does the B723 with Lockerbie as its objective. It is possible the Roman course is marked along the north bank of the Dryfe by the unclassified road continuing the line of the B723 and where it reaches a T junction at NY 1365 8617, there is evidence of continuation in the field beyond on a SW realignment. Such a realignment could bring it on a course to link up with the Annandale road before its crossing of the Dryfe. Perhaps the straight stretch of unclassified road running along the ridge from Millbank to Sandbed, might suggest a possible Roman line. The straight stretch near Sandbed is distorted by and therefore presumably predates the railway (OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1862, sheet XLVIII). Aerial photographs show what is not observable on the ground, that this old road continued east of Millbank running on a higher line close to the north bank of the Dryfe, though this stretch is unlikely to be Roman (APs same sortie 4124-6).[51]

7 ESKDALE TO TWEEDDALE: Raeburnfoot to Dere Street and beyond (Richmond 1948, 103ff, figs 1-5; Margary 1973, 462ff, Route 89; RCAHMS 1980, 15, no 72 and 28, maps 1 and 2b and 1997, 310, no 1223)

This is likely to be the royal road from Lochmaben to Roxburgh described in medieval charters as *strata* or *recta via nominata* (Hardie 1942, ix, 36, 40 and 46ff). It was not established as Roman until Richmond's examination in 1945 (Richmond 1948). His report remains the authoritative assessment of a road remarkable for its scale of engineering involving massive cutting and terracing, the road itself often laid on bare rock. The road has been surveyed in detail by RCAHMS and is scheduled between NT 2675 0068 and 2999 0432. Much of the road between Raeburnfoot and Craik Cross now lies in forestry plantation obscured by long grass which makes confirmation of earlier observations difficult. Bearing in mind its age, constant usage in earlier times not least for droving, and constant exposure to the elements in mountainous terrain, it is not surprising the road has suffered much mutilation.

The first traces of the road appear two miles from the fort at Raeburnfoot, where a metalled track becomes a broad cambered mound 6.1m wide and 0.61m high above Raeburnside at NT 2660 0065. The road then runs from NT 2675 0068 in a cutting 7m wide carrying it up to the spur between the Rae Burn and Cleggy Sike. RCAHMS records that from NT 2679 0083 the road is marked by a hollow-way up to 8m wide and 0.4m deep and then a cutting 6.5m wide and 0.6m deep at NT 2697 0114, followed by another cutting 8m wide and 0.5m deep at NT 2713 0144. It is then terraced to a width of 4m at NT 2717 0151, interrupted by a cutting 6m wide and 0.6m deep at NT 2721 0157 as it crosses Near Paddock Cleugh. The terrace then continues 8.23m wide with a hollow-way on the south east side, running for 365.5m on the shoulder before Far Paddock Cleugh (Richmond 1948, 106ff, figs 2 and 3;

51 There is no record of the Roman finds from Dryfesdale reported to be deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Lewis 1847, **1,** 295).

Margary 1957, 192, pl XVb). In places across Craik Muir, streams have washed out remains of the road which tends to be laid on the natural soft shale rock avoiding the need for quarry pits. Approaching Humphrey Law, NT 2840 0279, the road runs on a terrace for *c* 640m. Once past the summit at a height of 383m, it runs in a cutting up to 14m wide through peat to a depth of 1.53m, side ditches being observed (Richmond 1948, 110, fig 4). The Queen's Mire, NT 2864 0304, was originally crossed by a bold embankment *c* 91.5m long, now mutilated by drainage and other tracks. The road then climbs the south east shoulder of Lamblair Knowe, NT 2915 0345, in a mutilated cutting 6.7m wide and 275m long and terrace of similar length, 6m wide at NT 2929 0362. There is then a cutting in peat at NT 2974 0416, running for 1408m, showing frequent point to point changes of alignment on Roney Rig. Tracks and hollow-ways have cut into the natural rock to a depth of *c* 1m. A terraced track over 6.4m wide and 274.5m long is followed by a cutting 366m long before the road descends to ill-drained land between Cherry Sike and Gowl Sike, which it crosses by an embankment 347.7m long at NT 3000 0432 (Richmond 1948, 111f, fig 5). The road then runs on a terrace 7.8m wide at NT 3016 0446, ascending the shoulder of Craik Cross where, at a height of 450m, the road is obscured by hollow-ways. On the summit, NT 3036 0471, is a possible Roman watch tower reminiscent of the one at Robin Hood's Butt on the Maiden Way, NY 579 719 (Richmond 1933 and 1948, 113). Excavations in June 1946 failed to establish Roman origin and it was suggested the site could be a barrow (St Joseph 1947, 151f; RCAHMS 1980, 17, no 79 and 1997, 309, no 1201). Nothing was found to disprove Roman origin, indeed the V-shaped ditch cut 0.76m deep in solid rock is consistent with Roman work. The strategic location of the site in a commanding position for signalling along the entire length of the road with views to the Cumberland and Solway plains, Burnswark Hill, the Cheviots, Ruberslaw and the Eildons, strengthens the possibility of Roman origin.

Past the summit at NT 3038 0472, the road accompanied by tracks mutilating it, runs in a cutting 366m long and 9.15m wide through peat to a depth of up to 1.83m. It subsequently runs on an embankment 91.5m long as a metalled causeway over 6m wide, across the neck between Corse Grain and the head of the Borthwick Water at NT 3062 0491. The road then climbs by means of a cutting, 18.24m wide, 2.2m deep and 64.05m long and a terrace 8m wide and 183m long, to the neck between Rushie Grain and Hazely Sike where it is obscured by deep growth at NT 3137 0555 (Richmond 1948, 113, fig 5). Beyond the neck, the road climbs to Laird's Knowe in a much eroded and mutilated cutting 13m wide, 1.8m deep and 183m long. It continues on a bold terrace over 12.14m wide and 274.5m long, leading to a cutting through peat 0.8m deep, 18m wide and *c* 338.55m long at NT 3174 0582. It then runs on another terrace up to 3.5m wide at NT 3212 0628 before it is joined by a modern track from Craikhope at NT 3337 0747, which remodelled the Roman road and repeatedly diverges from and coincides with it (Richmond 1948, 114). Beyond NT 326 067 there is no evidence of the Roman road but a Roman stone culvert exposed by flooding in August 1948 at NT 3417 0776, confirms Roman remains beneath the forest track leading to the watersmeet of the Northhope Burn and Borthwick Water (RCAHMS 1956, **2,** 403f, no 889, figs 610 and 612 and pl 107). This is the last confirmed siting of the Roman road. The road from Raeburnfoot has been established as Roman on the grounds of its antiquity, the quality of engineering and construction, the purposefulness of its course and the scale of the enterprise being much greater than merely local resources could have achieved (APs 106G/SCOT/UK 141, 11.7.46, 4018-33).

The course of the road further east has been researched in medieval records (Hardie 1942, 46) and on the ground particularly by Bill Lonie to whom I am grateful for detailed reports (Lonie 1995 and summaries in *DES* 1995, 5 and 9f)). It is likely the Roman road kept to the north side of the Borthwick Water along the edge of Craik Forest as has been suggested (RCAHMS 1956, **2,** 402ff, no 889; Margary 1973, 464). It may be marked by the pre-Turnpike running through Craik to Hoscote (Roy 1755 sheet 7/9/1; Ainslie 1772; APs same sortie, 4014-18). On this suggested route, Walter Elliott has recently reported a possible bridge mound south east of Outerkirk Rig and traces of the road at NT 388 106 (*DES* 1997, 104). From Hoscote the road would have run past Deanburnhaugh and may be marked by the pre-Turnpike to Milsington which divided at Burnfoot (Roy 1755 sheet 7/8/2; Ainslie 1772; AP same sortie, 4235-7).[52]

Beyond Milsington, however, it has been suggested the Roman road took the form of a ridge road (Hardie 1942, 46; Margary 1973, 464). Bill Lonie has identified the road as a broad linear mound at *c* NT 4084 1323 becoming a shallow terrace 6.8m wide leading to a judiciously chosen crossing of the Borthwickbrae Burn at NT 4062 1301. The road is then lost but reappears at Borthwickbrae Park, NT 4131 1374.[53] Approaching the Howcleuch Burn at Howcleughshiel, NT 4186 1443, it is described as an embanked way 9m wide with enlarged side ditches 3-4m wide. The road then climbs Hangingshaw Hill and between NT 4191 1453 and NT 4257 1554, it has been observed below the terrace of the unclassified road as a cambered way up to 15m wide between side ditches. The unclassified road then leaves the postulated Roman road which has been observed running in straight stretches approaching Black Sike; beyond Borthwickshiels Horn at NT 4372 1639, it has been noted as a mound 10m wide, at times terraced and cut (Lonie 1995; *DES* 1995, 10).

Two drove ways east of Blawearie could follow the Roman line, the one through Muirfield, Hassendean Common and Newlands making for Belses, NT 5066 2000-NT 5499 2270, and the other through Black Craig and Harelaw also making for Belses, NT5000 2045-NT 5499 2370 (OS 6" map Roxburghshire, 1st ed, 1863, sheet XIX). Lonie favours the latter course and between Blawearie and a crossing of the Woo Burn at NT 4603 1775, has possibly observed the road at NT 4511 1736, built of clay and set on the sub soil (*DES* 1995, 9). Across the Woo Burn, the road climbs up Drinkstone Hill where it has been observed as a terrace 12.8m wide at NT 4838 1940, making for the Groundistone Gap. Along this route Walter Elliott has reported possible traces of *agger*, ditches and quarry pits beside a rectangular enclosure at NT 491 197 (*DES* 1997, 104). Across the A7 at NT 4957 2024, the suggested route runs over Black Craig to Harelaw and a road up to 14.5m wide has been observed beneath later tracks and roads (*DES* 1995, 5). It is possible a branch road from Hawick to Newstead could have crossed the road near Harelaw (Appendix Route 4).

52 The life size lower right leg of a Roman gilded bronze equestrian statue with bronze base, was discovered in a moss at Milsington in 1820, a discovery described by Sir Walter Scott in a letter to Lord Montague dated 23rd February 1820 as 'something very irritating to the curiosity' (Curle 1932, 324f and 365 no 21, fig 27 and 1937, 193; RCAHMS 1956, **1,** 30; *CSIR* 1984, 17, no 45, pl 15; *RIB* 1995, 688, no 2215). It is usually assumed such an object was looted from a Roman site further south such as York (Macdonald 1926, 16), but a Roman fort must be expected in this vicinity at a day's march from Raeburnfoot. Whether it would have had the status to support such a statue is open to question (see Keppie 1993, 7).

53 Walter Elliott has reported the discovery of three very corroded 4th century *aes* including a barbarous copy at NT 416 134 (Bateson and Holmes 1998, 531).

Assuming the course outlined above does mark the eastwards course of the Craik Cross road, it is reasonable to assume a continuation of the same alignment and it is just possible the course east of Harelaw might be indicated by the straight stretches of unclassified roads to Netherraw and Old Belses. On the ground the stretch of road from Netherraw to Old Belses is quite impressive as a hill road. Three possibilities emerge for its further course. The first envisages the road following the Ale to a junction with Dere Street near the confluence of Ale and Teviot. A second assumes that the road, possibly destroyed by the railway, could have crossed the Ale near Belses Mill farm, and then continued to Newstead on a line through Midlem, Bowden and Dingleton (Roy 1793, 105 and pl I; Stuart 1845, 259). There is an old road running on such a course but there is nothing to indicate Roman origin.[54] While the course of the Craik Cross road before Craik is aligned on the Eildon Hills, the course of the road projected beyond Craik is not and would require a considerable change of direction if Newstead was its objective. Such a course would in any case be unnecessary if there was a branch road from Teviotdale to Newstead (Appendix Route 4). A third and more likely possibility for the Craik Cross road is that it continued in the same alignment east of Craik, perhaps making for a crossing of the Ale near the Sandystones ford. It would then have crossed Dere Street at Lilliardsedge (McKenzie 1945, 18ff) and possibly continued to meet the Roman road along Tweeddale in the vicinity of Rutherford or Roxburgh, the point of departure of the road in medieval charters (Hardie 1942, 36). An almost continuous straight stretch of road or hedgerow from Sandystones across Lilliardsedge, Dere Street and beyond may be observed on aerial photographs (APs CPE/SCOT/315, 14.3.48, 3215-7). Near this line at Fairnington, a plated *denarius* of Trajan was found in 1995 (Bateson and Holmes 1998, 529). To establish the road as Roman east of Craik, however, it will probably be necessary to discover at least one Roman site along the line.

8 MOFFATDALE TO TWEEDDALE: Milton to Newstead

(a) Moffatdale to Ettrickdale: Milton to Oakwood

There is no tradition of a Roman road linking the forts at Milton, Oakwood and Newstead by way of the Moffat, Yarrow and Ettrick Waters but this possibility was raised several years ago (Miller 1952, viii). Strategic considerations may have required such a link at least in the Flavian period. There is as yet no evidence for Flavian penetration east of Ladyward. The Roman fortlet possibly of Flavian date at Barnhill, NT 085 028, is situated very close to Milton and may have had the specific function of guarding a crossing of the Evan Water at a junction of the Annandale road with a road up Moffatdale. It has also been suggested that *c* 87/88 AD the frontier in Roman Scotland lay on an axis running from Newstead to Oakwood, Milton, Dalswinton and Glenlochar (Frere 1987, 106f; Hanson 1987, 158ff; Breeze 1996, 92f). Should that be so, one would expect a road to provide essential communication along the frontier. Bill Lonie has suggested a Roman road ran along the

54 A *denarius* of Trajan minted at Rome, was found at Bowden in 1955 (Bateson and Holmes 1998, 531) but there is no evidence to support the view of Chalmers that there was a military road running south from Cauldshiels Hill and there is no evidence of Roman occupation at Rowchester or Blackchesters forts. Crawford suggested the military road was probably a linear earthwork (Chalmers 1807, 160; Crawford 1936, 346ff; RCAHMS 1956, **1,** 69ff, nos 49 and 50 and 1957, 118ff, no 182).

Selcoth Burn to Ettrick Head (*DES* 1988, 7). Ian Richmond, however, dismissed the possibility of a Roman road north of Raeburnfoot along the White Esk, Tima and Ettrick as these valleys were too steep-sided and tortuous to be acceptable to Roman engineers (Richmond 1948, 105). A more acceptable line between Milton and Newstead would be along Moffatdale to St Mary's Loch, then along the upper reaches of the Yarrow before that valley becomes steep-sided, and then across to the Ettrick where that valley ceases to be steep-sided and tortuous and broadens out below Kirkhope (for an aerial view of Moffatdale see RCAHMS 1997, 11, fig 12 and on the valleys of the Yarrow and Ettrick, RCAHMS 1957, 2). Investigation of a Roman road on this route is in its infancy and therefore at this stage one can point out only general possibilities set in the historical context of road development. It will probably require the discovery of at least one Roman site between Milton and Oakwood to establish this line as Roman.

An old road now discontinued but perhaps observable on aerial photos (APs 541/A/549, 12.6.50, 4099 and 4105), led from Barnhill Springs to Hunterheck Hill and Moffatdale though no surviving stretch is distinctively Roman. The pre-Turnpike running on the east bank of the Annan through Newbigging and Poldean where small quarry pits have been observed from the air, is consistent with Roman design and might indicate a Roman link from Annandale to Moffatdale (Route 2b). The pre-Turnpike crossed the Moffat Water below Woodhead and ran directly through Dumcrieff towards Hunterheck Hill (Roy 1755 sheet 6/10/2). South of Hunterheck Hill a possible Roman line would run to Craigieburn.[55] A Roman road beyond Craigieburn, however, would not be indicated by the pre-Turnpike which continually crossed and recrossed the river (Roy 1755 sheets 6/9/2 and 6/10/2). The Roman line may be marked by the Turnpike, the A708, running continuously along the north bank past early forts, enclosures and settlements at Craigieburn, Roundstonefoot and Capplegill (RCAHMS 1997, 298ff, nos 618, 732, 735 and 738). It seeks high ground where possible and is designed in straight stretches with point to point alignment, making use of substantial cutting and embanking, features, however, not exclusively Roman (OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1861 sheets X and XVII). Quarry pits of different sizes can be observed, the smaller overgrown. If a small intermediate post was required along the valley, there is suitable ground near Capplegill where the Blackhope Burn joins the Moffat, or at Carrifran where an old road leads from the A708 to higher ground immediately east of the Carrifran Burn.

The Iron Age fort at Tailburn, NT 18671462 (Rideout 1988, 11), is strategically placed to control the narrow pass to the north along which the Birkhill Path ran across Strang Cleuch and Raking Gill. Both modern crossings have destroyed predecessors. The A708, marking the Turnpike, negotiates this difficult terrain by extensive cutting and terracing well up the steep hillside and it is difficult to imagine how the pre-Turnpike negotiated this route in the 18th century according to Roy (Roy 1755 sheet 6/9/3). He maps the pre-Turnpike as continually crossing and recrossing the Moffat Water but there is no evidence of any road other than the Turnpike negotiating this route. There must be a question as to the accuracy of Roy's mapping. If therefore the Turnpike follows the pre-Turnpike line, a Roman origin

55 Across the Moffat Water from Craigieburn, Roman finds have been discovered at Crofthead, part of the base of a Samian bowl of Dr 37 and the neck of a single-handled flagon (HM F 1969.10 and 12).

must be postulated to account for the degree of engineering skill involved in designing and constructing this section. Beyond the pass, the road runs on a substantial embankment or *agger* with quarry pits at Kerscleugh and beyond. It then makes its way through Quave where there is evidence of more than one road, though cutting and terracing may be the result of recent road widening. There is much disturbance on the ground immediately west of the Chapelhope Burn and from the air several tracks can be seen running east of the burn along the Loch of the Lowes, one in particular on a higher line above the A708 (OS 6" map, Selkirkshire, 1st ed, 1863, sheet XIII; AP 541/A/523, 13.5.50, 3113). If the level of water in the Loch of the Lowes was similar in Roman times as today, it would have been necessary for the Romans to have followed a line well above the A708. The older road on a higher line descends the hillside to cross Ox Cleuch immediately west of the A708, though little more than a track survives.

There are three possible routes for a Roman road beyond the Loch of the Lowes. The first is the pre-Turnpike route along the east side of St Mary's Loch running through Bowerhope where there is evidence of several tracks before a crossing of the Yarrow at Dryhope (Roy 1755 sheet 7/7/1; Ainslie 1772; AP same sortie 4107-11; RCAHMS 1957, 86f, no 113). No Roman feature has been observed. A second route ran through more mountainous terrain along the Crosscleugh and Berryknowe Burns and then along Altrieve Lake where it is now marked by the B709 crossing the Yarrow at Eldinhope where a *follis* of Constans II has been discovered (Bateson and Holmes 1998, 535). The B709 is an impressive road but the Romans may have avoided a route over such difficult terrain if a less demanding alternative was available. Such an alternative may be indicated by the third route, the Turnpike along the north side of St Mary's Loch. This was opened in 1788 but there was already a road round the north side of the Loch not mapped by Roy (Ainslie 1772). Reference has been made to more than one road at the Ox Cleugh crossing. Below Oxcleugh Rig, the A708 is rock-cut in places. There is little room for any other road crossing the Summerhope Burn and Mare Cleugh but the Turnpike crossing of the Megget Water can still be observed north of the A708 at Cappercleugh. From Dryhope the pre-Turnpike and Turnpike ran east along the north side of the Yarrow, and the A708 east of Dryhope could mark a possible Roman line (Roy 1755 sheet 7/7/1 and 7/7/2; Ainslie 1772; OS 6" map, Selkirkshire, 1st ed, 1863, sheet IX). It runs well above the flood plain and there is evidence of older roads on a straighter line where the A708 deviates east of Dryhope, north of Craig Douglas, east of Mountbenger, south of Cutcarwood and north of Yarrow Feus (AP 541/A/523, 13.5.50, 3026-9).[56] If a Roman road did run along the north bank of the Yarrow, it is possible a branch road could have run to the Tweed at Innerleithen (Appendix Route 5).

The objective of a Roman road along the Yarrow would be the Roman fort at Oakwood and a crossing to the Ettrick by the most direct route. There are two early roads which might possibly indicate a Roman line. The first crosses to the Ettrick from Sundhope and can be traced on the ground obliquely climbing the hillside on a fairly steady gradient. It is remarkable for its design and engineering in negotiating very difficult terrain over the south

56 The Yarrow Stone, an early 6th century Christian gravestone in Latin, found close to the A708 at Whitefield, NT 3481 2744, indicates a Romano-British church settlement in the area at that time (RCAHMS 1957, 110ff, no 174), as does the early Christian cemetery at Warrior's Rest (RCAHMS 1957, 113f, no 176). Perhaps the stone was erected close to an early Christian pilgrimage route which might conceivably have followed a Roman road.

side of Ladhope Middle, the north side of Scawd Law and the south side of Nether Hill (Ainslie 1772; OS 6" map, Selkirkshire, 1st ed, 1863 sheet X; RCAHMS 1957, 87, no 114). The antiquity of the route is evidenced by its considerable destruction by later roads. Near the head of Ladhope Middle where it survives to a width of 3.66m, there is clear evidence of cutting and terracing. Its course approaching Kirkhope is uncertain.

An alternative more direct route runs SSE from Yarrow over Witchie Knowe, NT 3605 2585. Graham and Richmond examined the road from the Ettrick and rejected a Roman origin (Graham and Richmond 1955, 64), but they could have examined the more recent section south of Witchie Knowe which is not Roman. The course north of Witchie Knowe is reminiscent of a Roman hill road. South from Witchie Knowe the older road followed a different course to the present road. It ran on a more direct, purposeful course across the Tower Burn at the medieval Kirkhope Tower, NT 379 250 (RCAHMS 1957, 54ff no 32). At Witchie Knowe there is evidence of two older roads leaving the unclassified road, one running past the north side and the other the south side of the Knowe. The first road made for Kirkhope Tower where it has recently been destroyed by a new farm track (*DES* 1995, 5f). Its course can still be traced to Woodend and a crossing of the Ettrick at Fauldshope (Ainslie 1772; OS 6" map, Selkirkshire, 1st ed, 1863, sheets X and XI). This road east of Woodend is quite impressive not least as it descends the wood above Brockhill. There is deep-bedded metalling to a width of 5m with stone culverts and possible kerbs on the north side. In places the road is sunken. It is just possible this stretch could mark a Roman line. From Woodend west to Kirkhope Tower, the metalling soon disappears and the road runs through pasture with clear evidence of rig and furrow on both sides of, but not across the road.

The pre-Turnpike from Ettrickbridge eastwards is marked by the B7009 and is clearly not Roman (Roy 1755 sheet 7/7/3). Across the Ettrick from Fauldshope, a Roman road could have climbed to the fort at Oakwood perhaps along Huntly Cleugh and the unclassified road from Inner Huntly which runs past the fort on a terrace. It was considered an older track leading from this road to the fort might mark the Roman road but this was disproved by excavation (Steer and Feachem 1954, 99 fn 1). The unclassified road is more likely to mark the Roman road bearing in mind the presence of small quarry pits observed along its north side (RCAHMS 1957, 81 no 97). The Roman fort of 1.85 ha at Oakwood, NT 4250 2491, was occupied in Flavian I and II and is situated on high ground with extensive views to the north and particularly the west hinting at a possible road in that direction. The earlier Flavian occupation was dated *c* 80-87/88 AD on the strength of stratified pottery and a somewhat worn *denarius* of Vespasian dated 69-70 AD. Defences were reconditioned after 87/88 and pottery indicates occupation till the turn of the century when there appears to be evidence of destruction. A *denarius* of Trajan dated 103-111 AD was found on or near the fort *c* 1945 (Bateson and Holmes 1998, 530). Entrances 3.25m wide were detected on the north and west sides protected by double *claviculae.* An annexe was subsequently added south of the fort with a 12.19m gap in the southern defences permitting the issue of a road. North of the fort a temporary camp of 16.1 ha with internal and external *claviculae,* is situated at NT 4248 2544, perhaps a construction camp. Both sites were discovered by RCAHMS in 1949 (Steer and Feachem 1954, 81 ff; RCAHMS 1956, **2,** 306ff nos 597 and 604 and 1957, 99ff, no 130 and fig121). Bill Lonie has investigated a road running south from the fort. It takes the form of a terrace 10-11m wide along the west bank of Huntly

Cleuch Burn to NT 4237 2356 and may have run to the Fanns Burn at NT 4153 2223 (Lonie 1995; *DES* 1995, 5). Its objective is not clear and another possibility may be considered. The fort at Oakwood, now lying on poorly drained land, may not have had an adequate supply of water in Roman times. This could account for Lonie's alternative interpretation of the terrace as an aqueduct bringing water from Hutlerburn Loch. From the east gate, Oakwood could have been linked by road to Dere Street either through Newstead (see below Route 8b) or south of the Eildons (Steer and Feachem 1954, 98), or through Teviotdale (Appendix Route 6).

(b) Ettrickdale to Tweeddale; Oakwood to Newstead

There is no clear trace of a Roman road east of Oakwood but the unclassified road below the fort may mark a Roman line until it turns NNW to Oakwood Mill where an older track continues the same alignment to Howden (RCAHMS 1957, 81, no 97).[57] It is possible this track following the pre-Turnpike, might mark a Roman line in general but the present stretch of road west of Howden is not Roman in its present form. This road has undergone changes near Howden which could obscure a possible Roman course (Roy 1755 sheet 7/7/3; OS 6" map, Selkirkshire 1st ed, 1863, sheet XI). The pre-Turnpike approached the medieval burgh of Selkirk on a more direct course than the B7009 but is now lost (Roy 1755 *o c*; Ainslie 1772). It may be preserved by either of two old roads running more directly towards Selkirk than the B7009. The first survives east of the B7009 at NT 4625 2815 where it is well preserved, *c* 5-7m wide, sunken in places and accompanied by a substantial metalled *agger* on its south side. The second continued the alignment of the B7009 at NT4623 2799 where the latter swings north, and ran directly past the Haining to join the High Street in Selkirk. The former does not look Roman and the latter may be Roy's pre-Turnpike (on both see AP 541/A/523, 13.5.50, 4007; OS 1" map Selkirk rev ed, 1953). The pre-Turnpike east of Selkirk ran on a ridge on the High Street and then descended along Scotts Place, Bleachfield Road and Bridgelands Road to the now ruined 12th century Lindean Church, NT 4834 3081 (RCAHMS 1957, 32 no 3). Beyond the church it no longer exists but it led to what is now the A7 (Roy 1755 *o c*; Ainslie 1772; OS 6" map, Selkirkshire, 1st ed, 1863, sheet XII). This road is to be noted for its graded descent from Selkirk and deep cutting east of Bridgelands. It is just possible, however, that this contoured ridge road might indicate a Roman line through Selkirk allowing for some deviation in the course of time.[58] The North British Railway (Selkirk Branch), may have destroyed all traces of earlier roads north of Lindean Church but the subsequent course of the pre-Turnpike is probably marked by the surviving stretch of the unclassified road leading to the B6360.

57 An old road runs east from Hartwoodmyres but has no Roman features and possibly connects with the old road reported to RCAHMS by Walter Elliot in 1997 at Brownmoor, NT 451 245.

58 There has been a number of Roman finds within the environs of Selkirk. These include coins discovered *c* 1840 but too corroded to identify (*NSA* 1845, **3,** 14; Robertson 1983, 416), a *sestertius* of Hadrian (Macdonald 1918, 240) and a number of Roman period glass beads (Guido 1978, 161, 163 and 224). The Roman origin of a spear found in a Selkirk moss must, however, be open to question (*NSA* 1845, **3,** 4). Romano-British finds have also been made across the Ettrick at Philiphaugh. These include a fragment of a glass armlet, an opaque white glass counter (HM 1905.9 and 10) and a Roman ring found in 1990 at NT 456 283 (*DES* 1992, 7f).

From this point, NT 4874 3163, there are two old roads which might potentially indicate a Roman line from Newstead. The first is the unclassified road running west in straight stretches from Huntlyburn to the north side of Faldonside Loch and then south west of Faldonside, making for the unclassified road leading to the A7. This may be the medieval road from Melrose to Selkirk (Hardie 1942, 18), but it may have turned south before Faldonside and run past the west side of Cauldshiels Loch (RCAHMS 1957, 81, no 96). The second pre-Turnpike route is the contoured Broomilees road from Darnick to Sunnyside, Kaeside and Abbotsmoss whence it ran to Faldonside House. The subsequent course is marked by the B6360 leading to the unclassified road heading for the A7 (Stobie 1770; Ainslie 1772; Roy 1793, pl XXI; OS 6" map, Roxburghshire 1st ed, 1863, sheet VII). This second road appears to have given way to an early Turnpike *c* 1755 from Darnick, now marked by the B6360 through Abbotsford which is certainly not Roman (Inglis 1916, 43). Such possibilities for a Roman line east of Oakwood are extremely tentative but little evidence of earlier origins may survive on routes subject to much use over a considerable period of time. An alternative route, however, has been suggested running east from Oakwood to Dere Street south of the Eildons (Steer and Feachem 1954, 98).

9 NITHSDALE TO CLYDESDALE: Drumlanrig to Crawford (Inglis 1924, 218ff; St Joseph 1952B, 49ff; Margary 1973, 465f, route 77; RCAHMS 1978, 143ff, no 265)

There is confusion over the title Well or Wall Path which is used to describe both the Roman and the 18th century road built by the Duke of Buccleuch. It is advisable therefore to refrain from using it simply to denote the Roman road (Roy 1755, sheets 5/9/3 and 5/10/2; OS 6" map, Dumfriesshire, 1st ed, 1860 sheet XIV; Inglis 1924, 218ff). The tradition of Roman penetration along this route is early (Gordon 1726, 18; Camden 1789, **3,** 324; Pennant 1790, **2,** 128; Roy 1793, 105; Chalmers 1807, 153f; Stuart 1845, 256). The road was surveyed in detail by Crawford in 1938, St Joseph in 1949 and is under continuing surveillance by RCAHMS. The road presumably left the fort at Drumlanrig and crossed the Nith at the Castlebank ford, NS 8635 9825 (Route 3). Recent research by RCAHMS has identified the probable road on the north bank of the Carron east of Cairnpark, running north of the A702 through Holestane (Johnston 1994, 235 and ill 1). Its subsequent course may possibly be marked by the unclassified road to Enoch before it crosses the Carron at Jenny Hair's bridge. Beyond the crossing, the Roman road is probably marked by the unclassified road to Durisdeer which passes two marching camps at NS 8917 0314, one of 6.17 ha with a *titulus,* inside another of *c* 20 ha (St Joseph 1951, 59f and 1952B, 50, pl XXA; Maxwell 1980, 40, table 3; *DES* 1993, 18).[59] Beyond Durisdeer, St Joseph identified the road as a low *agger c* 5.5m wide, now barely visible at NS 8975 0431, running between the Kirk Burn and the pre-Turnpike road from the village which joins it at the confluence of the Glenbo and Dash Cleuch with the Kirk Burn (Roy 1755 sheet 5/10/2; APs 541/A/549, 12.6.50, 4013-4; St Joseph 1952B, 50, pl XXB; Margary 1973, 466). The pre-Turnpike road obscures the subsequent Roman course.

59 There has been uncertainty as to the precise location of recent Roman finds at Durisdeer. John Lennon informs me that a bronze circular stud with dark and light green enamel was found at NS 8935 0343 and a small circular disc brooch and a zoomorphic strap end with a carved face and open mouth at NS 8910 0340 (DM 1994. 23.1 and 2). A *denarius* of Antoninus Pius was found in 1992 south of the cemetery close to the camps (Bateson and Holmes 1998, 529).

The Antonine fortlet of 0.1 ha at NS 9028 0487, revealed two periods of occupation or more likely one with barrack reconstruction in a second phase (*OSA* 1792, **4,** 457; RCAHMS 1920, 67, no 163; Clarke 1952B 124ff, pl XLII; Frere and St Joseph 1983, 142ff, pl 86).[60] Excavation at the fortlet suggested that initially the *titulus* had been truncated on the NW side as though to receive a road but was filled in almost immediately. A service road 6m wide ran NE from the fortlet to join the main road at NS 904 049, which Clarke excavated revealing a spread of gravel on the road mound (Clarke 1952B, 125). St Joseph, however, was uncertain as to whether there may not have been a Roman road 32m NW of the fortlet (St Joseph 1952B, 50, fn 3). Past the fortlet, the *agger* has been partially destroyed by traffic but can be traced to the Glenhourie Burn, NS 9087 0551 (Roy 1755 sheet 5/10/2). Immediately before the burn, the pre-Turnpike runs east of the Roman road but beyond the burn all traces of the latter have been destroyed. The road was next observed by St Joseph after crossing Stony Cleuch at NS 911 057 with a slight zig-zag below Wee Well Craigs as it climbed to the watershed between the Kirk Burn and the Potrail Water (St Joseph 1952B, 51, pl XXC; Maxwell 1998B, 45).

At NS 9160 0595 it is joined by the Duke of Buccleuch's 18th century road which then obscures its course but indicates its line (AP same sortie, 3016). Two levels of terrace have been observed at NS 9190 0616, and from NS 9217 0652 the road runs on a single terrace 6m wide as it curves round the base of Well Hill (AP same sortie 4016).[61] The course of the road from NS 9229 0671 is obscured by later road and track and all merge in a hollow-way 4m wide at NS 9260 0785, leading to a paved ford across the Accinfern Burn at NS 9258 0793 (St Joseph 1952B, 52, pl XXD). Across the burn a modern track and hollow-way probably mark the course approaching Cleuch Burn at NS 9256 0817. The *agger* may then be observed in marshy ground as it climbs the south east shoulder of Laght Hill, crossing the A702 at NS 9255 0845 (APs 541/A/545, 12.6.50, 4190-1). There is a change of alignment 38° NE at NS 9255 0885 whence the *agger* with a hollow-way on the east side, is clearly observable as it approaches the Reeshaw Burn at NS 9265 0915. Beyond the burn it appears as a well-defined shelf 6m wide and 0.2m high which gradually declines as the *agger* is again crossed by the A702 at NS 9310 0985 (AP same sortie 4155; St Joseph 1952B, 52, pl XXE). The hollow-way now appears on the west side.

After being joined by the A702, the Roman road is clearly visible today in loops where the modern road deviates from a straight course, at times accompanied by small quarry pits (AP same sortie, 4155). Across the Potrenick Burn at NS 9324 1006, the *agger* measured 5m wide and 0.2m high.[62] It becomes a low spread mound with hollow-way on the west side and then a well defined causeway 6m wide at NS 9335 1016, before merging with the A702 at NS 9349 1029. The causeway reappears in a loop of the A702 at NS 9366 1047 for a short stretch before Nether Fingland and also beyond at NS 9393 1089 (AP same sortie 3156). At Earn Law a stony terrace is visible west of the road and along this stretch are

60 Records I consulted at the now disbanded Grierson Museum at Thornhill, indicated that the *patera* reported as discovered at Auchenskeoch (Curle 1932, 370 no 31) and now at Dumfries (DM 1968.38), was in fact found in the ditch by the entrance to the Durisdeer fortlet.

61 The suggested Roman fortlet at Allan Cleuch, NS 9214 0646, proved to be a natural configuration (Crawford 1939, 281).

62 Following a field meeting of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Society on 2nd June 1883, it was reported that five or six miles from Durisdeer cemetery, there was a Roman camp on the north east side of a small stream at the foot of a hollow (*TJPDGSNHAS* 1884, **3,** 1880-83, 80). The description is vague and the distance approximate but the location appears to have occurred north of Dalveen Lane where the hills first open out on to Crawford Moor. A possible location might be the Potrenick Burn but it is unlikely to have been further north than the Peden Burn. There is, however, nothing to corroborate the Roman origin of the camp.

numerous overgrown small quarry pits, some double (AP same sortie, 3156; St Joseph 1952B, 53, pl XXIIA). From NS 9416 1131 the road runs on a shelf 5m wide and the *agger* can be observed in loops of the A702, again accompanied by quarry pits. Along this stretch of the A702 before the Peden Burn, brick culverts have recently been laid displacing metalling. The causeway can be observed west of the A702 leading to the Peden Burn and beyond the burn, the *agger* is visible at a bend in the A702 at NS 9465 1256. It is then lost beneath the A702 until it reappears at NS 9502 1328 (AP same sortie, 4094; St Joseph 1952B 54, pl XXIIB). Approaching the Glenochar burn, the causeway can be observed immediately west of the A702 but the Roman crossing has been destroyed by erosion. The causeway reappears 6m wide north of the burn (Crawford 1949, 4, pl I). At NS 9511 1422 the A702 diverges to the north east but the Roman course is obscured by another old road and hollow-way which encroaches on the line and then for a short distance runs on an almost parallel course to the east (Roy 1755 sheet 5/9/3; APs same sortie 3094-5; St Joseph 1952B, 54f and pls XXI and XXIIC). The old road then diverges north east from the Roman road after crossing the Annanshaw Burn at NS 9517 1500 (Taylor and Skinner 1776 pl 40/2).

The Roman road now climbs obliquely the lower south east face of Annanshaw Brae and while occasionally eroded by an accompanying hollow-way, the *agger* is still observable 6m wide and 0.6m high. Embankments observable on either side of the steep-sided Air Cleuch, NS 9534 1544, imply a bridge crossing. The road then curves round the shoulder of Knock Fessock as a broad shelf accompanied in places by quarry pits. It is rejoined by the old road at Wood Brae and runs immediately west of the A702 at NS 9567 1605, before crossing it at NS 9567 1644 (APs 541/A/545, 12.6.50, 3094-5; St Joseph 1952B, 55, pl XXIID; RCAHMS 1978, 143). The road is now following the contours of the Clyde and its course is visible only as a low mound at NS 9564 1646 and NS 9547 1718. It is crossed by the railway at Elvanfoot where a slight realignment NNW probably occurred at Babbling Wood. Across the Elvan Water there was a further slight realignment NNW as the road proceeded through Shepherd's Wood and across Harry Burn. There was a significant realignment 25° NE where the Clyde bends on its course to the Rowantree Pool. The subsequent course of the Roman road now lies below the A74M. Before conversion of the A74 to dual carriageway in 1963, the Roman road was observed 5.49m wide at its junction with the modern road (St Joseph 1952B, 56; Margary 1973, 465; RCAHMS 1978, 144). Recent excavations have established the straightness of the Roman course at NS 9555 1832 and NS 9563 1848 (Speller 1990, 3; Terry 1991, 11). It is assumed the A74M now marks the course of the road making for the Roman fort at Crawford. The latter site, discovered by St Joseph in 1938 at NS 954214, contained a small Flavian I fort of 0.8 ha, replaced by an Antonine fort of 1.06 ha of two periods separated by a very brief interval (Maxwell 1972; RCAHMS 1978, 128ff no 255, figs 79 and 80). It is assumed the road crossed the Clyde below the fort as suggested in the 18th century (Roy 1793, 105) and ran south, its course probably marked by the straight road through the village where two overlapping marching camps have been found at NS 959 205 and NS 958 204 (St Joseph 1961, 122; RCAHMS 1978 *o c;* Maxwell 1989, 80, fig 4.3). The Roman road was last sighted one mile south of the village as an *agger* accompanied by quarry pits but is now lost under the A74M (Margary 1973, 465).

APPENDIX:

Other possible lines of roman penetration

ROUTE 1 From Annandale to the mouth of the Annan

It is possible there may have been a link between the Annandale road and the mouth of the Annan. On either side of the river mouth, temporary camps of *c* 0.33 ha and *c* 3.5 ha have been identified, at NY 1925 6547 and NY 1802 6526, and a small permanent post might be expected in the vicinity, guarding entry to the river (*Britannia* **9,** 1978, 418; Higham and Jones 1985, 23ff, fig 9; Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 35; Keppie 1988; *DES* 1995, 16f; *Britannia,* **27,** 1996, 402; RCAHMS 1997, 183f, nos 1204 and 1205 and refs).[63] There are two possible lines for such a link. The first would diverge from the Annandale road at Burnswark and run through Ecclefechan and along the east bank of the Annan to its mouth. The straight stretches of early roads on this line might conceivably suggest a possible Roman course. Alternatively a link road could have run south along the Annan from the fort at Ladyward. Roman finds have been discovered close to this line.[64]

ROUTE 2 From Upper Annandale to Upper Tweeddale

It has been suggested that the marble head of the Trajanic period found at Hawkshaw in Tweedsmuir, could have been lost on or near a Roman branch road from Upper Annandale to Upper Tweeddale, though searches so far have been unsuccessful (St Joseph 1952A, 24; Blance and Bailey 1954).[65] Our increasing understanding of the thoroughness of Roman occupation in southern Scotland raises the possibility that such a link to the Roman forts at Easter Happrew or Lyne, could have been part of the Roman network. The possibility of a Roman road running south from the fort at Lyne was raised some time ago (Richmond and Graham 1946, 170). A number of Roman finds have been recorded along this route north of Hawkshaw. It is conceivable that the A701 and B712 following the course of the Tweed, might follow a Roman line of penetration. There are at least two old roads joining the A701 from the Annandale road, one at the Devil's Beef Tub, the pre-Turnpike running east of Flecket Hill (Roy 1755 sheet 6/9/1) and another *c* 6m wide further north at NT 048 130 (on old roads in this area see Inglis 1924, 214ff). There are also at least two separate stretches of road diverging from and rejoining the A701 on more direct courses. The first occurs near the Devil's Beef Tub and the second at Tweedhopefoot where a road can be observed on the

63 On Roman finds in the area see Wilson 1989, 14, fns 60-63. East of Annan a Roman altar was found in a field *c* 25m north of Westhills farm buildings, NY 2722 6554 (RCAHMS 1920, no 266 and 1997, 310, no 1237). Following ground survey, Crawford suggested a possible site.

64 South of Ladyward, a fragment of *mortarium* of orange-buff fabric similar to Gillam 1957, 26, no 244, dated 110-150 AD, was found in a gravel bed on the west bank of the Annan where it bends north of Shillahill Bridge, *c* NY 107 808 (DM 1962.108; *DES* 1962, 27; RCAHMS 1997, 310, no 1236). A number of Roman finds have been discovered at the church or castle at Hoddom and the church at Hoddomcross. Those built into the structure of church or castle may have previously been used in the Anglian monastery. Whether built into the structure or simply collected or discovered during recent excavation, they probably originally came from Birrens (Pennant 1790, **2,** 406ff; Pococke 1887, 34; Birley 1961B, 144ff; Lowe 1991, 21ff; Keppie 1994, 39ff; RCAHMS 1997, 310. nos 1230-1232 and 1234-1235 and refs; *Britannia* **29,** 1998, 453). A Roman bronze arm-purse was found at Hallguards, the original messuage of Hoddom, and was sold as part of the Kirkpatrick Sharpe collection of objects from Birrens in 1851 (BM 1851, 7-15; Birley 1963, 15, no 8).

65 This head was found in the early 18th century at or near a ruined chapel and burial ground *c* half a mile from the Tower of Henslow (Curle 1932, 326f and 368, figs 28 and 30; *CSIR* 1984, 20f, no 57, pl 19).

ground running along the east bank of the Tweed and joining the A701 at NT 052 176. Aerial photographs indicate at least two other roads running over Tweedhope Rig and apparently joining the A701 at Tweedhopefoot (APs 541/A/530, 14.5.50, 3080 and 4130). Preliminary ground survey and aerial observation suggest a potentially complex history of communication along this route but until evidence of a Roman structure is discovered, a Roman origin remains merely speculative.

ROUTE 3 From Nithsdale to the South West

There is a tradition of a Roman road running south west from Nithsdale (*OSA* 1791, **1,** 209; Stuart 1845, 256). The temporary camp at Waterside Mains, NX 869 968, may well mark a Roman line south west from Drumlanrig (*DES* 1977, 53; *JRS* **9,** 1978, 411). The possibility of a route crossing the Scar at Penpont[66] and heading westwards is strengthened by the discovery of a Roman fortlet at Kirkland, NX 804 901, producing Flavian coarse ware and possibly guarding a crossing of the Cairn Water (*Britannia* **21,** 1990, 312 and **24,** 1993, 281; Maxwell 1998B, 28). For further details see Wilson 1989, 13 and 1996, 21.

ROUTE 4 From Teviotdale to Newstead

Assuming a Roman road along Teviotdale, it is not impossible a branch road could have run from Hawick to the Eildons and the fort at Newstead (Roy 1793, 106), crossing the Ale near Lilliesleaf and running near the Roman temporary camp of *c* 14.4 ha at Milrighall, NT 4953 6268 (Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 32, fig 10). The eastern entrance of the camp was protected by an external *clavicula* perhaps indicating an Agricolan line of march south west from Newstead. Roman finds have been discovered to the north east of Hawick, particularly at Lilliesleaf.[67]

ROUTE 5 From the Upper Yarrow to Upper Tweeddale

If a Roman road along the Yarrow did throw off a branch to the Tweed at Innerleithen, possible routes depend on the point of divergence. Either from Dryhope or Craig Douglas a route could have followed the Craighope Burn and then run across Blake Muir (RCAHMS 1957, 83f, no 105). A route from Mountbenger could have followed the line of the B709 along Mountbenger and Paddock Burns. Two routes are possible from Yarrow, one over Blackgrain Rig and the other through Deuchar and Glengaber Spur (RCAHMS 1957, 87f, nos 116 and 117). Such a link remains merely speculative, however, without evidence of Roman origin.

66 The name Penpont has been translated as bridgehead (Watson 1926, 180).

67 Roman finds discovered on the north side of the Teviot east of Hawick include a worn *sestertius* of Marcus, minted AD 155-6, found *c* 1965 at Maclagan Drive, Burnfoot, NT 510 159 and two Romano-British sculptures, one found *c* 1935 in the garden of Appletree Hall, NT 5180 1745 (*DES* 1995, 9), and the other at Minto where other Roman finds have been made (see above fn 48). The sculptures may have originated from a local Roman site. Further north at Lilliesleaf, fields around a probable Iron Age farmstead at NT 5436 2555, have produced a *denarius* of Domitian, a small piece of silver, Roman pottery including decorated Samian, and part of a trumpet brooch (*DES* 1994, 5 and 1998, 80). In 1995 Walter Elliott reported to RCAHMS further discoveries near the site, an *as* of Vespasian, an *antonianus* of Postumus or Victorinus, 260-70 AD amongst other possible Roman coins and a zoomorphic terminal (on the coins see Bateson and Holmes 1998, 531 and 554f). North of the village he also reported the discovery of two well worn coins, possibly a Tetricus and a Valentinian.

ROUTE 6 From Ettrickdale to Teviotdale and Beyond

If a Roman road did run south from the fort at Oakwood, it may simply have been a service road perhaps associated with the possible aqueduct (Route 8). From the east gate of the fort, a number of possible links have been suggested between Oakwood and Dere Street south of Newstead including one south of the Eildons at Newtown St Boswells where evidence of a possible road running WSW was discovered in 1921 (Steer and Feachem 1954, 98). Another possibility to be considered is a road linking with Dere Street further south through Teviotdale or beyond. The search for such a road is in its infancy and any evidence at present circumstantial, but it could have been part of the Roman network in the Flavian period. The route from Oakwood to Hawick is one of some antiquity and it is conceivable that a Roman line might be indicated by the straight stretch of road over the ancient Woll Rig but this cannot apply to the present road south of Hartwoodmyres and alongside the plantation (Ainslie 1772; OS 6" map, Roxburghshire, 1st ed, 1863, sheet XIX; RCAHMS 1957, 81f, no 99). South of the Woll Rig, a possible line might be indicated by the A7 or a route along the Woll Burn crossing the Ale at Salenside and heading for Hawick (on the antiquity of this route see RCAHMS 1956, **1,** 147, no 264 and 1957, 27 and 82, no 100). Should such a road have continued south of Hawick, a possible line might be indicated by the A6088, passing Iron Age forts or settlements at Ruberslaw, Bonchester Hill and Southdean (RCAHMS 1956, **1,** 102ff, no 145, 150ff, no 277 and **2,** 424ff, no 942). The objective of such a road would be a junction with Dere Street and if so, it would possibly make for Carter Bar where old tracks have been obliterated by later roads on the summit of the ancient Redeswire Pass (RCAHMS 1956, **1,** 238, no 492). From Carter Bar a possible route might be along Redesdale making for Dere Street in the vicinity of the fort at High Rochester (*TIR* 1987, 42 and refs; reports in *Archaeology in Northumberland* 1992-97). Jim Crowe informs me, however, that there is no evidence of any Roman road leading from the north or west gates at High Rochester and therefore a junction further north with Dere Street would have to be considered. At present there is no structural evidence for a Roman road on this line but north of the Border there may be a significant pattern of Roman finds along the suggested route, overlooked at Ruberslaw by a Roman structure.[68]

68 Near Hawick reference has already been made to the discovery of a *sestertius* of Marcus at Burnfoot and Roman finds at Appletree and Minto (see above fns 48 and 67). South of the crossing of the Rule, Roman coins have been found at Hobkirk fort, NT 585 071 (Robertson 1952, 141f) and a bronze spoon at Wolfehopelee (HM B 1951.1226). North of the crossing, two *aes* of Maximinus were found at Rulewater, NT 5837 1539 (Macdonald 1918, 239), a *denarius* of Augustus west of Fulton Tower (see above fn 48) and a significant number of Roman finds at Rubers Law fort, NT 5803 1562. These include a *sestertius* of Vespasian, Roman dressed stones, a hoard of Roman bronze vessels including *paterae,* a jug, bowl and dish, dress fasteners and melon beads. There may have been a Roman signal station on Rubers Law and the masonry could have come from a stone tower like that at Robin Hood's Butt, Mains Rigg, Walltown Crags or Pike Hill or it could have come from a shrine like Arthur's O'on, or a neighbouring Roman fort (Curle 1932, 366f, no 24 and fig 51; Richmond 1933, 242; RCAHMS 1956, **1,** 18, 29, 35, 102ff no 145, fig 140; Steer 1958, 99ff; Keppie 1993, 5ff; Maxwell 1998B, 42). Walter Elliott has also recently reported to RCAHMS the discovery of a *denarius* of Vespasian at Rubers Law at NT 585 152 (Bateson and Holmes 1998, 531). Close to the road at Southdean, there are stone-walled houses probably of the Romano-British period at Martinlee Sike (RCAHMS 1994, 7f). South of Carter Bar there are two native sites west of the A68 classified as Romano-British, at Birdhope, NY 8130 9858 and Woolaw, NY 8152 9845 (Richmond 1940, 77ff, figs 11 and 12; Hogg 1951, 166; Jobey 1960, 4, 6, 32 and 36, fig 1 no 63 and 1964, 63 no 90).

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Abbreviations

AA Archaeologia Aeliana

AP Aerial Photograph

APG Archaeology Projects Glasgow

BAR Brit Ser British Archaeological Reports British Series, Oxford

BAR Int Ser British Archaeological Reports International Series, Oxford

BM British Museum

CFA Centre for Field Archaeology, Edinburgh University

CSIR 1984 KEPPIE, L J F and ARNOLD, B J *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* ***1,*** *fascicule* ***4,*** *Scotland,* Oxford

CUCAP Cambridge University Collection of Air Photographs

DES Discovery and Excavation in Scotland

DM Dumfries Museum

Dr Dragendorff, H 1896 Terra Sigillata, *Bonner Jahrbucher* **96,** 18-155 and **97,** 137-69

GUARD Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division

HM Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow

JRS Journal of Roman Studies

NSA 1845 *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, 15 vols, Edinburgh and London

OS Ordnance Survey

OSA 1791-99 SINCLAIR, J (ed) *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, 21 vols, Edinburgh

RCAHMS Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments Scotland

RIB 1991 COLLINGWOOD, R G, FRERE, S S, TOMLIN, R S O and WRIGHT, R P, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain,* ***2,*** *Instrumentum Domesticum, fascicule* ***3,*** Stroud

RIB 1995 COLLINGWOOD, R G, TOMLIN, R S O and WRIGHT, R P *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain,* ***1,*** *Inscriptions on Stone*, Stroud

RRCSAL Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London

RSA Roman Scotland Archive, Hunterian Museum

TCWAAS Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society

TDGNHAS Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society

THAS Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society

TIR 1987 FRERE, S S, RIVET, A L F and SITWELL, N H H *Tabula Imperii Romani Britannia Septentrionalis,* Oxford

TJPDGSNHAS The Transactions and Journal of the Proceedings of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Scientific, Natural History and Antiquarian Society

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THE LINEAR EARTHWORKS OF SOUTHERN SCOTLAND; survey and classification

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Summary

Undertaken initially as a rapid assessment of the condition of linear earthworks in the borders region of Scotland, this survey produced some results of more general interest and led on to further excavation and research (Strong 1988). The survey was founded in the published sources and on the NMRS record of sites of this type rather than in an exploration of new sites, albeit that some were discovered or rediscovered. A marked concentration of upstanding linear earthworks on the Cheviot massif has been noted.

The report discusses the classification of linear earthworks and while accepting that no rigorous taxonomy is possible, discusses them in terms of their likely or possible functions in the landscape. However, this break from the traditional approach of classification by virtue of topographical position may not offer many advantages over the latter, with the exception of emphasising the different roles that these monuments could have fulfilled even within the same topographical context.

Pit alignments are clearly associated with upstanding linear earthworks, constituting some 11% of the latter. The use of interrupted ditches is hard to understand because these must have been more time consuming and arduous to dig than would have been the creation of a single continuous ditch. The pit alignments of the lowlands (relatively speaking) to the north of the Cheviot may be considered an extension of this phenomenon into southern Scotland.

Accepting the non-trivial principle that all linear earthworks are the physical manifestation of a line drawn on the ground, the proposed scheme of classification makes a distinction between political and economic land divisions into which the bulk of the known sites can be slotted. A small class of miscellaneous sites includes defensive outworks, modern landscape features and anomalous sites. The political class of linear earthworks subsumes boundary works that are national, regional, barony, parish, and local administrative boundaries as well as a significant group of cross-routeway sites that could be used to control traffic across and along the Cheviot. The economic class includes large and small land divisions (> 5 km^2 < respectively), Treb dykes, which are an Orcadian variant of the former, and a range of agricultural boundaries including head-dykes, park-pales and enclosures, wood-banks and miscellaneous field or farm divisions.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The aims

The Linear Earthworks Project stemmed from work carried out by the Central Excavation Unit (CEU) of Historic Scotland's predecessor, on the linear earthwork known as the Deil's Dyke, Nithsdale, which revealed that less than 8 km of the earthwork now survives

along its original course, variously estimated at between 24 and 42 km in length (Barber 1982, 29). A cursory examination of other earthworks suggested that this order of destruction was not atypical and it was decided to examine the Scottish linear earthworks with a view to assessing their rates of attrition by comparing their present states with that recorded in earlier surveys.

It was hoped that specific classes of 'threat' or destructive agencies could be identified and measures taken to limit their effects. If specific sites or types of sites could be shown to be at special risk, measures could be taken to minimize the risk or to record the sites more fully, perhaps by excavation, where the threat could not be controlled successfully. In parallel with these strictly 'rescue' objectives, it was possible to view the problem from a more academic standpoint. A survey of the linear earthworks might allow an attempt at classification of the sites and would facilitate the examination of their locations in relation to landforms and to patterns of land use, past and present. In addition, the survey could be used to assess the sites in terms of the types or classes of information which excavation might reveal. In many cases, for example, it was clear that the biological activity within the earthworks extended to great depth and militated against the survival of humified old ground surfaces (OGS). Thus the material for dating these sites would, in general, be lacking, significantly reducing their value for excavation.

This report outlines the main results of the project. The complete archive can be consulted at the National Monuments Record of Scotland, Edinburgh.

The sources

The RCAHMS inventories and the Ordnance Survey record cards provided the main sources for the initial compilation of the list of sites. Cropmark sites were recorded from the aerial photographs of the RCAHMS. Dr Raymond Lamb has published his listings of treb dykes in Orkney in Reports of the Society of Antiquaries Field Surveyors (RCAHMS 1980 & 1982), and these are not listed here. There are clear limitations imposed by the sources used for the survey since the overall distribution of the monuments could be said to vary in proportion to the extent of the archaeological investigation of each of the areas involved. It can be argued, however, that the high concentration of the earthworks in the Border area, specifically in the Cheviot Hills (Fig. 1), is in such stark contrast to their apparent absence from much of the rest of Scotland that the discovery of new sites is unlikely to alter the relative distribution significantly. In this respect it is interesting to note that the old counties of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles and Lanark which radiate away from the Border to the north and west, have all been surveyed by the RCAHMS and contain linear earthworks in the proportions of 108:11:1:1 respectively. However, it must be accepted that the source bias exists, and the author has tried to avoid offering conclusions or hypotheses which rely solely or mainly on the known site distribution. The bias does not, of course, affect the assessment of the attrition of the sites.

The organisation of the report

This, and the following four chapters, are mainly concerned with classification of Scottish linear earthworks by function. That this may be an impossible task has, regrettably perhaps, not deterred the writer, because the purpose for which they were constructed and

the nature of their subsequent use are the factors which set linear earthworks, or indeed any other type of site, into their archaeological world *sensu* Clarke (1968, 41).

The current scheme of classification, ill-defined and based largely on the topographical setting of the sites, does not help us understand the past. For example, the term cross-rig dyke includes sites which constitute the defensive element of inland promontory forts; sites which seem to be defensive outworks of hillforts; sites which are clearly border or boundary markers; and some sites which seem to have served as land divisions. This is hardly a useful categorisation.

The proposed classification is discussed below and the sites listed and described, in their proposed classes, in Chapters 3 to 5. The numbers in italics in the text refer to the CEU gazetteer entries.

Pit alignments and linear earthworks

Some 11% of the surveyed earthworks were found to have segmented ditches. The segmentation was often simple, consisting of a series of distinct pits separated by causeways. Complex segmentation was also observed. This consisted, typically, of large segments, *c* 10 m long, separated by causeways which spanned the ditches at ground level. These segments contained within them two or three pits separated by causeways, the tops of which reached halfway up the ditch sides. The banks beside these segmented ditches were continuous and only displayed gaps where modern traffic or the passage of animals had caused erosion. Erosion of the bank and infilling of the pits, especially by ploughing, gives rise to the cropmarks known as pit alignments. At Marygoldhill Plantation (*130*) an upstanding bank with a clearly visible segmented ditch (Fig. 2) fades out at its junction with cultivated land in which its continuation, as a pit alignment, can be detected.

The excavators of pit alignments on the Milfield Plain (Miket 1981, 137 & 145) and at Chesters, Drem (MacKay 1980) both argue that the pits in question had contained posts. However, the published evidence does not support their argument and, in practice, this hypothesis was not tested, either by excavation or by post-excavation studies. Recent excavation of a pit alignment within the Roman fort at Eskbank (Barber 1985) revealed cross-sections similar to those from Milfield and Drem. Post-excavation analyses of the pollen, soil structure and soil chemistry of the pits all suggest that they had remained open over a lengthy period and had infilled gradually. The possibility that they had held posts was further tested by lignin analysis, and rejected. On balance, the evidence available militates strongly against the hypothesis that the pits held posts.

The site at Meldon Bridge (Burgess 1976) was enclosed by an alignment of pits which had held posts, with additional pairs of posts inserted between each pair of pits. Despite the bias which this important and well-known alignment has introduced to the literature, it is clear, both from the current survey and from recent excavations, that some, perhaps even a majority, of pit alignments are the ploughed-out remains of linear earthworks.

The survey

From the preliminary listing of sites it became clear that they occur in groups or clusters. It had been intended to select 100 sites at random and to survey these. However, in the light

of the known grouping of the sites, the selection process was changed. Some 25 sites were selected randomly and the three nearest neighbours of each site were then also included in the sample. It was hoped that the sample would thus preserve the advantage of random selection, whilst allowing for a consideration of the group structure. In practice, more sites than those sampled were surveyed, since there seemed little point in not recording the 'extra' sites in a group of more than four sites.

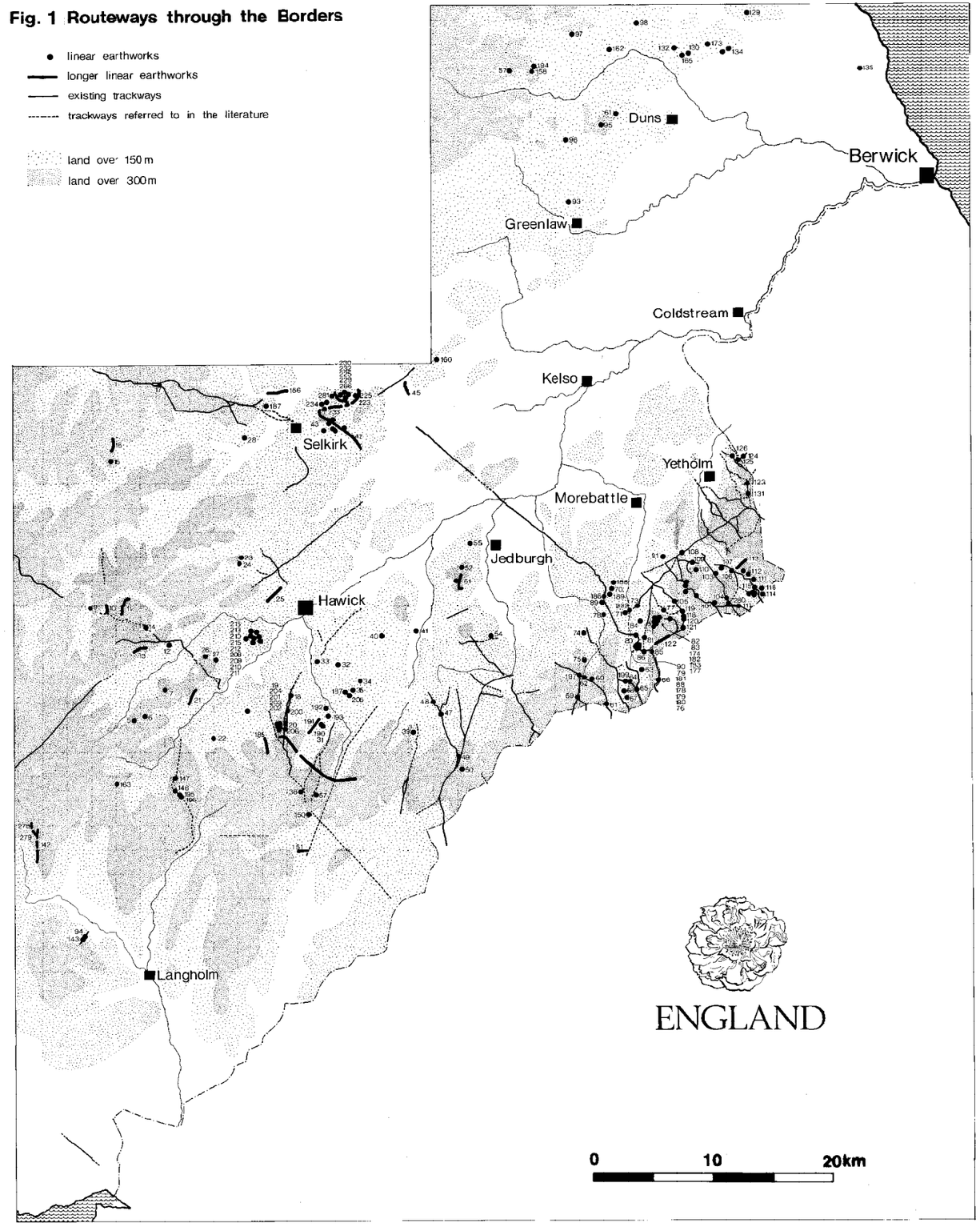
It was decided to exclude from consideration those sites which occurred in such close proximity to hill-forts as to allow for the possibility that they constituted defensive outworks of the forts. The grounds for this decision were founded in the belief that any understanding of such sites would require a prior understanding of the forts themselves and this was clearly a major study in its own right. However, this introduced a rather arbitrary element into the selection process and, in practice, some sites were examined which were either defensive outworks or were, in their functions, intimately connected with the function of the forts.

It is difficult to justify this decision, in retrospect, on any grounds other than expediency. The range of information to be gathered at each site was decided upon and a survey record form designed (details in the project archive). The forms were designed to record the complete earthwork, broken down into significant sectors, and the details of each sector recorded separately. The reasons for this will be made clear later.

The information recorded was considered under the following headings: location; dimensions; description; local environment; current usage; archaeological analysis; and recommendations for further action. A set of explanatory notes described the definitions and recording guidelines followed in the survey. The first sites surveyed were visited by all the surveyors and proposed methods of recording were discussed on site to resolve difficulties. The consistency of the survey was assessed in three ways: by recording the quality of the evidence, by comparing observations of different surveyors, and by a programme of re-examination. The results of these tests suggest that the errors introduced by surveyor's bias, whilst present and to some extent 'measurable', were not such as to invalidate any aspect of the information recorded. Future surveys of this type should include an extended system of internal and interpersonal checks on consistency in a way which would allow numerical analysis.

A separate record was made of soil exposures on the sites. These individual soil records and profile descriptions are not included in this report. At some 72 sites, sets of transects were levelled at intervals across the linear earthworks. The outline drawings of these levelled sections can be consulted in the project archive. Record photographs of some 52 sites were taken and these have also been archived.

Fig. 1 Routeways through the Borders



CHAPTER 2: CLASSIFICATION

A linear earthwork is, at the very least, the embodiment of a line drawn upon the land and, to that extent, the function of all linear earthworks may be described as 'land division'. All are concerned with the economic and political management of land, with its compartmentalisation, indeed, with its domestication. They represent part of the process described by Fowler (1981, 9) as the conversion of wildscape to landscape. Economic and political land division is therefore the principal function of all linear earthworks and forms the basis of the classification offered here and, indeed, of all others.

Accepting the Oxford English Dictionary definitions of economic as *relating to the development and regulation of the material resources of a community or nation*, and of politic as *relating to the science and art of government*, it is clear that economic and political activities are closely interrelated. Recent history suggests that economic and political ac-

Fig. 2 Marygoldhill Plantation; the earthwork is visible in the foreground running just inside the field boundary. The earthwork in the background is that enclosing Marygoldhill Plantation fort

tivities merge imperceptibly. The former are certainly the principal concern of the latter, even if not the only one. Artefacts produced as the result of such activities also reflect that apparently seamless continuity and are, individually, hard to categorise.

Early attempts at categorization, perhaps understandably, concentrated on the possibility that all such works were military defences. The history of archaeological involvement with the earthworks of north-east Yorkshire has been drawn together by Spratt (1989, 1-3), who noted that linear earthworks in this area were first interpreted as Roman defences (Hinderwell 1798) or as parts of a great Roman camp (Young 1817). These opinions influenced the nineteenth century cartographers who labelled them as 'Fortification Dykes' (Spratt 1989, 1), a view also supported by Canon Greenwell (1877, 484) and Pitt-Rivers (1881). As Spratt notes (*ibid*, 3), this at first, seems a more probable interpretation for the large and multiple earthworks of the area than Mortimer's identification of them as enclosures for cattle (1905). Sir Mortimer Wheeler's (1931) suggestion that the earthworks formed territorial boundaries in areas where the topography did not supply obvious boundary features, was largely ignored by Piggott (1958, 14-15) who returned to Wheeler's interpretation of them as artefacts of cattle husbandry. This interpretation was consonant with Piggott's - and latterly Wheeler's - view that the economy of North Britain was based on cattle ranching.

Curiously, cattle husbandry has been invoked in the interpretation of linear earthworks in Wessex as 'Ranch Boundaries' (Bonney 1978, 50), despite their occurrence in what Piggott and others see as a primarily grain producing region. Bonney interprets irregularities in the line of these boundaries as diversions to avoid existing settlements, but it is hard to see why settlements should occur on the immediate line of the ranch boundary. Similarly, while the ranch boundaries neatly divide some groups of 'Celtic' field systems, they occasionally run over such systems. In general, this suggests that the boundaries are not contemporaneous with the settlements and field systems, but rather comprise a phase of land division later than both and one which took no cognisance of the preceding scheme of land division, indicating perhaps a distinct break in land-use, and probably in settlement, in the areas in which they occur.

Long earthworks, or stone banks or reaves are associated with very large field systems of Neolithic date in Co. Mayo, Ireland (Caulfield 1978, 137-144). However, they are more typically of the Later Bronze Age, exemplified by the reave systems on Dartmoor (Fleming 1988) and sites in Berkshire (Bradley & Richards 1978, 53-60) and Yorkshire (Spratt 1989). The Neolithic examples in Ireland have been excavated and evidence for the cultivation of the enclosed fields recovered. The largely unexcavated English sites have been interpreted as proof of pastoralism by Fowler (1983, 189) who notes that: '...direct evidence of pastoralism is probably represented by linear land boundaries, apparently to do with land allotment on a major scale'. However, Balaam's observation (Balaam *et al* 1982, 215) that the function of the reave system on Shaugh Moor '... may have varied from place to place according to factors such as soil conditions and aspect', is clearly more realistic and supported by the palynological evidence for large scale arable farming in the later Bronze Age, when the reave system in the area took its final shape (Smith *et al* 1981, 268-9).

These long linear boundaries contrast with the topographically defined cross ridge (or rigg) dykes; relatively short earthworks which, crossing the narrow neck of a ridge, cut off the ridge from the adjacent high ground. Drewett (1978, 67) sees the function, or rather the

principal function, of these earthworks as dividing off a community's pasture land (on the ridge) from its arable lands, and attributes a Middle Bronze Age date to them. Spratt (1978, 115-8) sees the cross ridge dykes as dividing off the areas of prehistoric settlement from the open moors, implying that they were head-dykes. He dates them, in north-east Yorkshire, to the Late Iron Age or the Early Roman Period, on the basis of the existing evidence (1989, 12) while noting the radiocarbon date of ad 1000, from Danby Rigg, returned by Harding. Spratt suggests that the cross ridge dykes are evidence of an intensification of farming in the area and that they were used to subdivide existing holdings.

In general, the English linear boundaries have been interpreted as artefacts of economic land management. However, as noted above, economic activities grade imperceptibly into political activities and the ambiguities in existing schemes of classification reflect that intergrading of functions. There are, for example, many head-dykes and farmland boundaries in upland Scotland represented by relatively insubstantial earthworks whose function can be identified with some confidence, as that of land division for economic purposes. Only two linear earthworks lie along the line of the current Scottish/English border and we can be confident that their function was principally, indeed purely, political. However, a farm boundary could, for example, fall on the line of a parish or barony boundary and this in turn could form part of a national boundary and the definition of the line which served all of these functions could be enshrined in a single linear earthwork. The difficulty here is obviously one of trying to define useful and discrete classes within a group of sites spread along a wide functional continuum without losing sight of their essential property, that of defining a line of the land's surface.

It is improbable that the subsequent use of a political linear earthwork as an economic land boundary would be prohibited but it is quite conceivable that the creation of an economic land division *de novo* would be prohibited in a politically sensitive area. Thus, the archaeological record is probably biased towards the identification of sites as economic land divisions, and thus towards a reduction of their political significance in the landscape. Where more than one function can be ascribed to a given site, it should, perhaps, be classified under the most political function which could reasonably be attributed to it, in an attempt to redress this bias.

The following is an attempt to classify the Scottish sites considered in this survey in respect of the functions which could be attributed to them on the economic-political continuum.

Group 1: Political/administrative land divisions

1.1 National border earthworks
1.2 Prehistoric and Early Medieval political boundaries
1.3 Parish, barony and other local administration
1.4 Cross-routeway linear earthworks
1.5 Anomalous features

Group 2: Economic land divisions - ***E Lawes-Martay***

2.1 Enclosing large areas of land (>5 km^2)
2.2 Enclosing small areas of land (<5 km^2)
2.3 Treb dykes

2.4 Head-dykes
2.5 Agricultural boundaries
2.6 Park-pales and enclosures
2.7 Woodbanks
2.8 Miscellaneous land divisions

Group 3: Miscellaneous
3.1 Defensive outworks
3.2 Modern
3.3 Anomalous; including sites incorrectly classified as earthworks
3.4 Destroyed

Group 1: Political/administrative land divisions

1.1: National border earthworks

Two linear earthworks lie along the present line of the national border which was largely 'fixed' by the late medieval period. A documented history is available for one of these, The Scots' Dike (*144*), built in AD 1552. The other earthwork, Countrup Sike (*127*) may be broadly of this date although there is no independent dating evidence. It may be that it predates the Border and was used in defining its line, because it was a visible landmark on the relatively featureless upland moor.

1.2: Prehistoric and Early Medieval political boundaries

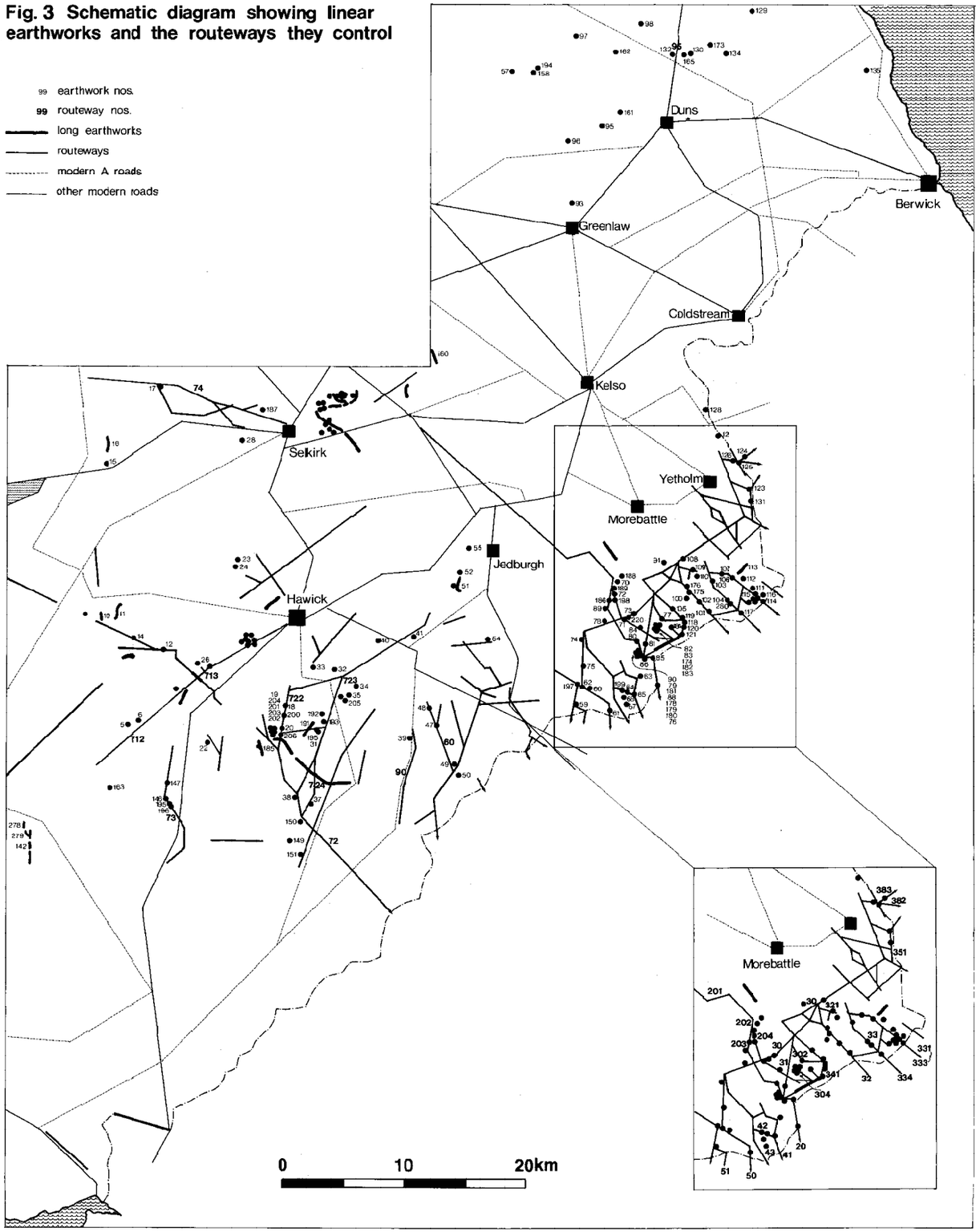
These earthworks are characterised by their great lengths and are often estimated to be tens of kilometres long. It may seem inconsistent to use length as a criterion in a functional classification but in this instance the great length of these sites directly indicates the political control which underpinned their construction. Their lengths are such that they must have crossed or bounded many individual land-holdings and their construction would have required the mobilization of a larger workforce than would have been available from a single holding. These factors indicate that a degree of political oversight, at the communal or territorial level, is implicit in their construction. Unlike the long reaves of England, these long earthworks do not have coaxial field systems attached to them.

The long earthworks have been interpreted as the boundaries of proto-historic territoria. Work by Lynn and Baillie on The Dorsey, a long earthwork near Navan, in Northern Ireland, has shown that it defines a territory contemporary with one phase of activity in Emhain Macha. They tend to enclose natural catchments which probably constituted territoria in later prehistoric Scotland (eg Catrail and Deil's Dyke). Investigation of the Deil's Dyke (Barber 1982) identified it as a medieval structure, in its final form, but this overlay and incorporated separate and relatively short lengths of earlier linear earthworks. Segmentation is a characteristic of the long earthworks. Even the Catrail, perhaps the best known of the Scottish long earthworks, consists of a large number of separate segments.

1.3: Parish, barony and other local administration boundaries

The Deil's Dyke earthwork (*235*) functions as the boundary to parts of two adjacent parishes in Nithsdale (Tabraham 1982). The practice of marking the boundaries of large

Fig. 3 Schematic diagram showing linear earthworks and the routeways they control



estates with a 'furrow' or ditch was observed (Barrow 1973, 206 & 261), and this may also have served for parish and other such boundaries, leaving no visible trace. Further, many Scottish parishes, especially those in mountainous areas, are so clearly defined by the landscape itself that further definition may have seemed superfluous. This class is currently all but empty, and while future fieldwork may produce some examples, it seems unlikely that these will prove numerous.

1.4: Cross-routeway linear earthworks

There are many areas in the highland zone where passage is rendered difficult by the terrain. In such areas natural routeways exist where passage is restricted to specific areas of the landscape or across particular features. The Cheviot massif presents many such examples. The watershed of the Cheviot Hills is relatively level and provides easy access along a roughly north-east/south-west line from the head of the Cheviot Burn to Raeshaw Fell. The northern fringe of the hills is deeply indented by the steep-sided valleys of the headwaters of the Teviot. Passage onto and across the watershed from the north is therefore restricted to the ridges which separate these valleys and reach down into Teviotdale.

These ridges which are locally termed 'rigs', are often, especially at the higher altitudes, greatly constricted where they are reduced to an arête between two corries (see Fig.10b). Linear earthworks are commonly located at such positions and tend to occur in groups, typically of three or four lying roughly parallel and all cutting across the narrowed neck of the rig. In a majority of cases, overgrown trackways extend along the routeway, and in the Cheviots in particular, constitute a complex and dense road network (Fig. 3). Traffic across the Cheviots - and similar areas of difficult access - is concentrated into the bottlenecks spanned by the earthworks of this class and in consequence, the trackways are often particularly clearly defined in the neighbourhood of the sites. Further, where heavy traffic, in bad weather or on soft ground, had made the passage difficult, the trackways were frequently realigned. The cumulative effect of this multiplication of trackways has resulted in great damage to some sites.

It is not possible from field survey alone to determine whether the earthworks in any one group are contemporaneous. Differences between individual sites within groups suggest that they are not, but this is by no means a reliable indicator. Field survey however, suggests that the cross-routeway sites were built over a considerable period. Some are pre-Roman in date, for example, those in the group at White Hope near Woden Law (*79*, *80*, *178-81*), which are crossed by, and buried beneath, an embanked length of the Roman road of Dere Street. Many of the routeways carry or feed on to drove roads of the medieval and post-medieval period and it is reasonable to assume that some of the sites date to this period. Settlement sites of all periods abound in this area and it is clear that cultivation at times reached 1200 ft during the Medieval period. Thus, these deserted routes in now remote mountainous areas once serviced a large local population, as well as providing passage across the national boundary.

It seems reasonable to conclude that those cross-routeway sites which are not traversed by visible trackways, such as Cushat Knowe A (*64*) or those at Raeshaw Fell (*82*, *182-4*), are probably pre-Medieval in date. Thus, sites have been noted which arguably may be attributed to pre- and post-Roman contexts, the Medieval period, and, in all probability, the post-Medieval period.

Our knowledge of the network of routeways in the Cheviots is very fragmentary and would require major fieldwork to elucidate, but Illus 1 shows the main elements encountered on the present survey. The segments of routeway are numbered and the numbers of the earthworks crossing them are also recorded and rendered schematically in Illus 3. In the gazetteer, the cross-routeway linear earthworks are grouped in the order of the routeways on which they occur. The individual site descriptions are preceded, where relevant, by a short description of the routeway and the placement of the sites within the group. The linear earthworks are ordered from south to north and east to west along the routeways.

The function of the earthworks in respect of the routeways is not immediately obvious. They are not defensive in any real sense since they could readily be outflanked. They might be viewed as in some way 'enclosing' or dividing the uppermost slopes from the lower land, but lying well above the levels of the agricultural head-dykes, the purpose of such a division, quite apart from its efficacy, is not obvious. They might have been used in some way to police the movement of legitimate trade or smuggled goods across the Border, though how they would have functioned in this regard is similarly unclear.

For the present, these earthworks are described as 'controlling' the routeways. This term does not imply an explicit function, not least because the nature and purpose of the 'control' cannot be defined. Rather, it is used expressly to avoid any other term which would carry functional implications. At the same time it conveys something of the sense in which the routeways and earthworks are intimately interrelated.

Group 2: Economic Land Divisions

E Lawes-Martay

Historical background

Ample evidence exists for the extensive economic division of the landscape by the building of dykes in the Early, Middle and Late Medieval periods (see discussions in Anderson 1967; Dodgshon 1981). Usually these were built of stone, but in the absence of stone, turf dykes were used, sometimes with the addition of small poles, stakes, hedges or stones on the top of the bank. From later descriptions of turf dyke building (Anderson 1967, vol 1, 658), they were usually 5 ft [1.52 m] high, 4 ft [1.10 m] wide at the foundations and 22 in [0.55 m] wide at the top. A man could build 16 yds [14.5 m] in a day and it would still be as good as new 20 years later.

Property boundaries were constructed along the marches of large and ecclesiastical estates, and round the perimeters of hunting 'forests', which were often treeless moors but subject to forest law. These became more prevalent as Normanization increased in Scotland and forest laws became more restrictive. Unfortunately this coincided with a land hunger that resulted in gradual encroachment on the hunting 'forests'. Charters delimiting forest grazing to various areas 'within the Dyke' can be found, indicating both the clash of interests and the need to formalize the division between ownership rights and land-use. This was especially marked with the coming of monasteries to the Borders, where the large increase in their land-ownership during the 12th and 13th centuries led to the drafting of many

perambulation charters as the monastic orders manoeuvred to gain exclusive rights to the land. Sheep-grazing seems to have been their main agricultural interest, and their desire for exclusive grazing rights, which conflicted with the old system of common grazing, led inevitably to the construction of physical land boundaries (Parry & Slater 1980, 57; Dodgshon 1980).

It often appears from the medieval charters that dykes or linear earthworks were built only after a period of infraction and disagreement made it necessary to mark the marches in a more concrete manner than by annual perambulations, especially over the areas not clearly defined by natural boundaries. However, land newly 'taken-in' was also commonly marked by banks or fences, again where conflict of interests and rights lay. For example, in AD 1179 a grant of land to Glasgow Cathedral church by William I allowed it 'to plough, sow and cultivate everywhere within the fence which was erected on the day this charter was made' (Barrow 1973, 263).

As in Group 1, the linear earthworks of this group have been ordered in a 'hierarchy' of function, running from the greater to the lesser:

2.1: Enclosing large areas of land (>5 km^2)

Survey revealed several linear earthworks which seem to enclose large areas of land, usually 5-16 km^2, although one encloses an area of 34 km^2 . Examination of medieval land charters for these areas may suggest a political and/or economic function for the earthworks. However, the lack of dating evidence from specific earthworks is likely to weaken specific interpretations, and actual areas enclosed may be misrepresented since roadways and woodland, now removed, may have been used as additional boundaries.

2.2: Enclosing small areas of land (<5 km^2)

On a smaller scale, some linear earthworks were constructed to delimit the lands of one holding from its neighbour's. Barrow (1973, 261), records for AD 1250, that a furrow divided the arable land of Cecilia of Mow from her neighbour's meadow. In the 18th century Breadalbane mentions that: 'some years ago the greatest part of the country was divided by stone dykes or ditches and two tenants placed into these divisions...' (Dodgshon 1980, 194).

It is not intended here to give an outline of early Scottish agriculture, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the habit of delimiting small holdings or tenant 'ferms' with dykes or ditches was not restricted to the Period of Enclosure. Dodgshon (1980) discusses the development of 'touns' and suggests that land divisions established between 'touns' did not primarily enclose the 'touns', but were concerned with establishing the boundary between adjacent 'touns'.

2.3: Treb dykes

A tenant 'ferm' or 'toun' embraced good low-lying land, higher pasture and rough grazing. A deed of AD 1554 concerning the natural boundaries between communities of two adjoining 'touns' in Shetland describes them as being: 'from the highest stone in the hill to the lowest on the beach' (Dodgshon 1980, 194), and a 17th century legal jingle indicates that this definition was applied a century later to actual 'toun' boundaries for much of Scotland (*ibid*).

Some of the linear earthworks surveyed in this report appear to follow this pattern, ascending the hillsides from the valley floor at right angles to the hillside (eg Brack Plantation *107* and Girnwood Hill North, *12*).

2.4: Head-dykes

Head-dykes, which divide outfield from common grazing, constitute another type of economic division. These were deliberately excluded from the present survey because of the great numbers in which they occur. However, around ten are included here which at one time or other had been classified as linear earthworks by other authorities.

2.5: Agricultural boundaries

Under this heading two groups of earthworks are considered, Blakebillend and Whitcastle, together with three individual sites. In all of these, their form, extent and juxtaposition with other landscape elements suggest that they played some part in agricultural activities, possibly in stock control.

2.6: Park-pales and enclosures

With the increasing Normanization of Scotland, encouraged by David I, the concept of exclusive rights to land and property developed markedly from the 12th century onwards. This applied in particular to hunting rights. Anderson wrote: 'An interesting development during this period [12th century] was the creation from the forest of enclosures or parks,

Fig. 4a
Raeshaw Fell 184

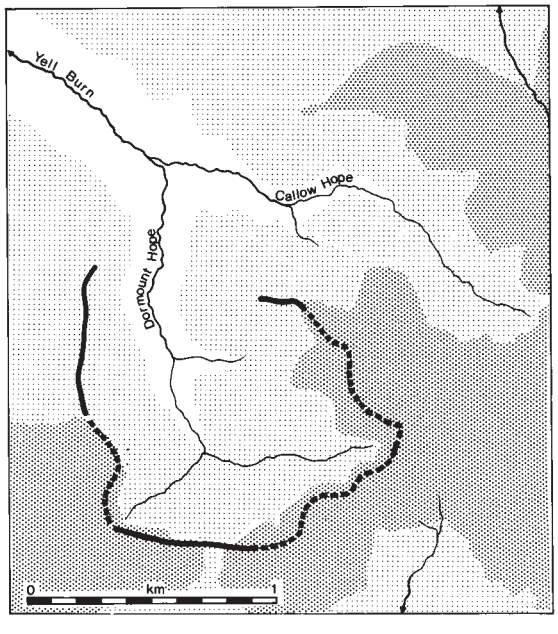
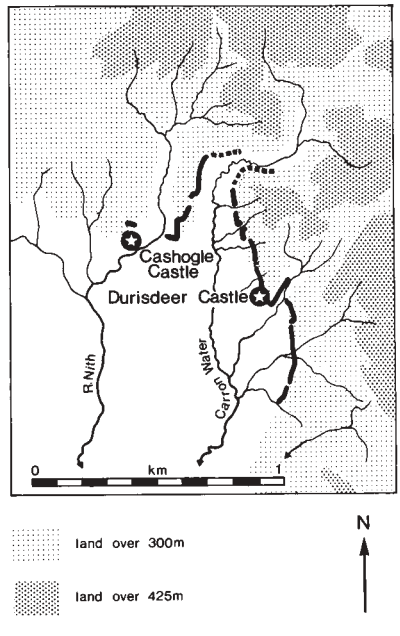


Fig. 4b
Chapel Belt Plantation – Nether Dalveen–Enterkin Burn 170, 171



whose object was twofold: to protect the deer from the general public, and to make it easier for supplies of venison to be obtained when urgently required by travellers having rights to them from the royal forests' (Anderson 1967, vol 1, 139). These parks did not necessarily enclose hunting forests alone, but also plantations, pastures and arable land.

By the AD 1130s large parts of the Borders had been enclosed, including areas in the parishes of Morebattle and Mow. In AD 1288 the bailiff of Jedworth had an item entered in the Exchequer Rolls for 4950 yds of ditch and hedge to be constructed about both the wood and meadows of Jedworth (Anderson 1967, 140). In AD 1260 there is a reference to a new park at Kincardine. More emparkations took place in the 14th and 15th centuries when royal control was weak (Gilbert 1975, 258-73). Fencing of the forest served several functions and was extremely time-consuming. In AD 1483 the tenants of the Forest of Campsie were given two years to build walls round half the forest. Symson (1684) quoted by Anderson (1967, 141) refers to two linear earthworks of this survey. Referring to Morton Castle in Nithsdale, Symson says 'Near to this castle was a park built by Sir Thomas Randolph (*c* AD 1330) on the face of a very great and high hill, so artificially, that, by the advantage of the hill, all wild beasts, such as Deer, Harts and Roes did easily jump in, but could not get out again.'

Anderson claims a similar dyke was built up the dale on the Eliock estate. This is precisely the region where the Enterkin set of earthworks is to be found (Fig. 4b), and it is suggested that these earthworks serve the same function as those Symson describes at Castle Morton. A similar construction can be seen at Raeshaw (Fig. 4a) where the earthwork surrounds the crest of the steep-sided valley round Dormount Cleuch. The walls are substantial and the ditch is on the downhill side, making it impossible for anything to leap out of the valley onto the grazing lands of Raeshaw Fell. If *184* is the dyke referred to in *Liber de Melrose* (*c* AD 1190), and it has not been added to or extended since then, this may be one of the first examples of emparkment in Scotland. It is known that baronial and monastic hunting rights were given in this parish at an early date (Gilbert 1975). There is of course the possibility that the dyke referred to in *Liber de Melrose* had been extended at a later date to serve this function.

2.7: Woodbanks

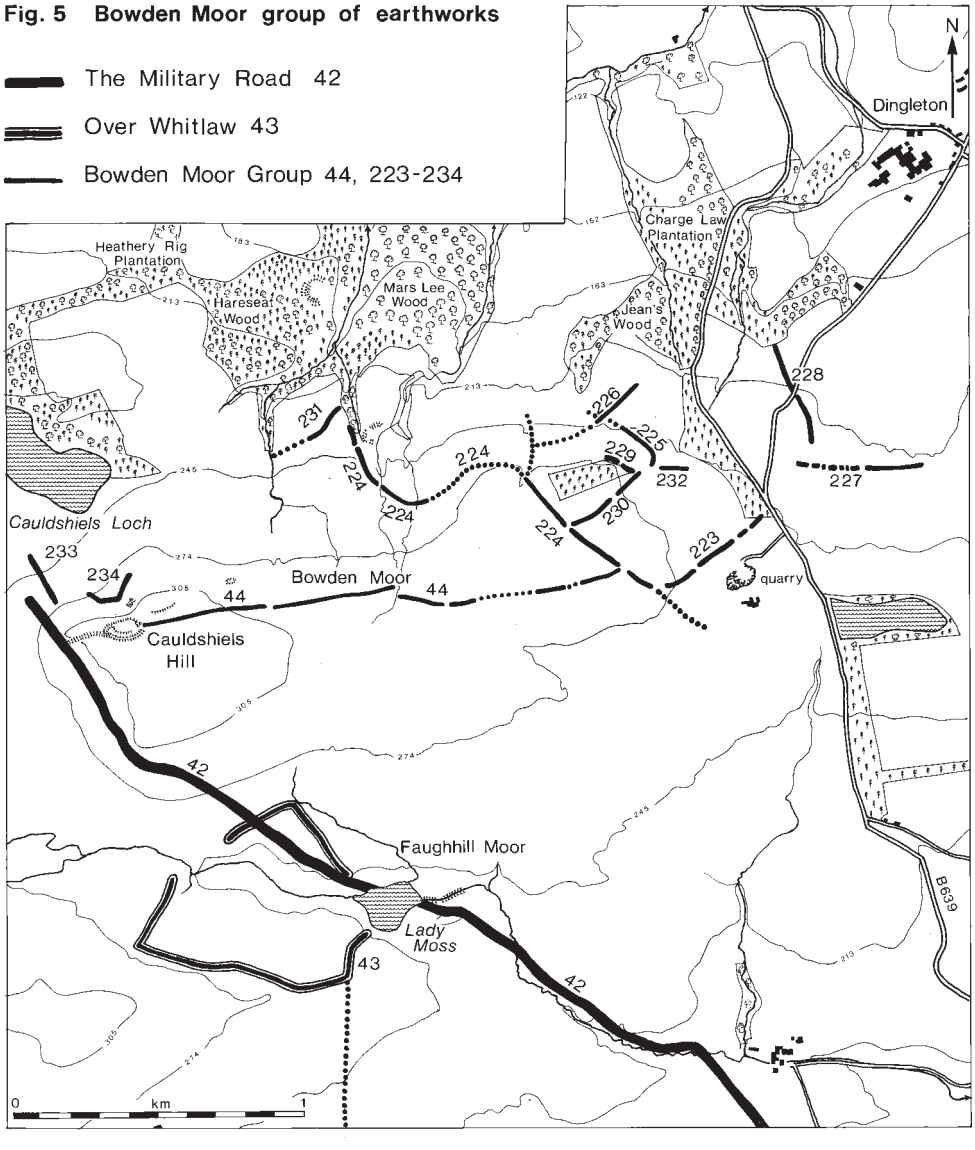
In the 16th century the Crown grew concerned about the availability of wood and urged landowners to cultivate trees. By the end of the century almost every castle in the southern counties had enclosed woodland (Parry & Slater 1980, 227). Many woodbanks date from about this period. In woodland management it was impossible to grow trees without enclosing them with a fence for seven to nine years to protect young shoots from grazing cattle and sheep. These fences, it was deemed, should be of earth, as the most economic defence from grazing animals. Often hedges and poles were added to the banks which were usually six feet high, measured from the bottom of a two-foot ditch. They were often of a temporary nature, since, when the trees were large enough, the woods would be opened up to provide valuable grazing. As a result, woodbanks often reflect the constantly changing growth and reduction of wooded areas, and today this pattern can be discerned on the ground, the Bowden Moor earthworks (*44*, *223-32*) providing an excellent illustration of this. Much of Bowden Moor was enclosed for wood in about 1500 (Anderson 1967, 161), and the earthworks are scattered across a large area (see Fig. 5).

The area round Linglie Hill (*157*) and Howdenpot Knowes-Cribs Hill (*156*) also reveals substantial remnants of old woods, though it does not carry the number of earthworks that Bowden Moor does. However, the Linglie Hill earthbank (*157*) still divides an area of old deciduous wood from pasture.

2.8: Miscellaneous land divisions

It is impossible to define with any certainty the functions of the earthworks attributed to this class. In general, their sizes, lengths and topographical positions suggest that they are

Fig. 5 Bowden Moor group of earthworks



economic land divisions but it is not possible to establish their function more precisely than this.

Group 3: Miscellaneous sites

3.1: Defensive outworks

It was intended to exclude linear earthworks found in close proximity to forts from the current survey. A true understanding of their function would have required an understanding of a whole complex of earthworks associated with the forts, a task which should properly be left to a separate investigation. However, in practice, some linear earthworks of this kind were included in the survey, either because they had been classified as linear earthworks elsewhere, or because their proximity to forts was not recognized until they were examined in the field. These earthworks have been classified here as defensive outworks, although often they are possibly land divisions and unassociated with the forts. It must be emphasized, therefore, that earthworks in this class are a small, and probably unrepresentative, sample.

3.2: Modern sites

Three sites are recorded here which are obviously modern. Their inclusion is occasioned solely by the fact that earlier authors had described them as linear earthworks. Many other such sites exist. In general they are less massive than true linear earthworks and commonly form part of a modern agricultural system of fences or enclosures.

3.3: Anomalous: including sites which are re-classified as non-earthworks

Some 35 linear earthworks cannot be allocated to the main categories of this survey. Either they are not true linear earthworks or their functions are impossible to determine, usually because a large part of their length has been destroyed, making it impossible to guess at their relationships with the topography or with other monuments. There are four linear earthworks - Clints Black Dyke (*30*), Broomhill Blackdykes (*56*), Caddrounburn Culvert (*152*) and Boons Black Dyke (*160*) - surveyed by the OS and the RCAHMS, and considered by them to be the remains of old roads and tracks. Two structures have been included wrongly in the literature on linear earthworks, firstly, The Shearers (*91*) which is a row of stones of unknown function and completely anomalous here, and secondly, Langton Edge (*95*), which could not be found, though near the NGR given by RCAHMS is a very high feature, 1.5 m high, 4.5 m wide and 12 m long, on the site of a medieval rabbit warren. It looks undamaged except for a small amount of natural erosion and it is unlikely to be a truncated linear earthwork. Finally, two earthworks surveyed by us proved to be natural features. Ewes Doors B (*195*) appeared to be a natural drainage channel descending the steep bank immediately below the pass, and Whitehill (Lower) D (*203*) may have been a sheep run.

3.4: Destroyed sites

Twelve linear earthworks were found to have been damaged to the point where only the merest trace of them could be discerned. Six were destroyed by afforestation and five by ploughing for cultivation and improved grazing. Descriptions taken from the last recorded

survey (usually the OS or the RCAHMS) have been included here for the sake of completeness. Afforestation is responsible for much destruction of linear earthworks in the higher regions, and an examination of pre-war aerial photographs, taken before much of the borderland was re-forested, hints that the level of destruction may even be as high as one in two linear earthworks destroyed. Further research of early aerial photographs is clearly required. At the lower altitudes the threat from cultivation and improved grazing is also intense and may increase with the encouragement of EU grants to develop larger fields for cultivation of cereal crops. Evidence of this trend is to be seen already in the Millfield Plain in Northumberland, where large stretches of hillside have been denuded of features in order to make way for a 'prairie-type' farming practice.

CHAPTER 3: GAZETTEER OF GROUP 1 SITES

As discussed in the previous chapters, this group consists of political land divisions. The gazetteer is presented in the order in which the types have been discussed (above) and ranges from the national boundary sites to the lesser earthworks. The attribution of a particular site to a category does not preclude its functioning also in the role ascribed to a lesser category.

The gazetteer entries are presented in a uniform fashion. The title line begins with the survey number of the site followed by the site name, then, in parentheses, the National Grid co-ordinates of both ends of the earthwork (a single NGR for destroyed or very short sites), followed by its altitude in metres above Ordnance Datum, and its approximate length in metres.

1.1: National Border earthworks

Only *144*, the Scots Dike, is historically documented. *127* lies on the present Border.

144 Scots Dike (NY 3307 7367 to NT 3872 7319; 55 m OD; *c* 5000 m)

Only traceable within Scots Dike Plantation. Consists of a bank, with slight ditches on either side, which varies in width from 5.8 m at the west end to 3.3 m at the east end, stands to a maximum height of 0.8 m, and is *c* 5000 m long. Well preserved, in places. Marked the AD 1552 English-Scottish Border between the Rivers Esk and Sark, its terminal points marked by squared stones bearing the Royal Arms of England and Scotland, neither of which was located (Fig. 6).

127 Countrup Sike (NT 8495 2912; 134 m OD; 20 m)

A much reduced bank, 0.2 m high and 2 m wide. Runs for less than 20 m, virtually along the line of the Border, in a north-west direction. RCAHMS (1956) suggests it marked the boundary between the kingdoms, but RCAHMS (1967) notes that on field observation this is impossible to confirm.

1.2: Prehistoric and Early Medieval political boundaries

These very long monuments have usually been interpreted as defining frontiers. Thus, the Deil's Dyke was thought to mark a hiatus in the northward expansion of the Saxons, and the Catrail to have been a frontier between the Romanized Britons in the west and the Saxons in the east. The great lengths imputed to these sites contributed to their interpretation as significant political boundaries, but, as detailed descriptions of the Catrail show, these lengths are illusory. Only one site - the Catrail - was investigated in detail and the report on this is presented first, followed by brief accounts of the other long earthworks. The gazetteer for the Catrail describes the separate segments which make up this composite monument.

Fig. 6 Scots Dyke

The Catrail J Milln

Prior to this report, as many as fifty writers have mentioned the Catrail, the most recent being the RCAHMS which, in the autumn of 1945, carried out the only previous systematic survey (RCAHMS, 1956). All those portions given credence by RCAHMS (and many other earthworks which have on occasion been hypothesized as forming part of the Catrail), were re-surveyed by the CEU in 1984. The major part of the earthwork examined in 1945 had survived, but increasing land-use pressure including forestry, drainage and cultivation, has been responsible for a rapid deterioration in its overall condition.

The erroneous but popular concept of an earthwork extending for some 86 km in a broad arc from Peel Fell on the border with Northumberland to Torwoodlee, north of Galashiels, was first expressed in the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (Gordon 1726, 102-4). Chalmers (1886, 240-3) regarded it as having formed a frontier between Romanized Britons in the west and the Saxons in the east, running from the Forth to the Tyne, and including the Northumbrian Black Dyke.

Murray (1864, 37-8) seems to have been the first to point out that the Catrail incorporates two separate and distinct earthworks. Craw's plan of 1924 (Craw 1924, 42) shows one segment running from Roberts Linn to Hoscote or possibly Clearburn, and a second, the Pictswork, extending from Linglie Hill to Torwoodlee near Galashiels.

Some succeeding writers were prepared to accept the curtailed Catrail, but Smail (1879) and particularly Lynn (1898) adhered in detail to the older theory. Lynn's account is the more meticulous, but he was unable to distinguish between the true linear earthwork and the intermittent remains of old

roads and field-boundaries; most notable is his misinterpretation of branches of the Minchmoor Road in Selkirkshire, which have since been clarified (Inglis 1924, 205-6). The RCAHMS account of the course of the Catrail (1956, 479-83), as well as for the Pictswork (1957, Nos 126-7), is questionable only in matters of minor detail.

The course of the Catrail is shown in Fig. 3. The following account examines it sector by sector beginning at its alleged origin at Peel Fell, on the border (Gordon 1726, 102). Earlier reports suggest that the Catrail ran for about 9 km from Peel Fell to Roberts Linn via the Wormscleuch, Liddel, Dawston and Cliffhope valleys. The only definite linear earthwork now visible on this line is an indeterminate fragment at Caddrounburn Culvert (*152*). As the RCAHMS survey points out (1956, 480), the topography of the steep-sided Roberts Linn forms a convenient natural break to its course here.

With the exception of a 350 m gap to the west of the Langside Burn (*281*) the earthwork from Roberts Linn is continuous as far as the head of Barny Sike (*282*) and it is only beyond this point that uncertainty occurs. Smail (1879, 113), following Gordon and Chalmers, asserts that it crossed Whitehill Lower to the north of the enclosure; there is indeed a linear earthwork at this height (*201*), but no evidence of a connection past Pyot's Nest (NT 4817 0530). Furthermore, this earthwork is markedly off line with the bank on the south side of the ditch. This suggests that it is one of a number of linear outworks delimiting the ground around Pyots' Nest fort on its landward side where it is overlooked by Whitehill. A short length of linear outwork passing close to the south-west side of the enclosure at the Dod (NT 4727 0602) is aligned on *201* and could perhaps be considered part of the Catrail (Ian Smith, pers comm), but it is isolated and nowhere recognized in the literature.

Elsewhere, the line of the Catrail incorporates streams, suggesting that the course from the head of Barny Sike might be along Barny Sike itself and the Dod Burn. The next section would thus seem to be *283* and, though this earthwork is discontinuous, for the most part its character is similar to that recognized elsewhere. RCAHMS (1956, No 481) suggests its sudden extinction above Priesthaugh might be explained by an area of valley side scrub carrying the work to the top of *284*, 900 m to the north.

It is debatable whether the short stretch of bank from Peel Brae to the Dod-Priesthaugh road continued west across the road to the earthwork on the Allan Water; though Lynn does record a cropmark in the cultivated field (Lynn 1898, 79). The connection with the Allan Water, which almost certainly maintained the line to Doecleuch, might alternatively be made by a 300 m length of earthwork, consisting of a ploughed-down bank, running along the valley floor north of the farm at Priesthaugh (*288*).

The next surviving fragment, *285*, lies on the north-west slopes of Doecleuch Hill, and continues the RCAHMS Inventory entry (1956, No 481), which cites a point (NT 460 061) on the south-east of that hill. The area is disturbed by rig and furrow and it was not discernable in the present survey. It is possible however, that the work ran from the steep lip of Doecleuch at NT 4609 0634 to join the truncated end of *285* at the Dod Burn-Teindside Road and part of the line of this is preserved by an old footpath. *285* may have continued as far as Chapel Cleuch, just south-west of Old Northhouse (it is marked on a plan of 1857 in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland), but the area is now marshy and no earthwork can be distinguished.

The course of the Catrail, as far as the Muselee Burn, continued by the Northhouse and Teindside Burns and *286*, has never been disputed. Lynn (1898, 73) claimed that a short length was to be seen on the west side of the Muselee Burn opposite the north-west end of *286*, but he seems to have been misled by a track. By implication, it ran north/north-west across the rough pasture to pass close by the west side of the enclosed earthwork at Broadlee. As the latter certainly belongs to the enclosure, there can be no doubt that the work was continued to the Borthwick valley by the Muselee Burn.

Many writers (Smail 1879, 113; Lynn 1898, 78; Craw 1924, 42) assume that *134* continued the earthwork from the head of a dry gully above the Hoscote policies. The RCAHMS rightly recognizes this as a work of a completely different trend and follows Kennedy (1860, 121) in accepting *287* as bridging the hiatus between the south end of this earthwork and the Hoscote Burn, with a course meeting the burn at NT 3845 1115. The case for accepting *287*, though, is not proven, as this earthwork shows evidence of recent modification, perhaps as a field boundary, and the characteristics of the Catrail, if they existed, are obscured. Lynn's idea of a 'branch line' continuing north-west past Hoscoteshiel to include *12* should therefore be dismissed. Murray's theory (1864, 37) should also be mentioned here, namely that the work terminated not on the Dean Burn but on the Clear Burn.

Two earthworks, Quarry Rig (*14*) and Clear Burn (*10*), carry on the line from near the upper end of the Hoscote Burn to a point just above the head of Buck Cleuch Linn. The remains of both earthworks are badly damaged by drainage and afforestation, but their alignment and character are similar to that of the Catrail proper (see below). The sectors of the 'core monument', to which the name Catrail has been restricted are as follows -

281 Catrail (NT 5385 0262 to NT 5005 0365; 259-322 m OD; 4140 m)

Roberts Linn - Langside Burn

The largest continuous portion of the true Catrail. Runs west from the mouth of Roberts Linn across the north ridge of Leap Hill to the west/north-west as far as the Langside Burn, a distance of *c* 4 km. Crosses 11 small burns flowing north into the Slitrig Water and the spurs and ridges between, irrespective of contour. Clearly visible, but in poor condition. On steep slopes its character has been degraded by natural surface drainage and on the more level ridge tops it has been obscured by the accumulation of peat.

Consists of a low, rounded bank with a ditch, generally the more noticeable feature, on the uphill side. Today it rarely exceeds an overall width of 6 m and height of 0.5 m. Peat accumulation may account for some of the considerable diminution since it was first recorded 250 years ago. RCAHMS notes a counterscarp bank in one place which has vanished since 1945, but generally the work is not badly affected by human activity. Entire portion now covered by plantations within which it occupies a generous corridor, although a number of narrow surface drains cut the work, but vunerable to damage in the course of thinning and felling and by heavy machinery using the break in which it lies.

282 Catrail (NT 4975 0405 to NT 4815 0502; 30-451 m OD; 1970 m)

Foot of the Pike - Barny Sike

This earthwork, visually the most impressive surviving portion of the Catrail proper, extends from the upper limit of once cultivated land to the west of the Langside Burn. Runs steeply across the ridge of the Pike, across the Penchrise Burn and a further, lower ridge of high ground to terminate at the head of the Barny Sike, a feeder stream of the Dod Burn. Largely as described by RCAHMS with a definite ditch traceable over most of its course, flanked on the north/north-east by a main bank and on the south/south-west by a slighter counterscarp bank. It is obscured by peat moss on the more level ground at the summit of the Pike, in the valley of the Penchrise Burn, and on the moor to the west of the modern track from Peelbraehope to Stobs, but the general character of the work is clear, with overall dimensions of 5.5-6.5 m wide and 0.7-1.2 m high.

Between the top of the Pike and the modern track the earthwork is followed closely, and at points crossed by, the present boundary between the lands of Penchrise Farm and those of the Forestry Commission. The latter's land was ploughed and planted in 1981 and it is evident that despite this portion being scheduled, it has been badly disfigured, particularily in the area near the Penchrise Burn.

283 Catrail (NT 4825 0575 to NT 4770 0590; 305-366 m OD; 480 m)

Head of dry hollow west of the Dod Burn - Shoulder of Peel Brae

The position of this earthwork is somewhat dislocated from the Catrail, but similarities in its course and character allowed its acceptance by the RCAHMS. Running from the head of a dry linear gully to the west of the Dod Burn, it ascends the ridge of Gray Coat along a slightly sinuous course, is crossed by the property boundary along the spine of that ridge and finishes abruptly on the shoulder overlooking the Allan valley.

Consists of a ditch with a bank to the north. RCAHMS suggests that its segmented appearance is due to its construction in short sections, however, the occurrence of localized patches of moss and the considerable disturbance wrought by an old track, the 'Thieves' Road', and banks associated with *185* render this observation most uncertain.

284 Catrail (NT 4675 0535 to NT 4630 0440; 259 m OD; 90 m)

Foot of Peel Brae - Modern Dod/Priesthaugh road

Consists of a broad low bank some 4 m across. No ditch. Runs from near the foot of the steep Peel Brae ridge where it has an abrupt, round terminus, to the Dod/Priesthaugh road, by which it is clearly cut. The RCAHMS has followed the received opinion that it is part of the Catrail, although the differences in form suggest that its position and alignment may well be fortuitous. Abutted near its upper end by a length of eroded head-dyke running south.

285 Catrail (NT 4561 0672 to NT 4535 0672; 256-305 m OD; 340 m)

Doecleuch Hill/Gray Hill - Old Northhouse Swamp

Visible on the west side of the Teindside-Priesthaugh road between Doecleuch Hill and Grey Hill. Runs west, down to the edge of the boggy ground south-east of Old Northhouse. Consists of a ditch with a bank on the north and a slight counterscarp bank to the south.

Best-preserved at east end near the road. There is a reduction in the vertical dimension of both the main bank and ditch to the west end, with the lowest 20 m much modified by run-off and artificial drainage. Both sides currently being eroded by ploughing.

286 Catrail (NT 4133 0960 to NT 4047 1038; 271-297 m OD; 1140 m)

Teindside Burn - Muselee Burn

Visible in the moss at the head of the Teindside Burn as a large ditch, probably enlarged by seasonal erosion. Runs north-west to the parish boundary by which time the ditch is 0.35 m deep: the main bank to the north-east, 2.5 m wide and 0.25 m high, and a counterscarp bank to the south-west, 1.6 m wide and 0.1 m high. Easily traced to its termination on the Muselee Burn, with dimensions similar to those above, though the counterscarp bank is discontinuous. Towards the north end where the work, unusually, is overlooked by high ground to the north-east, the main bank changes to the south-west side.

Broken in four places by droving tracks. Has suffered erosion from livestock. Obscured by an area of peat moss just north-west of the parish boundary.

287 Catrail (NT 3890 1160 to NT 3735 1135; 259-283 m OD; 520 m)

North-east corner cultivated lands of Girnwood - Tributary of the Dean Burn

Commences at the track which passes to the north of the cultivated lands of Girnwood and borders a new conifer plantation. Runs north/north-west across two small tributary streams of the Dean Burn to end abruptly at the bank of a third. RCAHMS regards only the southern two-thirds of this length to

be part of the Catrail (NT 3890 1160 - NT 3796 1216) dismissing the remainder as being 'probably an agricultural division'. However, the line is unbroken and on the same alignment, suggesting a common usage if not origin.

The ditch is 2.5 m wide, very shallow, and with a bank on the east/north-east side and in the former section only is an exiguous bank. The main bank at some 0.8 m is surprisingly high, which suggests that if this earthwork belongs to the Catrail it has been raised and the ditch widened, giving credence to the RCAHMS suggestion that it was used as an agricultural division; the current boundary, a stone wall, runs alongside.

Much of the earthwork now runs within a young conifer plantation and the drainage ditches associated with this development cut it in a number of places.

288 Possibly Catrail: Priesthaugh (NT 4646 0480 to NT 4660 0510; 219-223 m OD; 300 m)

Runs from the edge of a small copse of deciduous trees across the valley floor north of Priesthaugh Farm to a thicket. Consists of a low, rounded bank, much reduced by cultivation, and a very slight ditch on its east side. The bank is nowhere greater than 0.3 m high, its cropmark being some 3 m wide. Runs along a gap in the line of the Catrail, but it may simply represent an old drainage dyke.

289 Possibly Catrail: Doecleuch Hill (NT 4562 0640 to NT 4561 0672; 305-312 m OD; 310 m)

Runs from the south end of Gray Hill along the ridge of Doecleuch Hill just east of its crest, through a mature conifer plantation towards the middle of a large field of improved pasture. South end severely damaged by cultivation. North end overrides the filled ditch of the Catrail (*285*) and abuts its bank close to the modern road between Teindside and Dod.

Where both are still visible, the bank (2 m by 0.25 m) lies on the east side of the ditch (1.5 by 0.3 m). Badly damaged by ploughing and plantation trenches, the only well-preserved section being the 15 m at the north end used as a field boundary at present. Probably an early agricultural dyke and not part of the Catrail.

1.3: Other long earthworks considered as early political boundaries

93 Heriots Dyke (NT 7016 4850 to NT 7034 4848; 213 m OD; 1780 m)

For the most part a rounded bank with a V-shaped ditch to the south. Profile well-preserved across the moorland, but has sustained damage from rabbits. Broken by trackways, and in places flat-topped and used as a trackway.

Enters improved land at west end and has sustained considerable damage from livestock. The earthwork as a bank and ditch, ends and after a break of 22 m and re-appears 9 m south of the previous terminal as a single small bank. A second smaller bank appears for a short stretch of 0.5 m to the north of the main bank. The bank follows the south edge of a deep, flat-bottomed gully and terminates alongside it. At the east end, the earthwork fades in marshy ground just before the main Greenlaw road.

142 Deil's Jingle (NY 2534 9112 to NY 2550 9356; 198 m OD; 2500 m)

Now situated in forestry land. Partly destroyed by forestry ploughing and by the use of its bank as a road for machinery. In other places its ditch has been re-cut for modern drainage. Runs north from the steep valley slope of the White Esk river. North part now completely obliterated by forestry. From previous records, probable that at least 70% of the monument's length has been destroyed.

42 Military Way (NT 5494 2853 to NT 5120 3200; 213 m OD; 5 km)

In 1845 the New Statistical Account of Scotland (III, 38-9) described this monument as a military road and connected it to circular camps, 'supposed to be Roman', to be found along its length. The OS

adopted this view and inserted it as such in its map, sheet N8 of Roxburghshire. O G S Crawford (1936, 346-9) investigated its course in 1934 and 1935 and concluded that it was a defensive frontier, used as an obstacle to chariots by people inhabiting the north-east side of the monument. He likens it to the defensive frontiers in the south of England, (while being aware of the difference in construction), and states that it has not the slightest resemblance to Roman workmanship. He does, however, suggest that it may be a 'barbaric imitation of the Roman walls made by natives, who had either seen one of them, or heard about them by repute'. The monument was next surveyed by RCAHMS who agreed with Crawford that it was a defensive frontier, 'particularly against attacks by chariots', and added in 1956, 'in the manner of the modern anti-tank obstacle'. They were tempted to suppose that it may have been part of a defensive frontier system enclosing land below Melrose, and based on the great fort on Eildon Hill. They also noted three other forts which could have been part of the system; Bowchester, Cauldshiels Hill, and Blackchester.

In 1961 and 1971 the OS surveyed this earthwork in considerable detail without making conclusions as to its function. The CEU used their works while surveying it in 1982 and found no need for amendments in any but the smallest detail.

First traces of the earthwork occur just south-east of Kippilaw where it appears as a single ditch, 7.6 m wide and 1.5 m deep, cutting through two parallel outcrops of rock but obliterated by ploughing between them. Can be traced intermittently to Holy Dean, during which time it appears mainly as two ditches with a bank between them. Occasionally there is a counterscarp bank on the north-east side. Evidence of the ditches having been used by vehicles in almost all places.

Survives better from Holy Dean to Lady Moss. Runs for about 1 km along the north-east bank of the burn where the burn is utilized as one ditch, with a very large bank built along the burn's bank. The second ditch usually occurs just below the lip of the natural burn bank and behind the man-made one. This ditch also shows evidence of traffic and presents itself as a very well-defended roadway, making passage along it invisible to the north-east and south-west. Dimensions vary from a 2 m wide man-made bank with a ditch 9 m wide on its north-west side, the bottom being 4-5 m below the lip of the burn bank and 2 m below the man-made bank, to being a bank 2 m in height with ditch 2.3 m deep. These dimensions become less spectacular towards Lady Moss, though their existence may be conjectured from the width of the remains, 21 m overall. From Lady Moss to Cauldshiels Loch the earthwork passes over cultivated land and only traces can be seen in the fields, reappearing best where farmers have taken pains not to plough it out. However, even here it was once a feature of considerable proportions and consisted in the main of two ditches with a bank in between, and traces of a second, perhaps a counterscarp bank, to the north-east side.

The view that this work is a Roman military road can be dismissed since the construction is unlike known Roman roads and there is no evidence for Roman camps along its route. However, there is evidence that traffic has passed along the length of the ditches, deepening them and occasionally breaking through the banks to form hollow ways branching away from the bank. This is particularly clear at NT 5395 2968 where two hollow ways have broken the south-west bank at the same point and made a course in a north-west direction up the inside ditch which has been deepened beyond this point.

Crawford's view, reiterated by the RCAHMS, is that it is a defensive construction. Whether it was built in imitation of the Roman walls must be substantiated by dating evidence. Its links with the forts of Eildon Hill, Bowchester and Blackchester also have to be substantiated, and the argument would be made more convincing if traces of the work could be found extending further to the north and south, making the links in the system less tenuous.

The work seems to be fairly well preserved and the detailed surveys of 1934, 1956, 1961, 1971 and 1982 suggest that the rate of attrition has been very slow during this century. The areas most vulnerable to agricultural expansion have already been damaged (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7 Military Way

235 The Deil's Dyke (NS 839 051 to NS 615 116; 274 m OD; 23 km)

This monument survives along the line described by Graham and Feachem (1956), though it is considerably more fragmentary and dilapidated. Segments excavated in 1982 and 1984, totalling some 1.5 km, have been, or are being, destroyed in open-cast mining operations (Barber 1982; Halpin 1984). Elsewhere the monument has undergone considerable damage, mainly from agricultural operations. The form of the earthwork is discussed in detail in the published sources (see above).

Viewed as a unitary monument, the Deil's Dyke is probably medieval in date (Tabraham 1982, 42), but it is clear that it incorporates earlier sites along some parts of its length (Barber 1982, 29-50).

1.4: Parish, barony and other local administration boundaries

Unlike the south of England, parishes, baronies, counties and similar local administrative land divisions in Scotland are not commonly demarcated by linear earthworks or sunken ways. In fact,

only two other sites are known which seem to serve this function in respect of county boundaries, while part of the Deil's Dyke seems to act as a boundary to two parishes (see 1.2 above).

50 Wheelrig Head (NT 6127 0152 to NT 6161 0135; 419 m OD; 640 m; NMRS No NT 60 SW 4)

Runs north-west for about 640 m from the right bank of March Sike, near its head, to the moss about 137 m south-west of the summit ridge. Very poorly preserved owing to the spreading of the bank and the filling of the ditch. Only the west section survives, the east area having been afforested in 1976. Appears to have been a land division separating the sike from the ridge. The Roxburgh county border runs parallel to this earthwork which may have been an old county marker.

163 Corlaw Burn (NY 332 986 to NT 335 981; 366 m OD; *c* 590 m)

Situated in a forestry plantation at the head of the Corlaw Burn. Runs in a north/north-west direction for some 590 m. Consists of a bank up to 6 m wide and 2 m high flanked by a ditch on its uphill side at the north/north-west end.

The position, parallel with the Dumfriesshire-Roxburgh county border, may indicate that like *50*, it is an old county border marker. However, it is also positioned across the head of Corlaw Sike, suggesting a local boundary marker.

1.5: Cross-routeway earthworks

The organization of these sites in respect of the natural routeways through and over the Cheviot Massif has been discussed in Chapter 2. The network of routeways is indicated in Figs. 1 & 3 which also record the distribution of the sites. The gazetteer is organized by routeway, with the earthworks on each route described in order, approximately from south to north and from east to west.

Routeway 20: Dere Street

The route followed by the Roman road called 'Dere Street' crosses the Border, descending the north flank and the Cheviot Hills between the Roman camps at Chew Green to the south and Pennymuir Rig to the north. It follows the west and north edges of the watershed and is crossed by *66* at Brownhart Law, about 1 km north of Chew Green. Thence it runs north to Blackhall Hill where it turns west and divides north and south. The north leg of the route cuts *85* at Greyhen Rock.

Both legs of the routeway join again to cross the narrow rig from Blackhall Hill to Hunthall Hill where a single earthwork, Watch Knowe (*86*), runs between the head of Twise Hope and the north edge of Blackie Hope. The narrow neck of the rig between Hunthall Hill and Woden Law is cut by a group of four earthworks: *178/179* (probably a single site); *79*; *181*; and *90*. These constitute a virtual 'type-site' for cross-routeway earthworks. Dere Street itself crosses this rig in a form which could be mistaken for an earthwork (see *180*) and which has implications for the interpretation of other sites.

Once west of the narrow neck, Dere Street turns north, and at Old Streethouse turns west again to begin its descent to Teviotdale via Hangingshaw Sike, near the head of which it cuts through yet another earthwork (*90*).

Field observations suggest that Dere Street is later than all of these earthworks, but the RCAHMS has suggested (1956, No 402) that the excavation of *79*, by Sir W de L Aitchison-Bart, had shown it to be later than the Roman road but earlier than some of the possibly medieval sunken ways which parallel the latter's course (RCAHMS 1956, No 811, App A).

66 Brownhart Law (NT 7896 0967 to NT 7922 0953; 472 m OD; *c* 300 m; NMRS No NT 70 NE 15)

Crosses the north-east shoulder of Brownhart Law from the head of Had Hope to the head of an un-named burn which joins the Coquet of Makenden, east of the Border. Traversed by Dere Street and its accompanying tracks for 49 m. West end consists of a ditch with a bank on its downhill, south/

south-west side. However, the bank is on the north/north-east side of the 53 m length that lies within Roxburghshire.

85 Blackhall Hill (NT 7802 1178 to NT 7808 1187; 457 m OD; 75 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 18)

A low, rounded bank with a flat-bottomed ditch on its uphill side. Ruinous except for a short stretch where the ditch is cut through by a rock outcrop. Originates on the upper slopes of Blackhall Hill and runs north-east through Greyhen Rock and down the slope between Watch Knowe and Scraesburgh Fell.

86 Watch Knowe A (NT 7759 1166 to NT 7765 1191; 404 m OD; 260 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 19)

A low, rounded bank with a U-shaped ditch on its east side. Generally ruinous, though well-preserved at its south end. Originates on the down slope of the Blackie Hope valley and runs north across a saddle, fading into marshy ground on the down slope of the Twise Hope valley. Cut by Dere Street and its associated trackways and controls the only passage between Watch Knowe to the north-east and Hunthall to the south-west.

87 Watch Knowe B (as A above)

Originally identified as a separate earthwork (and so listed in App 1), it is clear that this site is merely part of the single, but rather fragmented site at Watch Knowe A (*86*).

88 White Hope A (NT 7723 1204 to NT 7729 1210; 363 m OD; 85 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 21)

This flattened bank with no apparent ditch is much worn by the passage of traffic which has widened the gap created by the insertion of Dere Street. It lies across the saddle with the main body of the earthwork on the west side of the gap just noted. Pre-dates Dere Street.

178 White Hope B (NT 7728 1201 to NT 7728 1204; 381 m OD; 33 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 21)

Well-preserved earthwork consisting of a steep bank with a deep V-shaped ditch on its uphill side. It may, as the RCAHMS suggests, have been joined originally with *179* (1956, No 401), but Dere Street and its associated trackways now lie between these. However, it differs in form from *179* and may represent a different earthwork.

179 White Hope D (NT 7730 1205 to NT 7733 1207; 381 m OD; 40 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 21)

Two rounded banks with a steep V-shaped ditch running between them. Uphill end has been eroded by traffic - ancient and modern. Downhill end currently being eroded by sheep since feed troughs have been placed at its base. Runs down the very steep slope north of the routeway and at right angles to it. Possible that its south (uphill) end was removed by Dere Street and/or *180*, but only excavation could now reveal the relationships.

180 White Hope C (NT 7719 1218 to NT 7730 1202; 381 m OD; 195 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 21)

This apparent earthwork is very large, consisting of a rounded bank some 8 m wide with a U-shaped ditch about 5 m broad on its south-west side. The ditch and bank together form a steep slope about 1.7 m high. Fairly well-preserved at its south-east end, but becomes flattened and spread at the north-west end where presumably traffic has worn it away.

This ‘earthwork’ is a fragment of Dere Street and clearly cuts or truncates the three routeway earthworks *79*, *181* and *178/179*.

79 White Hope E (NT 7222 1210 to NT 7728 1212; 366 m OD; 35 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 21)

Relatively short earthwork lying across the saddle which joins Woden Law to Hunthall Hill. One of a group of three sites all crossed by Dere Street. Low, but well-preserved, with a slight trace of a ditch on its north-east side.

Fig. 8 The cross-routeway earthworks between between Hunthall Hill and Woden Law. The four earthworks straddling the ridge are crossed by Dere Street

181 White Hope F (NT 7718 1207 to NT 7723 1210; 366 m OD; 48 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 21)

Both of these short earthworks survive as low, spread banks with traces of ditches on their south-east sides. Lie on the steep upper slopes of the White Hope Sike and fade out on the south-west edge of the saddle. Possible that like White Hope A (*88*), these once crossed the saddle, but Dere Street and its associated trackways have removed all trace of them on the saddle proper.

90 Woden Law (NT 7708 1211 to NT 7715 1220; 366 m OD; 185 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 49)

The most westerly of the group between Hunthall Hill and Woden Law. Divided into two unequal parts by Dere Street. The first part, south-west of Dere Street, consists of a bank between two ditches and runs down the steep valley-side of White Hope. The north-west ditch of this part is eroded or

absent in places. The second and shorter part runs northeast from Dere Street down the steep slopes towards Twise Hope. This consists of a low, spread bank, slightly out of alignment with the first part and without apparent ditches (Fig. 8).

80 Woden Streethead (NT 7686 1279 to NT 7693 1291; 328 m OD; 140 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 8)

Located near the head of the valley of Hangingshaw Sike. Consists of a 12 m wide bank with a 3 m wide ditch on either side of it. Well preserved except for an area near its centre where the passage of traffic, poor drainage and peat formation have combined to obscure some 70 m of its length. Straddles the course of Dere Street and runs some 30 m up either side of the valley.

Routeway 201: Pennymuir to Whitton Loch; Routeway 202: Trestle Cairn to Routeway 201

Routeway 201 runs roughly parallel with Dere Street (Routeway 20) and some 800 m east of it. It leaves the access road to Buchtrig just east of Pennymuir and runs north to Chatto and thence northwest to join the modern road south of Whitton Loch. It is joined just west of Chatto Craig by Routeway 202 from Trestle Cairn, on Dere Street. Three linear earthworks control these roadways close to the junction. Cross-routeway earthworks *189* and *188* control Routeways 201 and 202 respectively, while *70* controls both routeways. A further possible earthwork (here unrecorded) may also control Routeway 201 (at NT 7600 1619), but excavation would be required to verify its nature.

All of these earthworks effect control on the routeways by cutting across the saddle between Chatto Craig and the hill on which Trestle Cairn is located (RCAHMS 1956, No 811).

189 Chatto Craig (SW) **C** (NT 7591 1589 to NT 7578 1600; 293 m OD; 80 m; NMRS No NT 71 NE 35)

Lies to the south-west of a standing stone (RCAHMS 1956, No 194). A bank with a slight ditch on its south-west side. Shorter but similar to Chatto Craig (SW) A (*70*). Consists of a low, spread bank, up to 3.5 m across and 0.4 m high, and a ditch, 2.5 m across but nowhere more than 0.2 m deep. Little can be said of this earthwork which may be no more than an agricultural dyke as RCAHMS implies, except that it appears older than the trackway which crosses it.

70 Chatto Craig (SW) A (NT 7590 1610 to NT 7572 1617; 305 m OD; 340 m; NMRS No NT 71 NE 35)

Bank with a ditch to the south-west and west. Runs through a slight saddle on the ridge of Chatto Craig with one major change of alignment at the point where it is crossed by the track from Over Chatto to Dere Street at Trestle Cairn. Only survives to the dimensions given by RCAHMS (1956, No 94) at one point, otherwise being much slighter, *c* 4.3 m wide and 0.35 m high.

The Commission's suggestion of 'an integral connection ... between its bank and a number of slighter field banks on the northeast side' is debatable; their orientation and relationships imply that this earthwork is primary.

188 Chatto Craig (SW) B (NT 7618 1659 to NT 7643 1629; 305 m OD; 337 m; NMRS No NT 71 NE 55)

Recorded *de novo*, this work is the finest of the Chatto Craig group. Follows a slightly sinuous course across the Chatto Craig ridge. Pierced recently by two trackways and gapped in a number of places by animal tracks and drains, but well-preserved, the main bank up to 0.8 m high and 6.2 m across the base, and a central ditch up to 3 m across and 0.9 m deep. To the south-west is a slighter 'spoil' or 'counterscarp' bank up to 0.4 m high and 2.7 m across at the base. A berm is evident on the main bank in one or two places.

Routeway 203: Falla Knowe (N) to Routeway 202

This routeway can no longer be detected but its previous existence may be deduced from the breaks in both of the earthworks which occur at this position. These lie immediately west of Dere Street and it is possible that the latter is the surviving replacement of the routeway which these

earthworks controlled. Their positioning across a narrow rig with steep slopes on either side is typical of cross-routeway earthworks.

89 Falla Knowe A (NT 7510 1495 to NT 7480 1505; 274 m OD; 260 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 34)

Noted previously (RCAHMS 1956, Nos 836; 837). A ditch flanked by two banks of approximately equal size. Relatively well-preserved with dimensions as previously noted by RCAHMS and only seriously breached in one place since then by a cart track. Old field banks may be seen to the south and south-east, but they are not contiguous with the earthwork.

186 Falla Knowe B (NT 7500 1503 to NT 7475 1525; 285 m OD; 240 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 34)

Lies parallel with and some 90 m north/north-east of *89*. In very poor condition, but sufficient remains survive to show that, as with *89*, it consists of a ditch with flanking banks. Banks are very low and spread and broken in several places possibly by the passage of wheeled vehicles. Again, like *89*, it is considerably older than the cart track which now cuts it and which seems to be in current use.

Routeway 204: Routeway 30 near Butter Cleugh, north to Chatto Craig and possibly Routeway 202

72 Shank End A (NT 7624 1571 to NT 7629 1590; 259 m OD; 119 m; NMRS No NT 71 NE 17)

A bank with an uphill ditch. Broken by a trackway, a sheep run and a large gap, all of indeterminate age. Surviving sections well preserved and lie across the neck of a ridge.

198 Shank End B (NT 7658 1579 to NT 7654 1568; 244 m OD; 200 m; NMRS No NT 71 NE 17)

Fragments of this bank with uphill ditch totalling 110 m in length survive along a course 200 m in length. Broken by a sheep run, a trackway and a large gap, all of indeterminate age. Poorly preserved with the ditch ephemeral in places.

Routeway 205: Hindhope Hill to Dere Street (Routeway 20)

76 Hunthall Hill (SW) (NT 7725 1159 to NT 7732 1154; 396 m OD; 100 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 31)

A rounded bank with a U-shaped ditch on the uphill side. Well-preserved. Lies across a saddle which divides the White Hope valley and the Blackie Hope valley. South-east end begins on a steep bluff and the south-east side falls away toward Blackie Hope. Controls one of the easier access routes between Dere Street (close to which it lies) and the Kyle Water.

Routeway 30: Kirk Yetholm to Pierburn via Greenhill

This routeway runs in a north-east/south-west direction, parallel with the north edge of the Cheviot Massif. Runs from Kirk Yetholm along the Pennine Way, turning south-west to Belford, continuing south-west across 'The Street' (Routeway 32) and down to Greenhill. From Greenhill it runs to the Kale valley, to Butter Cleuch, and thence to the Pier Burn. Links a network of roads which cross the Cheviot Hills between Teviotdale and the Border.

Five linear earthworks cross this routeway. They do not appear to 'cluster' as the higher sites do, but this apparent difference may be the result of the destruction of earthworks by the more intensive cultivation of this area (RCAHMS 1956, Nos 382; 383; 489; 496).

75 Brundean Laws (NT 7248 1059 to NT 7259 1065; 341 m OD; *c* 120 m; NMRS No NT 71 SW 17)

The bottom of the notch separating Goshen Hill from Philip Law is spanned from east/north-east to west/south-west by a greatly wasted earthwork consisting of a ditch, partly rock-cut, with a bank on its north/north-west side. 120 m long and broken through in the middle by an old road. Its ends fade out on the steep hillsides some 9-12 m above the level floor of the notch or saddle.

73 Swanlaws (NT 7748 1554 to NT 7760 1588; 259 m OD; 225 m; NMRS No NT 71 NE 23)

A bank with an uphill ditch. Well-preserved, albeit with a rounded profile, over the sector south of the trackway. Poorly preserved with a low profile north of the trackway. Crosses the course of the trackway obliquely and lies along the ridge.

71 Butter Cleuch A (NT 7688 1539 to NT 7710 1519; 244 m OD; 220 m; NMRS No NT 71 NE 28)

Controls the passable strip of land between the marshy floor of the river valley and the steeper slopes to the east. In relatively poor condition on the hill slopes and fades out just east of the modern roadway. It may at that point have joined a marshy 'inlet' of the valley floor.

222 Butter Cleuch B (NT 770 154 to NT 772 153; 244m OD; 295m; NMRS No NT 71 NE 28)

Some 150 m south of *71* and roughly parallel to it. As with *71*, it spans the passable ground between the steep slopes to the east and the marshy valley floor to the west. Cut by the modern main road but unlike *71* continues out into the marsh along the crest of a rocky spur. Well-preserved with a difference of 2.2 m between the crest of the bank and the bottom of the ditch.

108 Belford Hope (NT 8050 1950 to NT 8057 1944; 290 m OD; 60 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 1)

At the crest of the pass between Belford Hope and the Hownam Burn the remains of an earthwork extend south-east for 45 m from the site of the Belford-Hownam road. Continues on the north-west side of the road for some 15 m. Now reduced to a ditch up to 3 m wide, with traces of mounds on either side. Crossed in many places by the tracks of the old road.

Routeway 302: Callow Cairn to Greenhill (RCAHMS 1956, No 377)

This routeway provides an alternative to Routeway 341 from which it departs just north of 119. Passes thence to the west on the shoulder of Thorny Hill and north from there via Whitestone Hill and Henshaw Law to Greenhill. A single earthwork controls its passage.

77 Thorny Hill (NT 7996 1478 to NT 8002 1489; 373 m OD; *c* 150 m)

Consists of a bank with a ditch on its lower side. Crosses the ridge that joins Thorny Hill to Whitestone Hill. Its south-west end descends to the Yett Burn, while the north-east end dips well down the slope at the head of the Mainhope Burn. Traversed, towards its north-east end, by the old road. Clear that the opening, 4.5 m wide, has been broken through by the traffic and not provided for it.

Routeway 304: Lamb Hill to Buchtrig (RCAHMS 1956, No 379)

Branches off from Routeway 341 at the head of Dormount Cleuch and descends the north slope of Raeshaw Fell where it is represented by several tracks down the hill. From the bottom of Raeshaw Fell it swings west along the Raeshaw Burn to finish at Buchtrig. At the point of separation from Routeway 341, an earthwork (*122*) crosses the crest of Raeshaw Fell to control all the tracks which here give access to the Border. Further north the routeway is controlled by three earthworks (*82*, *182*, *183*).

82 Raeshaw Fell A (NT 7882 1364 to NT 7935 1350; 344 m OD; 575 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 10)

Very fragmented bank with a ditch on its south (uphill) side. Its fragmentary condition on the shoulder of high ground between the Raeshaw Burn and Dormount Hope is due to traffic.

182 Raeshaw Fell B (NT 7880 1354 to NT 7936 1342; 366 m OD; 530 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 10)

Low bank and shallow ditch on the uphill side. Very fragmented by trackways, ancient and modern, which have removed *c* 90 m of the earthwork. At the east end, the earthwork is well-preserved in moorland and is overlain by *184*. West of the fence cattle pounding has caused damage. The ditch is

Fig. 9 Raeshaw Fell C; the earthwork can be seen in the foreground

only a depression in places but towards the west it becomes more distinct and is causewayed at *c* 10 m intervals. Lies across the shoulder of Raeshaw Fell and fades down steep slopes on both ends.

183 Raeshaw Fell C (NT 7886 1326 to NT 7931 1334; 419 m OD; 450 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 10)

Rounded bank and V-shaped ditch on the uphill side. Reasonably well-preserved, although much fragmented by trackways and drainage. East of the modern fence the bank becomes quite massive and a group of trackways, passing just west of the point where *184* overlies this earthwork, have formed deep hollow ways through it. Lies along the contour on the steep shoulder from Raeshaw Fell and can be traced east of *184* for a short distance before fading down a steep slope (Fig. 9). At its west end where the ditch is again causewayed, the earthwork fades down a steep slope.

Routeway 305: Lamb Hill to Cuthberthope Rig

This routeway divides Routeway 341 at the same point as Routeway 304 to which it provides an alternative route as far as the Bucht Burn. Beyond the Bucht Burn it keeps to the crest of Cuthberthope Rig. It is traversed by the same earthworks as Routeway 304.

Routeway 31: Old Streethead to Pennymuir Bridge via Buchtrig

This routeway departs Dere Street at Old Streethead just north of Woden Law. It descends the west side of Langside Law to Buchtrig then turns west towards the Kale Water at Pennymuir Bridge. Routeway 311 joins it from the east at Buchtrig and it joins Routeway 30 some 240 m east of Pennymuir Bridge (RCAHMS 1956, No 381).

81 Langside Law (NT 7704 1286 to NT 7719 1295; 366 m OD; 180 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 9)

Well-preserved earthwork with a rounded bank and V-shaped ditch on the uphill side. Causewayed at irregular intervals. Lies for the most part along the contour on the slope of Langside Law, but south-west of the break through which the road passes, it runs down the slope for a short distance. Broken in two other places by trackways of indeterminate date.

84 Buchtrig (NT 7709 1417 to NT 7712 1438; 259 m OD; 240 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 16)

240 m long and split into two sectors by a modern road cutting *c* 12 m wide. Runs north/south across a steep-sided saddle and has two banks in its north sector. Ditch has been badly churned up from use as a tractor path. Slight field bank runs south-east from the south end of the south sector along the contour to an unnamed burn. This turns into a massive 2 m high lynchet *en route* and seems secondary to the south sector, the east bank of which has also become a lynchet, whilst its west bank is undetectable. Probable that the south sector was re-used as a field boundary in the medieval period, but its original function related to control of the routeway passing through the saddle and is represented by the modern farm road to Buchtrig Farm.

Routeway 312: 'The Street'

This routeway ascends the south face of the Cheviots from the confluence of the River Coquet and the Trows Burn via the rig at the east of Barrow Law and Ward Law to meet the Border at Black Law. From there it descends the rig between the precipitous drops into the valleys of the Heatherhope Burn on the south-west, and the Calroust Burn on the north-east, to arrive finally at Hownam.

Unlike the Roman road of Dere Street which was a 'constructed' and often embanked road, 'The Street' is really a routeway *sensu stricto*, along the length of which a large number of slightly divergent trackways can be seen. On steep slopes the number of alternative trackways tends to increase. RCAHMS (1956, No 1, 183) notes seven trackways on the route on the north-west shoulder of Calroust Common. The *Liber De Melrose* (quoted in RCAHMS 1956, No 1, 184) refers to a 12th century charter which describes 'Headstreet' and which can be identified with the part of 'The Street' which crosses the south of Craik Moor.

101 Outer Hare Cleuch (NT 8317 1597 to NT 8328 1604; 442 m OD; 13 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 36)

Runs west/south-west from the brink of Outer Hare Cleuch near its head, to within 20 m of the fence marking the parish boundary. Consists of a much spread mound with wide depressions which take the place of a ditch on its upper side. For the most part, very indistinct. One of a series of earthworks found along the line of 'The Street'; probable that 'The Street' antedates the work.

102 Green Knowe-Muckle Sundhope (NT 8234 1700 to NT 8283 1710; 408 m OD; 500 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 42)

Fairly well preserved. Consists of a broad rounded bank with a ditch on its south (uphill) side. Central portion has been cut by a relatively old drainage channel and by traffic from 'The Street'. 'The Street' has obviously changed course at some stage to break the bank east of its original passage. Crosses the saddle at the begining of the slope up to the cairn on Philip Shank. East end starts at the base of a sharp knoll, which has been partly quarried, possibly in association with the earthwork. West end stops at a sharp slope descending into the site of Muckle Sundhope.

The Heather Hope group of earthworks

In its placement on an arête where it dominates the passage of traffic along 'The Street', this group is typical of many of the cross-routeway sites (Figs. 10 & 11).

100 Heather Hope A (NT 8153 1753 to NT 8158 1765; 381 m OD; 135 m; NMRS No NT 81 SW 35)

Well preserved earthwork with rounded bank and shallow, round-bottomed ditch on the south-east side. In the south half the ditch is segmented by smaller causeways; the wider breaks along the ditch

may be larger examples of such causeways. Lies at the base of the slope rising from the saddle between Heather Hope and Singingside Hope. The north-east end terminates abruptly at 'The Street' and its south-west end fades off another track which joins 'The Street' just before *175*.

175 Heather Hope B (NT 8134 1753 to NT 8149 1780; 373 m OD; 330 m; NMRS No NT 81 SW 35)

Well preserved earthwork consisting of a rounded bank and flat-bottomed ditch on the west, which is segmented by small causeways north of its intersection with 'The Street'. The second bank is visible, but the earthwork as a whole is lower along this segment.

Lies across the middle of the saddle between Heather Hope and Singingside Hope, both ends fading out down the valley slopes. Broken in two places by trackways of 'The Street'.

Fig. 11 The cross-routeway earthworks at Heatherhope. The three earthworks lie in the foreground with 'The Street' wending its way through them

SSW

Fig.10a Isometric view of earthwork 100

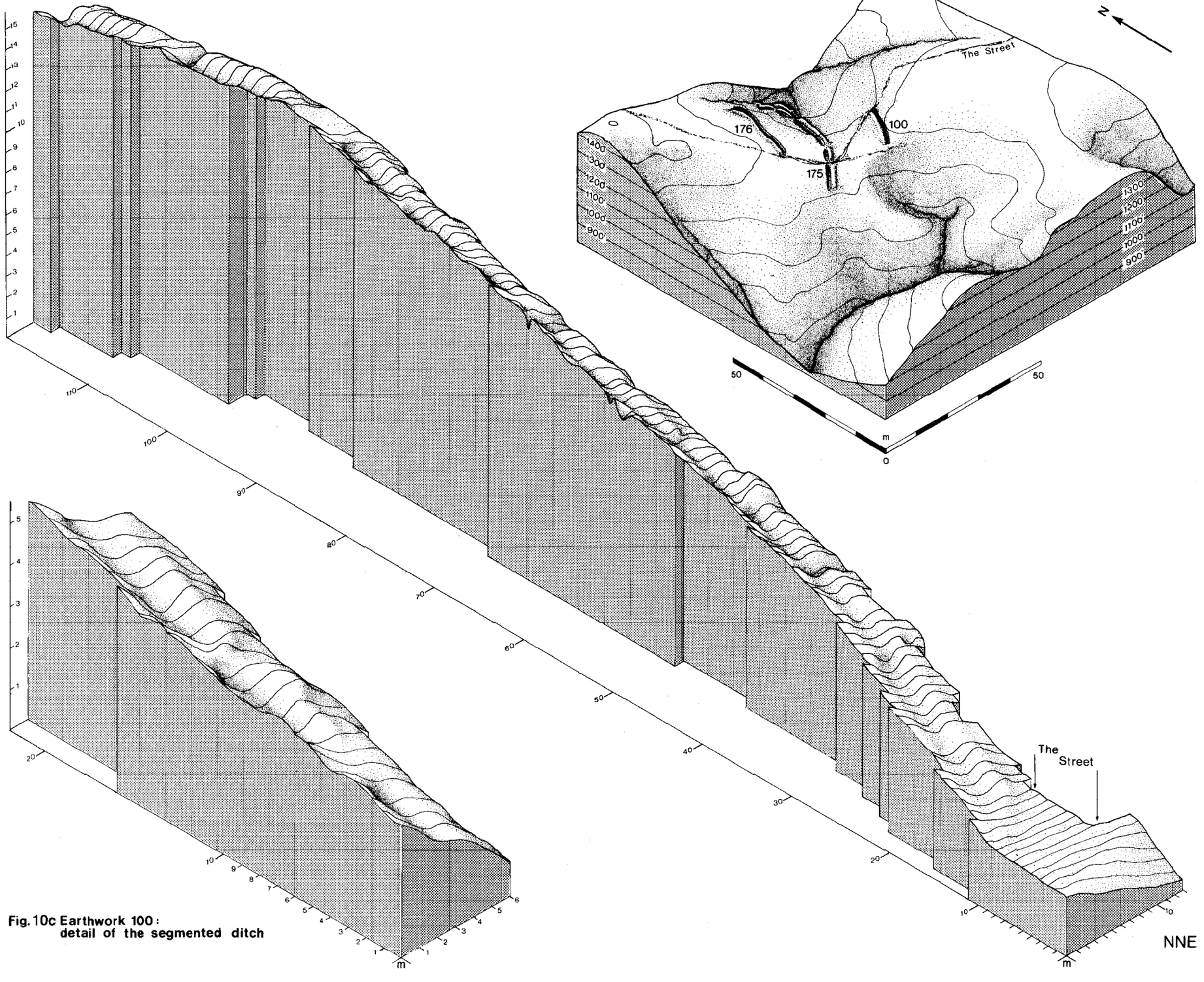


Fig.10b Heatherhope: the earthworks in relation to the topography

Fig. 10c Earthwork 100: detail of the segmented ditch

176 Heather Hope C (NT 8133 1776 to NT 8137 1794; 389 m OD; 185 m; NMRS No NT 81 SW 35)

Although fragmentary, the profile is still clear. At the south end of the earthwork is a bank with a ditch on the downhill side. A second bank then appears and can be traced for some 20 m. Continues beyond this as a single ditch into Green Cleuch. Lies to one side of the saddle between Singingside Hope and Heather Hope and its south end terminates at 'The Street' as it passes along the saddle.

99 Craik Moor (NT 8063 1807 to NT 8063 1812; 389 m OD; 42 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 4)

A bank with a segmented ditch - one of nine 'pits' - on its uphill side. South end has been removed by 'The Street' and north end simply fades out. Seems unfinished; two of the causeways between ditch segments now serve as vehicle tracks across the earthwork, but unlikely that the bank was ever constructed beside these causeways. Much damaged by modern traffic.

Routeway 321: Wondrum Hill to Craik Moor (RCAHMS 1956, No 763)

109 Wondrum Hill (NT 8310 1942 to NT 8129 1928; 366 m OD; 155 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 5)

A single linear earthwork spans the narrowest point of the neck joining Wondrum Hill with Craik Moor for 155 m and extends well down the steep slope on either side. North-west end is continued towards the west by an interrupted row of large stones set on end. In the north-west part the ditch is up to 2.4 m wide by 1 m deep; the bank, which is on the north-east side, is up to 2.4 m thick by 0.5 m high, and there is a counterscarp bank on the south-west side; but in the south-east portion the ditch is shallower and no counterscarp bank is present.

Routeway 33: Swindon Shank to Windy Gyle (RCAHMS 1956, No 759)

103 The Castles (NT 8310 1865 to NT 8330 1881; 320 m OD; *c* 250 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 56)

Crosses the col that joins Cock Law to Swindon Shank. Starting on the slope that falls to the Calroust Burn, it runs for about 250 m terminating on the hillside above the Alder Burn. The tracks of an old road (RCAHMS 1956, No 759) have broken through the work in two places. North-east end destroyed by ploughing and afforestation.

104 Windy Rig (NT 8466 1561 to NT 8470 1561; 533 m OD; *c* 120 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 37)

Runs across the lip of the steep slope descending to the Gyle Burn at the west end of the neck leading to Windy Gyle. Originally *c* 120 m in length, only 30 m remain due to the old road from Swindon Shank to Windy Gyle obliterating its east end. At its west end the work dies away in the moorland, but a trace of the ditch with a slight bank on its lower side can be seen.

Routeway 331: Bowmont Water to Butts Road via Outer Cocklaw W Foot

This was once an important road from Bowmont Water to the Border, and its many branches and sub-divisions testify to its frequent use. These branches appear at various points on the hillside above Outer Cocklawfoot as deep hollow ways. The route (RCAHMS 1956, No 758) is controlled by two earthworks (*115* & *111*).

115 Outer Cock Law (NT 8691 1682 to NT 8689 1676; 411 m OD; 26 m; NMRS No NT 81 NE 21)

Extends down the lower slopes of Outer Cock Law, in a north/north-east direction. Present length is 26 m, but its upper end originally may have been higher up the slope. Consists of a wasted turf bank with a ditch on its upper side.

111 Camp Tops (NT 8623 1781 to NT 8631 1781; 381 m OD; *c* 110 m; NMRS No NT 81 NE 9)

Runs across the lower point of the col that extends from White Knowe to Camp Tops. A mound with a ditch on its south side. Two trackways, one from each side of White Knowe, converge on a gap some 40 m from its east end.

Routeway 333: Alternative route to the Border from Routeway 331

114 Hexmoor Sike (NT 8709 1713 to NT 8711 1717; 389 m OD; *c* 60 m; NMRS No NT 81 NE 25)

915 m south of the junction of Hexmoor Sike and Thief's Slack, tracks of an old road (Routeway 333) pass near a natural hollow in the hillside. The north-east end of the work (a turf bank with a ditch on the south side) is cut by one of these tracks and may originally have extended to the lip of the hollow. From here it runs for 60 m, broken in two more places by tracks, and eventually disappears on the slope into Hexmoor Sike.

116 Fundhope Rig (NT 8665 1749 to NT 8671 1755; 366 m OD; 113 m; NMRS No NT 81 NE 24)

Originates on the south face of a knoll at the south end of Fundhope Rig and runs west, increasing in size, for a total of 113 m. Broken by the old road, which runs through a gap some 7 m wide close to its west end. At its west terminal it becomes a terrace and fades out on the steep slope.

Routeway 334: Windy Gyle to 'The Street' (RCAHMS 1956, No 759)

This routeway, a branch of Routeway 33, descends the Cheviots from Windy Gyle.

117 Windy Gyle A (NT 8508 1528 to NT 8510 1533; 549 m OD; 47 m; NMRS No NT 81 NE 20)

A low, rounded bank, with a flat-bottomed ditch on the uphill side. Appears that the ditch has been backfilled recently. For the most part well-preserved, but has suffered from trampling on the south-west portion due to the proximity of the Pennine Way. From the summit of Windy Gyle a shoulder descends north-west, dividing the Gyle Burn from the Rowhope Burn and terminating in Windy Rig. The earthwork stretches across this strategic position, dominating the routes around Windy Gyle.

280 Windy Gyle B (NT 8494 1528 to NT 8499 1536; 533 m OD; 55 m; NMRS No NT 81 NE 20)

A rounded bank with a flat-bottomed ditch. Has a 5 m gap caused by modern traffic. Stretches across a fairly narrow ridge with steep slopes on either side controlling traffic along this routeway.

Routeway 34: Greenhill to Buchtrig via Callaw Cairn, Lamb Hill and Raeshaw Fell

This routeway travels south and uphill over the flattest ridges from Greenhill to the Border, which it crosses south-east along Lamb Hill before descending Raeshaw Fell to Buchtrig. Its route is controlled by a total of eight earthworks. Three of these earthworks (*118*, *119* & *120*) control the pass by Callaw Cairn, while a fourth (*105*) controls the narrow ridge at Drouk Knowes. Together they command all access to the flat plateau between. The other area heavily controlled is Raeshaw Fell where three earthworks control the descent from the hill (RCAHMS 1956, Nos 380 & 378).

83 Raeshaw Burn A (NT 7851 1321 to NT 7864 1324; 366 m OD; 200 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 13)

A low, flat-topped bank and U-shaped ditch, which is on the south-east side. North-east end fades into the slope on the east side of the Raeshaw Burn and the south-west end fades out on the excessively steep west slope of Standard Knowe. Sited in a commanding position; the slopes to the east and west of the monument are too steep for access, therefore Routeway 341 is the only way through the valley.

177 Raeshaw Burn B (NT 7869 1280 to NT 7887 1295; 442 m OD; 215 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 13)

A low flat-topped bank, and a U-shaped uphill ditch. Well-preserved, but broken by numerous gaps. Originates 10 m below the lip of a deep gully which descends into Scraesburgh Hope, runs across the saddle which descends to Saddlers Knowe and fades at its north-east end on the slope leading up to Raeshaw Fell. Routeway 341 cuts this earthwork at least once. Lying across the upper reaches of the Raeshaw Burn valley, it has a commanding position over the entire valley and should be seen in association with *83*.

122 Broadlaw to Raeshaw Fell (NT 7873 1257 to NT 7944 1284; 442 m OD; 700 m; NMRS Nos NT 71 SE 10 & NT 81 SW 21)

A rounded bank with a V-shaped ditch on its south side. Runs from the steep slope of Saddlers Knowe to meet the deep gully at the head of Dormount Cleuch, thereby controlling the confluence of Routeways 341, 304 and 305. Possible junction with *184*, but too disturbed by trackways for survey to elucidate their relationship.

121 Callaw Hope (NT 8138 1366 to NT 8140 1365; 480 m OD; 91 m; NMRS No NT 81 SW 20)

A much reduced bank and ditch, the bank being about 3 m broad and 0.6 m high. Originates below the lip of Callaw Hope and runs east for 91 m across the peaty neck that divides Callaw Hope from the headwaters of the Blind Burn.

120 Callaw Cairn (SE) (NT 8109 1436 to NT 8115 1448; 475 m OD; 140 m; NMRS No NT 81 SW 18)

A well preserved, rounded bank and U-shaped ditch on the south. Traces of a smaller bank south of this. The ditch has small causeways across it at *c* 10 m intervals. Lies across a narrow saddle between Callaw Cairn and Ewemoorside Hill and continues down the steep north-east slope. The routeway appears to be contemporaneous with the earthwork, but the original gap has been widened to some 17m by more recent traffic.

118 Callaw Cairn (NE) (NT 8098 1453 to NT 8104 1465; 473 m OD; 400 m; NMRS No NT 81 SW 18)

A bank - with a large stone component - and a ditch on its east side. Well preserved. At its uphill end the bank cannot be detected, though the ditch seems to continue. However, it is possible that this is merely a drainage channel.

119 Callaw Cairn (NW) (NT 8072 1453 to NT 8101 1473; 439 m OD; 400 m; NMRS No NT 81 SW 19)

A fairly well preserved bank, 4-5 m wide, with a V-shaped ditch, 2-3 m across. This ditch is similar to the other ditches crossing trackway 341 in that it is segmented by causeways 0.5 m wide which cross it at intervals varying from 5 to 10 m. Bank and ditch have been cut in several places by drainage channels and by traffic deviating from the main trackway. Situated at the base of the hill called Callaw Cairn above the point where the slope spreads out on to Callaw Moor. Stretches between the sikes of Callaw Hope and the Heatherhope Burn and thus controls all possible traffic ascending Callaw Cairn from the north.

105 Dick's Knowe (NT 8032 1593 to NT 8043 1591; 358 m OD; 140 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 29)

Fragmentary, especially across its central portion, though fairly well preserved for about 30 m at its west end, where its bank is *c* 3 m wide with a ditch 2 m wide. The height, from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the bank, is *c* 1.75 m in this area. Controls the routeway by straddling the saddle between two cleuchs, though clearly it has been destroyed along its central portion by the passage of much traffic. Differs slightly from other cross-routeway dykes in this region in that it has an unusually steep, high profile, despite its wear.

Routeway 35: Halter Burn to Steer Rig (RCAHMS 1956, Nos 1070 A, B, C and 760)

123 White Law (NT 8583 2567 to NT 8597 2571; 351 m OD; 132 m)

Lies on the flat ground between the headwaters of the Trowup Burn to the east and the Halter Burn to the west. Runs in an east/west direction for 132 m and is divided into three sections by gaps some 36 m apart. The first and third sections are of similar form, each having a medial bank dividing a ditch on either side. The centre section, *c* 23 m long, has a single ditch and bank, the ditch being 2.5 m broad and 0.5 m deep, and the bank 5 m broad and 0.75 m high. This section differs so much from the rest that it suggests a separate construction. The double ditch is rare in the Cheviots, a notable exception being the Military Road.

131 Steer Rig (NT 8565 2447 to NT 8575 2445; 427 m OD; 74 m)

A ditch and bank. Straddles Steer Rig from a point well down the slope to the Halter Burn valley to within 10 m of the lip of the slope falling to the Trowup Burn.

Routeway 352: Kirk Yetholm to the Border via Green Humbleton

The routeway travels south-east from Kirk Yetholm past the Pennine Way to mount the ridge that separates the Sheilknowe Burn from Humbleton Sike. It splits into several tracks on the steeper ground, to reunite beyond Stob Stones and cross the Border in a south-east direction; but one branch (Routeway 353) branches north-east and crosses the Border *c* 400 m to the north, in the direction of the Elboton Burn. The numerous hollow tracks that appear in the harder, steeper ground suggest it was heavily used at one time.

At the point where Routeway 353 diverges from this routeway, the ground is fairly steep and three earthworks (*126*, *125* & *124*) straddle it, presumably controlling traffic on both routes (RCAHMS 1956, No 1096).

Fig. 12 Green Humbleton; the earthwork lies in the top right-hand corner

126 Green Humbleton (NT 8497 2717 to NT 8501 2717; 296 m OD; 59 m; NMRS No NT 82 NW 17)

Runs across the base of a steep rise in the ridge that divides the Shielknowe Burn from Humbleton Sike and is crossed by the old road. Only the better-preserved portion west of the road, a length of just 28 m, is recorded by the Commission, but a further shorter stretch, rather damaged by drainage and tracks, exists to the east. It consists of a single grassy bank and uphill (south side) ditch (Fig. 12).

125 Stob Rig (NT 8507 2706 to NT 8525 2740; 290 m OD; 410 m; NMRS No NT 82 NE 86)

A single rounded bank and uphill (south-side) ditch. Like *124*, rather confusingly treated by both the Commission (1956, Nos 1072 and 3) and Ordnance Survey (NT 82 NE/86A and B) as two earthworks. Runs from the edge of the shoulder of Stob Rig just above the ridge of the Shielknowe Burn, north-east to a point on the Humbleton Moor *c* 300 m south-west of Eccles Cairn. Although broken in three places by tracks of the old Halter Burn-Border road and obscured about the middle by the soggy mosses of Humbleton Sike, the component fragments are in good condition and seem to enjoy relative stability.

124 Humbleton Sike (NT 8513 2706 to NT 8532 2746; 314 m OD; 52.5 m; NMRS No NT 82 NE 86)

Another apparent cross-routeway dyke further south of and at a slightly higher elevation than Stob Rig (*125*). As described by the Ordnance Survey and the Commission, being on the whole slighter than Stob Rig. Gapped in five places including one which divides the sectors at the stream. The fact that this earthwork respects the alignment of *125* (ie it runs parallel) and is structurally very similar, argues strongly for contemporaneity. Both earthworks are crossed by the Heatherhope Burn-Stob Rig road.

Routeway 353: Halter Burn to the Border

This routeway is a branch of Routeway 352 above.

Routeway 41: Nether Hindhope to Coquet Head (RCAHMS 1956, No 832)

63 Hindhope Burn (NT 7716 0938 to NT 7740 0939; 351 m OD; 240 m; NMRS No NT 70 NE 12)

Because of traffic along the routeway in the past, this earthwork is very fragmentary at its west end. Better preserved along its east half, where it appears as a flat-topped bank, 3-4 m wide, with a broad, shallow ditch on its south side. Its east terminal ends abruptly at a hollow way which defines the top of the escarpment above the Hindhope Burn. Straddles a saddle below Hindhope Law, and was presumably used to control traffic from Whiteside Hill. Its dilapidation on the west side is clearly due to this traffic 'shortening the corner' as it makes its way west towards the plantation above Corse Sike.

Routeway 42: Plenderleith to the Border

This routeway is one of several which cross the Border south-west of Chew Green to link the Jed and Kale Waters with Redesdale. It crosses Coquet Head at the same point as Routeway 41 where both are crossed by *65*. From there it branches west to descend Cushat Knowe along the bank of the Grindstone Burn. Route controlled by *64* and *199* (RCAHMS 1956, No 832).

65 Whiteside Hill (NT 7707 0858 to NT 7734 0856; 424 m OD; 260 m; NMRS No NT 70 NE 14)

Very fragmentary, consisting for the most part of a U-shaped ditch. A low bank is visible in places on the north with a second bank beside it, but both disappear in the wet land which the earthwork crosses. The ditch also becomes indistinct here. East end fades out down the slope to the Hindhope Burn and the west disappears into wet land where it has been used as a drain. Sits across the saddle between Whiteside Hill and Grindstone Law and is broken near both ends by trackways. Both breaks have been enlarged by recent traffic.

64 Cushat Knowe A (NT 7667 0886 to NT 7684 0907; 351 m OD; 260 m; NMRS No NT 70 NE 13)

For most of its length this very degraded earthwork consists of a small, low bank, but for a short stretch near its north-east end a ditch appears on its uphill side. Elsewhere a grassy line may trace the course of a shallow ditch. Runs along the contour on a gentle slope from Whiteside Hill. Broken by a drainage channel running down to Corse Sike. Has been destroyed where a modern gate and fence lies along it.

199 Cushat Knowe B (NT 7664 0888 to NT 7670 0896; 335 m OD; *c* 100 m; NMRS No NT 70 NE 13)

A ruinous bank with just a suggestion of a ditch on its south side. The bank is flat-topped and very worn by traffic and sheep. The ditch may have resulted from natural drainage along the length of the bank. South-west end of the work rests on a hollow containing a tributary of the Grindstone Burn. The north-east fades out among bracken near a hollow containing a tributary of the Corse Sike. Probably originally drawn across the space lying between the two, thus controlling a trackway that rises out of the Kale Water valley.

Routeway 43: Plenderleith to the Border

This routeway serves as an alternative to Routeways 41 and 42 and is controlled by two linear earthworks (*67* & *68*).

67 Grindstone Law (NT 7600 0759 to NT 7622 0786; 381 m OD; 475 m; NMRS No NT 70 NE 17)

A bank with a ditch on the upper (east) side. On the south-west, 60 m north of Green Sike, it runs as a bank and ditch north-east for 80 m. For the next 80 m, only the ditch is discernible. For the following 130 m, bank and ditch are easily traced until both are destroyed by drainage for 25 m. The bank and ditch continue, though much mutilated, for some 90 m, where they are cut by a fence, then run for the remaining 150 m parallel to a tributary of the Grindstone Burn. Appears to be a boundary mark drawn between two natural features, but also functions as a cross-routeway dyke across Routeway 43.

68 Grindstone Burn (NT 7605 0821 to NT 7622 0837; 328 m OD; 250 m; NMRS No NT 70 NE 14)

A well-defined bank with a slight ditch on the upper (south) side. North-east end rests on the lip of the steep left bank of the Grindstone Burn. Runs WSW for 250 m and is then destroyed by cultivation. Frequently broken by tracks. Resembles *67* and may control traffic on Routeway 43.

Routeway 50: Edgerston Tofts to Phillips Cross

This routeway links Redesdale with the valley of the Jed Water via Phillips Cross at the Border. It is controlled by four earthworks crossing its line on the narrowest ridgeways (RCAHMS 1956, No 490).

61 Fairwood Fell (NT 7420 0686 to NT 7440 0713; 427 m OD; *c* 300 m; NMRS No NT 70 NW 9)

Spans the flat, mossy neck that joins Fairwood Fell to Catcleuch Hill at its narrowest point, its ends fading out on the steep slopes at the heads of Master Grain and Hopehead Sike. Broken through by a single track of the old road. The ditch has a flat bottom, and may have been cleared for drainage, since the road went out of use.

60 Ephope Law (NT 7297 0946 to NT 7299 0959; 358 m OD; *c* 180 m; NMRS No NT 70 NW 16)

The remains of this work, a ditch and bank, span the ridge just west of Ephope Law at the base of a short, steep slope. Much wasted and cut through by two tracks of an old road and originally must have been more than 180 m in length. South end obscured by a modern surface drain.

62 Pier Burn A (NT 7199 0960 to NT 7223 0999; 305 m OD; *c* 87 m; NMRS No NT 70 NW 17)

Ditch and bank, running from the right bank of the Pier Burn to the south slope of Goshan Law, beyond Ettles Sike. In a bad state of preservation, virtually disappearing in places; large boulders visible along the line of the wasted bank. Cut by an old road. Together with the linear earthwork, two works appear to be intended to form the east boundary of an area extending from the Pier Burn to just beyond Ettles Sike.

197 Pier Burn B (NT 7199 0968 to NT 7208 0994; 305 m OD; 270 m; NMRS No NT 70 NW 17)

A ditch and bank, very wasted throughout Probably ran from Ettles Sike on the north, although it can no longer be traced any closer than 90 m east of the Sike, to Pier Burn.

Routeway 51: Lamblair Edge to the Border (RCAHMS 1956, No 491)

59 Lamblair Edge (NT 7183 0769 to NT 7209 0780; 381 m OD; 475 m; NMRS No NT 70 NW 6)

Spans the south end of Lamblair Edge, aligned north-east/south-west. North-east end rests on the swampy ground at the head of the Long Burn. South-west end fades out on the steep slope above Yadhale Sike. Length is *c* 475 m and it crosses both branches of Routeway 51 (RCAHMS 1956, No 491) which are *c* 90 m apart at this point. Consists of a ditch with a much spread bank on its north side, but, between the breaches made by the road, it has been cleared out, as there is a spread bank on either side of the ditch.

Routeway 60: The Wheel Causeway

This route goes from Deadwater to Jedburgh, again linking Redesdale with the Jed Valley. Like many of the old and well-used routeways, it often subdivides and uses alternative routes. Two linear earthworks (*47 & 49*) cross it. They are somewhat larger than the usual cross-routeway earthworks and this is a consequence of their location in terrain which is considerably flatter than that commonly crossed by such earthworks. They have been mistaken for land divisions because of their length. However, they cross from tributary to tributary at points along the route where the terrain narrows and control is aided by the position of the burns (RCAHMS 1956, No 964).

47 Wolfehopelee Burn (NT 6069 0725 to NT 6087 0726; 312 m OD; 275 m; NMRS NT 60 NW 13)

Ditch with a spread bank on either side. Runs west to east from a bog at the head of the Wolfehopelee Burn. Merges with the natural fissure at the head of Battling Sike. Originally 275 m long. Two tracks of the Wheel Causeway traverse the west part of the work and its function may well have been to control traffic along this route. Only the east portion remains, the west having been destroyed by afforestation and road building.

49 Causeway Rig (NT 6121 0290 to NT 6176 0295; 312 m OD; 500 m; NMRS No NT 60 SW 2)

Ditch and bank, *c* 500 m long. Rests at either end on the slopes descending to the Raven Burn and Piper Sike. Considerable number of gaps cut by the tracks of the Wheel Causeway. Only traces of the bank are discernible due to afforestation .

Routeway 712: Lairhope to Old Howpasley (RCAHMS 1956, Nos 1019, 887 and App C)

6 Crib Head (NT 3819 0707 to NT 3814 0722; 370 m OD; 40 m)

Survives in a very fragmented form for 40 m on the north side of the parish boundary fence, where it consists of a rounded bank, 2.5 m wide, and a ditch, 2 m wide, which is now used as a drain. South of the parish boundary, traces of the ditch can be seen, but the bank is completely obscured by forestry ploughing and by trees. Straddles the narrowest part of the neck between Philhope Fell and a promontory to the west and is the most strategic position from which to control traffic along the trackway.

Routeway 713: Chapel Hill to Borthwick via Dryden Fell (RCAHMS 1956, No 887 and App C)

27 Birny Knowe (NT 4126 1063 to NT 4186 1078; 274 m OD; *c* 350 m; NMRS No NT 41 SW 14)

Runs in a slight curve for *c* 350 m from a swamp south-west of Branxholme Wester Loch to the edge of marshy ground at the head of the Wood Burn. May have linked the Long and Newmill Burns, marking, with them, a boundary extending from the Borthwick Water to the Teviot. Comprises a ditch, 4.5 m wide and 0.6 m deep, with a slight bank on the south side and signs of a counterscarp bank in places. Near its east end it shows three gaps through which pass the tracks of an old road. Several similar gaps can be seen at its west end.

7 Caldron Hole (NT 3973 0844 to NT 4012 0856; 302 m OD; 400-500 m; NMRS No NT 30 NE 6)

A flat-bottomed ditch with a rounded bank on either side. The north bank is the more dilapidated of the two and is often absent. Relatively well-preserved in the central area, close to the parish boundary. Traffic across the saddle on Routeway 713 has contributed to its destruction.

Routeway 72: Northhouse to Whitehope Burn, linking Teviotdale to Liddesdale via Peelbraehope and Sundhope

150 Sundhope Rig (NY 5052 9988 to NT 5078 9982; 361 m OD; 155 m; NMRS No NY 59 NW 1)

Situated *c* 640 m north of Sundhope, just east of the spine of Sundhope Rig. Extends for 155 m in a west to east direction and consists of a turf bank, measuring 3-4 m broad by 0.5-1 m high, with a ditch 3 m wide, on the upper, north side. This ditch contains a recent field drain. The west end of the extant portion of this earthwork originates on the edge of a moss which has been extensively drained.

38 Scaw'd Law (NT 5052 0160; 442 m OD; NMRS No NT 50 SW 2)

Destroyed by afforestation. Last described (RCAHMS 1956, No 193) as being situated on the east slope of Scaw'd Law, running east to west along the 442 m contour for 48 m and broken by a fragment of track, 4.6 m wide.

Routeway 722: Peelbraehope to Stobs Castle

This routeway is a branch of Routeway 72, swinging north from Peelbraehope to travel across White Hill to Stobs Castle and Hawick.

20 White Hill (Upper) F (NT 4842 0632 to NT 4871 0602; 358 m OD; 320 m; NMRS No NT 40 NE 6)

A low, spread bank and a large V-shaped ditch on the north-east, which is segmented at *c* 10 m intervals by small 'causeways'. Not as prominent along its north-west half, and fades across a bog for *c* 15 m. Although the profile is more pronounced along the south-east half, the earthwork is broken in four places at this end by trackways of indeterminate date. Lies across the saddle sloping from Penchrise Pen to Whitehill.

200 Newton Hill B (NT 4925 0760 to NT 4939 0747; 320 m OD; 200 m; NMRS No NT 40 NE 25)

Low, denuded bank with a wide, shallow ditch on the north-east. Badly rutted by vehicle tracks and both ditch and bank disappear for some 100 m, south of the Peelbraehope road. The line of the earthwork is broken by a small quarry and the Peelbraehope road. A third gap midway along its length appears to be original, though its function is obscure.

18 Newton Hill A (NT 4919 0790 to NT 4949 0783; 297 m OD; 300 m; NMRS No NT 40 NE 25)

A rounded bank, 1.5 m wide and 0.3 m high, with a ditch, 1.5m wide and 0.5 m deep, on its south side. It straddles Routeway 722 as it passes along the ridge at White Knowe. Terminates naturally down the west side of White Knowe. The OS suggests a much longer length for its east end, but traffic and animal trample have destroyed all evidence beyond the routeway. Several small field boundaries abut the earthwork; three appear to post-date, and three to pre-date it.

Routeway 723: Chapel O'Cross to Shankend

This routeway is another branch of Routeway 72, breaking away from it to travel from Shankend to Chapel O'Cross. Three earthworks (*187*, *35* and *205*), control this routeway as it crosses the shoulder of Barryfield Hill.

205 Hare Hill C (SE) (NT 5278 0722 to NT 5285 0716; 272 m OD; 226 m; NMRS No NT 50 NW 10)

The two sectors of this earthwork, (north-west) and (south-east), have been treated as a single monument by the Commission. However, the doubt entertained by the OS may be upheld since the very different character of the two parts argues for differing functions and/or dates. The north-west sector, therefore, retains the number *187*, whilst the south-east is renumbered *205*, and referred to as Hare Hill C. The sector south-east of the road is much slighter than that on the north-west (*187*) with a bank 1.4 m wide and 0.2 m high, and a ditch, 1.2 m wide and 0.3 m deep, on the north side. Seems to be a cross-routeway dyke parallel with Hare Hill A (*35*).

187 Hare Hill B (NW) (NT 5254 0711 to NT 5283 0687; 251 m OD; 175 m; NMRS No NT 50 NW 10)

The sector north-west of the road consists of a bank *c* 0.4 m high and 4.5 m wide, with a substantial ditch, 1.4 m deep and 4.5 m wide. The OS recorded greater dimensions in 1965, but levelling and drainage in 1981 have greatly damaged this earthwork. This sector is perhaps best interpreted as an outwork of the earthwork ('fort') at NT 4775 0570.

35 Hare Hill A (NT 5265 0730 to NT 5285 0716; 259 m OD; 230 m; NMRS No NT 50 NW 10)

Slight bank with a shallow ditch on its north side. Lies across the line of the old road which descends the west side of Hare Hill. In poor condition, having suffered from recent drainage which has used its ditch as a watercourse. West end greatly damaged by ploughing.

Routeway 724: Sundhope to Routeway 723

37 Leap Hill (NT 5121 0140 to NT 5128 0139; 427 m OD; 15 m; NMRS No NT 50 SW 1)

A low, flat-topped bank with a flat-bottomed ditch on the uphill side. Afforestation has destroyed most of this earthwork and the surviving portion is in a very fragmentary state. Last described (RCAHMS 1956, No 192) as being in very poor preservation, but a length of 51 m could be seen running west from a point about 91 m west of the summit of Leap Hill. Faint traces could be seen further to the west from the slopes of Scaw'd Law towards the head of the Harewood Burn, making the original *c* 274 m long.

Routeway 73: Caerlanrig to Eweslees

This route runs from Caerlanrig, up Merrypathrig and along the Wrangway Burn, before passing through a notch at Ewes Doors to descend into the Mosspaul Burn valley. Its shows evidence of much rock-cutting and improving. It is cut by three earthworks: *146*, *147* & *196* (RCAHMS 1956, No 1020).

196 Ewes Doors C (NY 3747 9866 to NY 3738 9854; 335 m OD; 169 m; NMRS No NY 39 NE 5)

A low, spread bank with a wide, flat-bottomed ditch on the north-west, lying north of the Ewes Doors Pass along a narrow saddle. The old road passes through a gap 44 m wide. A length of some 17 m has been damaged by sheep rubs and trample and is actively eroding.

195 Ewes Doors B (NMRS No NY 39 NE 5)

The OS and RCAHMS record a second earthwork north of *146*. The bank was not visible; a slight depression uphill runs into a large irregular drainage channel near the road. This does not continue on the opposite slope across the road. Probably a natural feature.

146 Ewes Doors A (NT 3723 9864 to NT 3744 9879; 335 m OD; 154 m; NMRS No NY 39 NE 5)

A low bank with a wide flat-bottomed ditch on the south-west, cut into the hillslope. 17 m of the bank has been eroded and exposed by sheep rubs. Lies south of Ewes Doors Pass, along a narrow saddle and is at a right angle to the old road that passes across the saddle.

147 Merrypath Rig (NY 3725 9972 to NY 3740 9964; 355 m OD; 165 m; NMRS No NY 39 NE 6)

A typical cross-routeway dyke, consisting of a rounded bank with a ditch on its south side. Both are fairly fragmentary and worn. Situated on the crest of the ridge where the routeway begins to descend the slope of Merrypath Rig.

Routeway 74: Minchmoor Road, Ettrick to Traquhair (RCAHMS 1957, Nos 95 & 105)

17 Wallace's Trench (NT 3863 3231 to NT 3869 3273; 475 m OD; 1450 m; NMRS No NT 33 SE 1)

Runs approximately north/south across the west shoulder of Brown Knowe, 1400 m NNW of Hangingshaw. 920 m from its south end it is interrupted, the lower section ending and an upper section begining just east of the lower one and overlapping it very slightly. Through this 2 m gap runs the older track of the Minchmoor Road. Upper section runs for a further 520 m in a northerly direction. Both sections consist of a ditch with an upcast bank on the west, best preserved at the higher levels where the ditches are 4.3 m wide and 1.5 m deep and the banks 5.5 m wide and up to 1.8 m high. The north stretch of the earthwork (its highest portion), which crosses the driest part of the ridge, is flanked 24 m to the east by a ditch with no bank.

The similarity between the two sections of the earthwork suggests that they were both constructed at the same time, but they form a much more elaborate structure than any of the cross-ridge dykes seen in the Cheviots. The purpose of the carefully-designed opening was to allow passage along the old track, indicating that the work was intended to control traffic on the road.

Routeway 80: Boyton Burn to Langholm

143 Shaw Hill A (NY 3021 8824 to NY 3030 8817; 297 m OD; 110 m; NMRS No NY 38 NW 26)

A well preserved earthwork with a rounded bank and a U-shaped ditch on the uphill side, segmented by causeways at irregular intervals. Lies on the slope of Shaw Hill across the crest of a spur, its north-west end fading down the steep slope on the side of the spur. The south-east end terminates abruptly at an old road which comes around the side of Shaw Hill and along the centre of the spur. Broken in two places. At one break the ditches have clear terminals, while at the other a hollow way appears to have been worn down beside an original causeway.

94 Shaw Hill B (NY 3028 8826 to NY 3035 8818; 290 m OD; 67 m; NMRS No NY 38 NW 26)

Situated 60-70 m downhill of Shaw Hill A and roughly parallel to it. A rounded bank and a wide, flat-bottomed ditch on the uphill side. Broken by both the hollow way and the old road described above. The segment north-west of the hollow way begins 4 m downhill of the south-east segment and the terminal of the latter turns slightly downhill at the hollow way.

Routeway 90: Dawston Burn to Catlee Burn (RCAHMS 1956, No 118 & App C)

39 Rough-hope Rig (NT 5855 0465 to NT 5885 0485; 312 m OD; 402 m; NMRS No NT 50 SE 1)

Almost totally destroyed by afforestation. Possible to survey two transects which reveal the bank, ditch and counterscarp bank noted in RCAHMS (1956, No 968). Overall, 9.5 m wide. The earthwork appeared also to have been a head-dyke, forming the south-east boundary of ground formerly under cultivation between two burns, the Deep Cleuch and the Hyndlee Burn. 402 m long, but largely covered with peat where it crosses a mossy area, suggesting it must have been of considerable age.

Routeway 95: Sunnyside to Otterburn

132 Hoardweel Black Dyke (NT 7940 6060 to NT 7950 6070; 219 m OD; 180 m)

A fairly typical cross-routeway dyke of the sort common in Roxburgh. A rounded bank *c* 3 m wide, with a U-shaped ditch on its uphill side. Spans a routeway with which it seems contemporaneous as the bank has been constructed on both sides to curve into the line of the track, thus forming a slight V along its own length. Runs from the source of a burn, up the slope and fades out 60 m beyond, on a gentle decline. Situated in a well-used grazing field and has suffered much from cattle trampling along its length.

1.6: Anomalous features

128 Bowmont Hill (NT 8289 3099 to NT 8289 3100; 49 m OD; 12 m; NMRS No NT 83 SW 16)

Boundary dyke which RCHAMS described as 'massive' is no more than an accumulation or lynchet of plough soil from the cultivated field to the south-west. However, this lynchet may incorporate a March bank, from which a number of large boulders protrude, on the English side of the Border. It is slight, short and not a linear earthwork.

CHAPTER 4: GAZETTEER OF GROUP 2 SITES

As discussed in Chapter 2, this group comprises linear earthworks used in the division of the landscape for its economic exploitation. The six types of economic divisions are listed in descending order, from the larger-scale land divisions to individual head-dykes and woodbanks.

The gazetteer entries follow the style used in Chapter 3.

2.1: Enclosing large areas of land (>5 sq km)

5 Meadshaw Rig (NT 3689 0736 to NT 3708 0627; 301 m OD; 10 m)

Destroyed by afforestation except for a 10 m stretch north of the old Lairhope-Howpasley road where it comprises a low bank with a ditch on the west. Ditch can be traced uphill as a line of sedge. Seems to be a boundary mark connecting two burns. Formerly ran for *c* 1200 m in a south and south-east direction from a point 550 m south-west of Philhopesheil on the 275 m contour, to within 1200 m west of Lairhope (RCAHMS 1956). Gradually fades out in the moss at the head of the Philhopesheil Burn and may never have been constructed at all for a distance of 183 m where the ground is wettest. On the south face of Lairhope Braes, where its course is markedly irregular, it shows traces of a bank on both sides. It may be cutting off a 20 km^2 area, between Borthwick and Teviot.

52 Black Law (NT 6220 1840 to NT 6175 1855; 320 m OD; 600 m; NMRS No NT 61 NW 1)

A steep, rounded bank with a U-shaped ditch to the south-west. Fragmentary, being best-preserved on the north-east slope of Black Law. Cuts the ridge which runs from Black Law to Dunion Hill. Beyond its visible ends, extends as cropmarks to the heads of Knowesouth Burn and to the forks of Merlin Dean. Thus, by completing the natural line defined by these burns, it may have formed a boundary to a large block of land, *c* 27 km^2, between the Rule and Jed Waters.

53 Hill Pond (NT 6142 1708 to NT 6175 1720; 283 m OD; 330 m; NMRS NT 61 NW 13)

A bank with a ditch on both sides. Best-preserved at its centre, where it survives as a rounded bank with U-shaped ditches. At its south-west end, it fades into the marshy areas surrounding the east side

of the Hill Pond. To the north-east, the earthwork fades out down the slope towards Swinnie Plantation. Spans the flat-topped tongue of moorland that extends south from Black Law. North-east end interrupted by the modern parish boundary as well as by two turf banks, possibly old parish boundaries, and two trackways. Since it joins the Hill Pond with the head of the Greypeel Burn, this earthwork (like *52*) may have served to delimit a block of land, *c* 34 km^2 in size, between the Rule and Jed Waters.

55 Lantoncraigs (NT 6293 2078 to NT 6329 2075; 244 m OD; 320 m; NMRS No NT 62 SW 27)

A ditch with a bank on both sides, pierced by two old tracks as well as by several other gaps caused by modern farming operations. North-west end rests on the lower slopes of Lanton Hill and runs south-east for 320 m, but its continuation has been obliterated by cultivation. Appears to cut off an area of 12 km^2 between the Jed and the Teviot.

69 Whitton Loch (NT 7518 1925 to NT 7482 2048; 259 m OD; 2400 m; NMRS No NT 71 NW 19)

Starts close to the right of the Cessford Burn and runs south-east for 1200 m over cultivated land to the boundary dyke dividing Oxnam and Hownam parishes, and thence ESE for another 1200 m across moor. It can last be traced in the rough marshy ground on the left bank of a tributary of the Beirhope Burn. This course suggests that it bounded one side of a property otherwise defined by the Cessford and Beirhope Burns and the Kale Water. For most of its length it has been either completely or partly destroyed by cultivation. Where best-preserved, consists of double banks, 2-3.5 m wide and 0.2-0.4 m high, with a medial ditch, 0.4 m deep. Cuts off an area of 24 km^2.

168 Knockburnie (NS 556 099 to NS 550 097; 305 m OD; *c* 640 m)

A bank with no ditch. Starts at the head of a straight sike which descends the north-east slope of Peat Hill to pass beneath the road from New Cumnock to Dalmellington. Runs for *c* 640 m over the brow of Peat Hill and ends at the head of a tributary of the Polmath Burn. Appears to cut off an area of 9 km^2 defined by the River Nith, the Polmath Burn and the Lane Burn.

154 Pictswork (NT 477 324 to NT 481 366; 128-168 m OD; *c* 4000 m)

Once thought to be part of the Catrail, this earthwork was already fragmentary when surveyed for the Selkirk Inventory (RCAHMS 1957). Survives as a series of short earthworks, consisting of a single bank and ditch, spread along a roughly north/south line lying west and south of the town of Galashiels. South boundary traceable from the north bank of the River Tweed west of that river's confluence with the Ettrick Water. Thence it follows a sinuous course - visible as a cropmark - round the east side of Rink Hill and north to the plantation on the east side of Mount Skep. Survives as an upstanding site along the edge of the plantation. Proceeds north through the plantation near the Stannis Burn and on to Mossilee, being undetectable over most of its course. North end is lost in the houses of Galashiels (RCAHMS 1957, 116-7). It is assumed that its north end was anchored on the south bank of the Gala Water. If this description of the site's extent is accurate, it appears to enclose a triangular area of land, *c* 8 km^2, between the Tweed and the Gala Water, and west of their confluence.

2.2: Enclosing small areas of land (<5 km^2)

2 Pickan's Dyke (NS 4821 0608 to NS 4890 0597; 251 m OD; 650 m; NMRS No NS 40 NE 2)

A low turf bank, considerably mutilated, 0.7 m high and 4.5 m wide, with a slight ditch on its south side. Possibly the remains of an old land boundary. Encloses an area 0.8 km long by 0.4 km broad. Its bank is effaced between NS 4824 0609 and 4829 0611 (Graham & Feachem 1956).

10 Clear Burn (NT 3386 1376 to NT 3360 1458; 328 m OD; 914 m; NMRS No NT 31 SW 3)

A ditch, 1.7 m wide and of varying depth, with a bank on the west. Fragmented by modern land drains and obscured by silting and peat development. Originally highly heterogeneous; besides the

normal ditch and bank to the west, there are lengths without bank, without ditch, with banks both sides, and one where a natural defile is utilized. May have been intended to divide two blocks of land either side of a line drawn between the Clear Burn (near Clearburn Cottage) and Kingside Loch. Encloses *c* 1 km^2.

11 Black Rig (NT 3475 1493 to NT 3420 1377; 347 m OD; 1600 m; NMRS No NT 31 SW 4)

Low, broad earthwork 1600 m long and somewhat sinuous, with one major change of alignment (at NT 3431 1479). The bank, which is up to 4 m across, is nowhere more than 0.25 m high and is almost flat for much of its course. The ditch, where it survives, is generally on the north and west side (uphill), but, in places, material from the bank's construction has been obtained from both sides. Possibly a Medieval land boundary, also used (and this may be the reason for its flattened profile) as a safe passage skirting the treacherous moss of the Back Burn.

21 Hunt Law (NT 4118 0786 to NT 4055 0680; 259 m OD; 1275 m; NMRS No NT 40 NW 3)

Runs north-east from the Dryden Burn across the headwaters of Weens Sike to end on the north slopes of Hunt Law. At its north-east end it comprises a well-preserved, rounded bank with a U-shaped ditch on its south-east side. Another upcast bank south-east of the ditch later becomes larger towards the south-west end of the earthwork. Much damaged near Weens Sike headwater where drainage channels, ancient and modern, fragment it. Appears as a well-defined double bank with a median ditch on the slope to Dryden Burn. Forms the fourth side of a 3 km^2 enclosure, defined by the Dryden Burn on the south-west, the River Teviot on the south-east and the Back Burn on the north.

22 Crom Rig (NT 4241 0549 to NT 4268 0535; 283 m OD; 350 m; NMRS No NT 40 NW 7)

Rounded, 2 m wide bank with a ditch on its south (uphill) side. Both are dilapidated, the bank being completely destroyed from the south-east end to approximately its midpoint. Seems to serve as a boundary which joins the Crom Rig and Nest Burns and delimits a 3 km^2 parcel of land on the south side of the River Teviot (Fig. 1).

26 Muselee Hill (NT 4048 1065 to NT 4080 1085; 259 m OD; 400 m; NMRS No NT 41 SW 13)

Runs WSW to ENE from the Muselee Burn through a small notch across the ridge of Muselee Hill. Although in very poor repair, sufficient remains to show that it originally comprised a ditch *c* 1.6 m wide with a bank either side, the larger being to the south-east. Running between two burns, it effectively divides the Muselee Hill plateau from the land to the south-east which may have been defined by the Catrail. Encloses 2 km^2 of land. Demonstrably primary to an old field system close to the Wood Burn.

36 Brown's Hill (NT 5345 0530 to NT 5418 0506; 305 m OD; 800 m; NMRS No NT 50 NW 20)

Long earthwork with a rounded bank and a U-shaped ditch. Most of it lies on poorly drained ground which has been crossed by much traffic and is currently segmented by modern drainage. Consequently, much of it is now ruinous or fragmentary. Runs from Brown's Sike across Brown's Hill to Black Cleuch. Delimits an area of land, 0.5 km^2, on the east side of the Lang Burn, a headwater of the Slitrig.

45 Old Melrose (NT 5852 3400 to NT 5848 3405; 91 m OD; 75 m; NMRS No NT 53 SE 2)

A ditch and bank earthwork descends the south slope of the River Tweed at Cockburn's Pool for a distance of 75 m and ends at the water's edge. Bank is a maximum of 3 m broad and 1 m high. The ditch, which is on the west side, varies greatly from place to place in its state of preservation, but has an average width of 2.5 m. There are traces of another ditch on the east side. Further SSE the work has been destroyed by rig cultivation and afforestation. If extended to the SSE, it would have cut across the neck of the Old Melrose peninsula, enclosing 0.25 km^2.

51 Swinnie (NT 621 180 to NT 623 168; 256 m OD; 1600 m; NMRS No NT 61 NW 13 & NT 61 NW 1)

A low, rounded bank with a flat-bottomed ditch on the uphill side. Ruinous, as a result of drainage from the slopes of Black Law ridge. Originates at the source of a small burn, 50 m WNW of Swinnie Cottages, and runs in a south-west direction for 30 m, before swinging NNW up the slope for a further 50 m, then turning NNE and running parallel with the parish boundary, ending just short of a strip of forest above Merlin Dean. Bounding the north-east headwaters of the Greypeel Burn, it seems to be an agricultural boundary.

54 Shaw Burn (NT 6626 1324 to NT 6613 1262; 238 m OD; 540 m; NMRS No NT 61 SE 13)

Described by RCAHMS (1956, No 966) as running for *c* 500 m between the Shaw Burn and the Kiln Burn, over half of this earthwork has been destroyed by afforestation just north of the Kiln Burn. Surviving north end comprises a bank, 4 m wide, with a shallow ditch on the west side. RCAHMS (*ibid*) argues, that it closed the gap between the burns named above and thus delimited a 1 km^2 area on the west bank of the Jed Water.

57 Dye Cottage Black Dyke (NT 6535 5898 to NT 6523 5816; 317 m OD; 580 m; NMRS No NT 66 NE 4)

A rounded bank with a U-shaped ditch on the west. Condition of this earthwork varies along its length. Of the 840 m recorded by RCAHMS (1957) only 580 m survive. At the north end, *c* 260 m have been destroyed by a forestry plantation and land improvement. Best-preserved in the moorland adjacent to the improved land, where it is broken by an apparently contemporaneous 'entrance' gap. As it descends the slope to the Dye Water, the earthwork becomes flatter and less distinct, possibly because of the cultivation represented by the rig and furrow on either side. A field fence associated with the rig and furrow crosses the earthwork at right angles. May have served originally to bound a 0.75 km^2 area, between the Western Burn and the Dye Water, west of their confluence.

112 Cocklawfoot (NT 8539 1851 to NT 8610 1849; 290 m OD; 1000 m; NMRS No NT 81 NE 29)

A low, flat-topped bank with a ditch to the outside of the curve of the bank. Ditch is U-shaped. Entire monument well preserved, although afforestation has damaged part of its south end. Originates in the north-east on the west side of the Kings Seat Burn and runs for over 450 m in a south-west direction, then takes a right-angled turn to head north-west down the slope into Crowlawfoot Farm, enclosing a 220 m^2 area. Not possible to discern whether this monument is a recent field boundary as the OS suggests, or an 'ancient' earthwork.

113 Cocklawfoot and Cheviot Burn (NT 8564 1830 to NT 8622 1922; 282 m OD; 670 m; NMRS No NT 81 NE 31)

Consists of a bank and a ditch on the uphill side. Sited for the most part on the 280 m contour running south-west from a waterfall on the Cheviot Burn to the Kings Seat Burn. Bank is low and rounded with a flat-bottomed ditch and is well preserved. Runs obliquely along the east side of the Cheviot Burn valley and, with *112*, cuts off an area of *c* 2 km^2. A settlement at NT 8617 1906 appears to be primary to the earthwork. There are a number of field boundaries which are secondary. RCAHMS (1956) suggests that this earthwork was possibly a land boundary associated with the Medieval farmstead at NT 8580 1870.

148 Carby Hill (NY 490 847 to NY 489 832; 168 m OD; 1500 m; NMRS No NY 48 SE 6)

Meandering earthwork with a bank, 2.4 m wide and 0.8 m high, and a ditch, 2.5 m wide and 1 m deep. Probably a land boundary defining the east side of an area of ground at the confluence of the Liddel Water and the Kershope Burn. Best preserved in the north: at the south end the bank is almost non-existent. The RCAHMS inventory suggests that it is the *'fossa Galwalehsium'* mentioned in a 14th century charter confirming a 12th century grant of land somewhere in this vicinity.

151 Milburnholm (NY 5061 9567 to NY 5246 1000; 168 m OD; *c* 800 m; NMRS No NY 59 NW 4)

Runs ESE from the Hawick-Newcastle road, 135 m ESE of Hermitage, to within 90 m of the lip of a steep, wooded cliff on the right bank of Roughley Burn. Takes the form of a flat-bottomed, bankless ditch, but further to the ESE, where the ground is mossy, there is a smaller ditch and upcast bank on the south side (recently recut as a drainage ditch). On the west it terminates in what may be a small natural gully descending towards the Whitrope Burn. The work is a boundary between two well-marked features, and encloses 0.5 km^2.

159 Buzzart Dike (NO 1192 4748 to NO 1333 4742; 213 m OD; 4040 m)

Earthwork measuring 1340 m on the north by 590 m on the west, 420 m on the east and just under 1700 m to the south. Encloses an area of 2 km^2. North rampart follows a stream, while the south one runs along the Lornty Burn gorge. Best preserved along its west margin, where it consists of a bank 1.3 m high and a ditch 1.2 m deep on its east (inner) side. North margin is in a ruinous condition, interrupted in many places by tracks and trample. RCAHMS (1956) suggests that the varying course of the Lornty Burn has caused the destruction of part of the earthwork's southern section. East edge can be traced running across the marshy ground in a north direction for 420 m, where it meets the north boundary. The work in its entirety seems to be an ancient enclosure. Within the area enclosed there appears to be a number of hut circles, but it is impossible to ascertain if there is any relationship between the two.

2.3: Treb Dykes

The RCAHMS Archaeological Sites and Monuments Series volumes for the Orcadian islands (1980b, 1982, 1983 & 1984), compiled by Dr R G Lamb, contain references to treb dykes on Westray, Papa Westray, Sanday, Stronsay, Rousay and North Ronaldsay. These are massive earthworks which divide these islands into major components. They are, Dr Lamb argues, pre-Norse in date, despite their Norse place names. Information on these and similar sites is available directly from the Orkney Archaeological Trust, Old Academy Buildings, Back Road, Stromness.

Treb dykes are characterized by their massive form and by the way in which they subdivide large areas of land. On mainland Scotland, three sites also display these characteristics and are listed here. These are not treb dykes, as the latter are uniquely Orcadian monuments, but they appear to serve a similar function.

12 Girnwood Hill North (NT 3675 1298 to NT 3696 1272; 320 m OD; *c* 300 m; NMRS No NT 31 SE 2)

A much mutilated bank with a ditch on its west side descending the lower north slopes of Girnwood Hill towards the Ale Water for *c* 300 m. Almost obliterated in many places, but where best preserved the bank is *c* 4 m wide and 0.3 m high; the ditch is 3 m wide and 0.3 m deep. Probably agricultural and not necessarily of any antiquarian interest.

23 Stobi Hill (NT 433 191 to NT 433 196; 251 m OD; 500 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 20)

A massive bank, measuring *c* 3.6-4.9 m wide at the base and up to 0.9 m high. Runs north from the hollow dividing Stobi and Whitslaid Hills to the lower enclosures of Todrig, a distance of 500 m.

107 Brack Plantation (NT 8415 1928 to NT 8420 1943; 259 m OD; *c* 130 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 20)

Upper end of this earthwork rests on a small mossy shelf east of Brack Plantation. Consists of a ditch with a bank on its east side. Runs for *c* 130 m on a downhill course aligned east of north and terminates at a spring, its line being carried on downhill by a runnel of water or strip of marshy ground.

2.4: Head-dykes

13 Girnwood Hill (South), A and B (NT 3616 1116 to NT 3893 1161; 290 m OD; 3090 m; NMRS No NT 31 SE 3 & NT 31 SE 4)

3090 m long earthwork consisting of a bank with an uphill ditch of variable dimensions and state of preservation. Apart from the west end and a short length at Girnwood Farm both of which run through a conifer plantation and are very poorly preserved, the entire work runs through upland pasture. A ploughed field divides it into two major portions (A and B), each constructed in a number of segments possibly 'work divisions' joined by kinks, such as that at NT 3727 1157. Possibly intended to bound the upper cultivable limits of a strip of land extending down to the Hoscote Burn from Girnwood Linn to Hoscote. Presence of old field banks and areas of rig and furrow abutting its south side supports this interpretation and suggests a *terminus ante quem* in the Medieval period.

15 Feuars Hill (NT 3329 2568 to NT 3340 2560; 274 m OD; *c* 250 m; NMRS No NT 32 NW 1)

Earthwork to the north of Cat Holes now exists as a wasted bank with a wasted scarp on its south side. Formerly consisted of a ditch and bank, *c* 3.7 m broad overall, which curved for *c* 250 m across the east spur of Feuars Hill from the Catslack Burn in the north to the left bank of the Yarrow Water. Probably the head-dyke of property on Catslack Knowe, possibly connected with Catslack Tower.

16 Snouthead A (NT 3330 2795 to NT 3314 2680; 343 m OD; 700 m; NMRS No NT 32 NW 7)

A wasted fragmentary bank, *c* 3-4 m wide. Originally 700 m long. Runs due east from the lower slopes of Snouthead to a point 220 m south-west of a 'stell' (sheep shelter) where it turns north and after a sinuous course fades out on a north-west alignment *c* 270 m south of the Whitehope Burn.

290 Snouthead B (NT 3380 2730 to NT 3310 2680; 320 m OD; 280 m; NMRS No NT 32 NW 7)

45 m below the point where *16* turns from west to north, a similar work originates about 2 m to the south. Runs SSW for 280 m. Traverses the neck between the base of Snouthead and Peat Law, and fades out in the head of a marshy hollow that falls to the Catslack Burn. Snouthead A and B are probably a single head-dyke delimiting land lying between the Yarrow Water and the Whitehope and Catslack Burns.

106 Kelsocleugh (NT 8450 1933 to NT 8551 1773; 221 m OD; 320 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 22)

An old head-dyke that ran from the left bank of the Kelsocleugh Burn to the Inner Souter Cleugh, giving a total length of 2400 m. No trace of the work can now be seen between the Kelsocleugh Burn and the Back Burn, but from the latter it runs as a shallow ditch for *c* 230 m, continuing to the Inner Souter Cleugh as a slight ditch with a mutilated bank on its lower side.

136 Cairnsmore of Fleet (NX 4867 6646 to NX 5017 6534; 396 m OD; 1700 m)

Running across the west face of the north portion of Cairnsmore of Fleet from the glen of the Craddock Burn to the Mill Burn in a north-west/south-east direction are the remains of a massive dry-stone boundary dyke which may have been erected in the 16th or 17th centuries. 1.7m broad at the base and 1.7 m high. A 'sheep-creep' occurs where it crosses the shoulder of Ardwell Hill.

139 Cample Water (NX 9093 9873 to NX 9264 9524; 198 m OD; *c* 3500 m; NMRS No NX 99 NW 4)

Mostly denuded and spread, but where best-preserved averages 3 m wide and 1 m high, with an occasional ditch 0.5 m wide and 0.5 m deep on the uphill side. Its course, even across firm, level terrain, is erratic and angular, taking no advantage of, or crossing, natural obstacles. Probably a head-dyke, running roughly along the 200 m OD contour.

169 Maneight Hill and Meikle Hill (NS 549 097 to NS 533 083; 378 m OD; 1360 m)

A simple rounded bank, probably an agricultural boundary or head-dyke. Begins on the left bank

of the Polmath Burn, 440 m SSE of Polmath Burn Bridge. Runs SSW up the slope of Maneight Hill to the 380 m contour, then turns NNW to run for *c* 270 m to the head of an unnamed tributary of the River Nith. Continues from a point *c* 270 m downstream and runs south and south-west for 400 m to another sike which drains into the River Nith.

2.5: Agricultural boundaries

The Blakebillend earthworks

A group of five earthworks located around the anomalous enclosures at Blakebillend (RCAHMS 1956, No 166). Four of these are described by the Royal Commission (*ibid* No 188) as linear earthworks and the letters used to identify them are retained, with the addition of 'A2' for the fifth site. This group of earthworks presents a clear example of the incorporation of an extant and probably ruinous enclosure into a field boundary system, creating the appearance of a set of radiating lines centred on the enclosure. Only in the case of *31* does the possibility of a primary relationship with the enclosure exist, though it was not demonstrable from the field evidence.

31 Blakebillend A (NT 5156 0621 to NT 5134 0596; 274 m OD; 230 m; NMRS No NT 50 NW 1)

A rounded bank with a boggy ditch on its east side. Begins at the south-east corner of the enclosure. The relationship between the two is obscure. Travels south-west down the hillside where it fades out on the heath. Its central area is destroyed by modern drainage, the bog and several vehicle trackways, apparently of recent formation (Fig. 13).

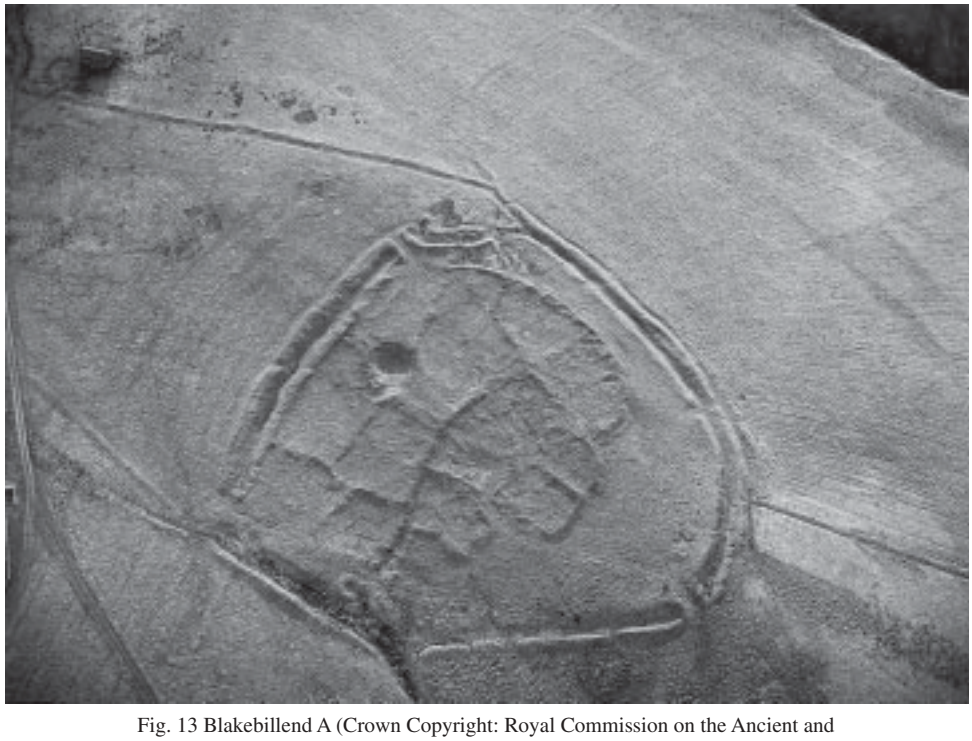


Fig. 13 Blakebillend A (Crown Copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.)

190 Blakebillend A 2 (NT 5155 0621 to NT 5144 0610; 274 m OD; 100 m; NMRS No NT 50 NW 1)

First detectable west of and close to the junction of *31* with an enclosure, this 2 m wide bank is, at that point, *c* 1 m from *31*. Diverges from *31* and runs south-west to be lost in modern drainage channels.

191 Blakebillend B (NT 5140 0629 to NT 5035 0665; 290 m OD; 2050 m; NMRS No NT 50 NW 1)

Rather slight earthwork, comprising a bank, *c* 1 m wide and 0.5 m high. Very variable in composition and character. The ditch occurs first on one side, then the other, and is occasionally absent altogether. Runs at a high level along the south-east-facing, valley side of the Langside Burn and must be seen as a head-dyke.

192 Blakebillend C (NT 5152 0638 to NT 5153 0648; 274 m OD; 120 m; NMRS No NT 50 NW 1)

Well-preserved, low bank with a U-shaped ditch on its east side. Later than the enclosure, the north-east apex of which it overlies. It is clear that this earthwork, the outer north vallum of the enclosure, and *191* all serve as a head-dyke to the Langside Farm.

193 Blakebillend D (NT 5159 0623 to NT 5161 0623; 274 m OD; 25 m; NMRS NT 50 NW 1)

Low bank with traces of a ditch on its north side. Runs downhill from a point overlying the south-east corner of the enclosure's defences. Seems no more than a field fence segmenting the valley side.

40 Kirkton Burn (NT 5475 1130 to NT 5537 1095; 259 m OD; 730 m; NMRS No NT 51 SW 20 & NT 51 SE 20)

Originates on the south-east bank of an unnamed tributary of the Kirkton Burn and runs ESE for *c* 730 m to end at the remains of some enclosures, 62 m south-east of the Bonchester Bridge-Stobs road. Consists of a turf-covered earth bank, 3.5 m wide and 0.6 m high, with a ditch on its north-east side, measuring 2.5 m wide and 0.6 m deep. West end much mutilated by an old farm track and drainage. At its other end, on the opposite bank of the small tributary, is a similar group of enclosures and as the earthwork appears to connect these groups of enclosures, it may be an old pastoral boundary.

43 Over Whitlaw (NT 5233 3065 to NT 5229 3048; 244 m OD; 200 m; NMRS No NT 53 SW 36)

Survives as a low bank *c* 0.1 m high and is much spread. Runs south from the lake at Lady Moss to the summit of the slope where a fence divides rough pasture from the ploughed land further south. Only traceable as a cropmark south of this fence. When surveyed by the RCAHMS in 1956, traces of a ditch were noted over about 1000 m. The north end of the earthwork forms the east side of a large enclosure which was recorded by the OS (Illus 5), but the other sides of this enclosure do not survive. However, the earthwork extended further south than the south edge of the enclosure which it may, therefore, have predated.

206 Whitehill (Lower) G (NT 4917 0649 to NT 4869 0675; 373 m OD; 500 m)

Runs from the head of a dry linear hollow above Penchrise Farm south-west towards the sources of the Pen Burn. A broad, low bank with a ditch on the south-east (uphill) side. Currently serves as a boundary between the lands of Priesthaugh and Penchrise Farm and may originally have served a similar function. Regarded by Lynn (1898, 82) as part of the Catrail (see Chapter 3).

The Whitcastle Hill group of earthworks

These earthworks were detected on aerial photographs and are clearly visible as upstanding features. Though not visited on the ground, it seems reasonable to suggest on the basis of their lay-out that they represent agricultural boundaries. Some of them, possibly A and B, may constitute outworks of the fort on Whitcastle Hill itself.

208 Whitcastle Hill A (NT 4456 1215 to NT 4419 1257; 244 m OD; 530 m)

209 Whitcastle Hill B (NT 4421 1259 to NT 4389 1240; 259 m OD; 350 m)

210 Whitcastle Hill C (NT 4385 1213 to NT 4377 1236; 259 m OD; 220 m)

211 Whitcastle Hill D (NT 4338 1226 to NT 4321 1242; 268 m OD; 410 m)

212 Whitcastle Hill E (NT 4403 1252 to NT 4363 1247; 268 m OD; 480 m)

213 Whitcastle Hill F (NT 4413 1267 to NT 4394 1282; 261 m OD; 240 m)

214 Whitcastle Hill G (NT 4398 1280 to NT 4383 1266; 268 m OD; 200 m)

215 Whitcastle Hill H (NT 4407 1261 to NT 4401 1267; 268 m OD; 70 m)

216 Whitcastle Hill I (NT 4386 1280 to NT 4382 1287; 268 m OD; 70 m)

2.6: Parks-pales and enclosures

3 Cadzow Castle (NS 7288 5372 to NS 7304 5360; 88 m OD; 200 m+; NMRS No NT 75 SW 3)

The remains of the Medieval park pale. Consists of a ditchless bank, 5 m broad by 0.7 m high. In the short stretch on the south-east it spreads to 15 m with a maximum height of 3 m. Only just visible within the weeds.

140 Kettleton Burn (NS 899 099 to NX 9074 9904; 305 m OD; 1000 m; NMRS No NX 99 NW 14)

A well-defined earthen bank, 4 m broad by 1 m high, with a slight ditch on its uphill side on the south spur of Bellybought Hill. Rises steeply from 245 m to 380 m OD. Continues along the west face of the hill as a terrace some 4 m wide, with the remains of a stone dyke, about 1 m high, on the uphill side. Graham and Feachem (1954-6) suggest that it may be part of the boundary of a park made in 1329-32.

149 White Dyke, Hermitage Hill (NY 4880 9711 to NY 5015 9596; 30 m OD; 1210 m; NMRS No NY 49 NE 3)

The wasted remains of a dyke, consisting of a dry-stone wall, *c* 1.2 m high and 1.5 m broad at its base. Most of it has been robbed and in places, especially at its south end, it appears only as a ditch with a slight upcast bank on the west. Probably represents the boundary of Hermitage deer-park, running in a shallow arc across the south face of Hermitage Hill and down to the edge of the bluff above Hermitage Water.

170 Enterkin Burn (NX 873 054 to NX 874 055; 190 m OD; 230 m)

A bank, with no apparent ditches, considerably spread and surmounted in places by a stone wall. Mounts the steep east side of the valley of the Enterkin Burn. Extends from the bank of the burn to the crest of the ridge, stopping about 15 m short of the drove road that runs along the ridge (Fig. 4b).

171 Chapel Belt Plantation to Nether Dalveen (NS 874 055 to NS 882 071; 244 m OD; 2500 m)

Fragmentary earthwork, badly mutilated by a drove road at its south end. Survives in good preservation for 600 m in its middle section along the top of the edge. Here it appears as an earthen bank without a ditch, 5 m thick at its base and 1.2 m high. North section is a stout bank and ditch. Divides good low-lying parkland from the uncultivable hillsides and the RCAHMS suggests it may be a head-dyke, though Graham and Feachem (1956) suggest its north form of bank and ditch may also indicate its use as a march. It can be seen continuing down the east bank of the Carron Water as part of a series of works which pass close by the castle and it then turns along the foot of Wether Hill. Effectively cuts off the valley from the steep hill land, and is probably an estate boundary associated with the castle (Fig. 4b).

184 Raeshaw Fell to Broad Law (described in separate sectors below)

RCAHMS, followed by the OS, described this earthwork as 'L-shaped' in plan; the end of the short leg beginning at Broad Law and running to the Border, which the long leg of the 'L' roughly parallels, ending at Saddler's Knowe. However, the earthwork terminating at Saddler's Knowe does not seem continuous with the remainder of the 'long leg'. The latter seems to turn north again at the head of Dormount Cleuch and run along the west lip of the valley of the Dormount Hope for *c* 1100 m. Thus, this earthwork (*184*) is U-shaped in plan, enclosing the head of the Dormount Hope valley. The earthwork which ends at Saddler's Knowe is described elsewhere (see 122).

184 Sector 1 (NT 7938 1399 to NT 7938 1284; 404 m OD; 1270 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 10)

This west limb well-preserved over its north two-thirds and consists of a bank, 4 m wide and 1.2 m high, with a ditch - rather unusually - on its downhill side. The south third is broken by Routeway 341 which runs along the earthwork. Clearly later than *82*, *182* and *183* which it cuts.

184 Sector 2 (NT 7938 1284 to NT 8063 1310; 450 m OD; 1500 m; NMRS No NT 71 SE 10)

The earthwork along this sector is similar in character to that along Sector 1, though it is, in general, somewhat more degraded and broken by trackways and animal disturbance. Two entrances seem to be original features of the monument (NT 8046 1296 & NT 8060 1308) cutting through, at this point, a stone-faced bank in which up to six or seven courses of laid stone were noted.

184 Sector 3 (NT 8063 1310 to NT 8008 1378; 411 m OD; 900 m; NMRS No NT 81 SW 21)

A bank, 4 m wide and 0.7 m high, with a ditch, also 4 m wide on its south-west (downhill) side. Generally well-preserved, but ruinous in places. May be the dyke referred to in *Liber de Melrose*, (No 131), described as the 'dyke between Cuthberthope and Raeshaw'. This would date it to a period before AD 1190. Its position, enclosing the steep sides of Dormount Hope, with a downhill ditch, suggests that it is the boundary of a hunting forest, perhaps one of the ecclesiastical forests known to have been in the parish of Mow (Figs. 5 and 14).

2.7: Woodbanks

224 Bowden Moor C (NT 5330 3180 to NT 5228 3253; 267 m OD; 350 m; NMRS No NT 53 SW 5)

Given the present fragmentary ruinous state of the earthwork (Fig. 5), it is impossible to describe it as the continuous entity observed by the RCAHMS (1956, No 58), though there is little doubt that it was once a unitary monument. Only 30 m survive at the south-east where it consists of a rounded bank with a shallow ditch on its south-west side. North of this segment *c* 300 m of the bank have been destroyed by a metalled trackway beside which the ditch is still discernible despite much cattle trample. Thence it enters a narrow strip of plantation and on its exit is obliterated by a modern farm road and tractor ruts. A short length is visible beyond this point as a ruinous bank and ditch, ending at a small sike. The RCAHMS *(ibid)* trace it thereafter as a cropmark to the south end of a north-west/south-east length of upstanding bank, with a ditch on its south side. This segment is also ruinous and fragmentary.

225 Bowden Moor D (NT 5319 3232; 259 m OD; 10 m; NMRS No NT 53 SW 5)

Recorded by the OS as running from NT 5318 3234 to NT 5329 3220. Destroyed by a forestry plantation. At its point of egress from the south edge of the forestry plantation, a wide, shallow depression runs into an unnamed sike. If this is the earthwork recorded by the OS, then it appears to be no more than a natural drainage gully. It is certainly not the continuous earthwork illustrated by the RCAHMS. The chance of identifying the relationship between Bowden Moor C, H and I is made virtually impossible by the nature of the marshy area dividing the earthworks.

226 Bowden Moor E (NT 5323 3249 to NT 5309 3235; 229 m OD; 30 m; NMRS No NT 53 SW 5)

Recorded in 1956 (RCAHMS No 58, 5) as running from 'an unnamed burn 200 yds north-west of trigonometrical station 934 north-eastwards through a cultivated field (as a cropmark); thence to the south-east corner of Jean's Wood', this earthwork has been destroyed by afforestation and nothing of it is now visible.

227 Bowden Moor F (NT 5376 3220 to NT 5418 3220; 221 m OD; 415 m; NMRS No NT 53 SW 5)

Running roughly east/west between two small unnamed sikes, this earthwork consists of a low bank with a shallow ditch on its west side. Much fragmented by drainage channels and cattle trample.

228 Bowden Moor G (NT 5380 3234; 213 m OD; 10 m; NMRS No NT 53 SW 5)

A low, denuded bank with a trace of a ditch to the west which is partly destroyed by cattle trample. From its south terminal on an unnamed sike, it runs in an north-west direction for a short distance

Fig. 14 Bowden Moor; earthwork 44 can be seen running from Cauldshiels hillfort in the background to the lower right of the photograph

before being completely obscured by gorse. RCAHMS (1956, No 58) states that the earthwork once ran from NT 5383 3227 to NT 5369 3260 for a total length of 330 m and was cut by the B6359 road. Due to afforestation, only 10 m survive.

229 Bowden Moor H (NT 5313 3223 to NT 5324 3217; 259 m OD; 110 m; NMRS No NT 53 SW 5)

A bank with flattened top, probably caused by the cart track which runs along it. Has a U-shaped ditch on its south (uphill) side. Well-preserved, although *c* 20 m run through the corner of a forestry plantation. Runs along the contour and, whilst it terminates deliberately in the east on the edge of a small drainage gully, it stops at the edge of improved land to the west, indicating that it probably continues in that direction and may be detectable as a cropmark.

230 Bowden Moor I (NT 5324 3217 to NT 5302 3201; 274 m OD; 240 m; NMRS No NT 53 SW 5)

A low, rounded bank, very broken by tracks and cattle trample, which at one point, have totally obliterated it. A wide, flat-bottomed ditch on the south side runs into the drainage gully at which the earthwork terminates. At the south-west end it runs into a forestry plantation and its possible junction with Bowden Moor B is therefore obliterated.

231 Bowden Moor J (NT 5204 3225 to NT 5226 3240; 259 m OD; 260 m; NMRS No NT 53 SW 5)

A shallow gully in a cultivated field running into a small tributary of the Haxel Cleugh. Has the appearance of a natural drainage gully, but, in the south-west corner of the field, the faintest traces of a bank can be discerned.

232 Bowden Moor K (NT 5330 3219 to 5332 3219; 259 m OD; 20 m; NMRS No NT 53 SW 5)

A low, rounded bank with a U-shaped ditch on the south side. Starts at a small drainage gully to the west on which Bowden Moor H and I terminate. Runs downhill and disappears in the marshy, drained land.

156 Howdenpot Knowes - Cribs Hill (NT 4583 3203 to NT 4744 3223; 213 m OD; 1670 m)

A bank of overall dimensions seldom greater than 3 m across and 1 m high, with a ditch to the south. Follows a nearly straight course from Cribs Hill along the crest of the ridge above Rallees Wood to the right bank of the River Teviot, in all a distance of about 1600 m. Much of the work passes through mature wood, principally deciduous, and it supports large trees. Many, particularly over the west half of the work, have been felled recently and the removal of the stumps will cause considerable disfigurement. Further damage has been caused by quarrying and by the use of the ditch as a hollow way; but the only continuing threat (to the central portion) is from ploughing. Over no stretch is it completely expunged, but it is, particularly in its east half, much degraded, surviving as little more than a notch where it runs across a steep slope.

The fact that the present parish boundary does not follow the work, but parallels it about 30 m to the north, is interesting. The survey evidence suggests that the earthwork is the later and thus may only be a woodland border of early Post-Medieval date and not, as the RCAHMS (1957, No 183) contends, a land boundary.

157 Linglie Hill ('Pict's Ditch' or 'Catrail') (NT 4575 3055 to NT 4616 3142; 235-308 m OD; 1015 m; NMRS No NT 43 SE 7)

Runs south/NNE for *c* 1000 m over a sinuous course. A substantial rubble bank and rock-cut ditch to the west, with traces of a counterscarp bank on the west (uphill) side in places. Well marked as it crosses the spur of Linglie Hill at a high level, but its course lower down is supplemented by a marshy pond called Didie's Loch and by part of its drainage channel. At the upper end of the Sunderland Hope valley, it is broken by marsh and obscured by thick heather and is in a deteriorating condition. Traceable again as a low spread bank first on the north-west and then on the south-east side as it continues

north-east to meet the Howdenpot Burn where it enters a small wood called Heathery Covert, where the earthwork terminates.

The point at which the earthwork is breached by the so-called 'Minchmoor Road' (Inglis 1924, 205) does not resemble an intrusive break and may be an original causeway.

The fact that this earthwork defines the edge of two different soil types, and that the woods grow to the north of it, suggests that it may be a woodbank.

234 Cauldshiels Hill (North) (NT 5144 3178 to NT 5158 3184; 265 m OD; 200 m)

Occupies the north-facing slope of Cauldshields Hill improved land. Runs from a field wall uphill towards the south-west for 35 m, swings east for 70 m, where it turns through 60∞ to run north-east to the field wall. The ruinous low bank is broken in four places by tractor tracks, and elsewhere is much eroded by rabbit holes.

2.8: Miscellaneous land divisions

25 Whitfield Mabon Law (NT 4600 1598 to NT 4708 1694; 270 m OD; 1500 m; NMRS No NT 41 NE 4)

Runs south-west from the headwaters of the Cala Burn for 1500 m to end at a modern field dyke some 390 m north-east of Mabon Law. It may have been longer, but its south-west end seems to have been demolished by agricultural improvements. Probably constructed as an agricultural boundary. Built partially of stone taken from adjoining outcrops and partially of turf. 1.2m high and 3.4 m wide at the base.

158 Dabshead Hill (NT 5430 5393 to NT 5423 5425; 390 m OD; 320 m; NMRS No NT 55 SW 4)

A ditch with a bank, 5 m wide, on the south side. In its best state, the ditch is 2.5 m wide and 0.5 m deep with a rounded bank, *c* 5 m wide and 0.75 m high. Commences 1.6 km north of Dabshead Hill on the left bank of the Earnscleugh Burn and runs south-east for 320 m. Traversed in a number of places by trackways. Probably a boundary marker, though it may also have controlled traffic along the routeway.

167 Ashmark Hill (NS 609 096 to NS 601 089; 290 m OD; 1260 m)

A length of ditchless, earthen bank, running south-west for 1260 m, from a sheep fold, 150 m SSW of the summit of Ashmark Hill, along the ridge that rises to Strandlud Hill where it comes to an end near the source of a narrow sike which runs down to the Connell Burn. Undoubtedly a land division.

CHAPTER 5: GAZETTEER OF GROUP 3 SITES

The most important type of site included here is that described as defensive outworks of forts. It was intended to exclude this class, in general, from the survey (see Chapter 2), but some sites were included accidentally because their putative associations with forts were unrecorded. It is necessary to repeat here that this listing is incomplete. Furthermore, their definition as defensive works 'associated' with the forts is not based on any discernible evidence.

Three of the sites included are modern and are recorded here with some 35 miscellaneous sites whose nature, date and even location, in some cases, are unknown. These are recorded here only because earlier authors have described them as linear earthworks. In the main, they can be discounted from future work.

Finally, 12 sites are listed which have suffered more or less total destruction over the past 50 years. To these we must now regrettably add the site at Marygoldhill Plantation, the only

known site where a bank with segmented ditch survived in part as an upstanding monument, the ploughed-out remainder surviving as a pit alignment. Fortunately, salvage excavation was undertaken (Strong 1988).

3.1: Defensive outworks

4 Milkieston Hill (NT 2460 4647 to NT 2470 4605; 309 m OD; 500 m; NMRS No NT 24 NW 5)

The only evidence remaining of the three earthworks (X, Y & Z) is the stone dyke surrounding the former woodland in which they were situated. Described by the RCAHMS (1967) as occurring on the north slopes of Milkieston Hill along the contours, each consists of a line of contiguous pits, the spoil from which had been dumped on the downhill side to form a low, irregular bank *c* 6 m thick. Y had an entrance, 6.4 m wide. Z had an entrance, 12 m wide, which was set at right angles to the contours (Fig. 15).

The Whitehill group of earthworks

A group of earthworks is sited on Whitehill, Roxburgh. Though certainly of different dates and probably of different functions, they nonetheless deserve consideration as a single group, if only because of their close proximity to each other and their juxtaposition with the hillforts, earthworks and enclosures in the immediate vicinity.

19 Whitehill (Lower) A (NT 4794 0551 to 4795 0588; 290 m OD; 400 m; NMRS No NT 40 NE 19)

Rather flattened bank 2 m wide with a shallow ditch on its east side. Runs uphill from a point near the Pyatknowe Burn to pass near the hillfort and approach *201*. As the intersection is damaged, the relationship between sites *19* and *201* is not discernible.

201 Whitehill (Lower) B (NT 4760 0593 to 4825 0573; 290 m OD; 750 m; NMRS No NT 40 NE 19)

Low, much degraded bank with a shallow ditch on the north side. Runs from the side of a small tributary of the Pyatknowe Burn to the Dod Burn, cutting off the promontory on which the Whitehill hillfort stands. At a point north-east of the hillfort, a break which seems to be original displays a distinct south turn at the east terminal. The junction of this earthwork with *19* lies just north of the break.

202 Whitehill (Lower) C (NT 4787 0571 to NT 4819 0572; 305 m OD; 300 m; NMRS No NT 40 NE 19)

Very flattened bank with a shallow depression on its uphill side. Runs along a contour on the south side of Whitehill. Cut by a drainage ditch and by *19*, the ditch of which still serves as a drain in this area.

203 Whitehill (Lower) D (NT 4781 0575 to NT 4782 0578; 305 m OD; 35 m; NMRS No NT 40 NE 19)

Very dilapidated and fragmentary bank. Runs along the line of a scarp just west of Whitehill hillfort. Seems to be a natural feature to which a sheep run on the uphill side has, by creating an apparent ditch, conveyed a spurious credibility.

204 Whitehill (Lower) E (NT 4805 0596 to NT 4820 0580; 335 m OD; 230 m; NMRS No NT 40 NE 19)

At a distance of *c* 300 m north-east of Whitehill hillfort, this well-preserved bank with steep profile and V-shaped ditch on its north-east side straddles the level top of the ridge which runs out to the hillfort. Although it does not cut off the promontory on which the hillfort sits, it dominates the easy approach from the north-east towards the fort. A gap near its north-west end may be original.

205 Whitehill (Upper) F (NT 4836 0632 to NT 4850 0606; 404 m OD; 320 m)

Low spread bank with wide V-shaped ditch on the north-east, the latter segmented at *c* 10 m intervals by small ‘causeways’. Runs across the upper ridge at Whitehill. North half is not so well-preserved and at one point *c* 15 m of its length seems to have sunk into a bog. South end is segmented

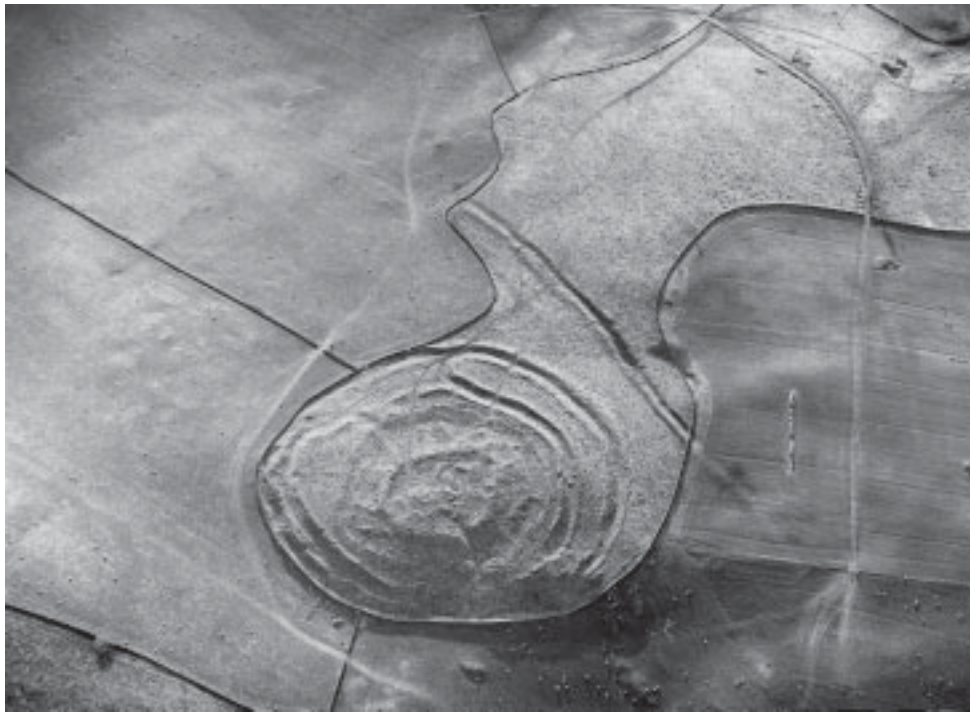


Fig. 15 Milkiestone Rings (Crown Copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland)

by a drove road and sunken trackways and its relationship with *206* cannot be ascertained by field survey alone.

206 Whitehill (Lower) G (NT 4917 0649 to NT 4869 0675; 373 m OD; 500 m)

A broad, low bank with a ditch on the south-east (uphill) side. Runs from the head of a dry linear hollow above Penchrise Farm south-west towards the sources of the Pen Burn. Currently serves as a boundary between the lands of Priesthaugh and Penchrise Farms and may originally have served a similar function. Regarded by Lynn (1898, 82) as part of the Catrail.

32 Earlside (NT 5269 0913 to NT 5275 0906; 259 m OD; 79 m; NMRS No NT 50 NW 2)

Lies across the neck of a rocky ridge at the south-west end of Whitehill and commands a wide aspect over the valley of the Cogsmill Burn. Much denuded, probably by both natural and human agencies, its bank and uphill side ditch are little more than a fragmented notch in the hillside. Its commanding position and character undermine the RCAHMS's suggestion that it is an agricultural boundary. It is more likely to be an outwork of the nearby earthworks (RCAHMS 1956, No 164).

33 Mid Hill (NY 5139 0970 to NT 5153 0975; 297 m OD; 160 m; NMRS No NT 50 NW 8)

A well-preserved, low bank and a U-shaped ditch on the south. The ditch is cut into the base of an outcrop and closely follows its line. The ridge is about 2 m higher than the bank, rendering the latter useless as a defensive work, unless the ridge was utilized as a second, larger bank, both possibly serving as defensive outworks of the fort on Mid Hill. At its east end the earthwork is overlain by a later field bank.

141 Castle O'er

The earthworks round Castle O'er were last surveyed in 1980 by the RCAHMS field surveyors. A copy of their plan is included here as Fig. 16. Earthworks designated by them as modern or as roadways have been excluded. Those remaining were given CEU numbers and only The Deil's Jingle (*142*, their site 'P') was recorded in the field, during the current survey. Details of the other sites which follow are taken directly from the RCAHMS (1980a, 15-6).

The existence of linear earthworks around Castle O'er fort (No 17) was first noted by William Roy in the mid-eighteenth century. In 1896, Richard Bell, a local antiquary, recorded an extensive system of 'trenches' on a map of the Castle O'er estate; this map is now in the Dumfries Museum.

Excavations by Roger Mercer (1985; RCAHMS 1997, 78-9) at the fort of Castle O'er have included sections cut across several of the earthworks in its immediate vicinity.

207 Highside Hill (NT 5169 6375 to NT 5176 6383; 268 m OD; 120 m)

Curves around the north-west side of the summit of Highside Hill. Nothing is known of its function or relationships, but it may be related to the fort on Witches Knowe, little more than 200 m to the south-east.

217 Arbory Hill A (NS 9436 2396 to NS 9452 2360; 375 m OD; 760 m)

Curves around the north and cuts off the east side of the ridge occupied by Arbory Hill fort, between 80 m and 180 m distance from it. Measures 760 m overall, but three gaps, 200 m wide in all, break up its line. The gap through the earthwork opposing one of the fort's entrances may have been designed to allow access to the fort. This and its general situation suggest that the earthwork may have been related in some way to the fort.

218 Arbory Hill B (NS 9441 2356 to NS 9430 2346; 300 m OD; 170 m)

Runs south-west for 90 m then proceeds down a fairly steep slope south of Arbory Hill fort and 90 m west of Arbory Hill linear earthwork A. From the aerial photographs available it is impossible to determine if the 15 m wide gap was deliberate or the result of deterioration of the site.

219 Whitehill A (NT 0599 3411 to NT 0545 3387; 372 m OD; 850 m)

Flanks the south-east-facing slopes of the summit of the steep-sided and commanding Whitehill. Here it is greatly reduced and disappears over a 75 m stretch within 33 m of its north-east terminal. Runs within 10 m of the south-east side of Whitehill fort, situated at the south-west end of the summit, disappears for 40 m, and reappears as a low bank curving round the south-west side of the fort, 50 m distant. Merges with Whitehill linear earthworks B and C on the north-west side of the summit.

220 Whitehill B (NT 0534 3373 to NT 0545 3387; 373 m OD; 160 m)

Visible on aerial photographs as a fairly low bank, 40 m WSW of Whitehill A, running around the contours of Whitehill directly below the west side of the fort. Curves around to the north-west, where it merges with Whitehill linear earthworks A and C.

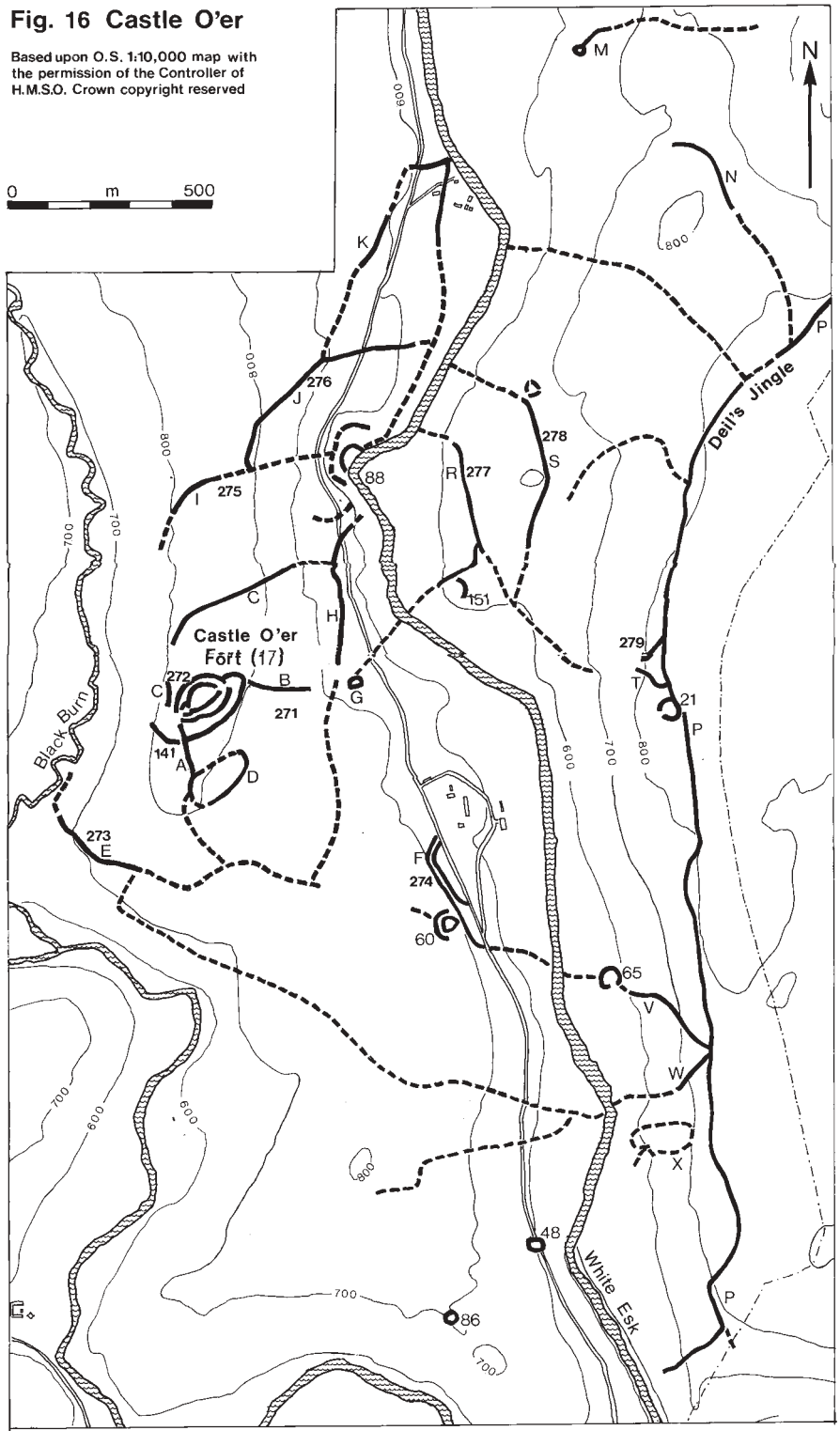
221 Whitehill C (NT 0578 3412 to NT 0545 3387; 375 m OD; 380 m)

Appears to be the continuation of the merging of Whitehill linear earthworks A and B, 30 m north-west of the fort. Runs along the north-west-facing summit edge in a greatly reduced state, petering out five-eighths of the way along. Whitehill linear earthworks A, B and C partially enclose an area of *c* 85000 m^2 on the summit of Whitehill, with the fort in the south-west of the loop they form.

233 Cauldshiels Hill (West) (NT 5138 3161 to NT 5150 3164; 305 m OD; 130 m)

This low, flat-topped earthwork runs downhill from the west side of Cauldshiels Hill fort (east) to 2 m short of the Military Way (*42*) which runs at right angles to it. Here the terminal appears deliber-

Fig. 16 Castle O'er



ate, suggesting a date later than that of the Military Way, and the east end appears to be secondary to the outer rampart of the fort. The bank is in a ruinous and fragmentary condition.

3.2: Modern

8 Warleshope Burn (NT 319 187 to NT 325 190; 251 m OD; *c* 600 m; NMRS No NT 31 NW 2)

Extends south-west from the Warleshope Burn across the lower slopes of Stanhope Law. Consists of a ditch and turf bank, measuring 0.5 m from the top of the bank to the bottom of the ditch. It seems to be the boundary of some land formerly cultivated and of no great antiquity.

34 Stonedge Hill (NT 5353 0803 to NT 5372 0829; 305 m OD; 300 m; NMRS NT 50 NW 9)

Extends for 300 m along the north-west face of Stonedge Hill. An agricultural boundary.

137 Pict's Dyke (NX 6095 6105 to NX 6010 6220; 488 m OD; 1500 m; NMRS No NX 66 SW 2)

Poorly-preserved remains of an insubstantial field wall. Survives as a low, stony bank, 0.2 m high and spread to 1 m, but where best-preserved is 0.5 m high and up to 1.5 m wide. Does not represent a continuous feature but seems more likely to be merely a series of ruined field walls of no great age.

3.3: Anomalous, including sites incorrectly classified as earthworks

1 Cleaven Dyke (NO 1513 4102 to NO 1763 3973; 61 m OD; 2716 m; NMRS No NO 14 SE 18)

A Roman boundary dyke, consisting of a mound, *c* 9 m wide and 1.5 m high, between two shallow, flat-bottomed ditches, 4.8 m wide and 0.6 m deep, which are 45 m apart from centre to centre. Features are mutilated and obscured by fir plantation and undergrowth (Richmond 1940).

9 Home Law (NT 3294 1483 to NT 3297 1476; 362 m OD; 80 m; NMRS No NT 31 SW 1)

80 m long earthwork running across a small saddle on Home Law. Consists of a broad, low bank with a slight hollow running down the centre, as if it were two parallel banks closely conjoined. A line of darker vegetation, including sedge, suggests the presence of a totally silted ditch on the east side.

24 Whitslaid Hill (NT 435 189; 274 m OD; 27 m)

Very short earthwork, 27 m long, situated on the north-east flank of Whitslaid Hill. Consists of a ditch, *c* 1.8 m wide and now of negligible depth, with a bank on its east (downhill) side spread to a width of about 2.4 m and not above 0.3 m high.

Appears to be associated with a footpath which ascends the hillside along a slight ridge. RCAHMS (1957) suggests that the ends rested on woodland through which the obstacle could have been prolonged by other means, eg by the 'plaiting' of branches and undergrowth. The ground at either side of this work is wet and broken and the remains appear only on the harder ground of the ridge, so it is possible that an obstacle of this length was sufficient in this particular case.

28 Philiphaugh (NT 440 278; 145 m OD; *c* 140 m)

A bank *c* 6 m wide with a ditch of similar width along its west side lies astride the carriage-drive leading to Philiphaugh. South end is at present 64 m north of the left bank of the Yarrow and from this point runs north up the lower slopes of Stable Bank. In a wasted condition, the maximum height from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the bank being 0.7 m. *The Statistical Account of Scotland* (1792) states that the earthwork continued on the south side of the Yarrow, but cultivation has destroyed all trace of this extension, if it ever existed.

30 Clint's Black Dyke (NT 4363 5328 to NT 4343 5324; 343 m OD; 550 m; NMRS No NT 45 SW 9)

The dyke can be traced running down the slope of Clint's Hill for about 550 m. The lower part of its course is close to the east edge of a gully; here it measures 6 m across by 0.9 m in depth. The

RCAHMS (1956) suggests it may be the remains of a road connecting two long disused quarries on the hill slope.

41 Weems (NT 5855 1263 to NT 5868 1266; 152 m OD; 140 m; NMRS No NT 51 SE 3)

An upcast bank, 3.5 m wide and 1.2 m high, with a ditch either side, 2 m wide and 0.7 m deep, where best-preserved. Lies to the north of the main gate of Weems Eventide Home.

46 Gladescleuch Burn (NT 5430 5393 to NT 5423 5425; 131 m OD; 460 m)

A cross-dyke which runs from a moss at the head of the Trow Burn to the head of the Gladescleuch Burn. Extends for *c* 460 m and consists of a bank thrown up from a series of discontinuous quarry-pits.

56 Broomhill Blackdykes (NT 6921 4798 to NT 6995 4641; 198 m OD; *c* 2500 m; NMRS No NT 64 NE 6)

RCAHMS (1955) suggests that this dyke has the appearance of a road of not very early date: there are no signs of a mound as described by Craw (1928, 374), and its windings are those of a road rather than a dyke. The manner in which it descends to the Blackadder is also suggestive of a road.

The Redpath Earthworks

The erratic course of these two sites, *58* and *194*, which run north-west/south-east, roughly parallel and 150 m apart, suggests that they were built in separate segments by work crews. Their function is unknown and insertion of a gas pipeline between them, cutting site *58*'s north-west terminal, has now removed any hope of discovering the relationship between them (See App 7).

Fig. 17 Redpath A

58 Redpath A (NT 6802 5924 to NT 6824 5902; 312 m OD; 250 m; NMRS No NT 65 NE 5)

Well-preserved earthwork. Consists of two steep, rounded banks with a medial, U-shaped ditch. Follows a very erratic course over level ground, bending every 30-50 m. Fades at the edge of improved land to the south-east and has only been cut by a gas pipeline at its north-west terminal. The plans and section recorded for British Gas are published herewith (App 7 and Figs. 17 and 18).

194 Redpath B (NT 6815 5935 to NT 6822 5918; 305 m OD; 190 m; NMRS No NT 65 NE 5)

As with *58* which lies 150 m to its south-west, Redpath B consists of two banks with a ditch between. Course is also very irregular, changing direction every 10 m or so, but generally following a north-east/south-east direction. Has been cut several times by tracks, sheep runs and drainage. One of the trackways is slightly hollowed, indicative of a certain antiquity, but it is impossible to determine from the surface indications whether it is contemporaneous with the earthwork.

74 Knock Hill (NT 7390 1148; 274 m OD; *c.* 50 m; NMRS No NT 71 SW 21)

Crosses Knock Hill 27 m south of the farmstead (NT 71 south-west 20, not marked on OS map) with which it is probably associated. Now only 50 m in length, the east end being lost in cultivation. Consists of a bank and ditch, 0.5 m high and 0.5 m deep respectively.

78 Pennymuir Rig (NT 7539 1361 to NT 7525 1428; 242 m OD; 710 m)

A low, rounded bank with a ditch on its west side. Runs on an almost straight course from near the south-west corner of the largest of the Roman camps at Pennymuir across the interior to a conifer plantation near the bank of a burn that joins the Oxnam Water at Middlesknowes. Most obscured by vegetation and peat, but the south third is well enough preserved to show that the bank and ditch were each *c* 2 m across and 0.3 m high/deep. In one place, the ditch is segmented as if formed in a series of quarry pits.

91 The Shearers (NT 7907 1927 to NT 7918 1926; 305 m OD; 110 m; NMRS No NT 71 NE 49)

Approximately 80 m south-east of the fort of Hownam Rings (NT 7905 1938) a line of 28 stones extends from west to east across the plateau for an overall distance of 110 m. Eleven of the stones are only exposed at turf level, but the remaining 17 are upright blocks 0.15 m to 0.9 m in height. Probably grounders of an ancient field-dyke erected at some point during the occupation of the fort and not standing stones as marked on the OS map.

92 Grubbit Law (NT 7969 2378 to NT 7970 2380; 297 m OD; *c* 120 m; NMRS No NT 72 SE 14)

On the neck that joins Cushat End with the massif formed by Wideopen Hill, the Grubbit Law is crossed at its north-west end by an earthwork aligned south-west/north-east and resting its ends on the steep slopes of the cleuchs. At the south-west end it consists of two 2 m wide ditches with a 2.7 m thick bank between them, standing c 1 m above the bottom of the south-east ditch.

96 Kettleshiel (NT 7144 5316 to NT 7171 5324; 244 m OD; 320 m; NMRS No NT 75 SW 1)

A low, spread bank with a flat-bottomed ditch on the south side, which runs across level moorland, fading in wet ground at both ends.

110 Stob Hope (NT 8156 1898 to NT 8168 1912; 312 m OD; 275 m; NMRS No NT 81 NW 7)

A ditch, 3-4 m in width by 0.6 m deep, with a greatly spread bank on the east. Just over 275 m long. Descends the steep south side of the valley of Stob Hope from Gloomy Cleuch to the Singingside Burn. In places obliterated by cultivation and at the lower levels it shows signs of having been improved in recent times for drainage purposes.

130 Marygoldhill Plantation (NT 8032 6074 to NT 8055 6035; 251 m OD; 220 m)

Well-preserved and consists of a steep-to-rounded bank with a shallow, U-shaped ditch to the north-east, broken almost exactly halfway along its length by a staggered entrance. North-west of the entrance the ditch is broken by *c* 0.5 m wide causeways which divide the ditch into 'trenches' of 4-6 m in length, interspersed by smaller 'pits' of 1-1.5 m. Towards the north-west terminal the 'causeways' occur at regularly spaced intervals of 1.15-1.5 m.

Terminates in the south-east at the corner of the earthworks enclosing Marygoldhill Plantation fort (Illus 2). Aligned with the south-west side of the enclosure. Appears to overlie the corner of the enclosure and is therefore later. Terminates abruptly at its north end, although a faint depression follows the same alignment further north. 10 m north-east of the north-west terminal there is a short stretch of ditch with traces of a bank on its north side.

The upstanding parts were levelled in 1984. A salvage excavation was undertaken by the CEU to record the site in detail and to excavate a sample of the pits (Strong 1988).

138 Grennan Hill (NX 8255 9505; 250 m OD; 950 m)

Surveyed by the RCAHMS in 1913. Described as a 'slight trench with a well-defined scarp on the upper side and a slight mound on the counter-scarp, occurring about halfway up the slope of Grennan Hill.' It ran along the west flank of the summit, being lost round the south end and untraceable over the summit to the north.

145 Potholm Hill (NY 3621 8740 to NY 3634 9740; 290 m OD; 135 m)

Consists of a bank, *c* 3 m wide and 0.4 m high, with a ditch, 2 m wide and 0.3 m deep, on its south (uphill) side. Well-preserved except where the parish boundary dyke crosses it. Here, cattle have trampled the bank flat along the length of the dry-stone dyke. Situated in an unusual position near the crest of an elongated but isolated hill, thus cutting off access to the top.

152 Caddrounburn Culvert (NY 5800 9864 to NY 5815 9846; 229 m OD; 250 m; NMRS No NY 59 NE 4)

A ditch-like depression running straight up the hillside. Increases in width from 10.6 m to 15.2 m. A trench dug across the ditch reveals that its sides are lined with dry-stone masonry. RCAHMS (1956) suggests it is simply a hollow way intended to give passage to cattle through the cultivated land.

153 Torwoodlea (NT 471 379 to 466 383; 195-229 m OD; *c* 1000 m)

Only two short sections of this earthwork survive along its alleged course from the fort on the east of Mains Hill to the Gala Water. Has been identified as part of the Catrail, but this is improbable (see Chapter 3). The earthwork was said to make a sharp turn west to join with an external arc of a rampart on the west of the fort. However, the inventory entry suggests (RCAHMS 1957) that the 'loop' to the west is part of the fort rampart and not part of the linear earthwork, and this seems rather more probable than the earlier supposition. The function of this site is unknown.

155 Torwoodlee Golf Course (NT 479 384; 152m OD; unknown; NMRS No NT 43 NE 28)

Appeared to the RCAHMS investigators to be no more than a hollow track running beside the Gala Water. Earlier claims that it formed part of the Pictswork seem improbable and the disturbance of the area associated with the creation of the golf course has probably removed any evidence which might have existed for this connection.

160 Boons Black Dyke (NT 6048 3616 to NT 5979 3826; 213 m OD; 2300 m; after Tait 1884, 307-12)

Consisting of two ditches and a medial bank, the earthwork's overall width is never more than 3.6m and it rises 1-1.5 m above the adjacent ground. The dyke is first seen at the north extremity of Boon Moor and runs south past two fortified camps. Keeping a south course, it passes Crosbie and

proceeds up the ridge that runs out from Ledger Wood Black Hill. It runs down the Black Hill in the direction of West Morriston, then passes through the east fields of Purveshaugh Farm and the east fields of Georgefield Farm and continues south into the farm of Yarlside where it is in its best state of preservation. From here it runs south across the farms of Park and Brotherstone and then east of Redpath Hill, then cuts off a small portion of Craighouse Farm, and crossing the Melrose-Smailholm road, runs south as a public way. It carries on as such until it becomes one with the Mertoun-St Boswells road and is not traceable any further. Tait suggests that the old tradition of calling the dyke a 'Roman' road may have been correct insofar as it could have been built as a trackway, but its attribution to the Roman Period is speculative to say the least.

161 Young Jeanie's Wood (NT 7518 5575 to NT 7532 5566; 282 m OD; 160 m; NMRS No NT 75 NE 13)

Originally at least 1300 m long and 10 m wide, now consists of a spread bank with a suggestion of a ditch on its south side, of which 160 m now remains northeast of Young Jeanie's Wood. It has been suggested that it is a head-dyke, since rig and furrow was found below it, but it could also have served as a boundary marker, running as it does between two burghs. The possibility that it is a woodbank also arises, given the proximity of the woodlands which give the site its name.

162 Abbey Hill - Hardens Hill (NT 751 609; 244 m OD; 80 m)

A 5 m wide and 0.7 m high bank, with a ditch on its west side which consists of interlocking quarry-pits measuring up to 4 m in breadth and 1 m in depth. In a saddle south-west of Abbey Hill. Runs south-east for 80 m in an irregular course from the head of the Steele Burn before fading out in cultivated ground. Too little survives to suggest function.

164 Dowland Road (NT 832 693; 223 m OD; *c* 200 m)

Little is visible of a ditch and bank recorded on a low, rounded hill, 450 m west of the Harly Darlies settlement. The irregular line of the earthwork and the entrance on the south-west are comparable to features of a number of cropmarks. These marks suggest that the earthwork was probably part of an enclosure.

166 Dunning (NO 023 154; 366 m OD; 130 m; after Crawford 1953)

A short length of bank and ditch, 800 m NNE of Dunning Church on the west side of the Dunning to Forteviot Road. The ditch is on the north side. Possibly not a true linear earthwork, but it runs for 130 m and consists of a bank, *c* 1 m high and 2 m wide, with a ditch, 2 m wide and 0.5 m deep.

172 Ellemford (NT 7271 6152 to NT 7301 6164; 183 m OD; 450 m; NMRS No NT 76 SW 2)

Runs from the Greenhope Burn across moorland for 450 m before fading out. At its east end the ditch is 1.6 m deep and has an overall width of 7 m, but it progressively disappears until at its west end the ditch is lost and the mound measures only 0.2 m. It has been suggested that this earthwork is a continuation of Quixwood Black Dyke, but there is no connecting trace between the two.

185 Dod Burn (NT 4737 0488 to NT 4785 0412; 305 m OD; 1090 m)

Hitherto unrecorded, defines the upper cultivable margin of land on the west side of the upper Dod Valley. Comprises on its south-west (uphill) side a ditch, 0.3-0.8 m deep and 1.6-2.2 m wide, and a bank of similar proportions. From NT 4737 0488 just west of the so-called Thieves Road, it runs down across the 305 m contour to join the Dod Burn at NT 4785 0412. Well-preserved with an upstanding bank, but gapped at a number of points by small dry gullies and the tracks of the road. The south-east 60 m were destroyed in 1981 by the ditches of a new conifer plantation. Clearly earlier than the old field dyke which its north-east side borders, but later than the central which it cuts. Probably a Medieval head-dyke.

195 Ewes Doors B (Natural feature; NMRS No NY 87 NE 5)

The OS recorded an earthwork lying between *146* and *196*, but CEU examination in the field suggests that this is a natural feature. Nonetheless, it has been included in Routeway 73 (see Chapter 3) to facilitate those checking the earlier references to the group of earthworks at Ewes Doors.

203 Whitehill D

Details are provided in the Whitehill group of earthworks earlier in this chapter.

3.4: Destroyed

14 Quarry Rig (NT 3530 1233 to NT 3555 1195; 343 m OD; 566 m; NMRS No NT 31 SE 6)

Completely destroyed by forestry ploughing and could not be located. Last described (RCAHMS 1956) as a poorly preserved ditch with a bank on its east side, that had recently been deepened in parts for drainage purposes. Extends for *c* 366 m from the left bank of the Hoscote Burn to the head of the Ale Water, but broken through on Quarry Rig by droving tracks.

Lynn (1898) regards it as being part of the Catrail, but the RCAHMS suggests it is a common type of boundary earthwork, drawn between two natural landmarks.

29 The Birks (NT 4751 3744 to NT 4726 3763; 152 m OD; *c* 45 m)

Between Blynlee and The Birks an earthwork runs along the lip of a steep declivity already formed by the Gala Water. However, it has been severely undermined by the action of the river. Two fragments of this work can still be seen in the form of a greatly wasted ditch and bank. Where free from interference, the ditch is *c* 2.4 m wide and the bank 0.9 m high above the ditch bottom.

39 Rough-hope Rig (NT 5855 0465 to NT 5855 0485; 305 m OD; 402 m; NMRS No NT 50 SE 1)

Destroyed by afforestation. However, it proved possible to survey two transects which reveal the bank, ditch and counterscarp bank noted in RCAHMS (1956). Appears to be a head-dyke forming the south-east boundary of ground formerly under cultivation between the two burns, the Deep Cleuch and the Hyndlee Burn. It measured 402 m, but it has largely sunk into the peat where it crosses a mossy area, suggesting it may be of considerable age.

48 Burnhead Sike (NT 6017 0796 to NT 6035 0829; 335 m OD; 370 m; NMRS No NT 60 NW 14)

A mutilated ditch, *c* 5 m wide, with the remains of spread banks on either side, runs north-east from the head of Burnhead Sike until it is cut by an old road. From here, what appears to be a natural shallow ditch continues to the head of Spar Sike, suggesting it may have been an old land boundary. Destroyed by afforestation.

95 Langton Edge (NT 7420 5474; 320 m OD; 30 m; after RCAHMS 1915 and 1980)

'All that remains of this earthwork is a 30 m length of bank and ditch running from north to south immediately north-west of the plantation on Langton Edge. The bank measures up to 5 m in thickness by 1 m in height, and the ditch 4.5 m in breadth and 0.6 m in depth. It is recorded that the bank was flanked by pits in the area now occupied by the plantation' (RCAHMS 1915; Craw 1928). The monument described above could not be found at the coordinates given. The only feature present was what appeared to be a disused rabbit warren *c* 12 m long and 1.5 m high. It is presumed therefore that the earthwork has been destroyed by afforestation.

97 Greenhope Burn (NT 7200 6206; 259 m OD; 385 m; after RCAHMS 1915; NMRS No NT 76 SW 2)

A mound and ditch commence at the right bank of the Greenhope Burn, *c* 2 km NNW of Ellenford farmstead, and run for 385 m WSW across the moor. The ditch is deep on the side of the bank of the burn, but has almost disappeared on the moor, the mound alone remaining (RCAHMS 1915). This

area was a very obvious old farming area containing a series of old field banks, slight enclosures and rig and furrow. No trace of the earthwork was found, but from the topographical description, it would almost certainly fall in this area and could possibly have been confused with the old field banks (RCAHMS 1954). The whole of the area was ploughed recently prior to afforestation and nothing can now be seen.

129 Haud Yauds (NT 8290 6810; 229 m OD; 180 m; NMRS No NT 86 NW 56)

Totally destroyed. There may be traces left in the field beyond the Old Cambus Road, but they are so intangible that their exact position is in doubt. It was first surveyed in 1915 when 180 m of its length still survived. It was last surveyed in 1979 by the RCAHMS (No 308) when some evidence still remained.

133 Edington Black Dyke (NT 907 572 to NT 904 572; 114 m OD; 250 m; NMRS No NT 95 NW 27)

Nothing visible in the improved land through which this earthwork ran.

134 Greenburn (NT 842 610 to NT 838 609; 152 m OD; *c* 500 m)

Cropmarks reveal the site of a ditch recorded by Craw (1928). It runs for *c* 500 m from east to west and may continue south-west of the Lint Burn. About 120 m north of its west end there is a ditch running parallel to it.

135 Lamberton Moor (NT 956 594 to NT 958 593; 183 m OD; 250 m)

The rough moorland across which this earthwork runs is covered in dense gorse and it was impossible to locate anything. It is reported as destroyed by cultivation. (RCAHMS 1980, Nos 314, 38).

165 Drakemire (NT 8022 6069 to NT 8045 6050; 183 m OD; *c* 60 m; NMRS No NT 86 SW 3)

All that remains of this earthwork is a fragment about 2 m long between the edge of the wood and the dyke dividing the wood from improved (ploughed and newly-grassed) land. Traces of the ditch can be seen for *c* 60 m in the heavily ploughed wood of Drakemire strip. No evidence of its relationship with the other monuments in the vicinity.

173 Horseley (NT 8220 6190; 239 m OD; *c* 80 m)

Noted by Craw in 1928, this earthwork was said to consist of a bank with 'trench' or ditch dug in separate pits set *c* 3 m apart on the east side. It ran NNE as if to pass between the steadings of Horseley and Brockholes. No trace of this site was found by the field surveyors (RCAHMS 1980, No 39; named by them as 'Warlawbank') and it is therefore reasonable to presume that it has been destroyed.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This survey of a sample of linear earthworks provides us with the basis for a discussion of their form, distribution, probable functions and chronology. In the time which has elapsed since the survey a considerable amount of new work has already been undertaken. The CEU's work on the earthworks, undertaken by Peter Strong (forthcoming), will be published in the near future and will detail the excavation of some 17 sites and provide dates for 20 of them. Roger Mercer's work at Castle O'er (1985) likewise holds the promise of dating several of the earthworks near the fort (RCAHMS 1997, 78-9). Despite these advances, however, all that follows should be viewed as a very preliminary statement, the main value of which lies in its indication of the direction of future work. In practice, the results of these later excavations are not taken into account in this discussion. However, on the basis of the

survey's findings, it is possible to indicate some approaches, both for excavation and post-excavation studies, which may help, in the longer term, with the elucidation of the many interesting questions posed by these monuments.

The earthworks in each category are discussed separately under the appropriate headings below, after which there is a more general discussion of the whole group.

Group 1 sites

Cross-routeway linear earthworks

The survey has identified 92 cross-routeway sites, of which 60 were surveyed (see Chapter 1 and Appendix 1 for details of the survey). The shorter sites were recorded as single units, but the longer sites were recorded in a number of sectors where these were separated from each other by gaps of various types, or distinguished by marked changes in course. Two of the surveyed sites were divided into four sectors, two more into three sectors, 14 into two sectors, and 42 were treated as single sectors. Thus the 60 surveyed sites were recorded in 84 sectors. The details which follow deal with the site characteristics by sector.

Banks and ditches

The vast majority of sectors were univallate, consisting of a single ditch and bank. Some nine sectors had a second bank. Where two banks occurred, the second seems to have been little more than a dump of material from the ditch, being usually significantly smaller than the main bank, and unlike the main bank in lying uphill of the ditch. In one sector the bank had been completely removed so that only the ditch remained to mark the course of the earthwork. A single site was noted which consisted of a bank with two flanking ditches. Details of the sizes of banks and ditches are provided in Table 1, but it may be useful to remind the reader that although the dimensions have been recorded at points which appear to be representative of the surviving monument, the dimensions are extremely variable along the length of even a short earthwork. Thus it is necessary to exercise restraint in the interpretation of the significance of the differences between the sizes of individual sites or groups, or categories of sites.

As noted above, the ditch is normally located on the uphill side of the bank, but many sites were noted where the ditch is uphill for some parts of its length and downhill for others. Most ditches now function as drains for rain and surface run-off from the hillslopes above. It may well be that this was an aspect of their original function, apart from providing material for the banks.

The banks throughout are constructed of earth and stone rubble, with no apparent facing, stone lining or walling visible. Some 20 sites appear to be kerbed, that is to have a kerb of stones defining the footings of the bank. However, these may be 'self-kerbs', apparent features created when, in the natural washing out of the earth of the bank, the stones it contained fell to its foot making a crude kerb.

Profiles

Sample profiles were levelled across some 66 sites. Approximately 80% of the visited sites were described as 'rounded', 'low' or 'low and rounded'. Of the others *c* 10% were flat-topped and *c* 10% steep, the remainder mainly both steep and flat-topped.

The ditches were described as 'U-shaped' in 62% of the sectors, 'V-shaped' in 15%, and 'flat-bottomed' in the remaining 23%. No distinct correlation was noted between bank and ditch profiles. V-shaped ditches were as likely to be found with low rounded banks as with steep banks. In general, the profiles were low, rounded and smooth and it is assumed that these are the product of considerable weathering from forms which were originally more compact, higher and steeper (see Barber 1982; Halpin 1984; Strong forthcoming).

Length

Of all the recorded dimensions, the length of the surviving sectors may seem perhaps the least reliable, since many sites have been truncated, often by the passage of traffic around their ends. However, it became clear during the survey that such losses are not usually very great. Furthermore, the original lengths of many such sites can be deduced with reasonable confidence; in the case of the cross-routeway sites, since the topographical features they exploit set natural limits to their lengths. The lengths cited here are, however, the surviving lengths. They are probably not more accurate than $\pm$ 10 m as they are derived from the eight-figure NGRs of the sector ends and measure the straight (and level) line distance between these ends. Appendix 3 sets out the sector end NGRs and their calculated lengths in metres. The sectors range from *c* 30 m to 830 m in length, with mean of 188 m and standard deviation of 135 m. This estimate of the mean is biased upwards by the occurrence of a small number of high values, and, in fact, only a third of the sectors are longer than the mean, while over a quarter of them are shorter than 100 m. As noted above, these cross-routeway sites are limited in extent by the topographical features they exploit for their effectiveness.

Topographical position

Only three significant topographical features were considered in this survey: ridges, valleys, and hillsides. Some 62% of the cross-routeway sectors lie across the topographical feature on which they occur, at right angles to the natural line of passage along the ridge, valley or hillside. Surprisingly, perhaps, 25% of the sectors do not occur on distinct topographical features and cannot be said to be strategically positioned. Of the remaining 13%, all but a single sector lie along the feature on which they occur, controlling access across it.

Current land-use

Set out in Table 2 are details of the current vegetation on the sectors and the predominant land-use practice in their immediate environs. As might be expected from their altitudinal distribution, some 93% of the sectors are either in the permanent grazing or grazed moorland of the Border uplands. One sector lies in a forestry plantation, three are used as trackways, in whole or part, and 12 lie in unimproved pasture or waste ground. Three sectors are partially built over.

Current condition

Only 35 of the surveyed sectors appear to be in a stable condition at the moment, though six of these are already fragmentary and another six ruinous. The remaining 49 sectors are all currently suffering some damage, though much of this is slight. The major source of threat is from activities associated with sheep farmimg, some damage being caused by the

sheep 'burrowing' into the leeward sides of the monuments for shelter. Once the vegetation cover is thus broken, rain and wind extend the damage and prevent its closure by regenerating turf. The passage of both animals and vehicular traffic is causing almost as much damage, but, in general, both the scale and severity of this damage is significantly greater than that caused by sheep farming. In practice, both factors tend to operate in tandem, the intensified hill farming requiring a greater degree of access on to the uplands.

The analysis of current condition is presented in Table 3, and on the whole, even allowing for the comments above, the scale of damage it details is not great. However, this is an unrealistic interpretation because the major sources of threat are not represented in Table 3. Both afforestation and cultivation tend to remove complete monuments. Of the total 117 surveyed sites, afforestation has destroyed six sites completely, and cultivation has removed a further five, again completely, over the past 50 years. Examination of the RAF aerial cover of the Borders area, taken during and soon after the Second World War, shows that a much larger number of apparent cross-routeway sites has been destroyed by afforestation in the south-west of Scotland. It is necessary therefore to bear in mind that the details listed in Table 3 describe the small-scale, but probably continuous attrition of sites which are currently fairly stable and which, in the absence of direct threat from afforestation or cultivation, are likely to remain so.

A total of 49 of the 84 surveyed sectors are currently suffering some damage, as detailed above and discussed in the text. Of the 35 stable sectors, six are already fragmentary and a further six ruinous, leaving a total of 23 well-preserved, stable sectors. (Note: the sectors 'threatened by hillwash' are in fact being buried in run-off soils from the slopes above them.)

Long earthworks

Only three long earthworks were examined of the 11 which the survey identified, and these three were recorded in a total of 40 sectors, the bulk of which constitute the Catrail (see Chapter 3).

Banks and ditches

Five of the recorded sectors consisted of single banks with no apparent ditches. Nine sectors had two banks and a single ditch, and a single sector had a bank and two ditches. With the exception of two sectors which were unrecorded, the remainder consisted of single bank and ditch. Within the single sites, the placement of the ditch varied from sector to sector, and the positioning of the ditch uphill of the bank seems to have been more important than keeping it uniformly to one side or the other. The average physical dimensions of the sectors are detailed in Table 4 and the reader will no doubt see that the relatively high values of the standard deviations imply that the recorded dimensions are highly variable. This is, in fact, true even within individual sectors, and it is not possible, in consequence, to attribute doubtful sectors to long sites on the basis of their forms or dimensions. The second banks, where they occur, are consistently smaller than the main banks, but the single observed example of a second ditch is at least as substantial as the main ditch.

The banks throughout are constructed of earth and stone, presumably extracted from the ditch, in the majority of cases. Where no ditch occurs, it may well be that the material was

gathered as turf and topsoil from the immediately adjacent area (see Barber 1982, 42). Six of the sectors are recorded as kerbed, but, as explained above, these may simply be self-kerbs created when stones contained in the bank matrix fell out, to the foot of the bank, during natural weathering of the bank.

Profiles

Two bank profiles are described as 'low', one as 'rounded' and 27 as 'low and rounded'. With a single exception, for an unrecorded sector, the remainder are described as 'low and flat-topped'. Six of the secondary banks are low and rounded in profile, while two are flat-topped. Twenty-one of the ditch profiles were recorded as U-shaped, while 11 were V-shaped and eight flat-bottomed. In general, the profiles of both ditches and banks are smooth and rounded and suggest that considerable weathering has taken place.

Length

In Appendix 4 the lengths of the separate sectors are listed, together with the lengths of the separate earthworks and the three complete sites. The total lengths of the longer earthworks contain, of course, large gaps. It has been variously argued that in the past these gaps were occupied by some natural obstacle, such as a marsh or a dense forest, or that the line being defined by the earthwork was unambiguously defined in the gap by a natural feature, such as a stream or a ridge. Some of the gaps may be secondary, stretches of the earthwork having been destroyed by subsequent cultivation, or more recently by afforestation (App 4).

Topographical positions

Some 66% of the surveyed sectors lay across the topographical features on which they occurred: ridge; valley; or saddle. The remaining 34% lay either along these features (11%) or did not occupy distinct topographical features (23%). It is perhaps surprising that the percentage of these sectors which cut across topographical features is greater than the percentage of cross-routeway sectors which occupy similar positions.

Current land-use

Set out in Table 5 are details of the vegetation cover of the sectors and the predominant form of land-use practised in their immediate environs. Six sectors are tree-covered, in whole or part, one is partly preserved in a forestry ride and one half of a second sector projects beyond the forest into grazing land. Some 33 sectors are predominantly grass-covered. Two lie partly within arable fields; seven lie wholly within permanent pasture; while parts, ranging from 5% to 50%, of ten others lie in permanent grassland. Parts of six sectors, ranging from 35% to 75%, lie within the forestry plantations.

Fifteen full sectors and parts (20% to 50%), of seven other sectors lie in unimproved pasture or waste land. One sector was covered in moorland vegetation and lay half in permanent grassland, half in waste land.

Current condition

One of the sectors was destroyed by afforestation since it was last surveyed (about 50 years ago), and only five of the 40 surveyed sectors (12.5%) are now stable, four being well preserved. Preservation in this category of site is poor, with over 80% of the sectors either

fragmentary or ruinous. Afforestation is the greatest single source of threat to these sites with half of the surveyed sectors undergoing active damage. This estimate takes into account sectors which lie within plantations, typically in firebreaks or rides, as these will be at great risk in the near future during timber extraction. It also includes sectors which lie between afforested blocks of land, since the tendency has been to afforest these intervening areas as time and finances allow. Cultivation threatens five sectors, some of which already seem to have been truncated by cultivation. Sheep farming, hillwash, drainage operations and the passage of traffic offer further threat but on a small scale (to two sectors each). It should be noted that this latter small-scale attrition of sectors is particularly pernicious in the case of the Long Earthworks, since it contributes cumulatively to their segmentation with resultant loss of their essentially unitary nature. Table 6 details the current condition of the Long Earthworks.

Group 2 sites

Sites enclosing large (>5 km^2) and small (<5 km^2) landholdings

Since the only functional difference between these categories relates to the sizes of the territories which they, along with natural features, enclose, it was decided to present their details together. Sixteen of the smaller enclosures and six of the larger were identified in the survey, of which eleven and three, respectively, were surveyed. The smaller sites yielded 29 sectors (two sites of four sectors, four of three, four of two and one single-sector site). The three larger sites yielded four sectors (one two-sector and two single-sector sites). The use of the adjectives 'larger' and 'smaller' in respect of the sites refers not to the sites themselves but to the extents of the areas of land with which they are associated.

Banks and ditches

Two large sectors and 19 small sectors consist of single bank and ditch; one each of double bank with ditch between. One of the large site sectors consists of two banks and two ditches. In the small sites, four consist of single banks with no apparent ditches, two of single ditches, the banks having been levelled, and one of a single bank with ditches either side. No record was made of one of the large and two of the small sectors. The mean physical dimensions of the sectors are listed in Table 7. It is clear that despite the differences in the areas enclosed, there is no significant difference between the mean sizes of the ditches and banks. In fact, the sectors of the small sites are widely variable in their dimensions and contain some of the largest earthworks of the whole survey, for example Sector 2 of *112* is 6 m wide and 1 m high.

The secondary banks and ditches in earthworks of these categories are as substantial as the main banks and ditches. In general, this is not the case with sites of other categories, where the secondary features are much slighter than the main bank and ditch. The banks seem to be constructed of earth and stone, with no distinct structural form, such as wall faces, etc, visible.

Profiles

The banks of the large sites are, in general low and rounded, though one steep-sided, flat-bottomed example was noted. The associated ditches are flat-bottomed or U-shaped. Some

18 of the sectors of the small sites are low to low and rounded with flat-bottomed to U-shaped ditches. Two sector banks were steep-sided and five were low and flat-topped.

Length

The lengths of the enclosing earthworks are listed in App 5, where details for both the sectors and entire sites are listed. The lengths of the sites of the 'small' class are in general greater than those of the 'large' class (The reader will recall that the terms 'small' and 'large' refer to the areas enclosed by the earthworks in combination with natural features, not to the earthworks.) However, the small size of the sample from the large class alone may account for this difference. The lengths of the sites range from just over 300 m to 1.7 km, and, as might be expected, the longer sites tend to be those with the slightest earthworks.

Topographical position

Some 50% of the surveyed sectors displayed no preferred relationship with topographical features. The remaining 50% are almost evenly distributed over the remaining classes; along, across, and obliquely set on hills, ridges and valleys. In general, therefore, it must be concluded that the positioning of these sites did not take account of the topography. Since their *raison d'être* seems to have been the definition of boundary lines, where natural features suitable for this did not exist, their indifference to the local landscape forms is perhaps not altogether surprising.

Current land-use

All the sectors of the large sites lie in moorland, in rough pasture, or partly on waste ground. In this they differ from the sectors of the small sites, since the latter lie predominantly in grassland.

Some 20 sectors lie, in whole or part, in grassland of some sort. Three sites are tree-covered and lie within forestry plantations, while half of the fourth site lies within a plantation but is grass-covered, as it lies in a ride. Four sites lie in marshland, two of them extending into the adjacent rough pastureland. Details of the vegetation cover and land-use in the environs of the sites are listed in Table 8.

Current condition

Two of the four surveyed sectors of the large sites now seem to be stable, although one of these is already ruinous. The third sector is being damaged by animal trample, while the fourth has been destroyed by afforestation since it was last surveyed. Only seven of the 27 sectors of the large sites are now stable and four of these are also well-preserved, two fragmentary and one ruinous. Two sectors are threatened by afforestation, while a third has already been destroyed by afforestation. Two sectors have been destroyed by cultivation, which also threatens a further two sectors. Four sectors are threatened by activities associated with sheep-farming, while three sectors are each threatened by drainage, animal trample and burial in hillwash (see Table 9 for details).

Agricultural boundaries, park-pales, head-dykes and woodbanks

These miscellaneous economic land division categories are grouped together here, primarily because so few were surveyed; seven agricultural boundaries, one park-pale, one

head-dyke and three groups of woodbanks, one of which consists of ten separate sites. However, all of them seem to have served in the physical and practical division of the landscape, as opposed to its political or simply tenurial division, and so their combination here is not as arbitrary as might at first seem to be the case.

Banks and ditches

The agricultural boundaries consist of single banks and ditches, with a single exception which has a second ditch. Similarly, the six sectors of the head-dyke and three sectors of the park-pale are all single bank and ditch monuments. The woodbanks, on the other hand, are rather more variable: 12 of the 18 examined sectors consist of single banks and ditches; but two have an additional bank each; two are single banks without apparent ditches; and one consists of a ditch without accompanying bank. (Details of structural form were unrecorded for one sector.)

The average physical dimensions of the sectors are listed, by category, in Table 10. The park-pale has the largest mean dimensions, with both bank and ditch averaging 1 m wider than those of the next largest category, the agricultural boundaries. There is no real difference between the dimensions of the other categories, especially when the wide variability of the individual sector measurements is taken into consideration.

Wherever the evidence was visible, it was clear that the banks were built largely of earth with some stone, material which seems to have been derived from associated ditches. No evidence for wall-facings nor for other structural embellishments was noted.

Profiles

The banks of all four categories considered here are low or rounded or both, this last being the commonest profile type. The ditches are usually either flat-bottomed or U-shaped. Only two sectors (of the total of 36) have V-shaped ditches and both of these are in the head-dyke. The banks of both the park-pale and the woodbanks are particularly spread with low wide banks and wide shallow ditches. In the case of the woodbanks, this may well reflect their original forms. In the other categories, however, the assumption is that the current profiles of the monuments are the result of erosion over relative lengthy periods.

Length

As might be anticipated, the head-dyke is the longest site in this group of categories, being just short of 3 km in total length. However, the park-pale and three of the woodbank sites are in excess of 1 km long and one of the agricultural boundaries is over 2 km long. The lengths of these sites may not seem so long when it is recalled that a bank 1 km long will only enclose a circular area of *c* 8 hectares (*c* 23 acres), or a square area of *c* 6.25 hectares (*c* 18 acres). Thus, it should be anticipated that sites of Group 2, the economic land division sites, will tend to be relatively long (see App 6a & b for details of dimensions, etc).

Topographical position

Almost two-thirds of the sectors (64%) have no preferred topographical feature positioning. A further 27% lie along the topographical feature on which they occur, and only 9% lie across such features. This pattern is consistent with the interpretation of these categories as

economic land division boundaries. In the main, they delimit parcels of land, some part of each of which is cultivable. Thus they tend to lie along valley sides, for example, or to separate adjacent properties in the lower, rolling borderland countryside which is relatively devoid of pronounced topographical features.

Land-use

Of the 36 sectors in these categories, 21 are grass-covered, seven lie under moorland, and three under marshland vegetation. Three are tree-covered and two scrub-covered. They lie predominantly in grassland, most of it permanent pasture, on the margins of settled areas. Thus 32 sectors lie, in whole or part, in pasture, while only six lie in waste land. A mere three sectors lie in forestry plantation (Table 11).

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The typical linear earthwork of southern Scotland consists of a single bank, constructed of earth, with stones removed from its accompanying ditch. In some cases, a second bank or ditch, or bank and ditch may occur, but these are almost always considerably smaller than the main monument. The physical dimensions of the site-types show a slight variation, which may be attributable to their functions. In general, the Group 2 sites, (Economic Land Division sites) are smaller in cross-section than the sites of Group 1 (Political/Administrative Land Division sites). The park-pale, which is included in Group 2, is in fact more closely similar in its dimensions to the Group 1 sites, than to those of Group 2. On reflection, it is possible that the park-pale should have been included in Group 1, since its function is largely legal and administrative, in that it defines a territory wherein park or forest laws apply. However, these size differences should not be over-emphasized since the ranges exhibited in each category overlap to a substantial degree, that is, it is improbable that these differences are statistically significant. In any event, the direct comparison of their current dimensions assumes that all the sites have been subjected to approximately equal degrees of weathering.

This was certainly the impression gained in the field, but excavation would be necessary to facilitate estimation of the original dimensions of the sites, before this assumption could be accepted with confidence. The current profiles of sites of all categories are low and rounded banks with infilled, shallow ditches, 'U-shaped' or flat-bottomed, in the main. These give us little indication of the original forms of the sites. Here again, excavation might allow an estimate of the original proportions of the banks, by calculating the height necessary to accommodate the volume of material removed from the ditch and placed over the area represented by the buried soil beneath the core of the surviving bank. Amongst the 30 or so sites which have been sectioned, no evidence for any complex construction has been noted; no facing walls or stone plinths or turf core or covering. Thus, the estimates of original forms will remain poorly defined, even where excavation has taken place.

The implication of these conclusions is that the size and shape of the earthworks seems to have been of little importance to their builders. No clear division can be made between the strictly functional or utilitarian earthworks on the one hand and 'defensive' works on the other. Certainly, major works on the scale of Offa's Dyke are absent from the south of

Scotland. Originally, some of the Orcadian treb dykes may have been rather massive works, but, in the absence of excavation, it is difficult to estimate even their approximate extents. In the main, therefore, it would seem that the importance and significance of the Scottish linear earthworks lies in the lines which they define in the landscape, rather than in the construction or form of the sites themselves.

It is clear from this survey that there is a correlation between certain categories of sites and topographical features. The Cross-routeway sites perhaps provide the best example of this relationship, but it is also clear in the longer linear earthworks. In the case of the Cross-routeway sites, virtually every natural route south out of Tweeddale is 'controlled' by linear earthworks at points where the nature of the topography restricts the route to narrow passages.

Setting aside the absence of adequate dating of the sites for the moment, it is possible to view this whole group of sites as constituting a single functional group built either to define the south margin of Teviotdale, or to define, what in time became the National Border. Any border (national or local) has parts which may be defined as 'active', in that passage into and out of the bordered territory is possible at those points. Other parts may be defined as 'passive' in that such passage is impossible, or highly improbable at such points. The nature of the passage is, of course, dependent on what needs to pass; thus while ox-carts might be restricted to a very few active border sections, almost no border could be declared passive to determined human assault as recent history so clearly illustrates.

It is in the interest of all states to control their external trade (that is to extract revenues from it) and to that end, the activeness of some border sectors is enhanced, for example, by the construction of ports or the provision of adequate roads routed through towns which serve as tax gathering points. The latter is exemplified in Scotland by the routing of drove roads through towns like Kelso, Jedburgh, Coldstream etc, along the Border. Part of the process of controlling external trade requires that other active border areas be rendered passive to the sort of traffic considered important. Thus, the Cross-routeway sites may have been constructed to close off 'unapproved' roads. These obstacles in general do not exclude all traffic - in practice, this is usually all but impossible - they merely restrict the type or amount possible. If, as we suspect, the Cross-routeway sites average 1 m thick and up to 2 m high, with an equally substantial ditch, they would have proved a major obstacle to vehicular traffic of all types and would have greatly impeded the passage of large numbers of animals; large herds of cattle, for example.

At present, we do not know whether the territory whose border was serviced by the Cross-routeway sites was Tweeddale or the whole of Scotland. (Here the term Tweeddale refers to the Tweed valley not the modern administrative area.) Preliminary field survey on the north margin of Tweeddale suggests that Cross-routeway sites may be common on the south side of the Lammermuirs. Thus, the Tweeddale catchment may have been bounded on all sides by linear earthworks of this type. Similar sites lie to the south of the north border of the Tyne basin. The current National Border lies along a natural dividing line between economically-viable territories and it is not improbable that some of the sites involved were created, probably in the pre-Roman Iron Age, as national or quasi-national borders to separate territories, whilst others, possibly Medieval in date, represent attempts at the definition of a National Border.

The natural segmentation of the Scottish landscape into separate territories may also account for the relative absence of sites used as local-administration boundaries. These administrative units are usually fairly clearly defined by the nature of the terrain and separated from each other by distinct, natural features, such as ranges of hills of mountains. This factor may also account for the paucity of lengthy earthworks. Of those examined in this study only the Catrail seems likely to have functioned as a large scale territorial boundary. In association with other natural feaures, it may have functioned in respect of the hillfort of North Eildon Hill in the same role as the earthwork called 'The Dorsey' seems to have functioned in respect of the royal site of Eamhain Macha (Lynn 1981). The discovery that the line of the Dorsey is continued across an apparent gap, once bogland, by a wooden palisade perhaps points to new avenues of approach to similar areas on the Catrail.

The economic sites form part of the history, and pre-history of land-usage patterns in Scotland, and their future study may be attempted most usefully in the context of the study of field systems and agricultural systems which gives rise to them. It is neither useful nor likely to prove particularly enlightening to attempt their study as monument types (ie as linear earthworks) separate from the economic land-use system to which they belong.

The dating of linear earthworks suggests that there are two main periods of construction: the first of these is in the pre-Roman/Roman Iron Age; the second in the Medieval/post-Medieval Period. Radiocarbon dates now exist for three sites, all of them falling in the last three centuries BC. We have noted above the fact that four sites, *79*, *80*, *178* and *181*, lie beneath the Roman road of Dere Street, near Woden Law hillfort. Thus, it is clear that some of these sites are of later Prehistoric date.

The major site at Raeshaw Fell (*131*) appears to be that described in the *Liber de Melrose*, constructed in the 12th century AD, while the woodbanks at Bowden Moor may represent the enclosure of the woodland there at the end of the 15th century AD (Anderson 1967, 161). In its final form, the Deil's Dyke in Nithsdale is Medieval in date (Barber 1982, 45) and seems to have served as a parish boundary (Tabraham 1982, 47). The re-use, or building over, of earlier earthworks may prove to have been relatively common, and in the case of the Deil's Dyke, the line being marked is a fairly obvious one in many instances in Scotland. As noted earlier, the topology of Scotland furnishes many (a majority, possibly) of naturally defined territoria.

Apart from these main periods of use, it must be recalled that some pit alignment sites are Neolithic in date, notably Meldon Bridge (Burgess 1976) and Mye Plantation (Mann 1903; Ritchie pers comm). Further, from radiocarbon dates now coming to hand, it seems that some sites are Dark Age in date. The site of Blacklaw has a *terminus post quem* date of 323 ± 90 bc (B-2735A). Once the population had expanded to fill the landscape, its subdivision became necessary and this seems to have taken place in the two or three centuries before the Roman invasion. Thereafter, some changes, though perhaps small-scale and few, must have taken place over the next millennium. When, in the Medieval period, the concept of land ownership emerged in its modern form, the impetus to define the subdivisions of the landscape was renewed. This impetus was strengthened by the new legislative need to define territories which hitherto were economically valueless. The treeless Scottish hunting 'forests' or park-pales, for example, represented new categories of enclosed lands.

Other economic developments, for example the enclosure of Scotland's residual forests to facilitate their management and exploitation, produced other categories of linear earthworks, many of them intermediate in scale (real and conceptual) between the strictly political and the strictly utilitarian ends of our classificatory spectrum.

The current distribution of sites is clearly circumscribed; concentrated in marginal, upland areas, with large numbers of destroyed sites surviving only as linear cropmarks or pit alignments, in areas of better soils and greater agricultural exploitation. This pattern is so marked as to suggest that altitudinal zonation marks the basic differentiation between our political (upland) and economic (lowland) sites.

There is, however, an element of circulatory argument in the attribution of economic usage to lowland sites, since their occurrence in the lowlands forms part of the reason for their identification as economic land division sites in the first place. Further, the 'non-attribution' of economic functions at upland sites might have to be reconsidered if, during the Iron Age phase of earthwork erection, the existence of forms of land-use significantly different from that currently practised can be demonstrated. For the present, however, the model of upland/political and lowland/economic functions for the linear earthworks seems appropriate.

It has already been argued that linear earthworks are only understandable and interpretable as whole groups and that seeking too full or rigorous an interpretation of single sites is more likely to prove misleading rather than helpful (Barber 1985, 162). Inevitably, this must operate to 'devalue' the individual site in terms of its retrievable archaeological information, but this is only true for information related to original function. Individual earthworks are rich repositories of local and regional environmental evidence, can provide dating evidence from buried soils, encapsulate evidence for local, pre-construction land status and land-use, illustrate the course of local soil development, pedogenesis, and solifluction.

Following this survey, excavation and post-excavation procedures and analyses were decided upon to optimize the information yield from linear earthworks. Pollen studies were concentrated on the pre-bank and early ditch deposits for evidence of changes of land-use following construction of the linear earthworks; and on the ditch sediments for a post-construction local vegetation history. That soil pollen studies are fraught with difficulties (Dimbleby 1984, Chaps 4 to 7, for examples) in no way suggests that they ought not to be attempted. Soil studies in the field are concentrated on determining the pedogenesis, or depositional history, of every deposit visible in sectioned earthworks. Buried soils are sampled for thin sectioning and micromorphological analyses. Buried A horizons have been sampled for radiocarbon dating and structured samples taken at some sites to examine the problem of mean-residence-time (MRT) of soil organic matter. Soil dates can appear much older than the sealing of the deposit, for certain types where the MRT is large (Scharpenseel 1972).

In examining earthworks in the future, there is a range of geomorphological techniques which may prove useful. Amongst these are Amino Acid Dating (Goh 1972) and Amino Acid Racemisation (dating) (Hare & Taylor 1970). Feasibility studies of both these techniques have been commissioned. In all, a total of 17 sites have been sectioned by Peter Strong (forthcoming) using these guidelines.

The concept of large-scale sectioning of these sites may seem like a return to the archaeology of the early 20th century, but in all cases the sections were made by cleaning profiles revealed by modern, or relatively modern, breaks in the earthworks caused by drainage works, farm tracks, forestry ploughing and a range of other activities. Some 63% of all visited sites display such damage and the opportunity to clean, sample and record the sites at these locations, with a minimum of effort and a minimum of damage to the surviving site, is one which simply cannot be ignored. In any event, the horizontal excavation of featureless banks and ditches is normally neither cost effective nor appropriate.

The principal post-excavation techniques employed in this phase of the project are pollen analysis, soil micromorphology and pedogenesis, all of which are statistical in nature, in that their contributions to individual sites are, and will remain, slight. Their true value will not emerge until a sufficient number have been conducted in order that general patterns and regional trends might be detected. Their major, potential contribution lies in their capacity to determine the nature and degree of changes in land-use coincident with the construction of the earthworks.

If the classification of linear earthworks outlined above is correct, and if these sites have primarily functioned as land divisions, it is probable that no change in local land-use will be detectable for the political and higher-level economic sites. Nor is it likely that the precise location or extent of the areas of land they demarcate will be deducible from a study of the linear earthworks alone.

The interpretation of these sites requires a fuller understanding of the overall patterns of human settlement in their vicinity. The study of linear earthworks has been somewhat neglected, perhaps because they have been so unresponsive to traditional methods of excavation and post-excavation. Techniques currently available offer some hope of improvement in this regard, but employed in isolation they are, as we have noted, unlikely to advance our understanding of these sites in the short term.

Linear earthworks are the quintessential ‘landscape’ monuments whose final interpretations lie within the physical, political and social landscapes that called them into being. This in no way diminishes their importance. Nations exist most essentially at their borders and in some of the linear earthworks we, perhaps, see the first manifestations of Later Prehistoric nations expressed in Scotland’s earliest, physically-defined borders. The continued use of linear earthworks in the subdivision and ‘domestication’ of the Scottish landscape forms a vitally important part of the social history of the nation, a part whose resolution constitutes one of the most stimulating challenges offered to contemporary archaeology.

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	Main bank		Ditch		Second bank	
	width	**height**	**width**	**depth**	**width**	**depth**
Min	1.00	0.05	1.00	0.05	1.90	0.20
Max	9.00	2.50	6.00	1.40	4.00	0.70
Mean	3.69	0.56	2.82	0.38	2.70	0.24
Standard deviation -						
	±1.39	±1.04	±0.77	±0.43	±0.25	±0.20m

Table 1: The size distribution (in metres) of the banks and ditches of the 84 surveyed linear earthworks.

Veg cover / **No of sectors**	**Trees** 1	**Scrub** 2	**Grasses** 34	**Marsh** 2	**Moorland** 45
Permanent	-	-	90%	50%	-
Grassland (unimproved)	-	-	40%	3%	25%
Land-use, rough	-	-	-	-	88%
Forestry	100%	-	-	-	-
Waste ground	-	60%	-	-	8%
Tracks & paths	-	-	4%	-	4%

Table 2: The current vegetation cover on the sectors of the cross routeway and the predominant form of land-use in their immediate environs.

	All sectors		Well-preserved sectors		Fragmentary sectors		Ruinous sectors	
	No	**%**	**No**	**%**	**No**	**%**	**No**	**%**
Number of sectors	84		45		18		21	
Sites now stable	35		23		6		6	
Threat								
Sheep farming	19	40%	13	59%	5	42%	1	7%
Traffic of animals	12	23%	4	18%	4	34%	4	26%
Vehicular traffic	11	23%	4	18%	1	8%	6	40%
Cultivation	4	8%	-	-	1	8%	3	20%
Hillwash	3	6%	1	5%	1	8%	1	7%
TOTALS	49	100%	22	100%	12	100%	15	100%

Table 3: The current state of the cross-routeway sites. A total of the 84 surveyed sectors are currently suffering some damage, as detailed above and discussed in the text. Of the 35 stable sectors, six are already fragmentary and a further six ruinous, leaving a total of 23 well-preserved, stable sectors. (Note: the sectors 'threatened by hillwash' are in fact being buried in run-off soils from the slopes above them.)

	Bank width	Bank depth	Bank width	Bank depth	Bank width	Bank depth	Bank width	Bank depth
Mean	2.85	0.37	0.92	0.14	2.48	0.35	3.50	0.20
SD	0.93	0.16	0.43	0.05	0.86	0.22		
Min	1.00	0.20	0.30	0.90	1.00	0.10		
Max	5.00	0.90	1.50	0.25	4.60	1.00		
N	38		9		33		1	

Table 4: Dimensions of the banks and ditches of the long earthworks sectors (all dimensions in metres), where SD means 'standard deviation' and N the number of sectors for which the relevant dimensions were recorded.

Vegetation cover	No of sectors	Arable permanent	Pasture unimproved	Pasture plantation	Forestry	Waste ground
Trees	4	-	-	-	100%	-
	1	-	-	-	80%	20%
	1	-	50%	-	50%	-
Grass	1	50%	50%	-	-	-
	1	35%	30%	-	35%	-
	2	5%	20%	-	75%	-
	4	-	50%	50%	-	-
	2	-	50%	-	50%	-
	7	-	100%	-	-	-
	1	-	-	50%	50%	-
	15	-	-	100%	-	-
Heath	1	-	-	-	-	100%

Table 5: The current vegetation cover on the sectors of the long earthworks and the predominant form of land-use in their immediate environs.

	All sectors	Well-preserved sectors		Fragmentary sectors		Ruinous sectors	
	No	No	%	No	%	No	%
No of sectors	40	7	18	19	48	13	33
Sites now stable	5	4	57	1	5	-	-
Threat							
Afforestation	20	1	15	12	63	7	54
Cultivation	5	1	15	1	5	3	23
Sheep farming	3	1	15	2	11	-	-
Hillwash	2	-	-	1	5	1	8
Traffic	2	-	-	2	11	-	-
Drainage	2	-	-	-	-	2	15
TOTALS	39*	7		19		13	

(One sector completely destroyed by afforestation)*

Table 6: The current state of the long earthworks.

	Main bank		Second bank		Ditch		Second ditch	
	width	depth	width	depth	width	depth	width	depth
Min	3.00	0.20	3.00	0.20	2.00	0.10	4.00	0.25
Max	5.00	1.50	-	-	3.50	0.50	-	-
Mean	3.67	0.67	-	-	3.00	0.20	-	-
SD	0.94	0.59	-	-	0.71	0.17	-	-
Sites enclosing areas greater than 5 km^2 (all dimensions in m)								
	Main bank		Second bank		Ditch		Second ditch	
	width	depth	width	depth	width	depth	width	depth
Min	1.00	0.10	1.50	0.20	1.00	0.10	1.00	0.10
Max	7.50	1.00	-	-	6.50	0.75	-	-
Mean	3.56	0.39	-	-	2.29	0.33	-	-
SD	1.79	0.26	-	-	1.50	0.20	-	-
Sites enclosing areas greater than 5 km^2 (all dimensions in m)								

Table 7: The size distribution of the banks and ditches of the 33 surveyed sectors of the enclosure earthworks, large and small (SD = standard deviation).

Vegetation cover	No of sectors	Grassland permanent	Grassland rough	Forestry	Waste ground
Small sites					
Moorland	2	-	100%	-	-
	2	-	50%	-	50%
Large sites					
Trees	3	-	-	100%	-
	1	-	50%	-	50%
Grass	10	100%	-	-	-
	6	-	50%	-	50%
	1	-	-	50%	50%
Marsh	2	-	-	-	100%
	2	-	-	50%	50%

Table 8: The current vegetation cover on the sectors of the small and large enclosing earthworks, and the predominant form of land-use in their immediate environment.

	Sectors No	Sectors %	Well-preserved	Fragmentary	Ruinous	Destroyed
Large sites						
Sites now stable	2	50	1	-	1	-
Threat:						
Afforestation	1	25	-	-	-	1
Animal traffic	1	25	-	1	-	-
Total sites threatened	2	50	-	1	-	1
Small sites						
Sites now stable	7	-	4	2	1	-
Threat:						
Afforestation	3	-	-	1	1	1
Cultivation	4	-	-	1	1	2
Animal traffic	3	-	-	2	1	-
Hillwash	3	-	-	2	1	-
Sheep farming	4	-	-	1	3	-
Drainage	3	-	-	-	3	-
Total sites threatened	20	-	-	7	10	3

Table 9: Details of current condition of sites enclosing large (>5 km^2) and small (< 5 km^2) landholdings.

	Agricultural boundaries	Head-dyke	Park-pale	Woodbanks
Bank				
Width	2.86 ± 0.93	2.15 ± 0.65	3.83 ± 1.03	2.65 ± 0.83
Height	0.74 ± 0.42	0.50 ± 0.28	0.27 ± 0.05	0.39 ± 0.16
Ditch				
Width	2.06 ± 1.22	1.83 ± 0.36	3.17 ± 0.24	2.48 ± 1.25
Depth	0.42 ± 0.22	0.23 ± 0.65	0.23 ± 0.05	0.27 ± 0.18

Table 10: Average physical dimensions of agricultural boundaries, head-dyke, park-pale and wood banks (all dimensions in metres).

	Small sectors	Well preserved	Fragmentary	Ruinous	Destroyed
Sites now stable	6	5	1	-	-
Threat					
Afforestation	9	1	3	4	1
Cultivation	4	1	2	1	-
Animal traffic	8	2	3	3	-
Hillwash	2	1	-	1	-
Sheep farming	3	-	2	1	-
Drainage	5	1	1	3	-

Table 11: The current state of the earthworks of the following categories: agricultural boundaries; park-pale; head-dyke and woodbanks.

APPENDIX 1: LINEAR EARTHWORKS BY CATALOGUE NUMBER

Note: Sites 236-70 are linear cropmarks and sites 291-403 are pit alignments. They are listed in the archive report.

No	Name	NGR	1:10 000 map no.	OS	RCHAMS Year	RCHAMS No
1	Cleaven Dyke	NO 1513 4102:NO 1763 3973	NO 14 SE	18	-	-
2	Pickan's Dyke	NS 4821 0608:NS 4890 0597	NS 40 NE	2	-	-
3	Cadzow Castle	NS 7288 5372:NS 7304 5360	NS 75 SW	3	-	-
4	Milkieston Hill	NT 2460 4647:NT 2470 4605	NT 24 NW	5	1967	304
5	Meadshaw Rig	NT 3689 0736:NT 3708 0627	NT 30 NE	1	1956	897
6	Crib Head	NT 3819 0707:NT 3814 0722	NT 30 NE	4	1956	1024
7	Caldron Hole	NT 3973 0844:NT 4012 0856	NT 30 NE	6	1956	1022

No	Name	NGR	1:10 000 map no.	OS	RCHAMS Year	RCHAMS No
8	Warleshope Burn	NT 319 187 :NT 325 190	NT 31 NW	2	1957	126
9	Home Law	NT 3294 1483:NT 3297 1476	NT 31 SW	1	1957	190
10	Clear Burn	NT 3386 1376:NT 3360 1458	NT 31 SW	3	1957	189
11	Black Rig	NT 3475 1493:NT 3420 1377	NT 31 SW	4	1957	188
12	Girnwood Hill (North)	NT 3675 1298:NT 3696 1272	NT 31 SE	2	1956	900
13	Girnwood Hill (South)	NT 3616 1116:NT 3893 1161	NT 31 SE	3	1956	698
				4	1956	808
14	Quarry Rig	NT 3530 1233:NT 3555 1195	NT 31 SE	6	-	-
15	Feuars Hill	NT 3329 2568:NT 3340 2560	NT 32 NW	1	1957	193
16	Snouthead A	NT 3330 2795:NT 3314 2680	NT 32 NW	7	1957	192
17	Wallace's Trench	NT 3863 3231:NT 3869 3273	NT 33 SE	1	1957	194
18	Newton Hill A	NT 4919 0790:NT 4949 0783	NT 40 NE	25	1957	189
19	Whitehill (Lower) A	NT 4794 0551:NT 4795 0588	NT 40 NE	19	1956	191
20	Whitehill (Upper) F	NT 4842 0632:NT 4871 0602	NT 40 NE	6	1956	190
21	Hunt Law	NT 4118 0786:NT 4055 0680	NT 40 NW	3	1956	1023
22	Crom Rig	NT 4241 0549:NT 4268 0535	NT 40 NW	7	1956	1025
23	Stobi Hill	NT 433 191 :NT 433 196	NT 41 NW	-	1957	187
24	Whitslaid Hill	NT 435 189	NT 41 NW	-	1957	186
25	Whitfield-Mabon Law	NT 4600 1598:NT 4078 1694	NT 41 NW	25	1956	267
				-	1956	901
26	Muselee Hill	NT 4048 1065:NT 4080 1085	NT 41 SW	13	1956	896
27	Birny Knowe	NT 4126 1063:NT 4186 1078	NT 41 SW	14	1956	895
28	Philiphaugh	NT 440 278	NT 42 NW	-	1957	185
29	The Birks	NT 4751 3744:NT 4726 3763	NT 43 NE	-	1957	179
30	Clints Black Dyke	NT 4363 5328:NT 4343 5324	NT 45 SW	9	-	-
31	Blakebillend A	NT 5156 0621:NT 5134 0596	NT 50 NW	1	1956	188
32	Earlside	NT 5269 0913:NT 5275 0906	NT 50 NW	2	1956	164
33	Mid Hill	NT 5139 0970:NT 5153 0975	NT 50 NW	8	1956	185
34	Stonedge Hill	NT 5353 0803:NT 5372 0829	NT 50 NW	9	1956	194
35	Hare Hill A	NT 5265 0730:NT 5285 0716	NT 50 NW	10	1956	187
36	Brown's Hill	NT 5345 0530:NT 5418 0506	NT 50 NW	20	1956	294
37	Leap Hill	NT 5121 0140:NT 5128 0139	NT 50 NW	1	1956	192
38	Scaw'd Law	NT 5052 0160	NT 50 NW	2	1956	193
39	Rough-hope Rig	NT 5855 0465:NT 5855 0485	NT 50 SE	1	1956	968
40	Kirkton Burn	NT 5475 1130:NT 5537 1095	NT 51 SW/SE	20	1956	184
41	Weens	NT 5855 1263:NT 5868 1266	NT 51 SE	3	-	-
42	Military Way	NT 5494 2853:NT 5120 3200	NT 52 NW	30	1956	57
43	Over Whitlaw	NT 5233 3065:NT 5229 3048	NT 53 SW	35	1956	59
44	Bowden Moor A	NT 5163 3167:NT 5301 3180	NT 53 SW	5	1956	58
45	Old Melrose	NT 5852 3400:NT 5848 3405	NT 53 SE	2	1956	620
46	Gladescleuch Burn	NT 5430 5393:NT 5423 5425	NT 55 SW	-	-	-
47	Wolfhopelee Burn	NT 6069 0725:NT 6087 0726	NT 60 NW	13	1956	967
48	Burnhead Sike	NT 6017 0796:NT 6035 0829	NT 60 NW	14	1956	967
49	Causeway Rig	NT 6121 0290:NT 6176 0295	NT 60 SW	2	1956	969
50	Wheelrig Head	NT 6127 0152:NT 6161 0135	NT 60 SW	4	1956	125
51	Swinnie	NT 621 180 :NT 623 168	NT 61 NW	-	1956	495
52	Black Law	NT 6220 1840:NT 6175 1855	NT 61 NW	1	1956	40
53	Hill Pond	NT 6142 1708:NT 6175 1720	NT 61 NW	13	1956	41
54	Shaw Burn	NT 6626 1324:NT 6613 1262	NT 61 SE	13	1956	966
55	Lantoncraigs	NT 6293 2078:NT 6329 2075	NT 62 SW	27	1956	494
56	Broomhill Blackdykes	NT 6921 4798:NT 6995 4641	NT 64 NE	6	1915	174
57	Dye Cottage Black Dyke	NT 6535 5898:NT 6523 5816	NT 65 NE	4	-	-

No	Name	NGR	1:10 000 map no.	OS	RCHAMS Year	RCHAMS No
58	Redpath A	NT 6802 5924:NT 6824 5902	NT 65 NE	5	1915	253
					1980	319
59	Lamblair Edge	NT 7183 0769:NT 7209 0780	NT 70 NW	6	1956	499
60	Ephope Law	NT 7297 0946:NT 7299 0959	NT 70 NW	16	1956	498
61	Fairwood Fell	NT 7420 0686:NT 7440 0713	NT 70 NW	9	1956	846
62	Pier Burn A	NT 7199 0960:NT 7223 0999	NT 70 NW	17	1956	497
63	Hindhope Burn	NT 7716 0938:NT 7740 0939	NT 70 NE	12	1956	841
64	Cushat Knowe A	NT 7667 0886:NT 7684 0907	NT 70 NE	13	1956	843
65	Whiteside Hill	NT 7707 0858:NT 7734 0856	NT 70 NE	14	1956	842
66	Brownhart Law	NT 7896 0967:NT 7922 0953	NT 70 NE	15	1956	839
67	Grindstone Law	NT 7600 0759:NT 7622 0786	NT 70 NE	17	1956	845
68	Grindstone Burn	NT 7605 0821:NT 7622 0837	NT 70 NE	18	1956	844
69	Whitton Loch	NT 7518 1925:NT 7482 2048	NT 71 NE	19	1956	835
70	Chatto Craig (SW) A	NT 7590 1610:NT 7572 1617	NT 71 NE	35	1956	410
71	Butter Cleuch A	NT 7688 1539:NT 7710 1519	NT 71 NE	28	1956	406
72	Shank End A	NT 7624 1571:NT 7629 1590	NT 71 NE	17	1956	407
73	Swanlaws	NT 7748 1554:NT 7760 1588	NT 71 NE	23	1956	408
74	Knock Hill	NT 7390 1148	NT 71 SW	21	1956	838
75	Brundean Laws	NT 7248 1059:NT 7259 1065	NT 71 SW	17	1956	496
76	Hunthall Hill (SW)	NT 7725 1159:NT 7732 1154	NT 71 SE	31	1956	840
77	Thorny Hill	NT 7996 1478:NT 8002 1489	NT 71 SE	-	1956	393
78	Pennymuir Rig	NT 7539 1361:NT 7525 1428	NT 71 SE	-	1956	393
79	White Hope E	NT 7722 1210:NT 7728 1212	NT 71 SE	-	1956	402
80	Woden Streethead	NT 7686 1279:NT 7693 1291	NT 71 SE	8	1956	404
81	Langside Law	NT 7704 1286:NT 7719 1295	NT 71 SE	9	1956	405
82	Raeshaw Fell A	NT 7882 1364:NT 7935 1350	NT 71 SE	10	1956	395
83	Raeshaw Burn A	NT 7851 1321:NT 7864 1324	NT 71 SE	38	1956	396
84	Buchtrig	NT 7709 1417:NT 7712 1438	NT 71 SE	16	1956	397
85	Blackhall Hill	NT 7802 1178:NT 7808 1187	NT 71 SE	18	1956	398
86	Watch Knowe A	NT 7759 1166:NT 7765 1191	NT 71 SE	19	1956	399
87	Watch Knowe B	NT 7759 1166:NT 7765 1191	NT 71 SE	20	1956	400
88	White Hope A	NT 7723 1204:NT 7729 1210	NT 71 SE	21	1956	401
89	Falla Knowe A	NT 7510 1495:NT 7480 1505	NT 71 SE	34	1956	836
90	Woden Law	NT 7708 1211:NT 7715 1220	NT 71 SE	49	1956	403
91	The Shearers	NT 7907 1927:NT 7918 1926	NT 71 NE	49	1956	409
92	Grubbit Law	NT 7969 2378:NT 7970 2380	NT 72 SE	14	1956	767
93	Heriot's Dyke	NT 7016 4850:NT 7034 4848	NT 74 NW	-	-	-
94	Shaw Hill B	NT 3028 8826:NT 3035 8818	NY 38 NW	-	-	-
95	Langton Edge	NT 7420 5474	NT 75 NW	-	1915	204
				-	1980	315
96	Kettleshiel	NT 7144 5316:NT 7171 5324	NT 75 SW	1	-	-
97	Greenhope Burn	NT 7200 6206	NT 76 SW	2	1915	112
98	Blackerstone	NT 7657 6295:NT 7710 6351	NT 76 SE	-	-	-
99	The Street-Craik Moor	NT 8063 1807:NT 8063 1812	NT 81 NW	4	1956	385
100	Heather Hope A	NT 8153 1753:NT 8158 1765	NT 81 NW	35A	1956	386
101	Outer Hare Cleugh	NT 8317 1597:NT 8328 1604	NT 81 NW	36	1956	773
102	Green Knowe-Muckle Sundhope	NT 8234 1700:NT 8283 1710	NT 81 NW	42	1956	387
103	The Castles	NT 8310 1865:NT 8330 1881	NT 81 NW	56	1956	771
104	Windy Rig	NT 8466 1561:NT 8470 1561	NT 81 NW	37	1956	782
105	Dick's Knowe	NT 8032 1593:NT 8043 1591	NT 81 NW	29	1956	388
106	Kelsocleuch	NT 8450 1933:NT 8551 1773	NT 81 NW	22	1956	780
107	Brack Plantation	NT 8415 1928:NT 8420 1943	NT 81 NW	20	1956	772

No	Name	NGR	1:10 000 map no.	OS	RCHAMS Year	RCHAMS No
108	Belford Hope	NT 8050 1950:NT 8057 1944	NT 81 NW	1	1956	768
109	Wondrum Hill	NT 8310 1942:NT 8129 1928	NT 81 NW	5	1956	769
110	Stob Hope	NT 8156 1898:NT 8168 1912	NT 81 NW	7	1956	770
111	Camp Tops	NT 8623 1781:NT 8631 1781	NT 81 NE	9	1956	776
112	Cocklawfoot	NT 8539 1851:NT 8610 1849	NT 81 NE	29	1956	774
113	Cocklawfoot-Cheviot Burn	NT 8564 1830:NT 8622 1922	NT 81 NE	31	1956	775
114	Hexmoor Sike	NT 8709 1713:NT 8711 1717	NT 81 NE	25	1956	778
115	Outer Cock Law	NT 8691 1682:NT 8689 1676	NT 81 NE	21	1956	779
116	Fundhope Rig	NT 8665 1749:NT 8671 1755	NT 81 NE	24	1956	777
117	Windy Gyle A	NT 8508 1528:NT 8510 1533	NT 81 NE	20	1956	781
118	Callaw Cairn (NE)	NT 8098 1453:NT 8104 1465	NT 81 SW	17	1956	390
119	Callaw Cairn (NW)	NT 8072 1453:NT 8101 1473	NT 81 SW	19	1956	389
120	Callaw Cairn (SE)	NT 8109 1436:NT 8115 1448	NT 81 SW	18	1956	391
121	Callaw Hope	NT 8138 1366:NT 8140 1365	NT 81 SW	20	1956	392
122	Broadlaw-Raeshaw	NT 7873 1257:NT 7944 1284	NT 71 SE	21	1956	394
123	White Law	NT 8583 2567:NT 8597 2571	NT 82 NE	76	1956	1074
124	Humbleton Sike	NT 8513 2706:NT 8532 2746	NT 82 NE	86	1956	1072
125	Stob Rig	NT 8507 2706:NT 8525 2740	NT 82 NW	-	1956	1072
				-	1956	1073
126	Green Humbleton	NT 8497 2717:NT 8501 2717	NT 82 NW	17	1956	1071
127	Countrup Sike	NT 8495 2912	NT 82 NW	18	1956	1077
128	Bowmont Hill	NT 8289 3099:NT 8289 3100	NT 83 SW	16	1956	1076
129	Haud Yauds	NT 8290 6810	NT 86 SW	56	1915	64
					1980	308
130	Marygoldhill Plantation	NT 8032 6074:NT 8055 6035	NT 86 SW	3	1915	18
					1980	316
131	Steer Rig	NT 8565 2447:NT 8575 2445	NT 82 SE	-	1956	1075
132	Hoardweel Black Dyke	NT 7940 6060:NT 7950 6070	NT 76 SE	-	1980	310
133	Edingtonhill Black	NT 907 572 :NT 904 572	NT 95 NE	27	1980	301
134	Greenburn	NT 842 610 :NT 838 609	NT 86 SW	-	1980	306
135	Lamberton Moor	NT 956 594 :NT 958 593	NT 95 NE	-	1980	314
136	Cairnsmore of Fleet	NX 4867 6646:NX 5017 6534	NX 46 NE	(M)	1914	369
137	Pick's Dyke	NX 6095 6105:NX 6010 6220	NX 66 SW	2	-	-
138	Grennan Hill	NX 8255 9505	NX 89 NW	-	1920	532
139	Cample Water	NX 9093 9873:NX 9264 9524	NX 99 NW	4	-	-
140	Kettleton Burn	NS 899 099 :NX 9074 9904	NX 99 NW	14	-	-
141	Castle O'er	NY 2413 9258:NY 2410 9279	NX 29 SW	32	1920	177
				-	1981	75
142	Deil's Jingle	NY 2534 9112:NY 2550 9356	NX 29 SE	(M)	1920	177
				32	1981	75
143	Shaw Hill A	NY 3021 8824:NY 3030 8817	NY 38 NW	26	1981	77
144	Scots Dyke	NY 3307 7367:NY 3872 7319	NY 37 SW	6	1981	48
				-	1981	76
145	Potholm Hill	NY 3621 8740:NY 3634 8740	NY 38 NE	20	1981	75
146	Ewes Doors A	NY 3723 9864:NY 3744 9879	NY 39 NE	5	1956	1027
147	Merrypath Rig	NY 3725 9972:NY 3740 9964	NY 39 NE	6	1956	1026
148	Carby Hill	NY 490 847 :NY 489 832	NY 48 SE	6	1956	128
149	Hermitage Hill	NY 4880 9711:NY 5015 9596	NY 49 NE	3	1956	124
150	Sundhope Rig	NY 5052 9988:NY 5078 9982	NY 59 NW	1	1956	126
151	Milburnholm	NY 5061 9567:NY 5246 1000	NY 59 NW	4	1956	127
152	Caddrounburn Culvert	NY 5800 9864:NY 5815 9846	NY 59 NE	4	1956	129
153	Torwoodlea	NY 471 279 :NY 466 383	NT 43 NE	528	1957	178
154	Pictswork	NT 477 324 :NT 481 366	NT 43 SE	528	1957	180

No	Name	NGR	1:10 000 map no.	OS	RCHAMS Year	RCHAMS No
155	Torwoodlea Golf Course	NT 479 384	NT 40 SE	28	1957	195
156	Howdenpot	NT 4583 3203:NT 4744 3223	NT 43 SE	528	1957	183
	Knowes-Cribs Hill					
157	Linglie Hill	NT 4575 3055:NT 4616 3142	NT 43 SE	528	1957	184
158	Dabshead Hill	NT 5430 5393:NT 5423 5425	NT 55 SW	4	1915	236
159	Buzzart Dyke	NO 1192 4748:NT 1333 4742	NO 14 NW	-	-	-
160	Boons Black Dyke	NT 6048 3616:NT 5979 3826	NT 63 NW	13	1915	246
161	Young Jennie's Wood	NT 7518 5575:NT 7532 5566	NT 75 NE	13	1915	126
				-	1980	325
162	Abbey Hill	NT 751 609	NT 76 SE	-	1980	290
	Hardens Hill					
163	Corlaw Burn	NY 332 986 :NY 335 981	NY 39 NW	-	1981	74
164	Dowlaw Road	NT 832 693	NT 86 NW	-	1980	299
165	Drakemire	NT 8022 6069:NT 8045 6050	NT 86 SW	3	1915	18
166	Dunning	NO 023 154	NO 01 NW	-	1980	316
167	Ashmark Hill	NS 609 096 :NS 601 089	NS 60 NW	-	-	-
168	Knockburnie	NS 556 099 :NS 550 097	NS 50 NE	-	-	-
169	Maneight Hill	NS 549 097 :NS 533 083	NS 80 NE	-	-	-
	and Meikle Hill					
170	Enterkin Burn	NS 873 054 :NS 874 055	NS 80 NE	-	-	-
171	Chapel Belt	NS 874 055 :NS 882 071	NS 80 NE	-	-	-
172	Ellemford	NT 7271 6152:NT 7301 6164	NT 76 SW	2	-	-
173	Horseley	NT 8220 6190:-	NT 86 SW	-	1980	323
174	Huntingtower	NO 0750 2490:NO 0880 2490	NO 02 SE/NE	-	1979	-
175	Heather Hope B	NT 8134 1753:NT 8149 1780	NT 81 NW	35	1956	386
176	Heather Hope C	NT 8133 1776:NT 8137 1794	NT 81 NW	35	1956	386
177	Raeshaw Burn B	NT 7869 1280:NT 7887 1295	NT 71 SE	13	1956	396
178	White Hope B	NT 7728 1201:NT 7728 1204	NT 71 SE	21	1956	401
179	White Hope D	NT 7730 1205:NT 7733 1207	NT 71 SE	21	1956	401
180	White Hope C	NT 7719 1218:NT 7730 1202	NT 71 SE	21	1956	401
181	White Hope F	NT 7718 1207:NT 7723 1210	NT 71 SE	21	1956	395
182	Raeshaw Fell B	NT 7880 1354:NT 7936 1342	NT 71 SE	10	1956	395
183	Raeshaw Fell C	NT 7886 1326:NT 7931 1334	NT 71 SE	10	1956	395
184	Raeshaw Fell D	NT 7938 1399:NT 8008 1378	NT 71 SE	10	1956	394
	Raeshaw Fell to Broadlaw			21	1956	-
185	Dod Burn	NT 4737 0488:NT 4785 0412	NT 40 SE	-	-	836
186	Falla Knowe B	NT 7500 1503:NT 7475 1525	NT 71 NE	34	1956	187
187	Harehill B (NW)	NT 5254 0711:NT 5283 0687	NT 50 NW	10	1956	-
188	Chatto Craig (SW) B	NT 7618 1659:NT 7643 1629	NT 71 NE	-	-	410
189	Chatto Craig (SW) C	NT 7591 1589:NT 7578 1600	NT 71 NE	35	1956	-
190	Blakebillend A 2	NT 5155 0621:NT 5144 0610	NT 50 NW	-	1956	188
191	Blakebillend B	NT 5140 0629:NT 5035 0665	NT 50 NW	1	1956	188
192	Blakebillend C	NT 5152 0638:NT 5153 0648	NT 50 NW	1	1956	188
193	Blakebillend D	NT 5159 0623:NT 5161 0623	NT 50 NW	1	1956	253
194	Redpath B	NT 6185 5935:NT 6822 5918	NT 65 NE	5	1915	320
				-	1980	1027
195	Ewes Doors B	-	NY 39 NE	5	1956	1027
196	Ewes Doors C	NY 3747 9866:NY 3738 9854	NY 39 NE	5	1956	74
197	Pier Burn B	NT 7199 0968:NT 7208 0994	NT 70 NW	17	1956	497
198	Shank End B	NT 7658 1579:NT 7654 1568	NT 71 NE	17	1956	407
199	Cushat Knowe B	NT 7664 0888:NT 7670 0896	NT 70 NE	13	1956	843
200	Newton Hill B	NT 4925 0760:NT 4939 0747	NT 40 NE	25	1956	189
201	Whitehill (Lower) B	NT 4760 0593:NT 4825 0573	NT 40 NE	19	1956	191

No	Name	NGR	1:10 000 map no.	OS	RCHAMS Year	RCHAMS No
202	Whitehill (Lower) C	NT 4787 0571:NT 4819 0572	NT 40 NE	19	1956	191
203	Whitehill (Lower) D	NT 4781 0575:NT 4782 0578	NT 40 NE	19	1956	191
204	Whitehill (Lower) E	NT 4805 0596:NT 4820 0580	NT 40 NE	19	-	-
205	Hare Hill C (SE)	NT 5278 0722:NT 5285 0716	NT 50 NW	10	1956	187
206	Whitehill (Lower) G	NT 4917 0649:NT 4869 0675	NT 40 NE	-	-	-
207	Highside Hill	NT 5169 6375:NT 5176 6383	NT 56 SW	-	-	-
208	Whitcastle Hill A	NT 4456 1215:NT 4419 1257	NT 41 SW	-	-	-
209	Whitcastle Hill B	NT 4421 1259:NT 4389 1240	NT 41 SW	-	-	-
210	Whitcastle Hill C	NT 4385 1213:NT 4377 1236	NT 41 SW	-	-	-
211	Whitcastle Hill D	NT 4338 1226:NT 4321 1242	NT 41 SW	-	-	-
212	Whitcastle Hill E	NT 4403 1252:NT 4363 1247	NT 41 SW	-	-	-
213	Whitcastle Hill F	NT 4413 1267:NT 4394 1282	NT 41 SW	-	-	-
214	Whitcastle Hill G	NT 4398 1280:NT 4383 1266	NT 41 SW	-	-	-
215	Whitcastle Hill H	NT 4407 1261:NT 4401 1267	NT 41 SW	-	-	-
216	Whitcastle Hill I	NT 4386 1280:NT 4382 1287	NT 41 SW	-	-	-
217	Arbory Hill A	NT 9436 2396:NT 9452 2360	NS 92 SW	-	-	-
218	Arbory Hill B	NS 9441 2356:NS 9430 2346	NS 92 SW	-	-	-
219	Whitehill A	NT 0599 3411:NT 0545 3387	NT 03 SE	-	-	-
220	Whitehill B	NT 0534 3373:NT 0545 3387	NT 03 SE	-	-	-
221	Whitehill C	NT 0578 3412:NT 0545 3387	NT 03 SE	-	-	-
222	Butter Cleuch B	NT 770 154 :NT 772 153	NT 71 NE	28	1956	406
223	Bowden Moor B	NT 5365 3203:NT 5333 3180	NT 53 SW	5	1956	58
224	Bowden Moor C	NT 5330 3180:NT 5228 3253	NT 53 SW	5	1956	58
225	Bowden Moor D	NT 5319 3232: - - -	NT 53 SW	5	1956	58
226	Bowden Moor E	NT 5323 3249:NT 5309 3235	NT 53 SW	5	1956	58
227	Bowden Moor F	NT 5376 3220:NT 5418 3220	NT 53 SW	5	1956	58
228	Bowden Moor G	NT 5380 3234:-	NT 53 SW	5	1956	58
229	Bowden Moor H	NT 5313 3223:NT 5324 3217	NT 53 SW	5	1956	58
230	Bowden Moor I	NT 5324 3217:NT 5302 3201	NT 53 SW	5	1956	58
231	Bowden Moor J	NT 5204 3225:NT 5226 3240	NT 53 SW	5	1956	58
232	Bowden Moor K	NT 5330 3219:NT 5332 3219	NT 53 SW	-	-	-
233	Cauldshiels Hill (West)	NT 5138 3161:NT 5150 3164	NT 53 SW	-	-	-
234	Cauldshiels Hill (North)	NT 5144 3178:NT 5158 3184	NT 53 SW	-	-	-
235	Deil's Dyke	NS 839 051 :NS 615 116	-	-	-	177
271	Castle O'er B	NY 2428 9289:NY 2444 9318	NY 29 SW	32	1920	75
272	Castle O'er C	NY 2408 9290:NY 2440 9318	NY 29 SW	32	1981	75
273	Castle O'er E	NY 2448 9237:NY 2383 9266	NY 29 SW	32	1981	75
274	Castle O'er F	NY 2478 9249:NY 2485 9232	NY 29 SW	32	1981	75
275	Castle O'er I	NY 2410 9330:NY 2421 2440	NY 29 SW	32	1981	75
276	Castle O'er J	NY 2430 9330:NY 2473 9375	NY 29 SW	32	1981	75
277	Castle O'er R	NY 2482 9347:NY 2490 9320	NY 29 SW	32	1981	75
278	Castle O'er S	NY 2500 9360:NY 2500 9320	NY 29 SW	32	1981	75
279	Castle O'er T	NY 2530 9293:NY 2537 9288	NY 29 SW	32	1981	75
280	Windy Gyle B	NT 8494 1528:NT 8499 1536	NT 81 NW	20	1956	781
281	Roberts Linn to Langside Burn (Catrail)	NT 5385 0262:NT 5005 0365	NT 50 SW	Lin 528	1956	183
282	Pike to Barny Sike (Catrail)	NT 4975 0405:NT 4815 0502	NT 40 SE	Lin 528	1956	183
283	Dod Burn to Peel Brae (Catrail)	NT 4825 0575:NT 4770 0590	NT 40 NE	Lin 528	1956	1021
284	Peel Brae to Priesthaugh (Catrail)	NT 4675 0535:NT 4630 0440	NT 40 NE	Lin 528	1956	1021
285	Doecleuch Hill to Old Northhouse (Catrail)	NT 4561 0672:NT 4535 0672	NT 40 NE	Lin 528	1956	1021

No	Name	NGR	1:10 000 map no.	OS	RCHAMS Year	RCHAMS No
286	Teindside Burn to Muselee Burn (Catrail)	NT 4133 0960:NT 4047 1038	NT 40 NW NT 41 SW	Lin 528	1956 1956	894 1021
287	NE Girnwood to Dean Burn (Catrail)	NT 3890 1160:NT 3735 1135	NT 31 SE	Lin 528	1956	894
288	Priesthaugh	NT 4646 0480:NT 4660 0510	NT 40 SE	-	-	-
289	Doecleuch Hill	NT 4562 0640:NT 4561 0672	NT 40 NE	-	-	-
290	Snouthead B	NT 3380 2730:NT 3310 2680	NT 32 NW	7	1957	192

APPENDIX 2: LINEAR EARTHWORKS BY COUNTY AND PARISH

COUNTY Parish	Name	No	REGION District
AYRSHIRE			STRATHCLYDE
Dalmellington	Pickan's Dyke	2	Cumnock and Doon Valley
New Cumnock	Ashmark Hill	167	Cumnock and Doon Valley
New Cumnock	Knockburnie	168	Cumnock and Doon Valley
New Cumnock	Maneight and Meikle Hill	169	Cumnock and Doon Valley
BERWICKSHIRE			BERWICK
Abbey St Bathans	Blackerstone	98	Borders
Abbey St Bathans	Abbey Hill-Hardens Hill	162	Borders
Ayton	Lamberton Moor	135	Borders
Bunkle/Preston	Marygoldhill Plantation	130	Borders
Bunkle/Preston	Hoardweel Black Dyke	132	Borders
Bunkle/Preston	Horseley	173	Borders
Bunkle/Preston	Drakemire	165	Borders
Channel Kirk	Clints Black Dyke	30	Borders
Chirnside	Edingtonhill Black Dyke	133	Borders
Cockburnspath	Haud Yauds	129	Borders
Cockburnspath	Dowlaw Road	164	Borders
Coldingham	Greenburn	134	Borders
Cranshaws	Greenhope Burn	97	Borders
Cranshaws	Ellemford	172	Borders
Duns	Young Jeanie's Wood	161	Borders
Earlston	Boons Black Dykes	160	Borders
Greenlaw	Broomhill Blackdikes	56	Borders
Greenlaw	Heriot's Dyke	93	Borders
Longformacus	Dye Cottage	57	Borders
Longformacus	Redpath A	58	Borders
Longformacus	Kettleshiel	96	Borders
Longformacus	Redpath B	194	Borders
DUMFRIESSHIRE			DUMFRIES & GALLOWAY
Canonbie	Scots Dyke	144	Annandale and Eskdale
Closeburn	Cample Water	139	Nithsdale
Durisdeer	Enterkin Burn	170	Nithsdale
Durisdeer	Chapel Belt	171	Nithsdale
Eskdalemuir	Castle O'er A	141	Annandale and Eskdale
Eskdalemuir	Deil's Jingle	142	Annandale and Eskdale
Eskdalemuir	Castle O'er B, C, E F, I, J, R, S, T	279	Annandale and Eskdale

COUNTY Parish	Name	No	REGION District
Ewes/Langholm	Potholm Hill	145	Annandale and Eskdale
Girthon	Pict's Dyke	137	Stewartry
Langholm	Shaw Hill B	94	Annandale and Eskdale
Langholm	Shaw Hill A	143	Annandale and Eskdale
Morton	Kettleton Burn	140	Nithsdale
Penpont	Grennan Hill	138	Nithsdale
Westerkirk	Corlaw Burn	163	Annandale and Eskdale
EAST LOTHIAN			LOTHIAN
Yester	Highside Hill	207	East Lothian
KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE			DUMFRIES & GALLOWAY
Minigaff	Cairnsmore of Fleet	136	Wigtown
LANARKSHIRE			STRATHCLYDE
Hamilton	Cadzow Castle	3	Hamilton
Lamington and Wardie	Arbory Hill A	217	Lanark
Lamington and Wardie	Arbory Hill B	218	Lanark
PEEBLESSHIRE			BORDERS
Broughton	Whitehill A	219	Tweedale
Broughton	Whitehill B	220	Tweedale
Broughton	Whitehill C	221	Tweedale
Eddleston	Milkieston Hill	4	Tweedale
PERTHSHIRE			TAYSIDE
Caputh	Cleaven Dyke	1	Perth and Kinross
Dunning	Dunning	166	Perth and Kinross
Kinloch	Buzzart Dyke	159	Perth and Kinross
Tibbermore	Huntingtower	174	Perth and Kinross
ROXBURGHSHIRE			BORDERS
Bedrule	Black Law	52	Roxburgh
Bedrule	Hill Pond	53	Roxburgh
Bowden	Military Road	42	Roxburgh
Bowden	Over Whitlaw	43	Roxburgh
Bowden	Bowden Moor B-K	223-32	Roxburgh
Castleton	Wheelrig Head	50	Roxburgh
Castleton	Carby Hill	148	Roxburgh
Castleton	Hermitage Hill	149	Roxburgh
Castleton	Sundhope Rig	150	Roxburgh
Castleton	Milburnholm	151	Roxburgh
Castleton	Caddrounburn Culvert	152	Roxburgh
Cavers	Newton Hill A	18	Roxburgh
Cavers	Whitehill (Lower) A	19	Roxburgh
Cavers	Whitehill (Upper) F	20	Roxburgh
Cavers	Blakebillend A	31	Roxburgh
Cavers	Earlside	32	Roxburgh
Cavers	Mid Hill	33	Roxburgh
Cavers	Stonedge Hill	34	Roxburgh
Cavers	Harehill A	35	Roxburgh
Cavers	Leap Hill	37	Roxburgh
Cavers	Scaw'd Law	38	Roxburgh
Cavers	Kirkton Burn	40	Roxburgh

COUNTY Parish	Name	No	REGION District
Cavers	Blakebillend A2	190	Roxburgh
Cavers	Blakebillend B	191	Roxburgh
Cavers	Blakebillend C	192	Roxburgh
Cavers	Blakebillend D	193	Roxburgh
Cavers	Newton Hill B	200	Roxburgh
Cavers	Whitehill (Lower) B	201	Roxburgh
Cavers	Whitehill (Lower) C	202	Roxburgh
Cavers	Whitehill (Lower) D	203	Roxburgh
Cavers	Whitehill (Lower) E	204	Roxburgh
Cavers	Whitehill (Lower) C	206	Roxburgh
Cavers	Catrail	281	Roxburgh
Cavers	Catrail	282	Roxburgh
Hawick	Whitfield-Mabon Law	25	Roxburgh
Hobkirk	Brown's Hill	36	Roxburgh
Hobkirk	Weens	41	Roxburgh
Hobkirk	Harehill B	187	Roxburgh
Hobkirk	Harehill C	205	Roxburgh
Hownam	Chatto Craig (SW)A	70	Roxburgh
Hownam	Butter Cleuch A	71	Roxburgh
Hownam	Shank End A	72	Roxburgh
Hownam	Swanlaws	73	Roxburgh
Hownam	Thorny Hill	77	Roxburgh
Hownam	White Hope A	88	Roxburgh
Hownam	Woden Law	90	Roxburgh
Hownam	The Shearers	91	Roxburgh
Hownam	The Street-Craik	99	Roxburgh
Hownam	Heather Hope A	100	Roxburgh
Hownam	Green Knowe-Muckle Sundhope	102	Roxburgh
Hownam	Dick's Knowe	105	Roxburgh
Hownam	Callaw Cairn (NE)	118	Roxburgh
Hownam	Callaw Cairn (NW)	119	Roxburgh
Hownam	Callaw Cairn (SE)	120	Roxburgh
Hownam	Callaw Hope	121	Roxburgh
Hownam	Broadlaw-	122	Roxburgh
	Raeshaw Fell	175	Roxburgh
Hownam	Heather Hope C	176	Roxburgh
Hownam	Raeshaw Burn B	177	Roxburgh
Hownam	White Hope B	178	Roxburgh
Hownam	White Hope D	179	Roxburgh
Hownam	White Hope C	180	Roxburgh
Hownam	White Hope F	181	Roxburgh
Hownam	Raeshaw Fell B	182	Roxburgh
Hownam	Raeshaw Fell C	183	Roxburgh
Hownam	Raeshaw Fell D	184	Roxburgh
Hownam	Chatto Craig (SW) B	188	Roxburgh
Hownam	Chatto Craig (SW) C	189	Roxburgh
Hownam	Shank End	198	Roxburgh
Hownam	Butter Cleuch	222	Roxburgh
Jedburgh	Swinnie	51	Roxburgh
Jedburgh	Lantoncraigs	55	Roxburgh
Jedburgh	Lamblair Edge	59	Roxburgh
Jedburgh	Ephope Law	60	Roxburgh
Jedburgh	Pier Burn A	62	Roxburgh
Jedburgh	Brundean Laws	75	Roxburgh

COUNTY Parish	Name	No	REGION District
Jedburgh	Pier Burn B	197	Roxburgh
Lauder	Gladescleuch Burn	46	Roxburgh
Lauder	Dabshead Hill	158	Roxburgh
Melrose	Old Melrose	45	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Grubbit Law	92	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Outer Hare Cleuch	101	Roxburgh
Morebattle	The Castles	103	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Windy Rig	104	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Kelsocleuch	106	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Brack Plantation	107	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Belford Hope	108	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Wondrum Hill	109	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Stob Hope	110	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Camp Tops	111	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Cocklawfoot	112	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Cocklawfoot-Cheviot Burn	113	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Hexmoor Site	114	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Outer Cocklaw	115	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Fundhope Rig	116	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Windy Gyle A	117	Roxburgh
Morebattle	Windy Gyle B	280	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Fairwood Fell	61	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Hindhope Burn	63	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Cushat Knowe A	64	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Whiteside Hill	65	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Brownhart Law	66	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Grindstone Law	67	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Grindstone Burn	68	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Whitton Loch	69	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Knock Hill	74	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Hunthall Hill (SW)	76	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Pennymuir Rig	78	Roxburgh
Oxnam	White Hope E	79	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Woden Streethead	80	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Langside Law	81	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Raeshaw Fell A	82	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Raeshaw Fell B	83	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Buchtrig	84	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Blackhall Hill	85	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Watch Knowe	86	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Falla Knowe A	89	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Falla Knowe B	186	Roxburgh
Oxnam	Cushat Knowe B	199	Roxburgh
Robertson	Meadshaw Rig	5	Roxburgh
Robertson	Crib Head	6	Roxburgh
Robertson	Caldron Hole	7	Roxburgh
Robertson	Girnwood Hill (North)	12	Roxburgh
Robertson	Girnwood Hill (South)	13	Roxburgh
Robertson	Quarry Rig	14	Roxburgh
Robertson	Muselee Hill	26	Roxburgh
Robertson	Birny Knowe	27	Roxburgh
Robertson	Philiphaugh	28	Roxburgh
Robertson	Whitcastle Hill A-I	208-16	Roxburgh
Robertson	Catrail	286	Roxburgh

COUNTY Parish	Name	No	REGION District
Robertson	Catrail	287	Roxburgh
Southdean	Rough-hope Rig	39	Roxburgh
Southdean	Wolfhopelee Burn	47	Roxburgh
Southdean	Burnhead Sike	48	Roxburgh
Southdean	Causeway Rig	49	Roxburgh
Southdean	Shaw Burn	54	Roxburgh
Southdean	Shaw Hill	94	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Hunt Law	21	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Crom Rig	22	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Ewes Doors A	146	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Merrypath	147	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Dod Burn	185	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Ewes Doors B	195	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Ewes Doors C	196	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Catrail	283	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Catrail	284	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Catrail	285	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Catrail	288	Roxburgh
Teviothead	Catrail	289	Roxburgh
Yetholm	White Law	123	Roxburgh
Yetholm	Humbleton Sike	124	Roxburgh
Yetholm	Stob Rig	125	Roxburgh
Yetholm	Green Humbleton	126	Roxburgh
SELKIRKSHIRE			BORDERS
Caddon Foot	Torwoodlea	153	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Caddon Foot	Torwoodlea Golf	155	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Ettrick	Home Law	9	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Ettrick	Clear Burn	10	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Ettrick	Black Rig	11	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Galashiels	The Birks	29	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Galashiels	Bowden Moor A	44	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Galashiels	Galashiels-Link Hill	154	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Galashiels	Cauldshiels Hill (West)	233	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Galashiels	Cauldshiels Hill (North)	234	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Kirkhope	Warleshope Burn	8	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Kirkhope	Stobi Hill	23	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Kirkhope	Whitslaid Hill	24	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Selkirk	Howdenpot Knowes	156	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Selkirk	Linglie Hill	157	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Yarrow	Feuars Hill	15	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Yarrow	Snouthead A	16	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Yarrow	Wallace's Trench	17	Ettrick and Lauderdale
Yarrow	Snouthead B	290	Ettrick and Lauderdale

APPENDIX 3: LENGTHS OF THE CROSS-ROUTEWAY EARTHWORKS

CEU No Site	 Sector	National Grid Reference	Length in m sector	 site
6	1	NT 3819 0707-NT 3813 0718	125	
6	2	NT 3813 0718-NT 3814 0722	41	167
7	1	NT 3973 0844-NT 3985 0844	120	
7	2	NT 3986 0844-NT 3993 0844	70	

CEU No Site	Sector	National Grid Reference	Length in m sector	site
7	3	NT 3993 0844-NT 4013 0858	244	434
18	1	NT 4919 0790-NT 4949 0783	308	
20	1	NT 4842 0632-NT 4861 0620	225	
20	2	NT 4834 0635-NT 4859 0606	383	608
35	1	NT 5265 0730-NT 5285 0716	244	
37	1	NT 5121 0141-NT 5128 0139	73	
63	1	NT 7716 0938-NT 7729 0940	132	
63	2	NT 7729 0940-NT 7740 0939	110	242
64	1	NT 7667 0886-NT 7684 0907	270	
65	1	NT 7707 0858-NT 7734 0856	271	
70	1	NT 7590 0161-NT 7572 0167	190	
70	2	NT 7572 1617-NT 7565 1633	175	365
71	1	NT 7688 1539-NT 7710 1519	297	
72	1	NT 7624 1570-MT 7629 1585	158	
73	1	NT 7756 1585-NT 7755 1570	150	
73	2	NT 7755 1570-NT 7745 1552	206	356
76	1	NT 7725 1159-NT 7732 1154	86	
79	1	NT 7717 1212-NT 7719 1214	28	
80	1	NT 7686 1279-NT 7693 1291	139	
81	1	NT 7704 1286-NT 7719 1295	175	
82	1	NT 7882 1364-NT 7895 1364	130	
82	2	NT 7895 1364-NT 7901 1361	67	
82	3	NT 7901 1361-NT 7928 1359	271	
82	4	NT 7928 1359-NT 7935 1350	114	582
83	1	NT 7865 1324-NT 7867 1330	63	
83	2	NT 7867 1330-NT 7851 1321	184	247
84	1	NT 7708 1412-NT 7714 1426	152	
84	2	NT 7714 1426-NT 7718 1439	136	288
85	1	NT 7805 1179-NT 7809 1184	64	
86	1	NT 7758 1175-NT 7758 1183	80	
89	1	NT 7510 1495-NT 7480 1505	316	
90	1	NT 7708 1212-NT 7715 1220	106	
90	2	NT 7716 1221-NT 7723 1224	76	
94	1	NY 3028 8826-NY 3035 8818	106	
99	1	NT 8063 1807-NT 8063 1812	50	
100	1	NT 8153 1753-NT 8158 1765	130	
102	1	NT 8283 1710-NT 8275 1795	94	
102	2	NT 8275 1705-NT 8262 1705	130	
102	3	NT 8262 1705-NT 8254 1704	81	
102	4	NT 8254 1704-NT 8234 1700	204	509
105	1	NT 8031 1594-NT 8044 1591	133	
117	1	NT 8508 1528-NT 8510 1533	54	
118	1	NT 8070 1450-NT 8102 1471	383	
119	1	NT 8072 1453-NT 8101 1473	352	
120	1	NT 8109 1436-NT 8115 1448	134	
122	1	NT 7873 1257-NT 7923 1278	542	
122	2	NT 7923 1278-NT 7944 1284	218	1591
122	3	NT 7937 1282-NT 8022 1278	831	
122	4	NT 8067 1323-NT 8024 1378	698	
122	5	NT 8024 1378-NT 8008 1378	160	858
124	1	NT 8513 2706-NT 8524 2720	178	
124	2	NT 8524 1720-NT 8532 2746	272	450
125	1	NT 8507 2706-NT 8520 2721	198	
125	2	NT 8520 2721-NT 8525 2740	196	394

CEU No Site	Sector	National Grid Reference	Length in m sector	site
126	1	NT 8497 2712-NT 8501 2717	40	
132	1	NT 7940 6060-NT 7950 6070	141	
143	1	NT 3021 8824-NT 3030 8817	114	
146	1	NT 3713 9864-NT 3744 9878	344	
147	1	NT 3727 9970-NT 3744 9960	197	
175	1	NT 8134 1753-NT 8149 1780	309	
176	1	NT 8133 1776-NT 8137 1794	184	
177	1	NT 7887 1294-NT 7870 1281	214	
178	1	NT 7228 1201-NT 7728 1204	30	
179	1	NT 7730 1205-NT 7733 1207	36	
180	1	NT 7719 1218-NT 7730 1202	194	
181	1	NT 7718 1207-NT 7723 1201	78	
182	1	NT 7918 1348-NT 7936 1342	190	
182	2	NT 7880 1354-NT 7916 1348	365	555
183	1	NT 7886 1326-NT 9731 1334	457	
186	1	NT 7500 1530-NT 7475 1525	255	
187	1	NT 5254 0711-NT 5261 0707	81	
187	2	NT 5267 0702-NT 5283 0687	219	300
188	1	NT 7643 1629-NT 7630 1647	222	
188	2	NT 7630 1647-NT 7618 1659	170	392
189	1	NT 7591 1589-NT 7578 1600	170	
196	1	NT 3747 9866-NT 3738 9854	150	
198	1	NT 7658 1579-NT 7654 1568	117	
199	1	NT 7664 0888-NT 7670 0896	100	
200	1	NT 4925 0760-NT 4939 0747	191	
280	1	NT 8494 1528-NT 8499 1536	94	

Minimum: 28; Maximum: 831; Mean: 188; Standard deviation: 135

APPENDIX 4: SECTOR LENGTHS OF THE LONG EARTHWORKS

CEU No Site	Sector	National Grid References	Length in m sector	site	monument
93	1	NT 7084 4850-NT 7034 4848	500.40		
93	2	NT 7036 4848-NT 7048 4848	120.00		
93	3	NT 7048 4848-NT 7198 4837	1504.03	2124.43	2124.43
142	1	NY 2534 9112-NY 2540 9117	78.10		
142	2	NY 2543 9117-NY 2549 9139	228.04		
142	3	NY 2546 9164-NY 2545 9182	180.28		
142	4	NY 2543 9250-NY 2540 9240	104.40		
142	5	NY 2536 9235-NY 2550 9356	1218.07	1808.89	1808.89
281	1	NT 5384 0263-NT 5366 0264	180.28		
281	2	NT 5366 0264-NT 5340 0260	263.06		
281	3	NT 5340 0260-NT 5326 0259	140.36		
281	4	NT 5326 0259-NT 5308 0258	180.28		
281	5	NT 5308 0258-NT 5268 0257	400.12		
281	6	NT 5268 0257-NT 5233 0254	351.28		
281	7	NT 5233 0254-NT 5199 0250	342.34		
281	8	NT 5199 0250-NT 5138 0265	628.17		
281	9	NT 5138 0265-NT 5128 0272	122.07		
281	10	NT 5128 0272-NT 5102 0288	305.29		
281	11	NT 5102 0288-NT 5087 0297	174.93		
281	12	NT 5087 0297-NT 5063 0315	300.00		

CEU No Site	Sector	National Grid References	Length in m sector	site	monument
281	13	NT 5063 0315-NT 5044 0329	236.01		
281	14	NT 5044 0329-NT 5039 0333	64.03		
281	15	NT 5039 0333-NT 5022 0350	240.42		
281	16	NT 5022 0350-NT 4997 0370	320.16	4248.79	
282	1	NT 4997 0370-NT 4953 0437	801.56		
282	2	NT 4953 0437-NT 4943 0453	188.68		
282	3	NT 4943 0453-NT 4889 0491	660.30		
282	4	NT 4889 0491-NT 4839 0499	506.36		
282	5	NT 4839 0499-NT 4813 0501	260.77	2417.67	
283	1	NT 4742 0458-NT 4708 0453	343.66		
283	2	NT 4708 0453-NT 4696 0452	120.42	464.07	
284	1	NT 4711 0546-NT 4697 0548	141.42	141.42	
285	1	NT 4564 0671-NT 4528 0672	360.14	360.14	
286	1	NT 4135 0959-NT 4114 0980	296.98		
286	2	NT 4114 0980-NT 4074 1022	580.00		
286	3	NT 4014 1022-NT 4043 1041	346.70	1223.68	
287	1	NT 3810 1189-NT 3796 1216	304.14		
287	2	NT 3796 1216-NT 3783 1235	230.22	534.36	
288	1	NT 4664 0480-NT 4660 0510	302.65		
289	1	NT 4562 0640-NT 4561 0672	320.16	320.16	10012.94

Minimum: 64.03; Maximum: 1504.03; Mean: 348.66; Standard deviation: 285.17

APPENDIX 5: SURVEY RESULTS FOR THE LARGE AND SMALL (> & < 5 KM^2) ENCLOSING EARTHWORKS

CEU No Site	Sector	National Grid Reference	Length in m sector	site
52	1	NT 6225 1843-NT 6192 1855	351.14	
52	2	NT 6192 1855-NT 6175 1865	197.23	548.37
53	3	NT 6142 1708-NT 6175 1720	351.14	

Mean: 299.84; Standard Deviation.: 72.55; Min: 197.23

10	1	NT 3386 1376-NT 3379 1392	174.64	
10	2	NT 3379 1392-NT 3374 1414	225.61	
10	3	NT 3374 1414-NT 3360 1458	461.74	861.99
11	1	NT 3475 1493-NT 3431 1479	461.74	
11	2	NT 3431 1479-NT 3424 1403	763.22	
11	3	NT 3424 1403-NT 3428 1382	213.78	1438.73
21	1	NT 4118 0786-NT 4093 0763	339.71	
21	2	NT 4092 0761-NT 4075 0778	240.42	
21	3	NT 4078 0723-NT 4045 0690	466.69	1046.81
22	1	NT 4268 0535-NT 4253 0544	174.93	
22	2	NT 4092 0544-NT 4241 0549	130.00	
26	1	NT 4048 1056-NT 4080 1085	431.86	
36	1	NT 5418 0506-NT 5406 0511	130.00	
36	2	NT 5418 0506-NT 5399 0516	214.71	
36	3	NT 5399 0516-NT 5368 0528	332.42	
36	4	NT 5368 0528-NT 5345 0530	230.87	907.99

CEU No Site	Sector	National Grid Reference	Length in m sector	site
51	1	NT 6235 1685-NT 6180 1720	651.92	
51	2	NT 6285 1730-NT 6210 1805	1060.66	1712.58
54	1	NT 6626 1324-NT 6613 1288	382.75	
57	1	NT 6535 5898-NT 6523 5870	304.63	
57	2	NT 6523 5870-NT 6523 5816	540.00	844.63
112	1	NT 8610 1849-NT 8579 1819	431.39	
112	2	NT 8579 1819-NT 8546 1864	426.38	
112	3	NT 8546 1846-NT 8539 1851	86.02	943.80
113	1	NT 8622 1922-NT 8609 1897	281.78	
113	2	NT 8609 1897-NT 8593 1863	375.77	
113	3	NT 8593 1863-NT 8573 1839	312.41	
113	4	NT 8573 1839-NT 8564 1830	127.28	1097.24

Minimum: 86.02; Maximum: 1060.66; Mean: 352.87; Standard deviation: 206.36

APPENDIX 6A: SURVEY RESULTS FOR THE HEAD-DYKES

CEU No Site	Sector	National Grid Reference	Length in m
13	1	NT 3616 1116-NT 3630 1132	212.60
13	2	NT 3630 1132-NT 3678 1159	550.73
13	3	NT 3678 1159-NT 3725 1153	473.81
13	4	NT 3725 1153-NT 3746 1167	252.39
13	5	NT 3746 1167-NT 3823 1176	775.24
13	6	NT 3823 1176-NT 3893 1161	715.89

Min: 212.60; Max: 775.24; Mean: 496.78; Standard deviation: 211.92
Total: 2890.67

APPENDIX 6B: SURVEY RESULTS FOR THE AGRICULTURAL BOUNDARIES

CEU No Site	Sector	National Grid Reference	Length in m sector	site
31	1	NT 5156 0621-NT 5134 0596	333.02	
43	1	NT 5233 3065-NT 5229 3048	174.64	
190	1	NT 5155 0621-NT 5144 0610	155.56	
191	1	NT 5140 0629-NT 5133 0604	259.62	
191	2	NT 5133 0604-NT 5123 0595	120.42	
191	3	NT 5125 0595-NT 5103 0566	364.01	
191	4	NT 5103 0566-NT 5035 0505	913.51	
191	5	NT 5055 0505-NT 5035 0465	447.21	2104.76
192	1	NT 5152 0638-NT 5153 0648	100.50	
193	1	NT 5159 0623-NT 5161 0623	20.00	
206	1	NT 4917 0649-NT 4869 0675	545.89	

Min: 20.00; Max: 913.51; Mean: 312.22; Standard deviation: 243.22

APPENDIX 6C: SURVEY RESULTS FOR THE PARK BOUNDARY SITES

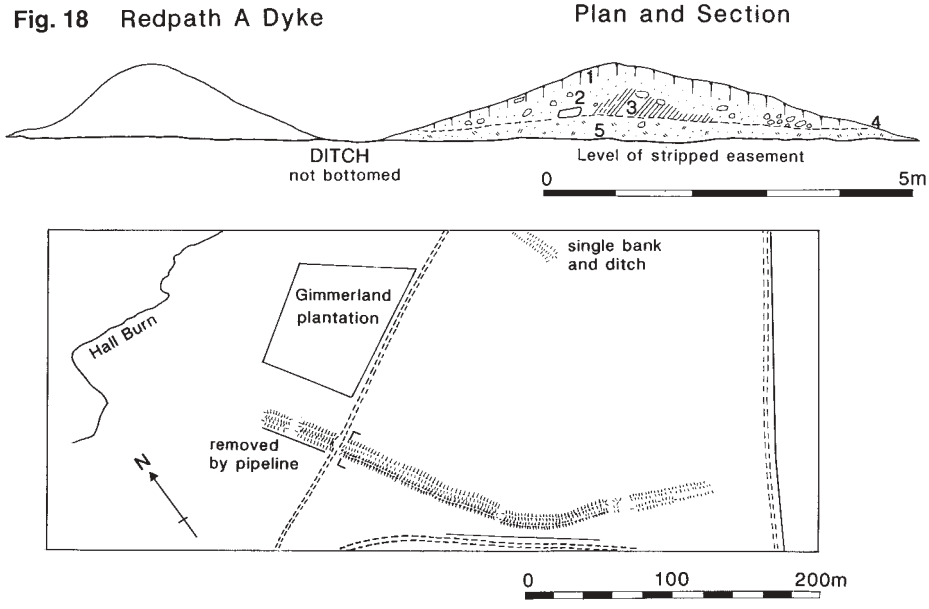
CEU No Site	Sector	National Grid Reference	Length in m sector	site
184	1	NT 7938 1399-NT 7929 1366	342.05	
184	2	NT 7929 1366-NT 7929 1331	350.14	
184	3	NT 7928 1331-NT 7938 1284	480.52	

Min: 342.05; Max: 480.52; Mean: 390.91; Standard deviation: 63.45
Total length: 1172.72

APPENDIX 6D: SURVEY RESULTS FOR THE WOODBANKS

CEU No Site	Sector	National Grid Reference	Length in m sector	site
224	1	NT 5335 3175-NT 5325 3182	122.07	
224	1	NT 5325 3182-NT 5285 3214	512.25	
224	3	NT 5255 3206-NT 5239 3212	170.88	
224	4	NT 5236 3214-NT 5228 3232	196.98	1002.17
225	1	NT 5319 3232		
226	1	NT 5212 3235-NT 5225 3247	176.92	
227	1	NT 5376 3220-NT 5118 3220	2580.00	
228	1	NT 5380 3234		
229	1	NT 5313 3223-NT 5324 3217	125.30	
230	1	NT 5324 3217-NT 5302 3201	272.03	
231	1	NT 5204 3225-NT 5226 3240	266.27	
232	1	NT 5330 3219-NT 5332 3219	20.00	
234	1	NT 5144 3178-NT 5152 3176	82.46	
156	1	NT 4583 3203-NT 4673 3206	900.50	
156	2	NT 4673 3206-NT 4744 3223	730.07	1630.568
157	1	NT 4575 3055-NT 4588 3091	382.75	
157	2	NT 4588 3091-NT 4590 3120	290.69	
157	3	NT 4590 3120-NT 4616 3142	340.59	1014.029

Min: 20.00; Max: 2580.00; Mean: 398.32; Standard deviation: 579.07
Total length: 7169.75



Key to section

1. Dark brown topsoil
2. Yellow-brown sand with large stones, mixed
3. Dark-brown friable loam with smaller flecks of charcoal.
4. Thin band (1-3cm thick) of crumbly eroded limestone extending right across the bank.
5. Compact red-brown sand with flecks of clay.

APPENDIX 7: REPORT ON REDPATH

Report on Redpath A (58) by the Archaeologist of the Gas Board, made when the earthwork was sectioned by the digging of a trench for a new gas line.

58 Redpath NT681591 (called 'Longformacus' by British Gas)
This linear earthwork was examined in profile by the British Gas archaeologist when the earthwork was cut by the trench of a new gas pipe. The results are given below with the permission of the Gas Board.

'The Ordnance Survey map shows the easement crossing the NW end of the Longformacus Dyke, an earthwork with a double bank on either side of a ditch. After the machinery had levelled the easement, a section across this feature was left (Fig. 18). The E bank revealed a complex stratigraphy.

The ditch was not sectioned below the level of the easement where it appeared to be filled with topsoil.'

APPENDIX 8: REPORT ON HAREHILL

Report on Harehill B(187) by Mrs Alison Haggarty, made while she was excavating an earthwork nearby.

187 Harehill B (NT 5254 0711 to NT 5282 0687; 825ft OD;c 175m)

'While supervising the YOP scheme based at Hawick Museum, my attention was drawn to the fact that drains were being laid on South Berryfell Farm in the vicinity of an earthwork, No 165 in the Roxburghshire Inventory. On arrival at the site, I discovered that the earthwork had sustained minor damage to a feature which was thought to be

intrusive, but that the linear earthwork, Harehill B (CEU No 187) was being badly affected by the pipe trenches. The height from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the banks reached 2m in places, especially the stretch closest to the Hawick to Newcastleton Road. The pipe trench ran the full length between the parallel banks and another ran directly outside the bank which was further to the NE. The banks themselves became lower towards the NW and they also deteriorated into subdivided sections.'

APPENDIX 9: SITES RECENTLY EXCAVATED AND AWAITING PUBLICATION

CEU No	**Site Name**	**National Grid Refs**
Sites excavated by Mr P Strong, as part of the CEU project:		
022	Crom Rig	NT 4241 0549 - NT 4268 0535
035	Hare Hill A	NT 5265 0730 - NT 5285 0716
036	Brown's Hill	NT 5345 0530 - NT 5418 0506
051	Swinnie	NT 621 180 - NT 623 168
052	Black Law	NT 6220 1840 - NT 6175 1855
055	Lantoncraigs	NT 6293 2078 - NT 6329 2075
058	Redpath A	NT 6802 5924 - NT 6824 5902
105	Dick's Knowe	NT 8032 1593 - NT 8043 1591
118	Callaw Cairn (NE)	NT 8072 1453 - NT 8101 1473
119	Callaw Cairn (NW)	NT 8072 1453 - NT 8101 1473
120	Callaw Cairn (SE)	NT 8109 1436 - NT 8115 1448
121	Callaw Hope	NT 8138 1366 - NT 8140 1365
124	Humbleton Sike	NT 8513 2706 - NT 8532 2746
125	Stob Rig	NT 8507 2706 - NT 8525 2740
126	Green Humbleton	NT 8497 2717 - NT 8501 2717
130	Marygoldhill Plantation	NT 8032 6074 - NT 8055 6035
165	Drakemire	NT 8022 6069 - NT 8045 6050
187	Hare Hill B	NT 5254 0711 - NT 5283 0687
194	Redpath B	NT 6815 5935 - NT 6822 5918
281	Catrail	Eleven sectors examined
Sites excavated by Mr Ian Smith:		
185	Dod Burn	NT 4737 0488 - NT 4785 0412
Sites excavated by Mr R Mercer:		
141	Castle O'er Several earthworks examined	NT 2413 9258 - NT 2410 9279

DERVORGILLA, THE BALLIOLS AND BUITTLE

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The historiography of Galloway is riddled with myth. Amongst the most enduring of these myths is the legend of Dervorgilla, lady of Galloway, the beautiful, pious patroness and devoted wife, mother and grieving widow. Embedded at the heart of the legend, however, is a core of fact which throws some glimmers of light on one of the most poorly documented eras in the history of Galloway, the period from c.1234 to c.1296. The legend of Dervorgilla has ramifications which extend far beyond the lifetime of the historical figure; it spawned traditions which coloured past interpretations of the patterns of power in Galloway within which she operated and which produced an over-inflated image of the Balliols and their powerbase in the lordship. It is not the aim of this present paper to provide simply a reinterpreted narrative, instead it will evaluate this evidence for the status of Dervorgilla and her Balliol successors, and in the process, we must hope, lay to rest at least some of the myths.

In the Middle Ages control of land was the route to power, and it is from Dervorgilla's often-cited landed wealth that her power has been judged rightly to stem. The traditional view of the origins of that power has been summarised thus:

> When Alan [of Galloway] died in 1234, Galloway was divided into three parts for his three daughters. It has been generally assumed that the three divisions were definite units and not scattered groupings. Elena, the eldest daughter, married Roger de Quenci and her share must have been the most westerly and may have covered most of Wigtownshire. Dervorgilla received the eastern portion, probably from Nith to Fleet. Between these must have been the portion of Christina who married the earl of Albemarle. But there may have been odd estates or particles of land outwith the clear-cut divisions; thus the Balliols owned lands in Glasserton and the heirs of Elena held land in Troqueer, Girthon and elsewhere.[1]

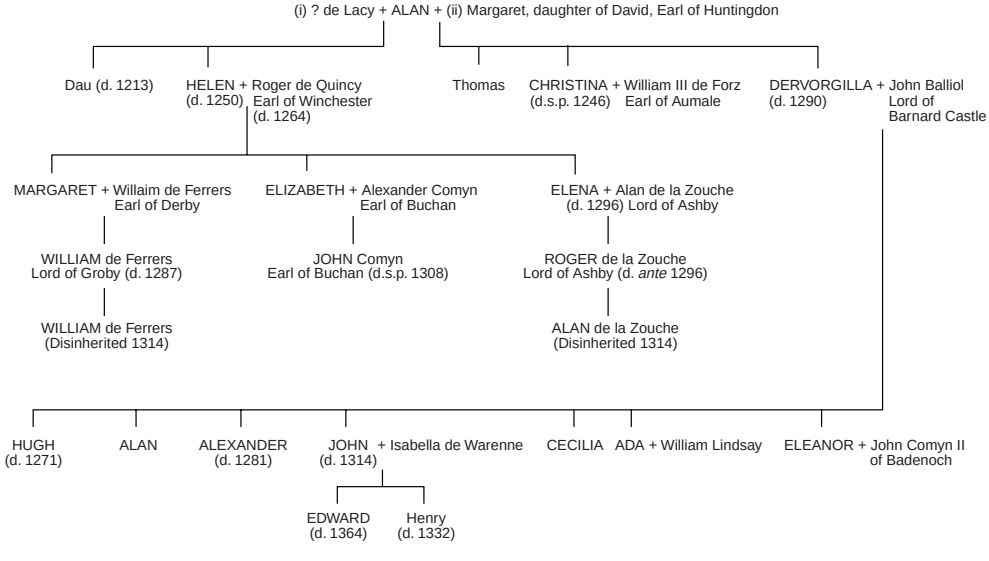
The preceding scenario produced by R.C.Reid in 1960 maintains a powerful hold over studies of post-1234 Galloway. It is the refining of a traditional interpretation of nineteenth-century origin which evolved with growing antiquarian interest in medieval Galloway. The tripartite division was embedded in antiquarian narratives before William Mackenzie published his *History of Galloway* in 1841,[2] and thereafter successive glosses were added to the basic image. One dominant theme was of delineation into three discrete blocks - reduced to two after 1246 when Christina died and her properties fell largely to Dervorgilla[3] - with the *caput* of Dervorgilla and the Balliols at Buittle, and that of Helen at Cruggleton.[4] One eminent historian has gone further and claimed that Dervorgilla '...eventually acquired the entire lordship of Galloway because of her sisters' childlessness.'[5] So deep-seated are these traditions that they form the start-point for discussion of the places of Dervorgilla, the Balliols and Buittle in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

1. R.C.Reid, *Wigtownshire Charters* (Scottish History Society, 1960), p.xxxix.
2. W.Mackenzie, *The History of Galloway From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Kirkcudbright, 1841), 184-5.
3. But see, Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R.Luard (London, 1872-83), iv, 563; Reid, *Wigtownshire Charters*, p.xxxix.
4. W.Huyshe, *Dervorgilla, Lady of Galloway and Her Abbey of the Sweet Heart* (Edinburgh, 1913), 25, 27; A.M.T.Maxwell-Irving, 'The castles of Buittle', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* [hereafter *TDGNHAS*], 3rd series, lxvi (1991), 59; G.Ewart, *Cruggleton Castle. Report of Excavations* 1978-1981 (Dumfries, 1985), 9..
5. G.W.S.Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (London, 1981), 115.

Alan of Galloway had five children by the first two of his three marriages. By his first marriage, to an un-named lady of the Pontefract Lacy family, he had two daughters, of whom only Helen survived him.[6] His marriage in 1209 to Margaret, daughter of Earl David of Huntingdon, produced three children; a son who long predeceased his father and two daughters, Christina and Dervorgilla (see Family Tree).[7] The order of the marriages of Alan's daughters and the status of their husbands is an indication of their order of seniority. Before 1234 Helen married one of the greatest Anglo-Scottish landholders of the day, Roger de Quincy, second earl of Winchester.[8] No date is recorded for the marriage of Christina, but it occurred before Alan's death. The status of her husband, William III de Forz, heir to the earldom of Aumale and its estates spread across northern England from Cockermouth in Cumbria to Holderness on the Humber,[9] underscores her seniority over Dervorgilla.

Dervorgilla was the last to marry, her father arranging her match in only 1233 to John Balliol, lord of Barnard Castle and Bywell on Tyne in England and of Bailleul-en-Vimeu in Picardy.[10] Although the Balliols were prominent members of the English baronage and had risen through loyal service to the English crown, John was socially the inferior of his wife's brothers-in-law and hardly the elevated match which might be expected had Dervorgilla been the senior heiress.[11] It would appear, rather, that she was simply another daughter for whom a match had to be found. As the most junior of the heiresses, therefore, how did she acquire the social and territorial pre-eminence which she is accorded by tradition?

SIMPLIFIED FAMILY TREE TRACING DESCENT FROM ALAN OF GALLOWAY



6. *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, ed J.Bain (Edinburgh, 1881-88) [hereafter CDS], i, no 574; K.J.Stringer, 'A New Wife for Alan of Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, xlix (1972), 49-55.
7. *CDS*, ii, no. 169; A.O.Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* (Edinburgh, 1922), ii, 506; *Chronicon de Mailros* (Bannatyne Club, 1835), 144 [hereafter *Chron. Melrose*]; K.J.Stringer, 'A new wife'.
8. *CDS*, ii, no.169; *The Scots Peerage*, ed J.Balfour-Paul (Edinburgh, 1904-14), iv, 142.
9. K.J.Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon. A Study in Anglo-Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1986), 187. There is no substance to the statement in *Scots Peerage*, iv, 142, that Christina's marriage occurred in 1236.
10. *Chron. Melrose*, 143.
11. For an assessment of the Balliol position in 1234 see Stringer, *Earl David*, 186-7.

The answer to that question is gradually. Dervorgilla's later stature was an indirect consequence of the settlement which followed her father's death. That had been imposed by Alexander II, who aimed to end Galloway's autonomy and ensure that the dangerously independent ambitions which control of the lordship and its reserves of military manpower and naval strength had fuelled were reined in.[12] Partition among men associated with the crown brought Galloway firmly within Alexander's orbit. How partition was effected, however, has never been explored in depth.

Reid's hypothesis has a compelling logic to it. It draws support from the location of the Balliol properties in the fourteenth century, most of which lay in the Stewartry. There is, moreover, the precedent for this form of division in the twelfth century when the lordship was partitioned between Gilbert and Uhtred. While it is nowhere stated that the lordship was divided into separate blocks for those bitter enemies, there is circumstantial evidence for Gilbert's control west of the Cree and Uhtred's to its east.[13] The existence of four geographically-defined sub-divisions of ecclesiastical government[14] - the deaneries of the medieval diocese which apparently echo the secular sub-units - underscores that mechanisms existed to permit that form of split. But the 1234 partition was more complex, for there were three claims to answer and the division had to satisfy the 'feudal' legal system within which the husbands of the heiresses operated. When we piece together the result from the remaining fragments, it becomes clear that Reid and his precursors assumed the precedent of the twelfth-century solution, and were thus guilty of applying an anachronistic sense of order where no such order existed.

Record sources reveal that the supposed post-1246 division into two discrete lordships is illusory. On the contrary, they indicate that Alan's demesne was divided systematically between his daughters, but that Helen's seniority was recognised. The chief source is an inquest *post mortem* of August 1296 into the heritage of Elena de la Zouche, youngest of Helen's three daughters by Roger de Quincy.[15] It comprises returns made by jury panels from six Scottish counties in which she held property. The first is from Wigtown, where she held the third part of Craighlaw in Kirkcowan parish,[16] valued at 27 merks annually. There was no Balliol involvement in this estate, which indicates that the remainder was held by Elena's sisters, Margaret de Ferrers, countess of Derby, and Elizabeth Comyn, countess of Buchan. The fourth return is from Dumfriesshire, which was expanded after 1234 to include the later Stewartry.[17] There she held one third of Girthon and Senwick, valued at £34 *per annum*, one sixth of Troqueer and Drumflat, valued at £4, and one merkland in Kelton. Again, her sisters evidently held the remainder of both Girthon and Senwick, but in Troqueer and Drumflat the de Quincy heritage amounted to only half of the estate. Here, the moiety

12. K.J.Stringer, 'Periphery and Core in Thirteenth-Century Scotland: Alan son of Roland, Lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland', in A.Grant and K.J.Stringer (eds), *Medieval Scotland. Crown, Lordship and Community* (Edinburgh, 1993), 97.
13. R.D.Oram, 'A Family Business? Colonisation and settlement in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Galloway', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxii (1993), 111-45 at 118-24.
14. G.W.S.Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Journal of Medieval History*, i (1975), 126.
15. *CDS*, ii, no. 824.
16. D.Brooke, 'The Northumbrian settlements in Galloway and Carrick: an historical assessment', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 121 (1991), 295-327 at 314 and 320 for identification of this property.
17. H.L.MacQueen, 'Sheriffdoms recorded by 1300', in P.G.B.McNeill and H.L.MacQueen (eds), *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996), 194.

was held by Dervorgilla. In Kelton, the arrangement was more heavily fragmented. Reid viewed these multiple subdivisions as capable of definition on the ground, but this is unlikely. Where portions of a property were held by various lords, the income from the estate was apportioned amongst them to avoid the physical fragmentation of an economic unit. Although this scatter of property and dues does not represent an equal third of the de Quincy heritage in Galloway, it reveals the existence of a block of de Quincy lands between the Dee and the Fleet. Indeed, it was there that the bulk of Elena's inheritance lay.

Further properties can be identified in the hands of the Ferrars and Comyn families, coparceners in the de Quincy heritage. There is no such detailed record for their landholding as for the Zouches, but isolated references build into a meaningful composite. For example, the 1266 Exchequer accounts record that the sheriffship of Wigtown was held by Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, husband of Elizabeth, second daughter of Helen and Roger de Quincy, and also that he was keeper of two parts of the lands in Galloway of his late father-in-law.[18] Earl Alexander's control of the sheriffdom speaks of a strong territorial base west of the Cree, but what this comprised is unrecorded. That the centrepiece of his demesne was Cruggleton Castle is implicit from its possession in 1292 by his son, John.[19] This was a property of major significance,[20] its centrality to the political life of the lordship underscored by its descent to the eldest of Alan's daughters and by the fact that the attendant estate was not split into thirds for Christina and Dervorgilla, nor after 1264 for the de Quincy heiresses. This indicates that Cruggleton was viewed as a *caput*, for *capita* were indivisible and descended intact to the senior of any heiresses to preserve the status of any associated titles which fell with them. Here, then, is confirmation of a de Quincy lordship of western Galloway.

For there to have been a corresponding Balliol lordship east of the Cree, Dervorgilla would have had to have acquired the recognised caput there. That was Kirkcudbright, where the lords of Galloway possessed a 'house' in the late twelfth century.[21] It, however, was not a Balliol possession at any time. Kirkcudbright fell to Roger through Helen, and was in his hands by 1237[22] and therefore not part of Christina's portion. It is not until the end of the century, however, that Kirkcudbright's status is made clear. A reference in the *Brevis Descriptio Regni Scotie*, a traveller's guide to late thirteenth-century Scotland, describes Kirkcudbright as the property of William de Ferrars.[23] He was the son of Margaret, eldest daughter of Roger de Quincy, the senior heiress of that line, and Kirkcudbright's descent to him, without partition, argues strongly that this was the chief place of eastern Galloway. As such it was the central element in the de Quincy network of estates between the Dee and the Fleet .

Evidence for the Balliol landholding is more ephemeral and much must be built back from mid-fourteenth-century sources. The consequence of the lateness of this material is

18. *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, edd J.Stuart and G.Burnett, i, (Edinburgh, 1878), 22 [hereafter ER].
19. *CDS*, ii, no. 616.
20. Ewart, *Cruggleton Castle*, 6-10.
21. Reid, *Wigtownshire Charters*, no. 129.
22. *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland*, ed. H.Sweetman (Dublin, 1875-86), i, nos. 2380. 2424.
23. 'Brevis Descriptio Regni Scotie', in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, iv, pt. i, (Maitland Club, 1847), 21-34 at 34.

that it is impossible to separate Dervorgilla's original heritage from Christina's properties acquired after 1246. The only reference to the fate of Christina's lands is a letter of May 1304 from John Comyn, earl of Buchan, to Edward I, complaining that property received from King John Balliol '...in recompense of the earl's right in the Galloway lands of the said king, of which he had much more than his purparty...' had been seized by Edward's deputies.[24]

We are familiar with the status of Buittle as the chief place in the Balliol complex of demesne,[25] but its role as Dervorgilla's caput cannot be established until the later thirteenth century. Unusually, it holds a peripheral location in relation to the bulk of her demesne, and it is likely that *Arsbotl* or *Insula Arsa*, otherwise Burned Island in Loch Ken, the principal stronghold of the lords of Galloway in the Glenken,[26] was her administrative seat. With it, Dervorgilla gained possession of at least a portion of Kells, regarded by her grandson, Edward Balliol, as part of his patrimony,[27] plus land in Balmaghie, Parton and Crossmichael.[28] To its east, she held a portion of Kirkpatrick-Durham, granted in 1273 to Sweetheart Abbey.[29] At the extreme south-east of Galloway, the Balliols were described in 1302 as former holders of Preston under Criffel in Kirkbean parish.[30] Lochkindeloch, granted in the twelfth century to the Cumbrian fitz Troite family[31] but which reverted at some unknown date to the lords of Galloway, was also in Dervorgilla's demesne until 1273 when it formed the core estate of Sweetheart's endowment.[32]

In Wigtownshire her inheritance was less compact. In the Rhins she had property in Kirkcolm; she granted the patronage of its church to Sweetheart soon after 1273;[33] and also Milmain in Stoneykirk parish.[34] In the Machars, the Balliols held land at Kidsdale in Glasserton which Edward I granted to Sir John de St. John,[35] and which Edward Balliol regarded in the 1340s as part of his heritage.[36] Possession of property in Wigtown is inferred by the attribution of the foundation of the friary there to Dervorgilla,[37] and there are indications that the Balliols possessed a network of land and rights in Wigtown and the adjoining parish of Kirkinner. Presentations to these parishes and the grant of Kirkinner to the bishopric of Whithorn by Edward I were made by right of his possession of the heritage resigned in 1296 by John Balliol.[38] A final recognisable portion of Balliol demesne were four quarterlands at Outon to the north of Whithorn, which Dervorgilla had possessed in the thirteenth century and which Edward Bruce granted to Whithorn in *c*.1312.[39]

24. *CDS*, ii, no. 1541.
25. *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londiniensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati*, edd D. MacPherson and others (London, 1814-19), i, 273 [hereafter, *Rot. Scot.*].
26. D.Brooke, 'The Glenkens 1275-1456: Snapshots of a medieval countryside', *TDGNHAS*, lix (1984), 41-56 at 43.
27. *CDS*, iii, no. 1578 (3); but see *Rot. Scot.*, i, 273, where the land in Kells is named more specifically as Kenmure.
28. *Ibid*., nos. 1578 (1), 1578 (3).
29. *The Acts of David II King of Scots*, ed. B.Webster (*Regesta Regum Scotorum*, vi; Edinburgh, 1982), no. 235 [hereafter *RRS*, vi].
30. *CDS*, ii, no. 1338.
31. Cumbria Record Office, Lowther Archive, D/Lons/L5/1/S1.
32. *RRS*, vi, no. 235.
33. I.B.Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Scottish Record Society, 1967), 119.
34. *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regnum Scotorum*, ed. J.M.Thomson, i (Edinburgh, 1912), app. i., no. 20 [hereafter *RMS*].
35. *CDS*, ii, no. 1338.
36. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 273.
37. I.B.Cowan and D.E.Easson, Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland, 2nd edition (London, 1976), 121; *Androw of Wyntoun's Orygynal Cronykil of Scotland*, ed. D.Laing (Edinburgh, 1872-79), Bk VIII, chap. 8, lines 1515-1516.
38. *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ed. J.Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1870), ii, no. DXX; CDS, ii, nos. 1023, 1772.
39. *RMS*, i, app. i, no. 20.

Personal control of property, which we would label the demesne estates, was not the sole manifestation of lordship. As important for the exercise of lordship was the holding of superiorities. The evidence is again patchy, but a network of de Quincy superiorities can be identified east of the Cree. The northern Glenken, for example, had John Comyn, earl of Buchan, as its superior in the early fourteenth century.[40] To the east of the Urr estuary, the lordship of Colvend, granted by Robert I in *c.*1327-8 to his nephew Alexander Bruce, formerly pertained to John Comyn, earl of Buchan, William de Ferrars and Alan de la Zouche, evidently through reversionary rights arising from superiority.[41]

Greater documentary survival gives Dervorgilla's overlordship a more widespread distribution. East of the Urr lay Kirkgunzeon, granted in feuferme by Uhtred, son of Fergus of Galloway, to Holmcultram Abbey. The abbey continued to pay an annual rent of £10 to the Balliols, as lords of Buittle, until this was quitclaimed by Edward Bruce.[42] Kirkpatrick was described as being held in chief of the lordship of Buittle in c.1304 by its then lord, Alexander Balliol.[43] West of the Cree, in the Machars, the Vieuxpont lords of Sorbie acknowledged Balliol superiority in 1251.[44] Further west, it is possible that the Marshal lords of Toskerton/Stoneykirk, where Dervorgilla held Milmain, were her vassals. They were certainly prominent in her following in the 1270s.[45] A similar case can be made for Anwoth whose lord, Bertram de Cardoness, was a regular witness to Balliol documents.[46] The dangers in following this line, however, are demonstrated with regard to the de Campanias. Radulf de Campania, who held Borgue in the time of Alan,[47] was associated with Roger de Quincy after 1234,[48] as was his kinsman, Robert de Campania, lord of Castleton of Borgue.[49] In 1282, however, Radulf's grandson, Robert, quitclaimed Borgue to Dervorgilla, from whom he had held the lands in chief.[50] The inference is that Radulf had associated himself with the politically influential Earl Roger although he held his estate of the Balliols. How many lesser noble families, tenants of the de Quincy heirs, followed a similar course with regard to Dervorgilla after 1264 can never be established.

From the foregoing it is clear that Dervorgilla did acquire dominance in Galloway, particularly in its eastern half. It was not, however, exclusive lordship, for the families of her nieces controlled lands and rights scattered throughout the region. This continuing division of power is underscored by the disappearance of the title of 'lord of Galloway' after 1234. Even for Alan that style had taken second place to Constable of Scotland, and was missing from the legend engraved on his seal.[51] The constableship was clearly regarded as the principal title and was transmitted by Helen to her husband, Roger de Quincy. If the title of lord of Galloway did not lapse, it too would have passed to Roger, for titles descend with

40. Brooke, 'The Glenkens 1275-1456', 44.
41. *RMS*, i, app. ii, no. 319.
42. *Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, edd. F.Grainger and W.G.Collingwood (Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological and Antiquarian Society, 1929), nos. 120, 121, 141d.
43. *CDS*, ii, no. 1630.
44. *CDS*, i, no. 1808.
45. *E.g. RRS*, vi, no. 235;
46. *Ibid.; Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1843), i, no. 230; CDS, ii, no. 212.
47. *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh* (Bannatyne Club, 1847), no. 64.
48. *Charters of the Hospital of Soltre, of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and other Collegiate Churches in Mid-Lothian* (Bannatyne Club, 1861), no. 21.
49. *Chartulary of Lindores Abbey 1195-1479* (Scottish History Society, 1903), no. cxiii.
50. *CDS*, ii, no. 212.
51. This is evident in the style employed in his charters, where he is most commonly presented as Constable. See Stringer, 'Alan of Galloway', 103-111, and on his personal seal 108.

land and both Kirkcudbright and Cruggleton, the apparent capita, were in his hands. Indeed, from an aside made by the English chronicler Matthew Paris, that Philip Luvel, steward of the earl, lived for a while in Galloway '...which is known to belong to the earl's right,'[52] the regional superiority of the de Quincys was an accepted fact. From Roger, the constableship passed to his eldest daughter, Margaret, countess of Derby, who resigned the office in c.1275 to her brother-in-law, Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan,[53] in whose family it remained until their forfeiture by Robert I.

Dervorgilla has frequently been accorded the honorific, lady of Galloway, by modern writers.[54] The prominence of the Balliols within Galloway after 1264 has been seen as a reincarnation of the lordship of Alan and his predecessors,[55] and the application of this title to Dervorgilla may simply be taken as convenient shorthand to reflect that position. There is, however, no evident precedent for its use in thirteenth-century sources; where that style occurs it is in later fourteenth-century and subsequent material.[56] Indeed, Dervorgilla's personal seal, as appended to the statutes of Balliol College and therefore dating from the period of her widowhood, emphasises that she herself had no pretensions to the title.[57] The legend on the obverse of the seal reads DERVORGILLA DE BALLI[defaced] FIL' ALANI DE GALEWAD', while on the reverse she is DERVORGULLA DE GALEWAD' DOMINA DE BALLIOLO. The reference to her status as daughter of Alan is the closest there is to an articulation of a claim to the lordly title, and was her preferred style; it is the form employed in her most significant surviving charter, the foundation charter of Sweetheart Abbey.[58] In general, she is styled Dervorgilla de Balliol or simply as the wife or widow of John Balliol.[59] In her widowhood, she made greater, but not exclusive, use of the form Dervorgilla de Galloway, lady of Balliol.[60] Clearly, although her acquisition of the larger share of Christina's inheritance and the further subdivision of the lordship held by Helen's children had given her *de facto* domination of the landholding in Galloway, it did not give her *de jure* rights to the title lady of Galloway. Nor did dominant landholding bring her the headship of the Galloway kin. Although they are never specifically named as kenkynnol in any source, it is evident that on the failure of the senior male line in 1234 that status had fallen to the most senior cadet of the family, the MacDowells. This status can be seen in operation after 1296, and especially after 1306, when both the Comyn and Balliol families had ceased to play any active part in the political life of the province. It was the MacDowells who provided the active leadership against the Bruce threat down to 1312, and who again emerged after 1332 as the kingmakers in Galloway. Their support was essential to the cause of Edward Balliol, and their defection in 1353 resulted in the collapse of his position within Galloway.[61] It was the support and recognition of the MacDowells which conferred effective, if not titular, lordship on the Balliols.

52. *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers AD 500 to 1286*, ed. A.O.Anderson (London, 1908), 367 [hereafter Anderson, *Scottish Annals*], extract from Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora.*
53. *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, edd. T.Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75), i, 9.
54. E.g. Huyshe, *Dervorgilla, Lady of Galloway;* Brooke, *Wild Men,* 140-1.
55. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, 115.
56. E.g. William Rishanger, *Chronica et Annales*, ed. T.Riley (Rolls Series, 1865), 21 [hereafter *Chron. Rishanger*], where John Balliol of Barnard Castle, Dervorgilla's husband, is described as lord of Galloway.
57. *The Oxford Deeds of Balliol College*, ed. H.E.Salter (Oxford, 1913), facsimile between pages 276-277; a clearer reproduction of the seal is in Brooke, *Wild Men*, 141.
58. *RRS*, vi, no. 235.
59. *CDS*, i, nos 1353, 1375, 1381, 1398, 1449, 1485, 1488, 1510, 1513, 1535, 1537, 1543, 1562, 1566, 1569, 1616, 1633, 1635, 1686, 1697, 1715, 1760, 1914, 2214, 2330, 2333 etc.; *Glasgow Registrum*, i, no. 230.
60. *Oxford Balliol Deeds*, 277-83; *CDS*, ii, nos. 212, 214
61. R.D.Oram. 'A family business?

Two fourteenth-century English chroniclers, Walter of Guisborough and William Rishanger, accord the title lord of Galloway to Dervorgilla's husband and son, John Balliol I and John Balliol II.[62] We should attach no greater value to this than an attempt by observers of the political situation in Galloway in the later thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries to establish the status of the men whom they saw as the principal powers in the region, from the perspective of the early fourteenth century. Nevertheless, their notional status has been taken up by modern scholars and used in a circular argument as an explanation for certain political actions. For example, in 1253 John Balliol I objected to the election of Henry of Holyrood to the see of Whithorn, due to irregularities in the process and claimed that the election had been '...in prejudice of his ancient liberties'.[63] The Lanercost chronicler believed that the dispute between Balliol and the king of Scots which resulted from this objection concerned the patronage of the see.[64] It was assumed that the lords of Galloway possessed the right of patronage of the bishopric, but examination of the elections in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries shows this to be wrong.[65] Working on this premise, however, it followed that if Balliol did possess the patronage of the see then he must have been lord of Galloway, and so the circle continues. Closer examination of the dispute, however, demonstrates that its roots lay in the conflicting forms of election employed, with Balliol acting, supposedly, in defence of the rights of the clergy and people of the diocese against the papal innovation of capitular election. Balliol could expect to wield influence in elections undertaken nominally by the clergy and people of the diocese. His complaint, therefore, was that his ability to influence the election had been removed by the novel process employed, not that his personal right of nomination and presentation had been usurped.

For a man represented as holding the lordship of Galloway in right of his wife, there is little documentary evidence other than his intervention in the Whithorn election to indicate that John or Dervorgilla played active roles in the political life of Galloway at this time. It is significant that this headline event lies in the middle of the period 1251-55 when Balliol was acting as one of Henry III of England's two representatives in Scotland to oversee the Comyn-dominated regency council for the boy-king, Alexander III.[66] John may have used the opportunity afforded by this position to put the affairs of his wife's estates in order, for it is at this time that major building work in stone was undertaken at Buittle, representing, presumably, the provision of a suitably impressive visual projection of the political and economic authority of a couple who, from 1247, were superiors of half of the former lordship of Galloway.[67] His first recorded activities in Galloway are an indication of how those estates were exploited, for he extended his notorious money-lending and speculation activities - underwritten upon the wealth which Dervorgilla brought him - north of the Border. Thus, we find him in early 1252 arranging a loan for the substantial sum of 180 merks to Maurice Acarsan, head of one of the native kindreds.[68]

62. *Chron. Rishanger*, 21; *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (Camden Society, 1957), 189, 233.
63. *Chron. Lanercost*, 59.
64. *Chron. Lanercost*, 62.
65. G.Donaldson, 'The bishops and priors of Whithorn', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd ser., xxvii (1948-9), 137; M.Ash, 'The Church in the reign of Alexander III', in N.Reid (ed.), *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III 1249-1286* (Edinburgh, 1990), 41; R.D.Oram, 'In obedience and reverence: Whithorn and York c.1128-c.1250', *Innes Review*, xlii, No. 2 (1991), 83-100.
66. Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 368 n. 2, 370; Young, *Robert the Bruce's Rivals*, 53.
67. A silver penny of Henry III, minted in 1247, was recovered towards the end of the 1998 digging season from the foundation trench of a substantial and evidently high-status stone structure in the bailey at Buittle. Its level of wear suggests deposition c.1250. Personal communication from Mr. A.Penman, director of the Botel Bailey Excavation.
68. Salter, *Oxford Balliol Deeds*, no. 592.

The meagreness of this evidence for John or Dervorgilla's interest in Galloway, paralleled by the poor record of activity there by their brother-in-law, Roger de Quincy, is a sure indication of where their priorities lay. What must not be overlooked is that by c.1260 John and Dervorgilla together possessed a landed inheritance which spanned three countries and in which the Galloway lands were a comparatively minor element. The first stage in this elevation from the most junior of the Galloway heiresses came in 1237 when her uncle, John, earl of Chester and Huntingdon, died childless. Before the end of the year Dervorgilla was granted seisin of the royal manors of Torksey in Lincolnshire, Lothingland in Suffolk, and the farm of the port of Yarmouth until the partition of Earl John's estates had been arranged.[69] These brought an annual income of a little under £150,[70] more than the revenues of many barons, but still of lesser value than Dervorgilla's due share of the Chester heritage, which she eventually received in early 1244.[71] Two years later she acquired the properties in Yorkshire and Northamptonshire of her sister Christina, the senior heiress in the partitioned earldom of Chester,[72] and in 1253 she petitioned for and eventually received her share of the dower lands of the late countess of Chester.[73] Her uncle was also earl of Huntingdon, and she added further properties and rights from that earldom to this already substantial English heritage. The deaths of Christina and of John's widow brought possession of the castle and manor of Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire, with its satellite properties of Nassington and Yarewell, the rural estate of Tottenham in Middlesex and Kempston in Bedfordshire.[74] The recovery of this inheritance involved Dervorgilla in protracted litigation, but she is found, in conjunction with her de Quincy nieces, enmeshed in further legal processes in pursuit of land in north-western England formerly associated with the de Morville portion of her Galloway heritage.[75]

Her Scottish heritage outwith Galloway was scarcely less impressive. Her paternal inheritance brought one third of Lauderdale and Cunningham. This included rights in Lauder itself,[76] perhaps an indication that the caput of this lesser lordship had fallen to her rather than to Helen de Quincy. In Cunningham, she held Largs, one third of Dreghorn, and portions of Kilmarnock, Bondington and Hartshaw.[77] The Huntingdon inheritance brought her one third of the Garioch in Aberdeenshire, plus land in Dundee, Fife and Lothian.[78]

Such far-flung possessions do not necessarily imply a life of constant mobility. Dervorgilla's properties from the Chester-Huntingdon inheritance had long been possessed by absentee lords, and a finely-tuned administration had evolved to facilitate the flow of revenue to distant masters. The Balliol household, moreover, was amply provided with clerks and lawyers. One of these, the Yorkshireman Master Thomas of Hunsingore, who served Dervorgilla as an attorney in England, rose in the service of her son to become chancellor of Scotland.[79] With such men managing their business affairs, there was little obvious need for the Balliols to engage in a perpetual round of visits to their far-flung

69. *CDS*, i, no. 1380; R. Stewart-Brown, 'The End of the Norman Earldom of Chester', *English Historical Review*, xxxv (1920), 26-54, at 38.
70. *CDS*, i, nos. 1510, 1513.
71. *CDS*, i, nos. 1616, 1633.
72. *CDS*, i, nos, 1686, 1697; Stewart-Brown, 'Earldom of Chester', 44.
73. *CDS*, i, no. 1914.
74. *CDS*, ii, nos. 189, 405, 410, 736.
75. *CDS*, i, no. 2333; *CDS*, ii, no. 172.
76. *Dryburgh Liber*, nos. 9-13; *Regesta Regum Scototum, v, The Acts of Robert I*, ed. A.A.M.Duncan (Edinburgh, 1988), no. 95; *RMS*, i, no. 18.
77. *Glasgow Registrum*, no. 230; *RMS*, i, app. ii, nos. 4, 42, 46.
78. For a discussion of the Huntingdon estates in Scotland, see Stringer, *Earl David*; for her foundation of a friary in Dundee, see *Chron. Wyntoun*, Bk VIII, chap. 8, l. 1514.
79. *CDS*, ii, nos. 172, 184; G.W.S.Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 3rd edition (Edinburgh, 1988), 50.

outposts. What evidence there is for Dervorgilla's movements indicates that her main preoccupations down to *c.*1251-52 were with her English properties. From 1237, she was involved in litigation over the Chester inheritance which, although pursued by her lawyers, kept her attentions focused on Westminster. Indeed, with the exception of the early 1250s, there is little evidence for her regular presence in Scotland, let alone Galloway, until her long widowhood after John's death in 1268. Even then, as she retained personal control of the English estates which pertained to her Galloway and Chester-Huntingdon heritage, and in addition controlled her terce of the Balliol lands, her southern properties continued to command her main interest.

To use a much-abused cliché, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, and Dervorgilla's presence in Scotland - if not necessarily in Galloway - is inferred on a number of occasions. Certainly, we can assume that she took personal interest in, if indeed she was not present at, the foundation of the three friaries associated with her; Franciscans at Dumfries and Dundee, Dominicans at Wigtown. There is no firm dating evidence for the foundation of any of these, but late tradition ascribes dates of 1263 and 1267 respectively for Dumfries and Wigtown.[80] It is significant that these dates straddle the crisis years of the baronial rebellion against Henry III of England, in which Balliol was prominent in Henry's service and was captured in the royalist defeat at Lewes in May 1264.[81] It is not impossible that these pious acts were inspired by concern for her husband's welfare and thanksgiving for his safe return from the wars. They also coincide with the break up of the de Quincy inheritance in Galloway.

While it cannot be established that Dervorgilla was present at the foundation of her friaries, it is clear that arrangements for the foundation of Sweetheart Abbey in April 1273 were drawn up in her presence. The foundation charter contains a witness list which reads like a Who's Who for late thirteenth-century Galloway.[82] Clearly, the main body of secular witnesses is the core of her curia there rather than a mobile retinue and probably represents an assembly of her household and dependents at her caput. Although it is not named, we can assume that by 1273 that caput was Buittle.

So far, Buittle has figured only briefly in the discussion. While this must be largely an accident of the non-survival of documentation concerned with Dervorgilla's earlier activities in Galloway, it is also a consequence of the symbolic inconsequence of the site until after c.1268, despite the evidence for its redevelopment in stone in the early 1250s. Indeed, even in the 1280s, when Buittle was without question the centre of Balliol power in southwest Scotland, it was not Dervorgilla's sole residence. For example, in March 1281, when Edward I of England sent his representative to meet Dervorgilla in person to take a recognizance of her settlement of various lands in England on her son, the meeting took place at Dryburgh Abbey,[83] near her lands in Lauderdale. This recognizance, however, points to one reason for the increasing exploitation of her Galloway heritage, for it detailed the infeftment by her of John in all the estates she had received from the Chester settlement and some

80. G.Donaldson and R.S.Morpeth, *A Dictionary of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1977), 61; Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 121.
81. *Chron. Guisborough*, 188-9; Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 380.
82. *RRS*, vi, no. 235.
83. *CDS*, ii, no. 189.

of the English lands of the Huntingdon inheritance, excluding Fotheringay and Kempston. If this was matched by a similar act in relation to her Scottish lands from the Huntingdon inheritance, it would have reduced her landed estates to a core in eastern Galloway with outlying blocks in Cunningham and Lauderdale and a substantially contracted demesne in the eastern Midlands of England. Buittle's development, therefore, relates to a rundown in her maternal inheritance and the consequent need to develop an alternative seat for her administration. This would explain the growing significance of Buittle at this time, marked by the drawing up there in August 1282 of the statutes of her last significant foundation, Balliol College Oxford.[84]

The words '...growing significance...' are deliberate, for although excavation has produced evidence for otherwise undocumented occupation in the later eleventh and twelfth century,[85] the site is yet to furnish conclusive evidence for Buittle's role as anything other than a lesser estate centre before c.1250. At present, the main indication of earlier lordly status is the simplex form of the place-name itself: the Old English *botl*, meaning a hall or village.[86] From the coining of this name, probably in the eighth century, until the naming of Adam, chaplain of Buittle in *c*.1252,[87] there is little indication of any continuing role as a power centre. This is in stark contrast to Kirkcudbright and Cruggleton, on record by *c*.1189-96 and 1139 respectively.[88] Although an equally early date has been postulated for the development of Buittle as a motte and bailey castle,[89] there is no historical support for this claim. Indeed, the very labelling of its pre-stone phase as a traditional motte and bailey must be questioned.[90] On scale alone it is the largest such site in Scotland by almost a factor of three, the summit of its so-called motte being half the area of the bailey alone at Duffus Castle and half the size of the entire Mote of Urr complex.[91] This cannot be explained simply in terms of its supposed ownership by the native rulers of Galloway. Its form is closer to that of the substantial platform sites which were a largely thirteenth-century development, where the whole of the castle complex was sited on the summit of an enlarged motte of low elevation, as at the old castle site at Lochmaben in Annandale or the Doune of Invernochty and Peel of Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire.[92] All these sites, however, lack the massive outer bailey present at Buittle.

Until the fragmentary remains of the stone castle are excavated, the dating of this phase is conjectural. There is nothing in the surviving stonework to indicate a date earlier than the 1260s, which again implies development during Dervorgilla's widowhood.[93] By then, she controlled the largest group of estates in Galloway and, although her de Quincy nieces were

84. Salter, *Oxford Deeds*, No 564.
85. A.Penman, *Botel Bailey Excavation. Interim Report 1997* (Castle Douglas, 1998), 20-24.
86. Brooke, 'The Northumbrian Settlements in Galloway and Carrick', 298.
87. Salter, *Oxford Balliol Deeds*, no. 592.
88. *Wigtownshire Charters*, no 159; Bernard of Clairvaux, *St.Bernard's Life of St.Malachy of Armagh*, ed. and trans H.J.Lawlor (London, 1920), 76-9.
89. See, for example, A.Penman, *Botel Bailey Excavation. Interim Report 1992-1994* (Castle Douglas, 1995), 2-3.
90. C.J.Tabraham, 'Norman settlement in Galloway: Recent fieldwork in the Stewartry', in D.Breeze (ed.), *Studies in Scottish Antiquity Presented to Stewart Cruden* (Edinburgh, 1984), 98-99.
91. Compare the scales of Duffus and the Mote of Urr: R.D.Oram, *Moray and Badenoch. A Historical Guide* (Edinburgh, 1996), 115-118; Tabraham 'Norman settlement in Galloway', 114-16, Table 3.
92. S.Cruden, The Scottish Castle, 3rd edition (Edinburgh, 1981), 27-28; W.D.Simpson, 'Excavations at the Doune of Invernochty', *PSAS*, 70 (1935-36), 170-79.
93. Personal communication from Mr G.P.Stell, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland.

the heirs of the senior line and their husbands controlled both the chief Galloway titles and the two main capita, as the sole surviving daughter of Alan she may have enjoyed the recognition of the native kindreds as *de facto* lady of Galloway. The construction of an imposing residence as her caput was the symbolic seal on her social domination.

Some closer indication of the date of this phase can be taken from the church constructed in the later thirteenth century 2kms south-west of the castle.[94] The lead bulla of Pope Honorius IV (1285-87) found in an adjacent field provides circumstantial confirmation that the church had already been moved to this site towards the end of Dervorgilla's life, and we may conjecture that provision of a modern stone castle of enceinte as a statement of her secular power was matched by the building of an equally sophisticated spiritual focus. Both are the typical social statements of the rich and powerful at the close of the medieval 'Golden Age'.

Major building work was probably completed by 1282 when Dervorgilla's residence there can be verified. In addition to the issuing of the statutes of Balliol College, the quitclaim to her of the de Campania lordship of Borgue was amongst business completed in Galloway at that date.[95] A royal protection was issued to Dervorgilla, '...who is going to Scotland,' in late December 1284, and another in September 1285 which noted that she had appointed attorneys to act in her absence until Michaelmas (29 September) 1286, which suggests that she anticipated a prolonged stay in Scotland.[96] It was probably during this extended period that she was in receipt of the papal letter of Honorius IV bearing the lead bulla found on the castle site in 1996.[97] She was not, however, in residence by late autumn 1286 when the Bruces raided the south-west in the aftermath of the death of Alexander III.[98]

The motivation behind the seizure of the royal castles at Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown, burning at Whithorn, and widespread depredations,[99] remains a matter of debate. What is clear, however, is that Buittle was by 1286 regarded as the focus of Balliol power in Galloway. As such, it was the symbolic seat of authority of the family whom the Bruces regarded as their chief potential rivals in any future contest for the Scottish throne should the child-queen, Margaret of Norway, die. This is underscored by the peculiar declaration which the Bruces forced Patrick McCuffock, possibly Dervorgilla's steward, to proclaim in the bailey of the castle.[100] The text is fragmentary, but it seems to call for the expulsion of foreign interests from Scotland. If this was directed against Dervorgilla's family and their retinue of English servants and administrators, it was singularly unsuccessful.

There is no evidence for Dervorgilla's return to Scotland after her 1285-6 sojourn. By then, she was already a very elderly lady by the standards of that time, and the rigours of long-distance travel may finally have ended her life-long mobility. Age, however, did not blunt her determination to maintain her rights in her carefully garnered heritage, and it is fitting that at the end of her life she was contesting the abbot of Lindores' right to the

94. G.P.Stell, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage. Dumfries and Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1986), no. 68.
95. *CDS*, ii, no. 212.
96. *CDS*, ii, nos. 263, 274.
97. Penman, *Botel Bailey Excavation. Interim Report 1996*, 9.
98. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 17.
99. *ER*, i, 39; *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland*, ed. F.Palgrave (London, 1837), i, no. 6 [hereafter Palgrave, *Docs. Hist. Scot.*]; *Register of John le Romeyn, Lord Archbishop of York* (Surtees Society, 1913-16), i, 8-9 [hereafter *Reg. Romeyn*].
100. Palgrave, *Docs. Hist. Scot.*, i, no. 6.

patronage of the church of Whissendine, which pertained to her father's de Morville inheritance in Leicestershire.[101] Her death on 28 January 1289/90 at the Balliol caput of Barnard Castle in Teesdale[102] marked the end of an era but signalled also the opening of a more turbulent phase in the history of Buittle.

All of Dervorgilla's great landed heritage fell to her youngest and sole surviving son, John Balliol II, who had given homage to Edward I for his mother's English lands by early March 1290.[103] The scale of her Scottish lands alone is indicated by the huge entry fine which Edward imposed.[104] At £3289 14s. 1½ d, this placed the Balliols among the greatest private landholders in the kingdom.[105] As king of Scots, John continued to hold these maternal lands separately from the crown lands, and while it cannot be claimed that he ruled his kingdom from Buittle - it was too remote from the seats of royal government - he continued to make use of his fine new castle. His presence can only be established in December and January 1293/4, when he held his Christmas court at Buittle. It was there that Walter de Cambo, keeper of Fife, found him and presented him with his writ of appointment by Edward I, and it was from there that Balliol wrote to Archbishop Romeyn of York in a bid to prevent the consecration of the Bruce clerk, Thomas de Dalton, as bishop of Whithorn.[106] Both incidents epitomised the incipient crisis in the new Balliol monarchy.

Amongst the spoils of war seized by Edward I after the collapse of Scottish resistance in the summer of 1296 were John's personal estates. Edward chose to exploit this windfall, rewarding household clerks with vacant benefices in Galloway, including in January 1297 the church of Buittle, and making grants of land to loyal supporters.[107] As warden of this new block of English crown demesne, Edward appointed Henry Percy, and assigned to him custody of the castles of Buittle, Wigtown, Cruggleton and Ayr.[108] Although he led the force which secured the surrender of the rebellion in the south-west in summer 1297,[109] in August 1297 Percy was replaced by John de Hodelston.[110] The ebb and flow of war in the south-west after 1297 is poorly chronicled, but the years down to 1300 appear to have seen the recapture and destruction of the English-held castles at Cruggleton and Wigtown. It is possible that Buittle, close to the strongly garrisoned castles at Tibbers, Dalswinton, Dumfries and Caerlaverock, remained in English hands.

This near collapse of the English position in Galloway and the use of the region as a base by the earl of Buchan, prompted Edward to campaign there in 1300. While there he granted land in Galloway to the value of 1000 merks to his household knight, Sir John de St.John.[111] This grant, which comprised mostly former Balliol demesne but presumably also included

101. *CDS*, ii, no. 380.
102. *Chron. Lanercost*, 134; *CDS*, ii, no. 405. The belief that Dervorgilla died at her manor of Kempston in Bedfordshire appears to stem from a misreading of the calendared entry in *CDS*, ii, no. 405, which arranges for an inquest into the extent of the lands of Dervorgilla there following her death on 28 January.
103. *CDS*, ii, no. 412.
104. For the inquest into Dervorgilla's Scottish lands see *Rot Scot*, i, 12b.
105. *CDS*, ii, no. 670.
106. *CDS*, ii, no. 708; *Reg. Romeyn*, ii, 115-6.
107. Stevenson, *Documents*, ii, no. ccccxxiii. See also *ibid*., no. dxx; *CDS*, ii, nos. 1023, 1619.
108. Stevenson, *Documents*, ii, ccclxxxix; *Rot Scot*, i, 37a.
109. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 84.
110. *Rot Scot*, i, 46a.
111. *CDS*, ii, no. 1153; M.Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), 484-5.

Comyn properties, was speculative as the land was a contested war zone, but St.John exploited his possessions when opportunity permitted. The truce in which this campaign ended gave Edward the opportunity to reinforce his garrison outposts in Scotland. Orders to secure, garrison and provision the castles were sent to the respective keepers in October 1300, by which date John de St.John was in possession of Buittle, the only English outpost west of the Nith.[112]

The campaign of 1300 has often been presented as achieving little, but under St.John, who emerged in the course of 1300-1301 as Edward's new warden of Galloway and commander in the western marches,[113] the English hold over eastern Galloway at least was consolidated and possibly extended. As a consequence, Edward instructed St.John to restore the lands of William Ferrers, son of Margaret, countess of Derby, and Alan de la Zouche, son of Elena de la Zouche, which had been seized in the course of the 1300 campaign.[114] No doubt the reinstatement of two of the successor families whose loyalties to Edward were unquestioned was intended to add further backbone to the English cause in Galloway and to undermine support among the native kindreds for their Comyn co-heirs.

On John de St.John's death in 1302 his lands, but not his position as warden descended to his son, also John, whose first recorded act was to assert his rights in the former Balliol demesne estates of Preston and Glasserton.[115] The Scottish surrender in early February 1304 was followed by the award to St.John of the 1000 merklands promised to his father. As the Comyns had come into the king's peace and were to have their heritage restored to them, Edward made up the balance from other sources. This meant the grant of all former Balliol estates, with Buittle as caput, but shorn of lucrative rights such as the advowson of Sweetheart (although St.John attempted to exercise that right in c.1308).[116] Buittle's place as the lynchpin in the English colonial regime in Galloway had been confirmed.

The new St.John lordship of Buittle enjoyed only a brief respite before Robert Bruce's coup d'etat in February 1306 plunged Scotland into renewed warfare. The castle may have been a target of Robert's foray into Galloway after the murder of John Comyn of Badenoch, but if so it was untaken.[117] The St.Johns headed the English defence in the south-west and led the force which harried Robert through the Galloway highlands in Spring 1307.[118] In the summer of 1308, one Aymer de St.John and Ingram de Umfraville, led the English defence against the invasion of Galloway by Edward Bruce, but, defeated in the field, could do little but watch helplessly from the walls of Buittle as the victors devastated their lands.[119]

The Bruce harrying of Galloway failed to dislodge the English from Buittle, which received support from the garrison posts which stretched up Nithsdale from Caerlaverock to Ayr, a line still held in December 1309.[120] Despite the best efforts of Edward Bruce, to

112. *CDS*, ii, no. 1164.
113. *CDS*, ii, nos. 1169, 1170, 1179, 1186.
114. *CDS*, ii, no. 1186.
115. *CDS*, ii, nos 1331, 1338.
116. *CDS*, ii, no. 1630; *CDS*, iii, no. 69(4).
117. E.L.G.Stones (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328* (Oxford, 1970), no. 34.
118. *CDS*, v, no. 490.
119. *Joannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W.F.Skene (Edinburgh, 1870-1), annal cxxv [hereafter *Chron. Fordun; John Barbour, The Bruce*, ed. A.A.M.Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997), 346-8; *Chron. Lanercost,* 210, 212..
120. *Rot Scot*, i, 80a

whom his brother had granted the title 'lord of Galloway' in early 1309, it was not until Robert turned his offensive against the south-west after January 1312 that substantial progress was made. Having broken English control of Nithsdale with the capture of Dumfries and Dalswinton, the isolated stronghold of Buittle was taken and razed.[121]

The extent of the destruction of the castle has perhaps been overstated, for the 'levelling' of fortresses seems often to have been less comprehensive than the traditional Bruce policy has been taken to imply. Nevertheless, we should assume that its defensive capabilities were broken. That it was useless as a stronghold is indicated by the charter of Robert I granting the barony of Buittle to Sir James Douglas in 1325, which makes mention of neither castle nor castle-place.[122] In common with most former Balliol lands, Buittle had been taken into the hands of the king and did not form part of whatever constituted the lordship of Galloway created for his younger brother. Certainly, it was as his to dispose of that Robert described it in 1324. We should probably read nothing symbolic into this grant of Buittle to the king's loyal lieutenant, it was simply a convenient portion of landed property to be added to the miscellaneous package of rewards which was granted to Douglas after 1314. As an absentee landlord, Douglas took no direct interest in his Galloway lands other than as a source of revenue, and the redundant symbol of Balliol lordship which stood at its core was left to moulder.

It is somewhat rosy-tinted romanticism which views the quarter-century 'rule' of Edward Balliol after 1332 as marking a return of Buittle's earlier political symbolism. Contrary to tradition, Edward Balliol's reign in Scotland saw his effective control until 1335-6 of most of what remained of his kingdom after his grant to Edward III of the southern counties[123] - including Dumfriesshire wherein Buittle lay - with his administration based on Perth. His career shows him to have been far more than the ineffectual puppet of the English king, and he was a capable military commander and energetic defender of his rights. He led a peripatetic life and rarely spent any time on his ancestral properties in Galloway, which were restored to him in 1334 by Edward III.[124] Although the period from 1332 down to the early 1340s was marked by the development of an active pro-Balliol party in Galloway,[125] there is no evidence for Balliol's presence there in the 1330s. As his position in Scotland north of the Tay deteriorated after 1336, however, he may have prepared a redoubt in his ancestral heartlands.

In *c*.1340-41, Balliol secured possession of the Dundrennan Abbey property of Hestan Island, an acquisition facilitated by his earlier lobbying on behalf of the abbot and monks.[126] By April 1342, Hestan was a fortified base commanded by Duncan MacDowell.[127] The flurry of commands issued by Edward III's administration in April 1342 instructing the relief of Hestan, which was under mainland blockade, suggests a real fear that this strategic

121. *Chron. Fordun*, annal cxxix.
122. *RMS*, i, app. i, no. 37.
123. *Rot Scot*, i, 273a, 391b.
124. *Ibid*..
125. R.D.Oram, 'Bruce, Balliol and the Lordship of Galloway: South-West Scotland and the Wars of Independence', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, lxvii (1992), 30-47 at 43-5.
126. For Dundrennan's possession of Hestan see *CDS*, ii, no. 1702. For Balliol patronage in the 1330s see *CDS*, iii, no. 1157; *Rot Scot*, i, 392a, b.
127. *Rot Scot*, i, 625-6, 629.

centre would fall to the supporters of David II and indicates the tenuousness of Balliol power in Galloway. It is somewhat ironic, then, that it was Balliol's patrons who in 1345 destroyed the fortalice following its commander's defection to the Scots.[128] This was a severe blow to his cause but, although his position in Galloway came under severe pressure from the supporters of David Bruce, it is evident that Balliol took a personal role in halting the decline.

Throughout 1346 Balliol was at the highly strategic stronghold of Burned Island in Loch Ken.[129] This was ancestral property, but more significantly it commanded access to Galloway from pro-Bruce Carrick. How successful this rearguard action may have been we cannot judge, for the defeat of the Scots at Neville's Cross in October 1346 ended the immediate threat. It brought only a temporary respite, but his English allies used this to effect by refurbishing Hestan as his secure base in late 1347.[130] This was not a cynical abandonment of their erstwhile ally in a dangerously exposed outpost, for the victory at Neville's Cross had reversed the pattern of Scottish encroachment on a steadily contracting sphere of English held lands in southern Scotland, and the English administration of Annandale and Nithsdale had been considerably strengthened. The return of Duncan MacDowell to Balliol's service in August 1347 - albeit by indenture and with his family held hostage in England for his good conduct - and the defection once again to the English of Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock in early September of that year, enabled a fresh consolidation of the English grip over the Solway region.[131] There was not, however, to be a renewed military offensive in Scotland in support of Balliol's royal claims.

On the back of this reinforcement of the English position in south-western Scotland, Balliol's position within Galloway was consolidated. It is probable, however, that a series of English royal mandates in his favour were sweeteners to soften the blow of the failure to mount a significant military counterstrike in the aftermath of Neville's Cross. On 8 February 1348, the sheriff of Dumfries was ordered to restore the Balliol lands in his shire, while on 26 April they were erected into a regality.[132] On the one hand, the sweeping powers within the sphere of the English crown in eastern Galloway which this grant entailed suggest favour being shown to a loyal ally, but the reality is that Balliol was being given licence to indulge his royal pretensions in the only region of Scotland where support for his cause was widespread. He could not be king within Scotland, but within his ancestral lands he could act as one. King only in name, in effect Balliol had become a frontier baron of the English crown.

To this point, there is no documented evidence for the reconstruction of Buittle. Indeed, as late as 21 September 1348, Hestan Island remained his principal stronghold.[133] It is perhaps significant, however, that by November 1352 Balliol was issuing charters from his ancestral caput.[134] Clearly, he had put the ruined castle into defensive order. There are suggestions from the excavation that reoccupation of the site as a high status residence may have begun as early as the building of Balliol's so-called manor-house on Hestan,[135] but the

128. C.A.R.Radford, 'Balliol's Manor House on Hestan Island', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, xxxv (1956-7), 33-37 at 36-7.
129. *Chron. Wyntoun*, 477.
130. Radford, 'Balliol's Manor House', 36-7.
131. *Rot Scot*, i, 703b, 704b.
132. *Rot Scot*, i, 710a, b, 715a, 720b.
133. *CDS*, iii, no. 1578 (2).
134. *Ibid*., no. 1578 (3).
135. Penman, *Botel Bailey Excavation* 1997, 26-7.

coincidence of the grant of regality jurisdiction and the re-appearance of Buittle argues otherwise. In effect, the privileged jurisdictional position which regality rights brought Balliol revived the moribund notion of a distinct lordship in all but name. Buittle had symbolised that lordship in the later thirteenth century and the regeneration of that symbol after 1348 constituted a bold declaration of Balliol's renewed authority and confidence in the security of his position. While the kingship of the Scots, in all but title, was surely beyond his grasp, the lordship of Galloway, albeit as an English province, was a reality. It was, nevertheless, to be a short-lived phenomenon.

In the course of 1353 the English grip on Nithsdale was broken with the capture and destruction of the castles of Caerlaverock and Dalswinton by Roger Kirkpatrick.[136] The fall of these castles effectively severed all communication by land between Galloway and England. Galloway, too, had suffered heavily through a campaign led by William, lord of Douglas, who succeeded in dealing a body-blow to Balliol's position by securing the negotiated surrender of Duncan MacDowell.[137] Evidently still loyal to Balliol on 29 November 1352 when he witnessed his charter granting the entire Balliol heritage in Glenken to William de Aldeburgh, he had deserted before August 1353 when his properties in English-held Roxburghshire were declared forfeit.[138] The chronicle accounts of these events suggest that the whole of Galloway had come across to the Scots on MacDowell's defection, but in January 1354, Balliol was still holding Buittle. His position by then, however, must have been perilous, and Edward III ordered William de la Vale to supply and reinforce him.[139] It is the last reference to Buittle Castle and to Balliol as resident in Galloway.

In keeping with the obscurity which shrouds its medieval origins, Buittle's end is unmarked in historical record. Its casual disappearance suggests abandonment by Balliol rather than its siege and capture by the triumphant Scots. Whatever the case, its demise was rapid and final. The end of open hostilities with England following the Treaty of Berwick in October 1357 saw the speedy reinfeftment in Galloway of ousted Bruce supporters, with the Douglases, in the form of the Dalkeith line of the family, regaining possession of the barony of Buittle. For them this was a remote outlier to their main properties in Lothian and Fife, farmed out to the ambitious Gilbertson kin, its castle a ruinous liability for which neither they nor their tenants had any requirement. Within twenty years its very memory had slipped from the records of landholding within the barony.[140]

136. Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D.E.R.Watt, vii (Edinburgh, 1996), 297 and notes [hereafter *Chron. Bower* (Watt)].
137. *Chron. Wyntoun,* 487; *Chron. Bower* (Watt), 297.
138. *CDS*, iii, no. 1578 (3); *Rotuli Scotiae*, i, 761a.
139. *Rot Scot*, i, 763a.
140. *Registrum Honoris de Morton* (Bannatyne Club, 1853), i, lix-lxi.

DUMFRIES BURGH COURT BOOKS IN THE 16TH CENTURY

by A.E.Truckell

Part I

A transumpt of 1509 shows that the burgh court books extend back at least to the 1450s though the surviving series begins in 1506, runs to 1537, with a gap to 1561 where a volume is missing and from then to 1581, a gap to 1586, and another gap to 1588 where the series breaks until 1615.

These records shed light on every aspect of life in the town and much of Dumfriesshire and eastern Galloway for besides strictly court business they are books of general entry including business contracts, marriage contracts, loans, medical treatments and Town Council business. Of particular interest is a series of property lists (already published[1]) in the 1560s and 1570s showing a great variety of imported cloth, clothing, furnishings, armour and weapons, and agricultural equipment.

The records of the annual elections are very informative - those of 1519, for instance, show the election of the burgh orator: schir Hary Mersar, the town's Renaissance Man, can be followed for many years, from 1519 to the 1530s, - playwright, choir singer, priest, builder: the Council refuses to grant a salary to a barber because 'the comond purss is bot weik and superexpendit' (as always!) - and that in the 1520s - but gives him a shop and forbids anyone else to practice that trade.

The evidence of witnesses in disputes, brawls, or over loss of property is particularly revealing - a screaming woman running after the English soldiers who have looted her shop of its bales of cloth during the 'peaceful' English occupation of the town in August 1570: a man ceremoniously donning his cloak to return, a pistol in one hand and a sword in the other, to continue an argument: another playing ball on Mouswald Green in a satin doublet: another crying the slogan 'a Maxwell' and raising a tumult.

Transfers of heritable property (i.e. mainly land and houses) either by Sasine following an *inter vivos* transfer or by a Special Service following a death, form particularly good topographical sources - for every house inherited has to be precisely located - 'bounded on the east part by ...' or 'betuixt ane tenement of ... and ane tenement of ... '. Shirley used this source to advantage in his 'Topography of a Scottish Burgh'[2]. Sasines and Services of such property within the Burgh appear in the Court Books. The Service of an heir involved the proving by witnesses of his or her relationship to the deceased ancestor. Old people are asked to give evidence, and the inqueist needs to be sure their evidence is reliable - so, sometimes in the 1560s they ask 'ane aigit man on his deid bed liand als he sall ansuer to the almichtie god on the extreim day' - the Day of Judgement - sheer poetry - one is reminded of the poet Dunbar - of necessity this paper has to be mainly in modern English, but the 16th century Scots has so much force.

1. 'Dumfries Roup Lists' by A.E.Truckell in *From the Stone Age to the '45. Studies presented to R.B.K.Stevenson,* ed. Anne O'Connor and D.V.Clarke, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1983. pp. 520-545.
2. These *Transactions*, 3rd Series, Vol. III, p. 182.

Returning to more mundane things, the Court Books are full of economics, the price of things, value of property, salaries - and foreign trade - there were Dumfries burgesses in Dieppe, Havre - James Maxwell burgess of Rouen was responsible for taking in the town's contribution to the fund (the work of Marie of Guise) for 'the doun putting of the sexteine deneris in the frank' - an exchange control mechanism - though Dumfries traded with the Low Countries, Germany, Norway, Denmark, Poland and Spain, France was still a principal trading partner. The first mention of Carsethorn, in September 1562, is of a ship loading for Rochelle and Bordeaux and a year later a baillie collected a large sum in 10 different foreign currencies in the town for another trading venture.

One item of interest is on 21st June 1564: in presence of the Provost, Baillies and Council of Dumfries convened in the Tolbooth James Hannow 'a sseruand to george faw egiptiane' and Alexander Leiss, Scotsman, servant to Robert McCulloch burgess of Kirkcudbright 'upon ane vrittin of the said george faw send with thaim to george maxwell provost of drumfreis hes resavit fra thomas batye burgess of the samyn ane cannopy of reid taffateis ane veluot doublat of cam cullor ane Signet of gold, ane veluot coitt but [without] slevis rasit or sittying quhilks the said thomas batye had in vod of the said george fawe upon the soum of tuenti punds xxxd conform to the said george faw writtin off the quhilk sovm the said thomas grantit him to haif resauit to ane gud compt auchtene punds x ss and sua rists thretti schillings & xxx d quharfor he hes haldin tua small gold rings in vod ...' This appears to be by very many years the first mention of the famous Faa gypsy family and shows the gypsies, long after their proscription, travelling in great style almost as foreign notables.

The above introduction gives a general picture of the Burgh Court Records. A couple of years ago Marion Stewart the Archivist suggested that as I proceeded with the transcript - in progress since the late 1940s - it would be useful if I made excerpts of items of special interest, commencing at the point where I then was, in the early 1570s: the full run is of course available in the Archive Room. I proceed therefore, to give the rather more detailed picture selected from these excerpts.

We start with an entry for 18th November 1573: Jonet Bell, daughter of John Bell, appearing before Herbert Cunynghame, notar publict and scribe of the Burgh Court of Dumfries (we would call him Town Clerk) makes John Lawson, mason her only assignay to £10 Scots in the hands of Hector Rae, faithfully promised to her by Rae 'for defloring of hir virginitie & gettin ane barne with hir', with full power to her assignay to uplift that sum from Hector or schir John Brice (Vicar of Dumfries) in his name. Ten pounds Scots, though not yet sunk to the twelfth of Sterling Scots money was to reach in a generation, was a long way from ten pounds Sterling - what would modern society do in such a case?

On 3rd Sept. 1573 a lad had called his neighbour 'a priest's kitling': on 9th September 1573 it was ruled that anyone 'overtaken with injurious words' was to pay ten shillings to the town and ten shillings to the offended party.

28th Oct. 1573 - Schir John Sinclair - a reverend gentleman (as in Chaucer's 'Sir Priest') - was summoned to the Tolbooth by the Provost for attacking John Reid, holding *two* quhingers (a quhinger was a one-edged cleaver-like weapon, used for giving the 'Lockerbie Lick') over his head and giving him 'ane greit wound in the heid four Inche lang': he pulled the Provost's nose and said 'I am my Lord Maxwell's servant' - implying that the Provost

had no authority over him: and when, after a struggle, they got him into the Tolbooth, he shouted 'greit gowk quhat doth thou do mair' - so even men of the cloth could be violent!

11th Nov. 1573 - Alexander Sinclair claimed a guitar from Archibald Newall, and on 17th November schir John Brice, Vicar of Dumfries, presented a gilt silver chalice weighing 30 ounces to the town: it was delivered to Robert Ranying treasurer and passed to John Law goldsmith to make two communion stoups.

25th Nov. 1573 - Thomas McBrair burgh officer claims that he only drew his sword in the courtroom to prevent further disorder in the brawl between Stephen Palmer and William Gledstanes: and on the same day it was stated that the tax last cast for furnishing of the raids to my lord regent's grace and Warden's land amounts to £123, 10/-

On 19th Dec. Thomas Edgar in Holme claims that schir James Gledstanes wrongously withholds 12 geese from him.

On 20th Jan. 1573/4 (New Year was on 25th March) Matthew Irving in Hurkledale confesses that on the 19th he drew his sword on Adam Gibson, burgess, and caused others to draw swords: he is to sit down on his knees and beg forgiveness of God, the King's Majesty, Provost and Baillies and stay in ward till he finds caution to fulfill the acts of the town and to Gibson.

On the same day roger herreis is sworn as a witness - not only married and of good fame, as usual, but also 'valiant of goods' - meaning well-off.

On 28th Jan. two bolts of black Dumfries cloth are mentioned: on 8th January we hear of William the Graham 'callit pryors wille': and on 9th March the lynors define the route of a watergang between the tenements of John McJoir and John heslope on the Rattonraw, referring to 'the auld act and anssient use & vill of burcht' and 'the practice & ordor of nychborhede'.

On 24th Mar. Mr Andro Maxwell is acted to pay £3 Scots for the price of three steelbonnets and on the same day there is a reference to the 'packs' in France and Flanders and the accounts and debts relating to them. Two days later, now in 1574, there is an agreement 'for vphalding the hows & barne in siclyk staitt as thai ar at present excepand the band of Ingland & suddane force'. - England and raids were always in mind.

On 10th Apr. 1574 we come to a surgeon (there is an account of a surgeon for healing a man's nose wounded in the battle of Mid Locharwood in 1570): now Patrick Young 'Schiregeane' agrees to do his craft and diligence to John McKie son to Edward McKie in Stakeford of the malady that he has at this present, from Monday 12th instant until with God's grace he is healed providing that if he fails he shall not be held liable by John's father, kin nor friends (a suggestion of feud here?). 'Surgeon' meant something nearer the present 'Doctor'. If John breaks forth again of the Infirmity Patrick will do his utmost to amend him thereof at his own expence.

On 21st Apr. John Kirkpatrick confesses that he has a pistol and powder in his house belonging to Thomas commendator of Holywood Abbey.

On 26th May we are told that Cristian Maxwell's cow wandered into John Tynding's yard last Yule even: he struck the cow in the belly with his sword whereby she died.

Harking back to 17th Nov. 1573, the tofall above the cellars of the under tolbooth is to be built at the town's expence so that the cellar may be made dry of the drop of the house above, and on 25th John Maxwell Patrick's son confessed that he struck Stephen Palmer with his fists and keys on the face within bar - that is, within the court, a heinous offence!.

Now we go on to 6th Oct.1574, when it is ordained that each man in the burgh shall receive the common minstrel when he comes about the town as the custom has been 'past memor of man': whoever refuses him to pay 16d. money 'for his dayis sustentation in meitts & drynk': and the same day Thomas Paterson is ordained to clear & clean 'the mekill dub without the west port' within 24 hours under the pain of a fine for every 24 hours it remains uncleared.

On 22nd Jan.1574/5, (p.3 of the new volume), the baillies receive their halberds: and on 29th March 1575, (p.18), Robert law, burgess of Kirkcudbright, is allowed to sell his herring which he has offered to the town to sell for 9 shillings the hundred under the condition that he sells them no dearer to the neighbours of the town than he offered them for sale in ?Ayr.

On 7th Apr. 1575, (p. 22), Thomas Batie states that he saw Pate Young and John Johnston his goodson going hand for hand coming from the court and thereafter looked over his shoulder and saw Pate Young falling and his hat going from him and then each of them drew their quhingers to the other. John Brown younger of Carsluith states that he was sitting on Herebert Ranying's seat at his booth window and saw John Johnston take Pate Young by the shoulders and about the neck and felled him to the ground and then they drew quhingers to each other and went out and separated them.

Harking back again to 19th Oct. 1574, p. 1058 of the 1570-74 volume, the principal men of each of the four quarters are to keep watch on the ports (gates) for the pest (plague) has arisen in Leith: and on p.1069 £40 Scots is to be paid to Lord Herries in complete payment of the £100 promised by his Lordshipe 'the tyme the ost of Ingland brunt the vatter of melk and dryvesdale'

(p.1074) At the desire of Lord Maxwell the town agrees to pay Friar George Law a portion furth of the lands and annual rents of the Friars' lands for certain years bypast and he is to be paid 20 marks yearly for the rest of his life.

(p.1092) The Convention of Burghs is to be held at Edinburgh: the Provost is to ride there with a servant and is to have £12 Scots now and to keep a good account of what he disburses further.

Referring back to the fight between Patrick Young and John Johnston, they are ordered on 22nd Apr. 1575 to ask forgiveness in the Kirk the next Sunday.

27th Apr. 1575 - There is a reference to the cattle in the nolt stand at the brigend.

11th May 1575 - Robert Newall complains that he and his horse were beaten with sticks by Andro Heslop and his family while ploughing.

21st Jul. 1575 - Archie Newall calls James Copland a knave and a loon 'in tyme of the wappynschawyng' and would not obey the Provost when he commanded him to salute.

9th Aug. 1575 - Concerning the Trades - there had been injurious words and disobedience of a Baillie's order on the street - Patrick Young 'spak planelie in Jugement' - 'had he not been stoppit thair had sundry gentlemen done cummeris': The Council find that it was wrong for the Trades to have poinded John McKie's sword without an order from the Council: Patrick Young is banished and to get out of the town within 48 hours: 16th August: Patrick Young is allowed to return but on a list of conditions as long as your arm!

6th Sep. 1575 - There is a reference to a dyehouse and tools: and on 7th September we hear that Robert Morton came into a house and asked the wife where was her good man and calls him a naughty thief and loon, then goes in the yard and starts breaking down the fruit trees with a big stick and strikes her (Gille Jackson is her name) several blows leaving bruises - 'blaa straiks' which the Council see the next day: and then Morton's wife Isobell McBray came into the yard and knocked Gille down: Robert and Isobell are to be put in the stocks or in irons as the Judges command.

15th Sep. 1575 - It is reported that the Sheriff and his deputes have proclaimed the Rood Fair 24 hours early 'takyn & revyng fra thame ane pretendit custome callit the shireff's gluves befoyr the lauchfull fair tyme everaccoustomit or vsit in ony tymes past' - and the deputes and Sheriff officers have been seizing goods and unloading meal on its way to the Provost's house - there was an almost permanent tension between the Town Council and the Sheriff.

20th Sep. 1575 - We come to an entry of special interest. The last pre-reformation curate of Dumfries had become the first post-reformation Minister (this had also happened with Little of Troqueer across the river). He was followed by the Reverend Peter Watson who though appointed and fully supported by the Town Council was clearly not popular with a section of the community. On that date, we find in the Burgh Court Records that Archibald Newall son to Patrick, with his friend Habbe Carruthers had broken into Peter Watson the Minister's house in his absence after noon and called Christian Stanehouse his wife a whore '& said he sould cut ane lug out of hir heid and cupill it to the Kirtill Taill and said hyr husband was ane myschaivit beist and said quhat war they bot land lowperis' (interlopers) 'and that the said arche straik violentlie bete watson sister and Sservand to the said mynister and as the said crischane allegis wald haif strykkyn or slane hir selff war not John Bryce had him away furth of the said houss'. Archie had bolted from the town and the Burgh Officers could not find him. Habbe Carruthers came into the Minister's house but did nothing and spoke no injurious words: he is to come to the parish church next Sunday and there in time of service in presence of the congregation swear that he did not know the said Archie's purpose before he came into the Minister's house nor intended any harm himself to Christian nor her servant and ask the Minister and his wife's forgiveness.

5th Oct. 1575 - Annual Elections: election of Provost, Baillies, Officers, Clerks, Dean, Treasurer, Kirkmaisters, Brigmaisters, Lynors, Sutor, Minstrel, Procurators and Keeper of the Willies (willows). There follows a long list of statutes: no person travelling in Annandale, Eskdale, Wauchope or Leven to assist in word or deed the broken men, also that no person from Annandale, etc., be made burgess for 7 years to come: also that no freeman in this burgh receive in booth or loft any unfreeman's goods under fine of 8/- for each fault & £10 & loss of his freedom for the second fault: no person is to bear other men's peats under punishment of their bodies, and the master of the servant bearing the peats to be fined 8/- for

each fault. There follow statutes about the night watch, and that candles be sufficiently made with a small wick: that no person buy fish till it comes to the fish market: that all persons in the burgh be obedient to their 'ourismen' (overseers), and that 'quhen onie fray or upror cumis to this burght' all manner of men with their overseers come and assist: that no middens be longer tholed upon the street than 24 hours: and that no innkeepers receive nightwalkers and vagabonds or other strangers in their houses or sell them ale nor wine after 9 at night nor keep the persons they receive from the sun down passing to the sun rising if they are under suspicion. The statutes are continued on 6th October: the best beer to be brewed to sell in this burgh is to be sold no dearer than 2/8d the gallon.

15th Oct. 1575 - Archibald Newall finally appears before the court for the incident in the minister's house: he is put in ward in the King's house in stocks if the Judges so please and to go 3 Sundays to the kirk (2 times in his underwear) to beg pardon of the Minister, his wife and his sister and servant: and answers are to be given next Thursday to Newall's complaint against the Minister's wife and Master James Ramsay.

(p. 132) 25th Oct. 1575 - There is a roup of the late John Lorimer's goods including a lute.

(p.159) 13th Jan. 1575/6 - The Market Cross is rouped and feued to whoever will bid most and will repair it, it being 'falling and decayit'.

On the same day it is ruled that the 'fulzie' - contents of chamber pots etc. - is to be taken from the streets and vennels to the fields every 48 hours.

(p.161/2) Same date: The Town Council and Community agree that the freedom and liberties of the town have been damaged by the citizens not turning out for tumults in the town, and 'quhen tumults arisis and occcation servis' ordains that every merchant, craftsman, or householder occupier of any booths on the street shall have ready provided therein a halbert or a lance staff, a sword or such other weapons and armour as good, and they readily provided therewith as good and faithful neighbours ought to do, rise together with all diligence and come to their Provost, baillies and officers when any tumult or fracas shall happen ... until all tumults be put to quietness.

(p.176) 25th Jan. 1575/6 - Just a few days later, we hear of just such a tumult: Habbe Byrkmyr, John Carcart and Jame Welche 'hes offendit greitlie aganis the commandement of God' by giving each other injurious words and offering each other strokes, first in Andro Morrisone's house and thereafter between 8 and 9 of the night habbe byrkmyr and Jame Welche with a convocation of people and others their friends at the mercat corce 'and thair maid onsett with drawn swords and Rasit the greit fray (in the dark!) and thairthrow under sylance of nycht trublit the haile town to the greit hurte and harme thairof'. They are put in ward in the 'Kingis hous' and on Sunday in the Kirk in time of prayer shall ask God and the Judges and the whole congregation's forgiveness for troubling the town, shall ask each other's forgiveness and find caution before they are set free that they shall live quietly in time coming and not make tulzie nor trouble in the town.

12th Jun. 1576 - We see the name Quhinkarstanis, burgess of Dumfries, in the Vennel - he appears regularly thereafter: and on the same page there is mention of Katherine Maxwell sister to Bernard Maxwell of Kirkconnell.

13th Jun. 1576 - Christiane Montgomery stones and critically injures Agnes Kent the spouse of William Maxwell.

(p.294) It is found that the Welches have done wrong in casting away the muck: He is to remain in the Tolbooth during the Judges' wills.

(p.295) 20th Jun. 1576, the price of 4 ox hides and a cow hide is £7.

(p.298) We find a letter of licence by King James VI with advice of the Regent Morton to John Richardson burgess of Dumfries excusing him from all raids, wapenschaws, assemblies or gatherings and from all appearance on assizes and inquests for serving of heirs, and shall not be accused therefor.

(p.302) 4th Jul. 1576 - Harbert maxwell at Port denies the slaughter of Robert Newall's geese.

(p.308) Geordie Fruid is to be put in the stocks for bruising and blooding Margaret Carruthers.

(p.321) Archie Maxwell 'is ane vacabond man and hes nother stob nor staik in this town': he is expelled from the town and if he comes back 'and maiks ony fault or tulzie his lug to be nalit to the tron'.

(p.325) Crischane Montgomery fails to appear to testify before famous men and women what she had from her cousin she partit with child the time she was in ward the quhilk she broke (an abortifacient?) - to be punished for breaking ward.

(p.326) 11th Aug. 1576 - An entry appears halfway through the top of the page: ... he is to return the sackcloth in which he did repentance as good as he got it: he is to sustain the articles of the Kirk: he is banned by the minister, elders and deacons, from all reading and service in the Kirk until he is found worthy, in respect that he without authority intruded himself in the service of reading without authority of the elders, deacons and Council of Dumfries. Who was he?

(p.328) 3rd Sep. 1576 - John McKie, swordslyper, is mentioned.

(p.333) 3rd Oct. 1576 - We come again to the elections, appointments and statutes: the quart, pint, mutchkin and chopin are to be of the Edinburgh standard and a new mark is to be put on the stoups: hucksters and tapsters are to be licensed: the Flesh Market is to be kept from Saturday morning until Monday evening, Sunday excepted: skins or hides bought outside the Brig Port are to be seized by the Dean and his officer: it is lawful for any freeman to bring a tailor into his house to work cloth only to himself and not for others: Candlemakers are to be licensed: no unfree man is to set up craims (stalls) on the street or market-place but only with board stool or bench - and so on.

(p.339) We hear of Besse Wolls, woman of John Johnston the Pow - ah, those Borderers, they lived outwith the decencies of society!

(p. 340) 19th Oct. 1576 - The Provost and Andrew Cunningham are to pass to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland and to appear before the Lord of Session on Council business.

(p.346) 8th Nov. 1576 - All dwellers in the burgh free and unfree who have moss to be ready tomorrow morning on the first stroke of the bell: every man that has a horse to send one with a servant, creill, coupe, shovel, spade and barrow under the pain of 8/- for the first fault and so forth doubling.

(p.348) 15th Nov. 1576 - There is a reference to bridles and tees.

(p.349) 27th Nov. 1576 - there is mention of a cloak of French black with an embroidered collar neck.

(p.350) 28th Nov. 1576 - There is mention of Thomas Campbell Commendator of Holywood Abbey.

(p.351) Patrick Young pursues Roger Lorimer for curing of his head the time John Maxwell in Fleshstocks and his son hurt him.

(p.352) Robert McKinnell, wobster, agrees to allow £13 to schir James Gledstanes in part of payment of his tocher which he promised him with his daughter [ ] Gledstanes.

(p.359) 2nd Jan. 1576/77 - Patrick Young says he would have charged £5 for anyone else but settles for 40/- from Roger Lorimer for curing his head the time he was hurt by John Maxwell in Fleshstocks.

(p.361) 27th Dec. 1576 - The town quarry at Castledykes valued by James Pane, quarrier, and John Sawrycht, mason, at £4 Scots and the quarry assigned to Andrew Moir, mason.

(p.362) 6th Jan. 1576/7 - Robert Edgar pursues Syme Lawson for the £4 Edgar gave to the Regent 'the tyme his grace was in Drumfreis'.

16th Jan. 1576/7 - £5 for the boarding of a child to Agnes Neilson.

(p.363) Same date - John Maxwell promises John Tynding 44/- for the freight of his boat .... 'the saids persones parteners & frauchteris and thais that promest to gang In the said boat In Ingland and to pay thair parts'.

(p.369) 19th Feb. 1576/7 - The mercat corce base is to be built higher and steps made.

(p.447) 25th May 1577 - The judges and council have bought a peck of meal for 6/- and the same baked, one half in 'bawe cakes' vizt.- 7 of them and the other half in 'plak cakes' vizt.- 9 cakes - clearly a test to see what they should be sold for.

(p.452) 30th May 1577 - Two pistols with 'furniture' of Geordie Maxwell, smith, are priced at 50/-.

(pp.460/61) 13th Jun., Andrew Cunningham states that he was present when Patrick Young said to his son-in-law 'Alas would I had thee on the Moat we should end this cummer that is between us' - Young, his wife and servants are banished.

(p.463) There is a reference to a demy of gold, of John Law, goldsmith - gold coins were a principal source for his goldwork.

(p.464) Ninian Dalyell, master of the Grammar School (appointed in 1558) buys a tenement in Midraw.

(p.465) There is a dispute in the Tolbooth over the ownership of a stoup: Thomas Bratton won't wait for the return of the Provost and says he'll complain to the Regent and the Warden, draws his quhinger and wounds Arche McBriar: he is imprisoned in the King's House and deprived of his freedom to trade.

(p.474) 17th Jul. 1577, Robert Muirhead claims a doublet of 'Reid Dames', a gold ring set with a red ruby and a silver heart with a carbuncle stone - this case drags on for months and involves a number of witnesses.

(p.479) [Still on 17th Jul.] - The Provost, baillies and council have Lord Maxwell's and Lord Herries' advice on how best to strengthen the town 'and for sure watching thairof': every man is 'to big his awin yairdheids and cast to them sufficient dykes' between now and next Lammas.

(p.481) We hear of three rings of gold and a Spanish ryell.

(p.487) 3rd Aug. 1577 - The Provost, Baillies and Town Clerk being summoned to appear before the Regent and Privy Council on 6th Aug. appoint the Dean and Treasurer and their officers to keep the peace, set the watches, and see the market kept during their absence. This looks as if the town was none too secure.

(p.488) 12th Aug. 1577 - We find that the Carlyles and the Kirkpatricks have had a fight in the town and that John Kirkpatrick has been killed - John Lord Herries, Provost, baillies and Council - order is to be taken this day between the Carlyles and John Kirkpatrick called of Rockhall: The names to be accused are Ade Carlyle of Crukit Heugh and Habe Carlyle his brother: John Brown glover and the Laird of Craigs saw the onset: the names to be committed in fast ward are Ade Carlyle of Crukit Heugh, Habe Carlyle his brother: Robin Carlyle in Torthorwald: Robin Kirkpatrick brother to John, of Rockhall: Habbe Kirkpatrick of Barnmuir and Gibbe Kirkpatrick flesher.

[Still on p.488] 13th Aug. 1577 - Anent the troubling of the town and slaughter of John Kirkpatrick - 24 of the principal men are warned to convene nightly in their armour and gear before Baillie Harbert Ranying, 12 to walk the town and 12 to keep the common ?stands.

(p.489) 24 principal men to be warned to convene nightly and officers to warn them hereto nightly, each man under all highest pain and charge as they will answer to the King's majesty and my lord Regent's grace and warding of their persons. Herbert Anderson, Warden Clerk, is to ride to the Regent with a writing to declare to His Grace the slaughter of John Kirkpatrick and to declare His Grace's answer what order shall be taken with the men that were challenged for the said slaughter, he to have 20/- per day till he comes back, to himself and his boy and horse: Adam Walker is to pay him £6.

On the same day there is a reference to Robert McChristine and to John Quale in the Isle of Man.

(p.490) 29th Aug. 1577 - Robert Murdoch tailor in presence of Herbert Ranyng baillie upon the Girss Hill beside the market cross granted that he had spoken injurious words to James McCaul saying James had treacherously deceived and *sold Edinburgh* [author's italics] and that he was a very thief loon: Robert being laid in the stocks and punished he granted his offence and on his bare knees crying God mercy & forgiveness and the town's judges and said he did it in his drunkenness. He agrees to be banished if he does it again.

(p.491) Robert Carlyle, now lying in irons in a vault of the Newark for art and part of the slaughter of John Kirkpatrick, is sick and liable to great trouble unless he is relieved of the irons: Simon Johnston, John Maxwell Patrick's son and William Edgar find surety of 500 marks that he shall remain in free ward furth of the irons in the vault and not depart furth of the vault without licence of the Provost or the Regent and the goodwife of the Jail (first mention of this person) come surety for the sureties for the same sum.

[Still on p.491] - Katherine Kirkhaugh, widow of Thomas McBrair, is paid £10 by the Provost for the fishing of her quarter of the water of Dumfries.

(p.493) 10th Sep. 1577 - Thomas Lyndsay, indweller, confesses that Besse Hostane, Gavin Johnston, Katherine Cunningham, John Kirkpatrick 'Giddeis Jok' and Jame Jonstoun were reset in his house without his knowledge against the order and proclamation of the town and Kirk Session and that as soon as he came home these commands came to his knowledge, he puts them out of his house: there is a formidable list of witnesses including Maister Archebald Menzies commissioner of Dumfries and schir Jon Morton parson of Dornock.

(p.494) 19 Sep. 1577 - A contract for the sale of 6 score stones of wool by Robert Douglas of Coshogle to Edward Edgar burgess of Dumfries.

(p.496) James Davidson acquits his father-in-law of all the money willed to him by various people.

(p.497) Heid Court, 2nd Oct. - Elections - James Lindsay of Barcloy elected a baillie: (pp.499-500) the Burgh officers are appointed but to be deprived of office if they appear on the streets without their halberts. George Moffat, smith, is appointed Keeper of the Knock and the 8 hour bell at £10 per year - he finding bellstring and wire to the clock, the town finding a case of boards: John Maxwell in Fleshstocks to keep the Willies on the Oversandbeds and to have half the fines of everyone who cuts the willows the other half to go to the common work.

(p.503) 3rd Oct. 1577 - No unfree man is to set up or cover their craim in the market street so that freemen's craims may be told from the unfree: and no unfree man is to sell staple goods in chamber or craim under pain of escheating of the goods. The Leather Market, Shoe Market, Salt Market, Lime Market and Huckster Market are to be kept according to the old acts and statutes.

John Maxwell and John McJoir are poinded for not keeping the gutter clean for running of the water conform to the acts of before and the gut is to be 4 foot wide and with such depth as all the water may have free passage to pass to the Nith summer and winter: the gut to be cast within 48 hours and once every 48 hours under the pain of 40/-.

(p.505) 9th Oct. 1577 - Janet Mckee, widow of John Amuligane, is to pay 16/- for the rest of 26/- for syboes bought from Michael Frude.

(p.506) The Dean, James Rig, challenges Robert Edgar for buying a load of herring last Monday before lawful time of day: Edgar says they were not bought until past that time.

(p.507) 9th Oct. 1577 - Herbert Ranying younger has brought from Dieppe an obligation by Herbert Maxwell at Port to pay Robert Aikman, burgess of Dieppe, 16 francs 10 sous lent to Maxwell in his necessity, at Dieppe on 12th November 1573 before witnesses David Horn, burgess of Edinburgh, Ronald Parson and Thomas Aikman and because he could not write he put his merchant mark *HM*.

A few months earlier, on p.454, there is a reference to Willie Haleday 'callit vanderlait' - Willie Wanderlate crops up quite often thereafter.

(p.476) 17th Jul. 1577 - John Thomson at Corce had asked Herbert Ranyng younger, to bring home a targe which he had promised to John Adamson: Herbert has brought home the targe which cost 17/6 great Flemish money.

(pp.508/10) 23rd Oct. 1577 - Janet Rogerson presents her brief as heir to her father the late John Rogerson flesher: Marion Maxwell objects to the brief as the second wife of John Rogerson and shows her conjunct fee granted by him in Herbert Cunningham's protocol book: nevertheless the Inquest serves Janet Rogerson heir.

(p.513) 30th Oct. 1577 - James Lindsay of Barcloy is made a burgess so that he can be a baillie.

(p.516) 31st Oct. 1577 - John Johnston, brother to Simon, states that he had been commanded to remain in the King's House for debt and asks to be let out: he has no means: McCourtie who has put him in will not sustain him as a warder should and he may die of hunger.

(p.531) We hear of 5/- for a chopin of honey.

(p.532) John Carruthers in Lochmabengate has bought 4½ lb. of raisins, price 18/- or 48d the pound from John Frussall.

(p.533) Five pecks of oak bark are bought by John Thomson from John Black.

(p.540) 9th Jan. 1577/8 - The Dean is to pass with an officer and sense and see who has sold ale for 8d the pint since the ingiving of the last supplication made by the brewsters of the town for getting their poynds again and whoever is convicted to pay 16/- for double fine and at the next fault the whole brewing to be taken and dealt among the poor.

(p.541) Thomas Brattoun confesses the breaking up of his wine without license and that when the Provost gives him the keys of his wine cellar he should sell wine for forty pence the pint jug measure.

14th Jan. 1577/8 - John McCleir is told to pay 5 marks yearly to Mr Ninian Dalzell, schoolmaster:.

(p.544) 15th Jan.1577/8 - We hear of Robin Grierson 'callit the King': and the case of the Abbot of Holywood's Breeks come up yet again - this one has dragged on for years!.

(p551) 28th Jan. 1577/8 - Archibald McBrair of Almagill produces the King's letters of cognition touching McBrair's wattergang to his mill dam and the narrowness of the passage thereto: he is to send such persons as he was complaining of with a sufficient inquest of the eldest and most ancient neighbours of the burgh that best know the truth.

(p.556) 5th Feb.1577/8 - There is a long list of defenders in the case: they are to appear on 25th February and show their titles if they have any.

(p.558) 6th Feb. 1577/8-9 - A piece of ground on the Over sandbeds, set to James McCaule, is measured and he is licensed to proceed with the building of the house he has begun on the Oversandbeds, with precise directions as to the building.

(p.562) 15th Feb. 1577/8 - Thomas Glessall has forfeited his freedom because he complained to Lord Herries that John Anderson had hurt him and has not complained to the Judges of the town his superior: they order him to lose his freedom and order the Burgh Officers to lock up his booth doors.

[Still on p. 562] The town is in trouble: the Provost, Baillies and Council are ordered by the Regent to appear before him and the Privy Council on the last day of this month 'to underly such trial & Inquisition as he & the Privy Council shall demand of them touching the narrative of the saids letters': two or three of the most circums[pect] persons of the town council are to 'Intercomone' with Lord Maxwell, Lord Herries and such other friends as may best travell [work] with the Regent for such ease in this behalf as may be to be had for the inhabitants of this good town: the Provost, James Lindsay of Wauchope [Barcloy?] and Herbert Anderson, clerk, are to pass forth with such expedition as may be had.

(p.563) 17th Feb. 1577/8 - The Provost, Baillies and Council consent that the Provost, Baillie Lindsay and Herbert Anderson, clerk, ride forth according to the last act '& quhat trubill or cummer the saids Provost, Baillie & Clerk & Councill chargit be our soverane lords letters sustenis that the community of the haill town will relief them of costs dampnage & skaith sustened & to be sustened therethrought'.

[Still on p.563] - John Johnston, flesher, protests that Andro Edgar has received Jame Armstrong, Geordie Armstrang of Biggins, Heck Armstrang of Subholme, Dik Scot called of Dyope and others who were at the breaking of the pledge chalmer and drew the said John's and other honest men's blood at the time: they have not declared the cause of their coming or what they have ado but rather are come to attempt some new harm and skaith to Dumfries.

Here we have a raid by Borderers: could this be the cause for the summons to Edinburgh?

(p.564) Five burgesses are made, the last of them Anne Fressall, brewer 'maid fre voman of this burght sworn and admittit kepand wache ward scot lot & berand all portabill charges sovertie for spyce & wyne James lyndssay of barcloy' - unlike the others she has a baillie as surety: she is the second earliest female burgess in the Dumfries records: we will come on the earliest shortly: the next so far as I know is in the 1690s.

(p.567) 19th Feb. 1577/8 - The Judge decerns Male Newall to have a key and open her door to pass into her house and occupy the same at her pleasure and to use and manure the yard and that she and her husband agree together at the command of God (has he thrown her out?)

(p.568) 15 Mar. 1577/8 - Roger Lorimer has not paid £20 of the £40 promised as tocher in the marriage of his sister Bessie to John Birkmyre, as in the marriage settlement of 1570: schir John Bryce, Vicar of Dumfries, 60 years of age or thereby, and Master Peter Watson, Minister of Dumfries, aged 40 or thereby, swear as witnesses to the contract of marriage that the tocher was £40.

Part II, with index of personal names, will appear in Volume 74.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN 17th AND 18th CENTURY RECORDS OF DUMFRIES

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PART 2: THE PRISONERS, THEIR CRIMES AND THEIR RELEASE

Having considered what the records of Dumfries tell about the burgh's jails, those who manned them and the punishment meted out to their inmates in the first of these two articles[1], this second article attempts to discover who were the individuals languishing there, what sort of crimes brought them to that pass and under what circumstances they left the jailors' charge or otherwise expiated their crimes.

Incarceration was not reserved for the poor and friendless nor yet, necessarily, for those whom we should today consider to be criminals. Debt, or the 'not payment making' of sums due, was considered to be a crime and even the affluent or titled members of society sometimes found themselves in jail for a spell until they liquidated assets sufficient to meet a particular shortage of ready funds. As we have seen[2] , the insane were often shut up in prison, particularly if they seemed a danger to themselves or to the community at large. Political upheavals, such as the Jacobite rebellions, caught up people of all social classes and those on the losing side ended up in jail. Departure from the strict moral code of the church by law appointed could lead to imprisonment as could infringement of the many Town Council enactments that regulated daily life within the burgh. To a considerable extent, therefore, the characters who figure in the pages of the jailors' records, the bail bond register, indictment books, aliment lodging books, prisoners' petitions to the Council and other miscellaneous court archives, form a representative selection of the society in and around Dumfries during the 17th and 18th centuries. In studying these records, one obtains a vivid and wide reaching picture of the life of the community at large.

Many activities were considered criminal that we should not today take amiss. In the 1650s and 1660s, the town Council of Dumfries issued a stream of edicts against what it considered the moral laxity of the inhabitants. Sexual misdemeanours were punished with heavy fines imposed by the Magistrates as well as by the censures of the Kirk Session and it was enacted that any woman who did not have a male relative to guarantee her quiet deportment should be banished lest her presence might tempt the male populace into immoral behaviour[3]. Those suspected of fornication, adultery, swearing, blasphemy, slander, irregular marriage (marriage which had not been conducted in accordance with the due procedures laid down by Church and State) and any other form of moral turpitude were summoned to appear before the Kirk Session by whom they were rigorously interrogated, particularly serious cases also going before the Presbytery. If found guilty, they could then

1. Marion M Stewart 'Crime and Punishment in 17th and 18th Century Records of Dumfries: Part 1: Prisons, Punishment and Jailors' These *Transactions* Series III, vol LXXII, pp 69-78
2. *Op cit* in Note 1, p 74
3. Marion M Stewart 'A Sober and Peceable Deportment: The Court and Council Books of Dumfries 1561-1661', in *A Day Estival: Essays ... in Honour of Helena Mennie Shire*, ed. Alisoun Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen, 1990) pp150-151

be handed over to the civil authorities for punishment. This, of course, was the procedure in the case of those poor unfortunates accused of witchcraft. The Treasurer's accounts of Dumfries bear all too clear evidence of the harsh treatment they endured in prison and the methods used to extract confessions from them[4].

Witchcraft cases were, however, very rare whilst half a dozen cases of fornication or irregular marriage, on the other hand, would regularly be dealt with at a Kirk Session meeting. Most of the evidence about these 'crimes' is to be found in the Kirk Session minutes but the Council records usually tell what punishments were imposed. A typical case in August 1655 was that of John Burges, weaver, and Helen Broun who 'confest fornication she being sleipie & in drink'[5]. The admonition of the church was part of the punishment in such circumstances and the guilty parties were forced to sit during sermon on the stool of repentance, enduring the gaze of the congregation, whilst the minister delivered a public rebuke to them - often for several Sundays running. In 1711, the Kirk Session advised the Council to apprehend Sophia Thomson, who had confessed that she was 'with child in fornication', because they suspected that she was 'about to run the town that she may escape Church censure'[6]. Such a case was all too common.

The procedure is seen in action in a paper from the Presbytery of Dumfries at the beginning of 1712, concerning the case of Agnes Richie in Sanquhar who was committed to prison in Dumfries on a warrant by the Justices of the Peace 'as being found in a naked bed with a man whom she calls Wm Mulligan taylor in Kirkmichael, at Cottack, within the parish of Dunscore, and the session there having referred the said matter to the presbytery she was brought before the presbytery & acknowledged her guilt of Adultery with the said Wm Mulligan, they Recommend to the Magistrats of Drumfries to remand her to prison to be detained' ordaining also that 'she shall appear before the presbytery during the dependence of this process & underly [ie. lie under] censure, such as shall be appointed & that she shall abstain hereafter from ye company & converse of the said Wm Mulligan'[7].

A particularly scandalous case was brought before the magistrates in 1657 for their consideration of 'the filthiness committit be Robert Turner wt Agnes Harbertsone & Jannet Turner living all in one hous & lying altogither in one bed for a long space'. They decided that all three were to be 'scourged instantly throw the chief streits and banished forthwith'[8]. Later that same year, the Council decided to confront the community's moral laxity head on by taking into 'thair consideratioun the great abuses comitted by too numerous conventions at brydles & baptisms', determining to restrict these 'in tymes coming to the numerous efter specifeit viz every baptism not to exceid the number of twelf persons men & women ... and that every bydle shall not exceid the number of 24 persons & the pryce not to exceid aught s. Scots & to continew our for one day'[9]. Things had eased off a bit by the 18th century, but Council Acts were passed in 1762 against profanation of the Sabbath and the behaviour of that 'sett of idle and disorderly persons [who have lately] in a most audacious and insolent manner, abused people in going to and coming from church on the occasions of marriages by Huzaaing and other insulting acts', with stern penalties imposed for such naughty behaviour[10].

4. *Op cit* in Note 1, p 76
5. *Dumfries Town Council Minutes* [hereinafter TCM]17 Aug 1655
6. *Dumfries and Galloway Archives* [hereinafter DGA], (RB2/2/48)
7. *DGA*, (RB2/2/117)
8. *TCM* Jun 1657
9. *TCM* 6 Jul 1657
10. *TCM* 8 Jun 1762

Still on the subject of marriages, it was imprudent to be involved in the performance of an irregular marriage. William Balloch was fined £100 for witnessing such a ceremony in 1704 in spite of his plea that 'I being ignorant both of my duty & of the hazard of law did most simplie goe doun to the border with one John Blair a tobacco spinner because of our aquaintance at Glasgow not knowing till I was called to the marriage solemnizing betwixt him & one Jannet Wilson a residenter in this burgh that they were to be married' and his humble confession 'yt it is too little punishment for such a base crime'. Being unable to pay, the poor man was languishing in prison in a starving condition until the magistrates saw fit to release him on bond[11].

Swearing or cursing were invariably punished quite sharply particularly if such imprecations were directed against the dignified persons of the bailies and other councillors. In 1707, John Wright, baxter was in the laigh pledgehouse on his acknowledgement of his 'asspersing wt some oprobrious words' two of the elders of the parish church, calling them 'whited sepulchers and that they would measure yr souls by selling of ale' and referring to the ministers as 'hipocrites' and the magistrates as 'vident rogues & knaves'. In spite of his assurance that he was 'heartilie sorie' and would 'stryff with the Lords help never to speik nor say the lyk in tymes comeing to no persones in the sd burgh but to carie & behave my self as sevillie as I can', Wright was banished from the burgh[12]. A similar case occurred seventy years later in December 1777 when a merchant named David Pagan was foolhardy enough to write to one of the bailies challenging him to a fight. The Magistrates and Council found him 'guilty of an offence of an heinous nature and a very bad tendency' and fined him 300 Scots merks plus 10 days in jail[13]. It was never prudent to malign the magistrates!

Turning from moral misdemeanours, it seems to have been all to easy to fall foul of the many regulations imposed by the Council to govern daily life within the burgh. A petition survives written by Robert Hunter, violer, whose wife had been heavily fined for 'fetching of ane coal out of ane neighbouring house and carying the same to her own house which by law ought to have been carried in ane covered vessel. And true it is that through the Providence of God the same did no hurt nor skaith neither was there any design of evil in the thing but meer necessity in order to kindle a little fire to make the poor infant some meat And your petitioner and his spouse being altogether ignorant of the law, not knowing the strictness thereof, would have been very sorry and as yet are sorry that they should give any offence to any of the Honourable Magistrats or the honest neighbourhood of the place[14].

Political events also left their mark on the criminal scene with many Jacobite sympathisers landing up in prison. The indictment against one such, Edward Gordon, dated 26 February 1718, states that 'he had sit down upon his knees and drunk the pretended Prince of Wales his health calling him King James', had been engaged 'in the late rebellion agst his Majesty', and, according to the witnesses' depositions, had declared 'what is King George but ane old cuckold'[15]. He was not alone in his opinions. John Morrison of White hill in the

11. *DGA*, Miscellaneous Papers [hereinafter *DGA Misc.*](RB2/2/16)
12. *DGA Misc*., (RB2/2/69)
13. Jail Book [hereinafter *DJB*]1772-81 (GF4/23), 27 Dec 1777
14. *DGA Misc*., (RB2/2/42)
15. *DGA Misc* (RB2/2/60)

parish of Troqueer was put in prison for uttering 'scandalous aggressions' against King George and the Prince of Wales saying that the King was a fool and the Prince 'a drunkard and whoremaster', and further, that the Pretender had better right to the title James III of England or James VIII of Scotland than they did[16].

Any hint of Jacobitism was treated severely. On 3rd November 1715, Robert Wilson in Dalbeattie, William Copland, James Berk or Burke and John Taileys were all put in prison simply for being 'papists'[17]. On 20th September 1715, John McNaught, writer ie. solicitor, in Bridgend was imprisoned 'for dispersing seditious papers against the Government' though he was released the same day on finding bail for his good behaviour[18]. Certain families were notorious for their Jacobite sympathies and they and their servants were incarcerated in 1715 and again in 1746. Thus John Maxwell, brother of Francis Maxwell of Tinwald was put in prison by the Lieutenant Depute for the country for 'rising in arms and being with the Rebels and those who rose in arms with them and being taken with horse ... laden with ammunition and arms'[19]. At a humbler level, a fortnight earlier, William Carruthers, surgeon and William Nairn, servant to the Viscount of Kenmure had been imprisoned in the same cause[20], whilst Thomas Massie, servant to Rammerscales, James Irving in Blacket House and John Wauch, servant to Portrack were jailed 'for carrying of letters to the Rebels'[21].

Stragglers from the Rebel armies found themselves behind bars after both uprisings. In November 1715, the jailor recorded in his log book 'This day groups of ten and three Highlanders were brought into the prison for being in Rebellion'[22]. Following the '45 Rebellion, there was a spate of prisoners involved therein like Samuel Daymond born 'as he says' in Devonshire who was imprisoned for 'haveing no visible way of Livelyhood and giveing no Distinct account of himself or his Business or how he came into the country'[23]. Dumfries may have been far from the tartan-wearing Highlands, but in 1759, George Smith, innkeeper in Dumfries was put into prison 'for his wearing of Highland cloathes contrary to Act of Parlt', the wearing of tartan having been prohibited after the Rebellion. He was freed next day 'promising never to wear the Highland cloathes any more'[24].

Opposition to the enclosure of common land is seen in the case of David Rain in Carleton who was incarcerated on 2 May 1724 for 'aiding and assisting in convocating his Majesties leidges to meet in ryetous assemblies & throwing down park dykes in Gallaway by carrying letter, commission & petition tending to these evil practises'[25]. Sixty years later, the enclosing of land was still a contentious issue. John Thomson in Cummertrees was put into prison on 10 June 1785 on a petition by James Haining in Ryhill in Cummertrees who claimed that 'upon the morning of 6 June [when he] was looking after the affairs of his farm he was surprised at seeing a man at a distance passing thro his growing corn and tumbling down the dykes and fences as he went'. The petitioner had remonstrated with Thomson but the latter's response had been to throw stones at him and threaten to 'knockout his brains if he presumed to hinder him to do as he please'[26].

16. *DJB*, (GF4/19A) 20 Feb 1716
17. *DJB*, (GF4/19A) 3 Nov 1715
18. *DJB*, (GF4/19A) 20 Sep 1715
19. *DJB*, (GF4/19A) 31 Oct 1715
20. *DJB*, (GF4/19A) 12 Oct 1715
21. *DJB*, (GF4/19A) 3 Nov 1715
22. *DJB*, (GF4/19A) 2 Nov 1715
23. *DJB*, 1743-46 (GF4/21) 3 May 1746 and also 1 and 2 May and 26 Jun 1746
24. *DJB*, 1756-60 (GF4/22) 8 May 1759
25. *DJB*, 1721-36 (GF4/19) 2 May 1724
26. *DJB*, 1784-86 (GF4/26) 10 Jun 1785

The presence of soldiers billeted in Dumfries or passing through on campaign led to numerous crimes. A petition to the magistrates written around 1700 by Jean Carter describes her terror of the soldiers billeted on her, how they had robbed her, at sword-point, of meat, drink and her precious store of cheese and how her complaint to their captain had called forth from him only an order to his servant to throw a chamber pot at her. Describing the soldiers as 'open rufines which is like to both kill and destroy both my person and all the goods in my house' she declares that 'ther will nether good words prevall and robeth my house of both meat and drink the on standeth with his drauen sord ... they shut me out of my oun dors and brok open my chist and caryed of about three pound of ches to their rome ... I writ a petition for the onarable magstrats to haue them boun to peace but I was no better i went to Capten and he would not hear my complant but his servant threw a chamber pot about me when I desired justice from their comander Therfor I humbly beg you will remove them of me'[27].

Sometimes the townsfolk committed offences against the troops, as in the case of George Corrie, innkeeper, imprisoned in 1726 'for his wrongously detaining some cloaths & oyr accuterments belonging to ye soldiers in ye Royal Regiment of Fuziliers'. He was released on returning the impounded goods[28]. A loose page, obviously from an Indictment Book, records the charge brought in 1728 against William Joat, shoemaker, by James Wheat and George Robison, soldier in the Company commanded by Captain Edward Philips of the Honourable General Whithams Regiment of Foot 'that whereupon Thursdays might last the nineteen of Septr instant, the said James Wheat & George Robison being commanded to stand centrie at the playhouse in this Burgh and they being in exercise of there office you the said William Joat came in a masterfull way & maner to ye said James Wheat & took hold of his firelock & twisted his byginet and to the said George Robison & broke his byginet & tore his cloaths and likeways beat beld & wounded them to the effusion of their blood in great quantity'[29]. Not only is this entry fascinating as a record of the remarkable strength and ferocity of this shoemaker, in twisting and breaking bayonets with his bare hand and overcoming two armed soldiers, but, as a bonus, it provides the earliest record of a playhouse within the Burgh of Dumfries. And of course, throughout the period, there were many deserters from the army who were caught and held in jail in Dumfries until they could be returned to their regiments for due punishment[30].

Offences against the Excise regulations were commonplace throughout Scotland during this period. Smuggling as an established calling in the Solway area dates back at least to 1670 when a company of adventurers from Liverpool settled at Douglas in the Isle of Man for the purpose of contraband trading. Their method was to hold out such tempting offers to those engaged in the East and West Indian trade that many cargoes were landed duty free on the Isle of Man instead of at Bristol and London, the regular ports of destination, and, then shipped from the Isle of Man in smaller craft to the neighbouring shorelines of Scotland, England, Wales and even Ireland. In 1725 a Government tax of 6d per bushel was

27. *DGA Misc*., (BH2/3/5 number 14)
28. *DJB*, 1721-36 (GF4/19) 26 Oct 1726
29. *Dumfries Indictment Book* [hereinafter DIB]
30. *DJB*, 1741-42 (GF4/20) 11 Feb, 6 Mar, 17 Apr and 22 Apr 1741; 6 Jan 1742; *DJB*, 1756-60 (GF4/22) 2 Dec 1758; 8 Feb, 14 Feb and 25 Oct 1759 etc

imposed on malt so the brewing of ale declined and the smuggling of wine and spirits increased. Later, when unprecedently high import taxes were imposed in the 1790s following the American War of Independence and the war with France, the smuggling trade got another boost in volume and received at least tacit support pretty generally throughout the entire community[31].

The Convention of Royal Burghs regularly discussed 'the scandalous and destructive tho' prevailing practise of smuggling of brandy, tea, and other foreign commodities' and complained bitterly at 'people of the very lowest rank useing tea & brandy in place of ale and home made spirits; as the cash which used to circulat amongst our selves when imployed in the purchas of corns is now profusely sent abroad to purchas these destructive commodities'[32].

The Justice of the Peace records are the most fruitful source for an examination of smuggling and relatively few smugglers are recorded actually within Dumfries jail. In January 1746, however, Robert Smith in Mains was incarcerated 'for his intromission with a quantity of wine found by him upon the coast cast owt of a Danish ship which was wrecked lately'[33] - a sort of Solway version of "Whisky Galore"! More seriously, on 13 April 1785 Samuel Cochrane resident in the village of Carlingwark was imprisoned by Lord Braxfield [the Circuit Judge] for 6 months in the Tolbooth of Dumfries 'for the crimes of assembling the lieges in a riotous manner and obstructing the officers of the revenue from the performance of their duty in executing the revenue laws & maltreating the said officers after they had made a seizure of tobacco or other commodities liable to be seized'[34].

Attacks on officials of one sort or another were not uncommon. James Robison, tide waiter at the port of Dumfries petitioned the Justices of the Peace in July 1734 to arrest George Hill in Gateside of Cummertrees for repeatedly attacking and threatening him in the exercise of his office 'in a very rood and masterfull manner', demanding he buy him drinks[35] whilst, over in Langholm, George Johnston and his wife and son were all arrested for their alleged crime of 'droping of letters directed to Mr Easton schoolmaster in Langholm which letters threatened Mr Easton if he did not lay a sum of money under a through stone in the kirkyard of Langholm that they would burn his house'[36].

William Logan, a carter in Bridgend and John Livingston a journeyman shoemaker were imprisoned together in September 1785 for 'raising a mob and obstructing Joseph Tait the Towns publik Executioner at or about his attempting to levy and uplift the dues belonging to him in and about the meal mercat'[37]. The executioner's right to a share of meal sold in the market was, in fact, most unpopular and led eventually to riots and the Council's agreement to its cessation and replacement by an increase in his salary. There were also overbold characters who attempted to impersonate officials. John Murray of Hyndwood in Bankend was caught in Edinburgh 'sweiring falslay that he was the excise ofisher at Wigtown when he was not'[38].

31. J Maxwell Wood *Smuggling in the Solway* (Dumfries, 1908) and John A Thomson *The Smuggling Coast* (Dumfries, 1989)
32. Extracts from the *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland 1677-1711* (Edinburgh, 1806-1918) 23 May 1744, vol 6, p136
33. *DJB*, 1743-46 (GF4/21) 8 Jan 1746
34. *DJB*, 1781-90 (GF4/25) 13 Apr 1785
35. *DGA, Misc.,* (RB2/2/156)
36. *DJB*, 1756-60 (GF4/22) 9 Feb 1758
37. *DJB*, 1781-90 (GF4/25) 7 Sep 1785
38. *DJB*, 1721-36 (GF4/19) 1 May 1723

Fraud and deception in one form or another underlay many of the cases filling the pages of the Jail Books, Bail Bond Registers and Indictment Books alike. One of the most tortuous and interesting of such cases involved Hugh White and Elspeth Buchan 'leaders of the society called Buchanites' at New Cample. In August 1786, John Gibson in Closeburn brought a complaint that he had given £75 to them, in 1784 'for the use of himself & wife while he remaines with the said society ... that about a month since [the] petitioner left said society on account of the said leaders attempting to perswade your petitr to live without the necessarys of life; that since he left the said society your petitr has repeatedly desired Mr White and Elspeth Buchan to return him the £75 ster. after Deduction of reasonable Board wages for himself and wife yet they still refuse to do so'. The petitioner had brought his case as he heard the two were about to leave the kingdom. Once they were in prison, a second warrant was served on them on a complaint by William McCracken, writer in Dumfries, in which he claimed that he had carried out legal work for the two and for Charles Edwards Conyers, formerly a Lieutenant of Marines, until joining the society and residing at New Cample, for which the Society owed him £7-3-10 sterling. He had been informed that the Society was about to dissolve and Elspeth Simson (alias Buchan) and Hugh White about to leave the country, having put their funds into the hands of a farmer at New Cample, with an intent to defraud their creditors. A third petitioner, Christian Clement of Thornhill then came forward complaining that she too had lodged money - £15-2-0 - in the hands of Hugh White and Elspeth Buchan 'leaders of the Society called Buchanites ... for the use of herself while she remained'. Having now left the Society she too was finding it impossible to recover her cash[39]. It would seem from this that the Buchanites were suspect as much for their fraudulent manipulation of their converts' funds as for the eccentricity of their religious beliefs.

Counterfeiting of money was rife in 18th century Dumfries with punishments varying widely. In 1742, John Wallace of Auchrae in Dalry who was imprisoned on a complaint by the Royal Bank of Scotland, 'for the crime of uttering of false Bank twenty shyll notes' was simply to be 'put upon the publick Trone & there to stand betwixt the hours of twelve at midday & one in the afternoon with a paper on his breast with these words in great letters "For uttering a false bank note knowing the same to be false" & thereafter to be dismist'[40]. Others were not so lucky, being sent off to the High Court in Edinburgh for trial where they were quite likely to be sentenced to death or transportation[41]. Attempts were made to counteract the activities of forgers. The Chamberlain's Accounts for September 1784 record two interesting payments. On the 23rd, 1 shilling and ninepence was paid out in postage on receipt of 'an anonymous letter from Newcastle concerning counterfeit half-pence' and on September 27th, 2 shillings and sixpence were paid to James Glendinning 'for distributing handbills concerning bad halfpence', by order of the magistrates[42].

It is difficult to think of crimes prevalent in the 20th century that did not have an equivalent in the 17th and 18th century records of Dumfries with a few others added in for good measure. Theft of every sort was prevalent, from poaching to 'pickerie' or pick-pocketing. On 25 September 1773, Robert Scotland was fined 10/- sterling for stealing turnips from a field[43] and in 1789, two boys were imprisoned for stealing the church collection[44]. Joseph

39. *DJB*, 1786-88 (GF4/26A) 30 Aug 1786
40. *DJB*, 1741-42 (GF4/20) 23 Jul 1742
41. *DJB*, 1743-46 (GF4/21) 16 and 17 Apr 1746
42. *Dumfries Chamberlains' Accounts*, 1779-85 (GG2/2)
43. *DJB*, 1772-81 (GF4/23) 25 Sep 1773
44. *DJB*, 1781-90 (GF4/25)

Cook in Sanquhar brought a charge on 21 February 1787 against James Kirkland in Tarbolton to whom he had hired out his horse so that Kirkland could ride down to Dumfries to the Fair. Instead of returning the horse, Kirkland had sold it at the Fair to raise funds to stay on in Dumfries all night[45]. Catharine Coupland was jailed in April 1726 for leading a minor into theft, being accused of 'intiseing Mary Agnew ... a young girle to drink & spend money in her house many times ... without giving notice to her parents ... from whom she had pilferated & stolen ye money to spend'[46]. Such minor thefts were usually dealt with by imprisonment or sometimes just a whipping or other punishment and banishment from the town but those found guilty of more serious thefts or even of poaching could be sentenced to death. This was the case with two journeyman shoemakers John Carmichael and Robert Liggit who broke into a warehouse in 1789 and stole a case of whiskey. Liggit petitioned to be transported, and was 'taken off under sure guard for transportation' to Australia on 5 June 1790 but Carmichael chose not to request that alternative and was hanged on 27 May[47]. Unpaid fines were as troublesome then as now. On 5 August 1746, William and Robert Bell were imprisoned for failing to pay fines of £80 and £40 Scots imposed on them 'for ane attrociouse Riot ... whereby the fair or mercate of Ecclefechan was broke and several persons hurt or wounded'[48].

In the 1790s there was a spate of cases brought by unmarried mothers against the fathers of their children, generally because they suspected them of being *'in meditatione fugae'* that is, about to flee over the Border[49]. On 19 January 1786, a certain Margaret Davidson in Carlingwark (ie. Castle Douglas) brought a petition against Alexander Goldie, cooper there which claimed that 'under promise of marriage [he] prevailed with her to yield to his embraces in consequences whereof the compl[aine]r was by him begot with child in which condition she is now advanced about 3 months' and further claimed that when Goldie heard this news he 'thought proper to withdraw himself from Carlingwark and intends to quit the kingdom and leave her Destitute and forlorn'[50].

Vandalism is not an exclusively modern crime. A petition to the magistrates by the town treasurer stated that 'the steeple and kirk clocks of this burgh have been these few days broke and spoiled with hammers files & oyr instruments made use of by some person mailiciously whereby they are almost rendred unfit for service and will cost a considerable sum before they be repaired and put into such good condition as they were formerly'. Suspicion had fallen upon James Ashburn, former underkeeper of the clocks, as the perpetrator of this deed, 'in respect the said James is lately come to this burgh has noe constant imployment since the charge of the saids clocks were taken from him & that he has been observed walking at unseasonable hours about the kirk dykes when the saids clocks were spoiled'[51].

The unruly high spirits of a young apprentice lad brought him into conflict with the magistrates in 1790 when the Bail Bond register contains a bond of caution by Walter Auld for his apprentice, Thomas Wilson, by which he bound himself to answer any process raised

45. *DJB*, 1786-88 (GF4/26A) 21 Feb 1787
46. *DJB*, 1726-36 (GF4/19) 16 Apr 1726
47. *DJB*, 1781-90 (GF4/25) 23 Dec 1788
48. *DJB*, 1743-46 (GF4/21) 5 Aug 1746
49. *DJB*, 1784-8 (GF4/26) case of Agnes Maxwell on 18 Aug 1785 and of Jean Carruthers 12 Nov 1785 etc
50. *DJB*, 1784-86 (GF4/26) 19 Jan 1786
51. *DIB*, 1719-28 (GF4/1) 11 Oct 1723

against him for the offence of ringing the fire bell and alarming the inhabitants within a period of six months on penalty of 100 merks[52].

Apprentices were too valuable to their masters to lose and those who had put up the caution for their completion of their apprenticeship also had a vested interest in them. Thus there are several Jail Book entries relating to apprentices incarcerated by their cautioners who suspected the youths were about to abscond from their masters and run away over the Border into England. In such cases, the apprentice's cautioner forfeited his caution money to the master who had lost his apprentice. The Jail Book for 1776 relates that Robert Jardine, apprentice to a joiner, Andrew Watson, for 6 years 'did yesterday desert his apprenticeshipe and make his elopement from his place and it is believed he is gone towards the Border of England whereby the petitioner [who was cautioner for his indenture which still had a year to run] is likely to receive a considerable loss'[53]. Servants were also expected to stay at their post until the time for which they had engaged was at an end. In March 1742, Archibald Fraser was imprisoned on a complaint of James Gilchrist 'postmaster in Drumfries with whom he had ingaged to ride post till Whitsunday next but had deserted his service'[54]. James Boyd, Thomas Malcolm and Robert Hunter, sailors, were incarcerated in April 1741 on a warrand from John Goldie of Craigmuie, Admiral Depute for the South West Coasts of Scotland, at the instance of James Corbet, master of the ship Argyle of Drumfreis 'for refusing to perform a voyage to & from Virginia to the said James Corbet with whom they had hyred themselves but alleadged they were to have more wages than the sd James Corbet acknowledges he promised to them'[55]. Similarly, there are many entries in the Jail Books relating to soldiers who had deserted from their regiments whilst either billeted on the town or passing through[56]. John Johnston, soldier in 'his Majestys Royall Regiment of Scots Fusiliers' was even shut up in jail for contemplating desertion, being held 'upon a representation made ... by Ensign Alexr Young of the said Regiment that he had reason to believe the said John Johnston intended to desert'[57].

Whilst those charged with actual violence generally ended up in jail, the pages of the Bail Bond Registers are filled with the names and details of those who threatened violence. In March 1737 William Turner, servant of Douglas Maxwell of Cowhill, was imprisoned for threatening George Black in Gullyacre of Troqueer with bodily harm, promising (according to the frightened petitioner) 'that he would ware his mothers calf skine upon me ... and other vile and unworthy expressions'[58]. Such miscreants generally managed to find caution that they would keep the peace towards the complainant although sometimes, as in this case, they had to kick their heels a while in jail until someone could be found to put up the caution money required.

Although public brawling, assault and battery were quite common offences, the most serious crimes - arson, rape and murder - were rare. John Cook, soldier in the 19th Regiment of Foot was convicted at the Circuit Court on 17 September 1774 of attempting to

52. *Dumfries Bail Bond Register*, 1787-96 (GF4/13/128) 27 Feb 1790
53. *DJB*, 1772-81 (GF4/23) 17 Apr 1776
54. *DJB*, 1741-42 (GF4/20) 16 Mar 1742
55. *DJB*, 1741-42 (GF4/20) 13 Apr 1741
56. *DJB*, 1741-42 (GF4/20) 11 Feb 1741, 22 Apr 1741, 6 Jan 1742; DJB 1743-46 (GF4/21) 10 Feb 1743, 19 Mar 1746; *DJB*, 1756-60 (GF4/22) 2 Dec 1758, 8 Feb 1759, 14 Feb 1759, 25 Oct 1759 etc
57. *DJB*, 1741-42 (GF4/20) 17 Apr 1741
58. *DGA, Misc.*, (RB2/2/178)

ravish Mary Graham in Gretna when she was herding the cows of John Gass, farmer in Floshend, and on 22 November sent off for transportation to America[59]. George Slowan, weaver in Cassilands was held in jail and then banished from Scotland in the spring of 1726 for the alledged 'beating & wounding of ye deceased John Hope in Bridgend & ... by which blows & wounds he contracted sickness qrof he died'[60]. Such cases, however, were exceptional.

If murder was rare, however, infanticide was all too common. Many young girls, often servants and sometimes with their mother's connivance, managed to hide their pregnancy and to bear their babies in secret and dispose of them, the penalty generally appearing to be transportation[61]. The confession of one of these girls relates that 'she was wtout doores qun she was delivered of ye child and noe bodie wt her nor none heard her neither within ye house nor wtout and I rose [her confession goes into the first person singular at this point] and laid ye child in ye yeard and yr was never creature hearabouts that knew that I was wt child and I laid leaves about it qn it was in the yeard and about twelve hours the next day being setterday I took it to ye feilds and took a cloth to lap it in on the syd of the moore I thought it littill qn I laid it first in the ground and when I took it up againt I thought the child as meikle and all swelled and heavie And all the famillie is clear either in hearing or seeing anie thing at all concerning me and lykwayes I doe clear all the wholle towne that never they neither heard me nor saw me in all my trowble'[62]. It was important to exonerate the other members of her household who would, otherwise, have been punished too for it was a criminal offence to conceal a pregnancy.

Aside from those incarcerated for debt - 'the not payment making' of sums due - the greatest number of those who fell foul of the law, did so for 'general rumbustiousness'. Quarrels between neighbours - spreading slanders about them or actually resorting to fisticuffs - provided the commonest cause of trouble throughout the whole of this period. An example is the indignant complaint directed to the Council by George Mitchell, convenor of trades, in August 1705, against Robert Ferguson, former deacon of the glovers who 'having conceaved an implacable haitred malice and envy' against the seven incorporated trades and, especially, against the person of their convenor, set 'that base wooman', Janet Ferguson and others to spy on him and his family and accused him to the kirk session of entertaining the 'haill glover trade ... at an rayotous dinner ... upon sabath where they drank to excesse fourtein or fiftean pynts of ale' (and these were Scots, not English, pints, so it must have been quite a party!). The kirk session found this accusation to be 'a scandalous ly' and so the petitioner requested the Council to punish Ferguson 'in his purse as an unneighbourly ... unmanerly scandellisor'[63]. There are literally scores of such cases in the pages of the Jail Books, Indictment Books and Bail Bond Registers, most of them involving some sort of physical assault and the 'effusion of blood in great quantity'.

Having logged the prisoners into his charge on one page of his jail book, the jailor would mark up the opposite page with a record of how they subsequently passed out of his hands.

59. *DJB*, 1772-81 (GF4/23) 11 Jul 1774
60. *DJB*, 1721-36 (GF4/19) 28 Mar 1726
61. *DJB*, 1743-46 (GF4/21) 18 Jul and 4 Dec 1743; *Jail Book* 1774-76 (GF4/24) 28 Feb and 2 Sep 1774 etc
62. *DGA, Misc.,*
63. *DGA, Misc.*, (RB2/2/21)

How, then, did prisoners obtain their release? We have spoken already of debtors who were released for lack of aliment or on the sale and distribution of their goods to their creditors[64]. Many petty crimes were dealt with by banishing the offenders from the Burgh for a period, or for life, or, in more serious cases, by driving them furth of the realm - out of Scotland[65]. In such cases, the criminal was generally whipped through the town by the common executioner and put out at one of the ports or gates, with the Town drummer going before beating his drum to summon the populace to the spectacle and the Burgh officers in attendance if it was felt necessary. Thus James McMilland, acknowledged thief, was 'taken out of prison by the burrow officers & common executioner and whipped through Drumfries & banished therefrom'[66].

Capital offences like forgery or murder or sheep stealing did not necessarily lead to the execution of the criminal for it was sometimes possible for a convicted felon to petition to be transported instead. Transportation as a way of getting rid of prisoners began in 1648 when the Scottish prisoners captured by Cromwell in North West England were sent to Virginia. Two years later, after the Scottish defeat at Dunbar in 1650, 900 Scots prisoners were shipped to Virginia and 150 to New England. From 1655 onwards, strong and idle beggars, gypsies and ordinary criminals were also being transported to Jamaica and Barbados as well as to America[67].

The earliest mention of transportation in our Dumfries jail books occurs on 4 October 1722 when John Ker, servant to Ingliston Brown was found guilty of stealing certain articles which were discovered in his chest. Rather than hang, he chose to be 'transported to anie of his magisties plantations in Amirica'[68]. A petition survives from James Corbet, merchant, directed to the Justices of the peace of Dumfriesshire on whose warrant a certain James Kyle had been imprisoned on 13 July 1728. Kyle had entered into an indenture to serve 'Corbet or his assignees in the plantations in America for the space of six years in manner and in the terms sett furth in the Indenture', as a means of obtaining his release from imprisonment, but the magistrates of Dumfries were reluctant to let him go without a precept for his release from the Justices[69]. Imprisonment on quite minor charges could lead to transportation. Dollie Wilkinson, vagrant, who confessed to stealing some clothes from Jean Irving in Dalscone was handed over to James Corbet, merchant, in April 1737, after 7 months in jail, 'in order to her transportation conforme to the sentence off the Justices off Peace'[70]. Corbet would recover the cost of shipping her to America by selling her into servitude (probably working in the plantations of Virginia) when they reached their destination.

After the American War of Independence, 1775 to 1783, America could no longer be used as a dumping ground and in 1786 the first convicts were sent out to Australia which had been discovered 10 years earlier. Amongst these early convicts was a gifted Dumfries artist, Thomas Watling who was charged in 1788 with forging 12 Bank of Scotland guinea

64. *op cit* in Note (1) These Transactions LXXII (1997) p 72
65. *DJB*, 1721-36 (GF4/19) 8 Aug 1723, 28 Mar 1726 and 5 Jun 1723
66. *DJB*, 1741-42 (GF4/20) 5 Aug 1741; also: *DJB* 1721-36 (GF4/19) 8 Aug and 28 Aug 1723 etc
67. *Prisons and Punishment in Scotland* by Joy Cameron (Edinburgh, 1983) pp36-37
68. *DJB*, 1721-36 (GF4/19) 4 Oct 1722
69. *DGA, Misc.*, (RB2/2/112) and DJB 1721-36 (GF4/19) 13 Jul 1728
70. *DGA, Misc.*, (RB2/2/169)

notes and sentenced to 14 years in Botany Bay. He reached Australia on 7 October 1792 after numerous adventures including his escape and imprisonment in Africa en route. He was the first professional artist to arrive in the colony and was set by the Surgeon General there, one John White, an amateur naturalist, to draw the flora and fauna and the local inhabitants as well as the scenery of that exotic new continent thus providing its first and best pictorial record. He was pardoned in 1797, returning to Dumfries in 1803 via India where he worked as a miniaturist for a year or two. He got a job as an art teacher in Dumfries Academy and took commissions painting houses, coaches and signs. Old habits died hard though and in 1805 he was again arrested for forgery. Although there seems to have been plenty of evidence against him, his case was dropped and he faded into obscurity, only emerging in 1814 when he was in London, suffering from cancer and reduced to begging for financial aid from the former Governor of Australia who had pardoned him in 1792.

Many prisoners escaped punishment by volunteering to serve in the Army or Navy during periods of Jacobite unrest or the Continental Wars of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Such criminals were often in jail for petty offences. Thomas and James Versey, enlisted into the Fourth Regiment of Foot on 22 February 1773, having been in jail for vagrancy[71], as was the case with John Watt and William Russell who joined the Marine Service[72] and with the pickpocket, Daniel Wilson, enlisting into 'his Majesty's Traine of Artillery' on 26 July 1779[73] and with William Wightman, charged with damaging a chaise by cutting a panel of leather out of it, who joined the Sixty Seventh Regiment[74]. But real felons also escaped the noose, or other grave punishment, by the expedient of enlistment. John Shannon, convicted of the attempted rape and 'cruel abus' of Katharine Blackstock on 24 July 1775 was set free two days later on enlisting into the Eleventh Regiment of Foot[75].

Deserters from the army left prison by being transferred to the regiments from which they had absconded[76]. Sometimes prisoners were released on medical grounds[77] and, occasionally, out of compassion, as when Janet Connell was set free on receipt by the magistrates of a letter from the Crown at Edinburgh 'setting forth that His Majesty has granted a full pardon or remission, her child having just died'[78]. Most prisoners, however, just had to serve out their sentence as best they could.

Not all prisoners, however, were prepared to wait until their term of incarceration was at an end or until they should either be sent to Edinburgh to the High Court for sentencing or await the visit of the Circuit Court judge to Dumfries to pass sentence upon them. The jailors were often hard put to keep their charges securely behind bars. Prisoners seemed to be constantly bursting their way out of the prisons - both out of the principal jails in Dumfries and the smaller jails all over the area. In November 1708 the Treasurer made several payments to 'those who went to seke after ye prisoners when they brocke out', 'debursing on one occasion 14/- - for 8oz of powdder and two pownd of balls', presumably for the firearms of the search party and '4/6 for candels to search the prisons'[79]. A few years later

71. *DJB*, 1772-81 (GF4/23) 16 Feb 1773
72. *DJB*, 1772-81 (GF4/23) 29 Jun 1778
73. *DJB*, 1772-81 (GF4/23) 1 Jul 1779
74. *DJB*, 1772-81 (GF4/23) 18 Apr 1776
75. *DJB*, 1772-81 (GF4/23) 24 Jul 1775
76. *DJB*, 1741-42 (GF4/20) 11 Feb 1741; *DJB*, 1757-60 (GF4/22) 25 Oct 1759 etc
77. *DJB* 1721-36 (GF4/19) 18 Mar 1726
78. *DJB*, 1781-90 (GF4/25) 12 Sep and 18 Nov 1789
79. *Dumfries Treasurer's Accounts*, 1708-09 (GG3/5)

John Thomson, slater, was being paid 10d, for 'mendin the hoall in the prison that Hyndwood brok outt'. The Burgh of New Galloway petitioned the Convention of Royal Burghs for financial aid in 1757 to rebuild its tolbooth which was in a ruinous condition in so much that a prisoner for civil debt had lately made his escape whereby their town was loaded with a debt of ninety pound sterling[80].

Prisoners broke out through the roofs of their jails, by burrowing under the walls, by cutting through the clasps of the doors and by overpowering their jailors[81]. One convict even succeeded in burning his way out of jail![82] Not all escape bids were successful however. The Indictment Book for 1706 contains several pages of witnesses' depositions and other evidence in the case of two prisoners, John Maxwell of Tarrachtie and James Vogen, who planned to break out of the High Pledge House. The record describes how they had worked away at the wall all Friday afternoon removing some lime and taking out some of the 'pinnings'. They set to again on Saturday morning but made little headway until the time of the holding of the Burgh Court (which took place on the floor below their jail) when having 'throun off ther coats they wrought effectually therat and made considerable progress therin until they were retarded again by James Frazer jaylear his coming in'. As night fell, 'they hung out of the window their bed covering to obscure the light of their candle so that they could work on lest the [light] should appear or be seen through the holes of the wall they were to make in order to ther escape'.

In their own testimonies, the prisoners said that they had been egged on in their attempt by another prisoner, 'Elizabeth Lockhart who advised [them] therto shewing [them] ye place qr to do it & telling [them] ye instrument qrwt to doe ye same viz ane pair of tongues & wtall telling [them] yt she knew it breached befor by such ane instrument viz a single blaid of tongs'. Alas, the plots of the three were thwarted because of the testimony of Alexander Glen, husband of Margaret Ramsay the other inmate in the jail who, the record says, 'declares upon frayday night about ten of ye cloak at night having gone up to ye prissone to Margaret Ramsay his spouse yt he stayed wt her all night & yt upon ye Saurday morning about four of the cloak in ye morning ye sd Margarit whispered to [him] yt the wtin named John Maxwell & James Vogan had a design to break the prissone & had been working qrat upon ye frayday afternoon & desyerid him to devulge ye same to Provost Copland or any of ye magistrats'[83] which he did and the escape bid was foiled.

A certain romance attaches to the idea of escaping from 'durance vile'. The story of the daring rescue of William Maxwell, 5th Earl of Nithsdale from the Tower of London on the eve of his execution in February 1716 by his wife who disguised him as her maid and smuggled him out in the midst of a group of sorrowing friends, has passed into legend. It is tempting to speculate, however, that the Countess got her idea from a similar ploy acted out in the pledgehouse of Dumfries on 23 November 1713. According to the deposition of one of the witnesses, 'Janet Gass spouse to Thomas Wilson prisoner in the high pledge house of Drumfries for ane considerable debt mett with her in ye streat & desired ye declarant to go

80. *op cit* in note 32 *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland* vol 6, p 519
81. *DJB*, 1721-36 (GF4/19) 12 May 1723, 30 Sep 1732 and 3 Jul 1734; *DJB*, 1786-88 (GF4/26A) 12 Mar 1788
82. *DJB*, 1721-36 (GF4/19) 21 Aug 1727
83. *DGA, Misc*., 1700-1710

up to ye prison for she was going yr to shave her husband showing her at ye time yt her father was yr & yt some oyr people were to be there which she having accordingly complyed with went up and saw ye sd Janet Gass shave her husband which being done did see one of ye weomen yt were yr at the time strip her self of her cloaths and dress ye said Thomas Wilson yr with in order to make his escape which accordingly being done George Gass father in law to Thomas Wilsone said he feared it might be discovered be ye jaylor to which it was answred by Janet Gass yr was no fear for she had heard of such things before notwithstanding whereof the said George Gass coming first doun ye stair Abraham Tennan following him ye declarant thereafter and nixt to ym ye prisoner who all of ym came to the outer door the prisoner was discovered and found by ye jaylor to be in weomens cloaths'.

The unfortunate Janet Gass, the prisoner's wife, claimed that her husband had heard of letters sent by Robert Carruthers, at whose instance he had been incarcerated, saying that 'unless he gott payment her husband should ly in prison for ever which together with her poor circumstances in not being able to aliment himself & hir poor family obliged her to take the practice of getting weomens cloaths up to prison on Wednesday last & cloath her husband yr with in order to make his escape ... and acknowledges yt she shaved him ye more to accomplish ye design'[84]. The outcome of this venture was that all the accused ended up in prison themselves, pending their payment of quite stiff fines, and the object of the exercise, the release of Robert Carruthers, was totally frustrated.

As a postscript to this brief look through the prison records of Dumfries, a curious entry appears in the Council Minutes of 3rd November 1800 in which a condemned man who had been reprieved, sued the Council for damage to his property that occurred as a consequence of attempts to arrest him. The entry reads: 'The provost also reported and informed the Council that the Magistrates, dean & Treasurer were this day to receive a summons each, at the instance of John O'Neal, late at Stoup, before the Court of Session, concluding for alledged damages on account of a mob having demolished & burnt his house at or near Stoup, in June 1795, after he had shot at and wounded two soldiers, one of whom afterwards died, and who had been employed with other soldiers and some constables to apprehend O'Neal's two sons ... for which deed he and one of these sons had been tried, and himself condemned to death but afterwards reprieved and pardoned. Which being also considered, the Council agree to defend this action at the public expence, and appoint the clerks to deliver or transmit to Mr Corrie, the borough agent at Edinr, a copy of the libelled summins, when executed, with written informations, and materials for defending the Town & Community against this impudent & unfounded action'[85].

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An index of personal names in the Jail Book and Bail Books is under preparation in Dumfries Archive Centre.

84. *DGA, Misc.*, (RB2/2/52)

85. *TCM*, 3 Nov 1800

THE FIRST ENGLISH IRONWORKS IN SCOTLAND?
The 'Forge' at Canonbie, Dumfriesshire[1]

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The History of the Scottish iron industry, before the establishment of the furnaces at Bonawe and Furnace in Argyll and at Carron near Falkirk in the 1750s, was not a distinguished one. Before that time, most Scottish iron was produced in bloomeries which were distributed across the length and breadth of the country. These were furnaces which were a few feet high, in which charcoal was mixed with pieces of mined ore or bog ore and some lime and heated, using hand bellows, to extract the metal without needing to achieve the molten state. Although the quality of the iron thus produced was high, with few sulphur or phosphorous impurities, it was a very slow process which was able to make only a few pounds of iron for every blast. The slag (unburned charcoal and minerals) was hammered off the repeatedly heated lump of metal which gradually became wrought iron. Casting was impossible by this method because temperatures were not high enough to make liquid iron, so cast iron products had to be imported, as had 'pigs' of raw cast iron for transformation into wrought iron, since bloomeries could not produce anything approaching sufficient quantities to meet normal Scottish demand.

During the seventeenth century, some relatively large-scale smelting was conducted for the first time in Scotland. From about 1610, Sir George Hay of Netherliff in Fife operated the first Scottish blast furnace at a site on the shores of Loch Maree in Wester Ross, using the abundant quantities of local timber for charcoal and ore imported from Fife and the north west of England. The success of this venture is difficult to judge since the evidence for its operation after the 1620s is not contemporary, although it has been suggested that it was still working in the later 1660s.[2] There are also records of an agreement to build an 'iron miln and other works' at Achnacarry near Loch Arkaig in 1674. By 1688 the site was part-owned by some Irish entrepreneurs but it is not clear whether this was a furnace of some sort or just a large-scale forge.[3] Further Irish interest in producing iron in Scotland came in the 1720s with the establishment of furnaces at Glenkinglass on the shore of Loch Etive and near Achray, east of Loch Katrine.[4]

There had been blast furnaces in the south of England since c.1500. In the following century, high quality ore was mined in Cumberland and Lancashire and, after about 1650,

1 I am grateful to his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.T., for permission to publish this article which is based primarily on research carried out on the Buccleuch Muniments held in the Scottish Record Office. The work was undertaken as part of an ESRC-funded project, 'Sustainability in the management of Scottish semi-natural woodlands, 1600-1900, grant no.L3202533166. I should also like to thank Professor T.C. Smout and Dr Richard Saville, both of the University of St Andrews, for their very helpful comments on an early draft. Any remaining errors are entirely mine.

2 H.R. Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry from c.450 B.C. to A.D. 1775* (London, 1957), 191; J. Shaw, *Water Power in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1984), 87-9 & 413; J.M. Lindsay, 'The Iron Industry in the Highlands: charcoal blast furnaces', *Scottish Historical Review*, xlvi (1977), 49-61.

3 Scottish Record Office [SRO], Inventory of charters and other writs contained in the charter chest of the family of Cameron of Locheil, GD1/658/1/12, nos.16 & 56. I am grateful to Dr Fiona Watson for these references.

4 Lindsay, 'The Iron Industry in the Highlands', 52-55.

the manufacture of iron became firmly established there.[5] The first Scottish venture by the ironmasters of the north west of England has generally been regarded as having been the establishment of a furnace at Invergarry, between Loch Garry and Loch Oich, in the West Highlands.[6] In 1727, the Backbarrow Company of Lancashire, seeking new supplies of timber for charcoal, set up a furnace there, shipping ore from Lancashire to Corpach and taking it over land, and by Lochs Lochy and Oich, to the furnace. It was in operation by 1729 but, unsurprisingly, the cheapness of the charcoal produced from the locally abundant wood supplies was outweighed by the considerable transport costs of the ore and the furnace closed in 1736. In about 1730, another equally unsuccessful and short-lived furnace was opened at Abernethy on Speyside by the York Buildings Company.[7] The difficulties of many of these works would have been exacerbated by the severe competition experienced by the British iron industry during the 1720s which resulted from the import of more cheaply produced iron from Scandinavia, Russia, Spain and the American colonies. It has even been speculated that a period of relative drought at the end of the 1720s and the beginning of the 1730s may have been partially responsible for the failure of a number of these enterprises. Drought would have created obvious problems for an industry which relied on water power for so many of its manufacturing processes.[8]

A recent writer on this subject has commented that 'It must be wondered why this small-scale colonisation of the Highlands by the Cumbrian ironmasters was not mirrored by a similar phenomenon in Galloway and Ayrshire.'[9] The same writer noted only one furnace in that area, close to the River Ayr and built in 1732. Recent work on timber contracts in the Register of Deeds in the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh has, however, revealed what was at least an attempt to establish a furnace in south west Scotland about a generation earlier than those elsewhere in Scotland. In 1699, three men from north-west England, Richard Patrickson of 'Calbrodie', Thomas Fawcett, a clockmaker from Eaglesfield, Eskdale, and Charles Russell a 'hammerman' from 'Cumunlee' in Lancashire, entered into a contract with the Duchess of Buccleuch for the purchase of woods and the right to build forges or furnaces in the parish of Canonbie in eastern Dumfriesshire near the border.[10] As a clockmaker, Fawcett would have been useful for his expertise with machinery, especially gearing, since a number of mechanisms would have required connection to a water wheel for driving the powered hammers and the large size of bellows required for blast furnaces. Russell was also from a prominent Lake District iron-smelting family and was recorded at Coniston forge as a hammerman in 1675 and was there as late as 1713.[11] Patrickson had already been involved in failed attempts to smelt iron in what the archaeological evidence suggests was

5 For accounts of the development of the iron industry in England see Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry*; J.R. Harris, *The British Iron Industry, 1700-1850* (London, 1988); A. Fell, *The Early Iron Industry of Furness and District with an account of Furness Ironmasters in Scotland, 1726-1800* (Ulverston, 1908).

6 S.G.E. Lythe & J. Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland, 1100-1939* (Glasgow, 1975), 189; R.H. Campbell, *Scotland Since 1707: the Rise of an Industrial Society*, 2nd edn. (Edinburgh, 1985), 54-5.

7 R.H. Campbell, *Scotland since 1707: the Rise of an Industrial Society*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 1985), 54-5.

8 T.S. Ashton, *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution*, 3rd edn. (Manchester, 1963), chs 5 & 6; J.H. Lewis, 'The Charcoal-fired blast furnaces of Scotland: a review', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 114 (1984), 437. There is, however, no firm evidence for this drought in Scotland.

9 Lewis, 'The Charcoal-fired blast furnaces of Scotland', 439.

10 Scottish Record Office [SRO], Register of Deeds, RD4/94, pp. 374-9. I am grateful to John Ballantyne for uncovering the contract and thus revealing the existence of the 'forge'. The supposed site is at Grid Reference NY 394 765.

11 Fell, *The Early Iron Industry of Furness and District*, 192.

a blast furnace, experimenting with a mixture of coke and charcoal at Cleator in Cumberland during the 1690s. There is evidence for this dating from 1694 and 1696.[12] In their offers for the contract, detailed below, however, the three of them were styled 'partners of the iron work in Cumberland', demonstrating that they were already collectively involved in smelting or other iron work. This means that Cleator may still have been in operation in 1699, that this venture was an expansion and also that Charles Russell was not at Coniston continuously between 1675 and 1713.

Their written offers for the woods were submitted in March 1699, seven months before the contract was finalised.[13] Since the details of their offer included quite exact descriptions of the areas of woodland involved, one of the partners, perhaps Thomas Fawcett in whose name the offer was made, must already have looked over the area in consultation with an estate official of the Duchess of Buccleuch. How the Englishmen found out about the availability of the wood is, however, unclear. There is no evidence in the Buccleuch Muniments for the advertisement or sale by roup (auction) of the woods and the fact that a written offer was submitted by Fawcett and partners would suggest that they were not sold in that way. They may not even have been advertised. What seems most likely is that those involved in the iron industry in the north west of England were seeking fresh supplies of wood for charcoal and some of them crossed the border to Canonbie, which lies only about 50 miles away from Cleator.

There are very few differences between the offers made in March and the contract subscribed by the Duchess at Westminster in October. The description of the marches of the woods is more detailed in the contract but much of the wording is the same. There were promises in both to cut no trees less than half an ell (about 1 foot 6 inches) in circumference, to enclose the coppiced trees so that they could produce new shoots and to maintain the enclosures for five years, to cut the trees within a certain period (ten years in the offer, 15 in the contract) and to compensate the Duchess of Buccleuch's tenants where the enclosures interfered with their grazings. This last provision is a very early example of such a measure in Scotland. Since it took care to preserve the tenants' interests, it can be contrasted with the enclosure controversies related to cattle farming elsewhere in south west Scotland. In the 1720s evictions took place and the 'Levellers of Galloway' destroyed dykes which had been built to create new grazing parks on what had been arable ground belonging to tenant farmers.[14]

Most pertinent to this study, however, is the right, requested and granted, to 'erect one or tuo forges or furnaces in...convenient places'. Along with this went rights to 'coal' the wood, that is to manufacture charcoal, to have access and egress for carriage of the charcoal and to have any who might be guilty of 'imbazeling' wood or charcoal dealt with in the baron court of the Duchess who had hereditary judicial powers over her estates. The partners were also granted a 19-year tack of the lands on and around the sites of the forges or furnaces and 'als much of the next adjacent and convenient ground' as was worth £30 sterling annually.

12 Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry*, Appendix V 'Charcoal Blast Furnaces in England and Wales, 371. I am grateful to Mike Davies-Shiel for providing details of the activities of the partners.

13 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/19/28.

14 W. Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh, 1968), 167.

In return for all this, as well as paying the £30 annual rent for the lands, the partners promised to pay to the Duchess the handsome sum of £1,500 sterling, because of the very large quantity of wood, over a ten year period.

The amount of wood involved, the fact that they were already experienced in the business and the money which Patrickson, Fawcett and Russell intended to pay out, all suggest that a major enterprise was being contemplated here. They must have intended, as their compatriots at Invergarry did nearly 30 years later, to establish smelting on a fairly ambitious scale as close to the source of charcoal as possible and to import the ore overland. Additionally, the contract even went so far as to speculate about the finding of metal ores locally in stating that the partners should supply charcoal for refining any such ores. This meant, effectively, that they were undertaking to smelt the landowner's ore, should any be found, in preference to any other.

The principal problem of this whole investigation is that it is difficult to establish exactly what the tacksmen of the 'forge', as they were normally called, were doing. As is common with early industrial enterprises like this, no records of the running of the operation itself survive. What is discernible comes, indirectly, from the records of the estate on which the works was sited. It can safely be said that Patrickson, Fawcett and Russell's operations began on time. In May 1700, only five months after the contract had been subscribed by the partners at Carlisle, they had already begun to cut the wood. In a letter to the Earl of Leven, one of the commissioners for the Duchess and her heir the Earl of Dalkeith, Duncan MacArthur, the estate chamberlain, wrote that 'the Englishmen' were asking for special permission to extend the permitted period of cutting. Bad weather had slowed down their operations and they had been unable to cut as much as they had hoped in that season.[15]

In 1701, they were noted in the rental as being in possession of certain lands in the parish of Canonbie.[16] Other than that, and the single letter mentioned above, there is no evidence for the presence or activities of the Englishmen in Canonbie. The estate accounts for Canonbie record no payments of rent or of the instalments of the £1,500 sterling due for the contract. The latter may well have been paid but it would most probably have gone directly to the Duchess, who spent most of her time in England, and would not have been included in the accounts for the particular part of the estate where the works lay. The contract had said that they were not to begin another year's cutting until the previous year's instalment of £150 had been paid and, since they appear still to have been in possession of their lands in 1701, they may have come up with their rent at least once. In 1704, the accountant for Canonbie asked 'to be exonered of the sume of one thousand and sexty pund three shilling four pennies [Scots] as the rent of the lands possest by esqr Patrickson and his copartners in the forge of Cannobie conforme to a particular account therof attested and subscribed by John Davidsone, Joell and William Russells declaring that the said sume is due.' This was allowed by the auditors of the accounts, 'the parteners being broke and her grace having seized of the forge and all materialls.'[17] The sum owed was £88 6s $11^{1}/_{3}$ d sterling, or about

15 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/19/49.

16 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/241/1.

17 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/943/27; SRO, Register of Deeds, RD4/94, pp.374-9. The exchange between the £ Scots and the £ sterling is a complex issue. Commercial rates of actual coin exchange varied from 11:1 Scots to sterling up to 14:1. Generally, however, the £ Scots was reckoned at one twelfth of the £ Sterling and, both before and after 1707 when Scots money was abolished, it was held to have that notional value for the purposes of accounting. See R. Saville, *Bank of Scotland: a history 1695-1995* (Edinburgh, 1996), 1 n.2, 31, 254 & Appendix 3.

three years' rent at £30 sterling per annum for the lands adjacent to the works. Since no receipts are traceable, and since the accounts for Canonbie are complete, the partners probably became bankrupt just before Michaelmas 1702 when the third instalment of rent would have been due. It thus took nearly two further years to sort the situation out, suggesting that Patrickson's own financial difficulties began much earlier than those of 1706 which have been written of elsewhere.[18]

In the original contract of 1699, Charles Russell had named two of his sons, James and William, as cautioners or guarantors for payment. William was one of those named above and the other, Joel, was also a son of Charles.[19] John Davidson was probably employed by the partners to run the charcoaling and iron work, for the estate accounts for 1705 reveal that the substantial sum of £115 6s 7d sterling was 'advanced to John Davidson for carying on the iron work at the forge in Cannobie' after 11 March 1704. Furthermore, in the rental for 1705-1706, he was noted as being in possession of the three pieces of land previously held by Patrickson, Fawcett and Russell 'with this provision, that he is to remove in case any bargaine be made annent the forge.' The accounts for 1705 also recorded that one Lawrence Knox was paid £72 Scots for 'estimating and apprysing the matterialls of the iron forge'.[20] This suggests that those who took up the enterprise in 1699 had actually limped on until 11 March 1704 when Davidson took on the responsibility for them. The Russell brothers took over responsibility from Davidson in the rental after 1705-06. In other words, they must have taken up their obligation quite soon after their father's financial collapse.

William and Joel Russell appear in the rentals for the parish until 1711 and it is thus possible that the 'forge' was maintained during this period as a going concern and that charcoal continued to be made, although the estate had taken charge of the woods once more. The estate accounts for 1706, 1707 recorded payments for the enclosure of some 'young springing wood' (recently coppiced trees) in Canonbie and for the construction of the walls of a barn from 'ryce' (twigs) at Knottieholm 'where the charcoal is laid up for security.'[21] That the Russell brothers were in possession of the 'forge' between 1706 and 1711 is supported in a document from 1715 listing various items previously belonging to them which they had poinded from a new partnership which had subsequently contracted for the 'forge'.[22] The Russells, having operated the forge between the expiry of the first and the subscribing of the second contract and left it as a going concern, must have felt that they had a right either to compensation for loss of the utensils of the forge or to the recovery of the utensils themselves and, in 1715, they took advantage of the collapse of the second contract to attempt to retrieve what they saw as their property.

That second group of contractors, no more successful than their predecessors, obtained a 15-year lease of various lands in the parish of Canonbie. One Mr Thomas Davies and partners were to pay the hefty annual rent of £185 12s $10^{1}/_{3}$ d sterling for this. It was planned as an ambitious enterprise indeed, on a much greater scale than the previous contract. When the partners, a Mr William Hall along with Thomas Davies, made their offers some time in

18 Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry*, 371.
19 Mike Davies-Shiel, pers. Comm..
20 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/557/4, GD224/943/27.
21 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/943/27.
22 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/1130/50/13.

the first half of 1712, it was wood for charcoal which they sought. In negotiations for the lease of the lands, it became clear that they already had a tack of the coalmines in the parish. They were thus seeking control of almost all of the parish so that they could have 'full power and liberty with their carriages, servants, workmen and others and to be secured from interuption or disputes in carrying on their works'. Further ambitions were revealed in this document in their assertion that they 'must necessarily raise furnaces and other edifices for conveniency of their works to a great value and must build towns or houses for their colliers, iron workers and others and make the river [Esk] navigable...as soon as they can be secured a tack.'[23] This enterprise intended to turn the parish of Canonbie into an integrated industrial complex combining charcoaling, mining and iron manufacture which would be linked to the Solway Firth via the River Esk. It is even possible that they, in line with widespread attempts by others at this time, intended to experiment with the smelting of iron using coked coal alone, or in combination with charcoal, as Patrickson had done at Cleator and may have been planning to do at Canonbie.[24]

They did obtain a tack of the 'forge' of Canonbie and other lands in the parish on 19 July 1712. It reveals that both Hall and Davies were from the London area. The former was described as an ironmonger, the latter as 'citisen and freeman of London.' They entered into possession of 'that iron forge with the utencils and tools therto belonging laitly built and erected upon the River of Esk by Richard Patrickson esqr and his partiners' along with most of the lands and the corn mills in the parish of Canonbie.[25] As well as having to produce a downpayment of £29 0s $6^{2}/_{3}$ d sterling when the tack was subscribed, the tack stated that 'in case the saids William Hall and Thomas Davis...shall not pay...in advance the foresaid tack duty...punctually...for the haill years of this present tack at least within twenty days after each fifteen day of May...it shall be lawfull to her Grace...to re-enter the possession of the said iron forge, lands, milns and others...and immediatly to remove the saids William Hall and Thomas Davis.' There also appears to have been a revision of the tack of the colliery written into this new tack whereby a proportion of all profits would go to the Duchess.

In stark contrast to the tack of 1699, the new tack included no rights to the wood on the estate. Hall and Davies would have to buy any they needed from the factor or the woodforester. There had been a woodforester until 1700, when the original tacksmen took over direct responsibility for the woods. In 1713, a new forester was appointed to oversee the estate's administration of coppicing, enclosing and selling the wood and the post continued to be paid for into the 1730s.[26] The estate was no longer prepared to trust anyone else with its woods.

Although evidence for their mining activities is lacking, a description of the 'forge' in the tack, combined with the note of poinding mentioned above, reveals more details about that site and what went on there. Hall and Davies undertook to 'rebuild and repair the said

23 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/239/14, GD224/113024/19, GD224/113024/16.

24 See for example, M.W. Flinn, 'William Wood and the Coke-Smelting Process', in *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, 24 (1961-2), 55-71.

25 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/1130/34/21-2, this is a draft of the tack which has been subsequently misdated to 1713 in the estate papers; see also GD224/370/1/5 which is a decreet of the regality court of Eskdale and records the exact date of the original tack, 19 July 1712.

26 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/943/27, GD224/239/15-28.

iron forge and whole houses thereto belonging...with the weer or cauld and damm of the said forge in sufficient condition and to keep them working during the space of this present tack...and shall likewise at the ish of this present tack leave all the tools and utensils, wheels and materials...and milns belonging to the said forge to be used and disposed of by her Grace.' This provides a picture of quite a sizeable complex of buildings, both industrial and domestic, centred on the 'forge'. The fact that there was a weir *and* a dam suggests not only that there was water-powered machinery but also that there was some sort of storage pond or sluice system related to that water-power. There is a reference to at least two wheels and to the facilities ('milns') for further processing of the iron after smelting or remelting. What these were is open to conjecture but evidence from later use of the site would suggest that bellows, hammers and a slitting mill for drawing out wrought iron into wire or rods were all in place. A map, surveyed in 1714 by a cartographer from Wiltshire called Edward Ladd, shows some buildings described in a related key as 'the forge houses.'[27] Only two buildings are shown on the map but the contract of 1712 clearly states that there was a 'forge and...houses thereto belonging' so there must have been at least three separate buildings there. Generally, the portrayal by this surveyor of buildings which were not fairly important dwellings appears to have been somewhat scanty, so the fact that the weir and its associated lade were not portrayed either should not cause undue concern.

The initial capital that would have been required to set all this up at the turn of the century by Patrickson, Fawcett and Russell may go a long way to explaining why they became bankrupt before their enterprise had had any chance to establish itself. The list of tools and utensils includes, among other things, large pouring dishes, six pairs of tongs, four hammers, an anvil, bellows, a grind stone with its mountings and two iron chimneys weighing over seven stones each.[28] Also listed were 91 stones 9 lb of iron, 84 harrow teeth and 23 stones of 'sprouchlie' (Prussian) iron. These last items, along with the pouring dishes, suggest that recycling of scrap iron, by melting it down and casting it or by making pigs to heat and reprocess into wrought iron, was being carried out. The grindstone and mountings may even indicate something more ambitious, since such an apparatus would have been necessary for the preparation of ore before smelting.

Operations were soon under way. The accounts for 1713 show that the rent of £185 12s $10^{1}/_{3}$ d sterling was paid once more, by a third partner of Hall and Davies, Captain Robert Child, whose name had not appeared in the tack of 1712. The accounts also reveal that some recently coppiced wood was enclosed and that 150 trees were cut down by one Peter Stranger, the agent of the tacksmen of the forge who, as the 1712 contract reveals, were based in London.[29] Since these trees were valued separately by the estate forester John Armstrong, it is possible that they were not coppiced but were felled for timber for repairs to the buildings and machinery at the 'forge' and its associated buildings. Peter Stranger, however, seems not to have been an entirely honest man. The minor tenants of the parts of the parish which

27 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/241/3, RHP9452/41. Little is discernible about Ladd except that he may have had a son, John, born in 1715 who followed in his father's footsteps as a land surveyor in Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset; see P. Eden (ed.) *Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Local Cartographers of Great Britain and Ireland, 1550-1850* (London, 1975), part ii, 159; R.V. & P.J. Wallis (edd), *Index of British Mathematicians* (Newcastle, 1993), part iii, 81.

28 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/1130/50/13.

29 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/239/15.

had been let to the tacksmen of the 'forge' seem to have been expected to pay their rents directly to the estate. In 1715, Mr Davies and partners were found to be £56 11s 7½d sterling in arrears and another account of arrears of rent due from the tenants in Canonbie showed that many of them also owed money to the estate.[30] They were, however, able to produce 'discharges' (receipts) to show that they had paid their rents in good faith to Stranger. Perhaps, since the tacksmen themselves owed rent, they had left Stranger to fend for himself and, with no finance coming from the tacksmen in London to cover either running costs or living expenses, he had resorted to the only source of money available. The difficulties experienced by Stranger were not helped by the fact that his own horse was poinded by the Russell brothers in September 1715, after the Davies, Hall and Child partnership collapsed.

Although the lands originally set to Hall and Davies were still listed, in the 1714-15 rental, as being in their possession, they had been put to the horn (outlawed) and a decreet of removing had been issued against them in January 1715. In June of that year, the Duchess pursued an action against them in her own regality court of Eskdale because of their substantial arrears of rent.[31] Two months later, they were declared bankrupt, in debt to the Duchess to the tune of £264 15s 11½d sterling. Captain Robert Child and Thomas Davies had undertaken to pay off their arrears by assigning to the Duchess the arrears due to them by their subtenants in the parish. A number of these subtenants, however, as well as having paid some rent to Peter Stranger, had become creditors to the tacksmen of the 'forge' by their 'services done about the iron works.'[32] By 1722, the chamberlain had managed to recover some of that debt, although nearly half of it remained outstanding.

In spite of the problems caused by the collapse of the second partnership, in August 1715, at the same time as their bankruptcy was declared, a third contract for the'forge' was being finalised. As with the first two contracts, there is no evidence to suggest how this third set of contractors discovered the commercial potential of the site. Perhaps, like Hall and Davies, it was their London connections which had put them in relatively easy contact with the Duchess of Buccleuch whose normal place of residence appears to have been Westminster. The new contract was signed in August and September 1715 at Westminster, Bath and Brussels, the last two places being where the grandson and heir of the Duchess, the Earl of Dalkeith, and one of the estate commissioners were, respectively.[33] The contract was as extensive and detailed as its forerunner; in fact it was almost the same contract. John Henry Boock, a London merchant, and Thomas Dod of the parish of St Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex, received 'all and haill that iron forge with utencills and tools thereto belonging, built and erected upon the river Esk by Richard Paterson (sic) esquire and partners and lately repaired by Thomas Davies...and partners together with all and sundry the lands, rooms, milns and steadings belonging to her grace within the parish of Cannoby...together with the fishery, Coalliery and all other minerals within the said parish and that for all the days and space of thirty one years.' Their rent for the 'forge' and the lands was to be the valued rental of the lands, which was £738 17s 6⅙ d sterling per annum. The rent was due on 15 May and the first year's instalment of it had already been advanced. This was much

30 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/241/3, GD224/408/10.
31 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/557/3, GD224/370/1/5-7.
32 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/239/24.
33 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/370/1/4.

more than the previous contractors had paid but it amounted to farming out the rent collection for the whole parish of Canonbie with their rent for the 'forge' and its associated possessions incorporated. Like Hall and Davies, they were to pay 40% of all profits from the coal and minerals to the Duchess and to keep the 'forge', its associated buildings and the 'weir or cauld and dam' in good order. They were also forbidden from cutting any wood or timber, distinguishing wood for charcoal and wood for building.

There is no indication as to how things went for the next three years, since the first record of the tacksmen of the 'forge' after the contract was subscribed dates from 1718. In that year, their agents put in a bid of £900 for a seven year contract of exclusive rights to cut and coal extensive tracts of woodland in the Canonbie area. It would seem that this offer was not accepted, since later estate accounts recorded a number of separate sales of wood for charcoal to the tacksmen of the 'forge'. They also show that the tenants whose grazings were interfered with when newly cut areas of woodland were coppiced, received compensation in the form of reductions in their rent just as had been agreed under the first contract in 1699.[34] One striking thing about their offer for the wood is that one of the agents of the tacksmen of the 'forge' was called John Davidson who, in a sub-tack granted by the tacksmen in 1719, was described as 'in the forgehouse' of Canonbie. In 1704, John Davidson had received payment for 'carying on the iron work at the forge' after the original partnership had gone bust. He had also verified, along with Charles Russell's sons, the arrears due in the same year.[35] He probably continued to work the 'forge' for the Russell brothers until Hall and Davies took it over in 1712. He may even have continued to work for them for the two years during which Hall and Davies held the tack only to resume his charge of the 'forge' under the ownership of Boock and Dod, although he might have been ousted by their agent, Peter Stranger. Davidson was there in 1727, being described as 'John Davidson in Nottieholm...factor and depute bailie' of the tacksmen of the 'forge' and, as late as 1732, he was recorded as still being in possession of 'the mansion house at the iron forge' which, in itself, suggests that a substantial house had been built there by one set of contractors.[36] It is likely that he was a skilled Cumbrian labourer who had been brought in by the original contractors from their works in England but it has not been possible to verify this. Thomas Dod also appears to have been in residence in Canonbie during the 1720s. The estate accounts normally recorded monies received, especially rent, as having come from 'the tacksmen' or 'Mr Dod and partners'. A number of times during the 1720s, however, sales of wood 'to Mr Dod' were recorded, suggesting that he was actually there from 1720 or earlier, until 1726. A subtack for some lands in the parish of Canonbie dated June 1721, was subscribed by Dod and dated at Canonbie 'forge' and, in another of 1724, Dod was designated as 'now at Cannoby forge.'[37]

A description of the 'forge' itself survives from the period when it was in the ownership of Boock and Dod. The writings of a Swedish visitor to Scotland, Henry Kalmeter, provide some invaluable information about the site. He wrote:

34 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/388/5/1, GD224/241/4-5, GD224/239/23-4 & 26-8.
35 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/370/1/8, GD224/943/27.
36 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/378/5, GD224/239/34.
37 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/241/4, GD224/239/23-4 & 28, GD224/370/1/9-10.

> there are now no ironworks in Scotland except that in the parish of Cannaby 12 miles from Carlisle, in the province of Annandale (sic), where there is a smelting house and 4 forge-hammers built on the Duke of Booklooks land...which is now run by a merchant in London named Dod and Mr Boock.[38]

Although this account is not first-hand, Kalmeter's information came from 'a man who managed the said Duke's affairs.' This would have been Duncan MacArthur, the chamberlain of Eskdale. It confirms that the facility to smelt did exist at Canonbie. Kalmeter stated, however, that 'because it was too costly to transport ore by land from England', presumably because the Esk was not navigable and land carriage by pack-horse would have been the expensive alternative, they had been unable to sustain smelting. Instead, the works was 'kept going only with old iron such as horse-shoes and similar scrap that they buy up in Holland and in the countryside around, and from which they make castings, such as ovens'. Also, he recorded that, although there were four, presumably water-powered, forge hammers, 'their smithy work is now of little or no value.'

This confirms that there was a furnace, possibly a blast furnace or perhaps an air or reverberatory furnace, which, in spite of the failure of smelting operations, was being used for the recycling of scrap iron into cast iron by melting it down, an operation impossible in a forge. This seems to have been the case in 1714, judging by the large amount of scrap iron listed in the claim of the Russell brothers against Hall and Davies.[39] This, in turn, would suggest that attempts at smelting had met with failure at quite an early point in the lifetime of the 'forge' when it would have been possible, although obviously it proved too expensive, to import ore from the north west of England since the then tacksmen of the 'forge' were from that part of the country. With bellows for the furnace and four forge hammers as well as a slitting mill, the existence of which has already been noted, there were thus also at least three water-powered pieces of machinery at the site. The fact that a works which had a furnace was always referred to merely as the 'forge' may have been due to the fact that there had never before been a furnace in the area and that any place where iron was worked would have been regarded as a forge. It has been noted elsewhere that the locals in the Loch Maree area in Wester Ross called the site of a seventeenth century furnace there *A Cheardach Ruadh* or 'The Red Smiddy'.[40] At Canonbie, the failure of smelting and the presence of the forge hammers for turning cast iron into wrought would have done nothing to change that perception.

Kalmeter reported that the operation was 'not going so strongly', and this may have led to the subletting, from 1719 onwards, of most of the lands of the parish, perhaps to ensure the rental income to the tacksmen by written leases, thus relieving them of some financial responsibility. This seems to have been a success since the 'forge' appears to have continued in production until about 1729, when the last purchase of wood for charcoal was recorded.[41] By that time, however, the operation was definitely experiencing difficulties. The accounts for 1729 record that £11 0s 7½d sterling in arrears of rent had mounted up since 1727, and a further £22 sterling were owed by Thomas Dod on an unpaid bill. The accounts

38 Journal of Henry Kalmeter's Travels in Scotland 1719-20', ed. T.C. Smout, in *Scottish Industrial History, a miscellany* (Scottish History Society, 1978), 19.
39 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/1130/50/13.
40 Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry*, 191; Lewis, 'The Charcoal-fired Blast Furnaces of Scotland, 435.
41 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/241/5, GD224/370/1/8-10.

for 1730 and 1731 seem to have recorded the payment of the usual £37 0s 2½d sterling rent for the 'forge' but the accounts for the following year show that, although the arrears for 1727-29 appear to have been paid, the rents for 1730 and 1731 had not. The accountant had entered them in the accounts for the previous two years only so that the books would balance.[42] As was noted above, this period was a difficult one for the British iron industry in general with increased imports and a reduction in production due to drought. As a result of these factors, the more marginally viable works, such as those in Scotland, would have been the first to suffer.

A further, more locally specific, circumstance may provide another explanation for the failure of the Canonbie ironworks. The last instalment of rent from the tacksmen of the 'forge' was paid in 1729. In March of the same year, an order was sent down from Edinburgh from Sir James MacKenzie of Royston, one of the Lords Commissioners of Justiciary, to the sheriffs, bailies of regality and justices of the peace. It related that there were 'great quantitys of Irish halfe pennies commonly called Woods halfepennys vented and dispersed in the parish of Cannobie and in severall other places in the shire of Teviotdale, Stewartrie of Anandale and elsewhere in great contempt of his Majesties laws.' It then went on to order the officers of the law to 'make diligent search where any quantity of the said halfepennys may be found and to seize them...till further orders' and to inform Sir James of anyone whom they suspected 'may be guilty of wining or dispersing the said halfepennys that they may be brought to condigne punishment'.[43]

These particular coins had already become notorious throughout the British Isles. In 1722, one William Wood, an ironmaster from Wolverhampton, had obtained a royal patent for a monopoly to coin Irish half pennies and farthings. Minting began in London in the following year and some of the coin was transported to Bristol for shipping to Ireland. Wood had, however, coined 30 pence from as much copper as would make only 23 pence of English money. When the money crossed the Irish sea, the Irish parliament was outraged. Its House of Commons described this as a danger to Ireland and asserted that Wood had perpetrated 'a most notorious fraud in his coining.' Wood's response was that 'with Walpole's help, he would cram the brass down the throats of the Irish whether they liked it or not.' This insensitive assertion provoked a wave of anti-Wood satire and the revocation of his patent in 1725.[44]

Since Canonbie was mentioned first and was the only place specified in the order from Sir James MacKenzie, it would be reasonable to deduce that Canonbie was seen as the source from which these coins were being distributed. The tacksmen of the 'forge' certainly had London connections, although it has not been possible to trace any direct links between them and the notorious Mr Wood. Since Wood was involved in the manufacture of iron as well as of debased coinage, a connection of some sort would not seem too far-fetched. The tacksmen of the 'forge' of Canonbie must, somehow, have got hold of large quantities of Wood's ha'pennies cheaply and had been using them to pay their workers' wages, thus disseminating them into the region around Canonbie. They may have been paid to the workers at the 'forge' as token money. Even if that was the case, however, their apparent similarity

42 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/241/5-6, GD224/239/33-4.
43 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/407/14/6.
44 *Dictionary of National Biography*, L. Stephen and S. Lee (edd), vol xxi (Oxford, 1917), 849-50; Flinn, 'William Wood and the Coke-Smelting Process'.

to sterling meant that they were quickly passed off by the workers, if not by the proprietors of the 'forge', as if they possessed their full face value. How long it took for this to be detected and brought to the attention of the law it is impossible to say but it is notable that 1729 saw both the charge to seize the coins and the last payment of rent by the tacksmen of the 'forge'. This provides a double explanation for the failure of the enterprise. The ironworks ceased operation when they did because their use of Wood's coinage came to light and because they had only been commercially viable while their workers' wages were paid in illegal money which was worth much less than the sterling people were attempting to pass it off as.

By 1732, when it had been decided that Boock and Dod's rent was not going to be forthcoming again, word must have got around that the site was vacant. On 8 December, John Davidson wrote to an Edinburgh lawyer who was an agent for the Buccleuch estate informing him that 'gentlemen or noblemen of very great credit with the Duke had a mind to take a lease of the iron forge of Canaby' as well as the colliery. They had also made offers for the wood in the parish for charcoal and Davidson opined that 'the wood may last to maintain a forge with addition of pit coals to make iron for generations.' This might, incidentally, even suggest that some successful attempts at making iron using some form of pit coal had been made at Canonbie. Davidson was keen that the offer should be taken up because of the expense which would be required to 'repair the work effectively to make iron' and urged, not without a personal interest, that 'it may turn to ane account both to the Duke and them and also of great advantage to the countrey where it now lyes waste and of no service to any man.'[45] The proposals by those who wished to take on the works as a going concern, mentioned the 'forge', the slittingmill, the houses, the colliery and the 'iron stone or[e] mine'.[46] This last item is of particular interest. Although the contract of 1699 had anticipated the discovery of ironstone, no mine was mentioned in either of the subsequent contracts for the 'forge'. This suggests that the last contractors, Boock and Dod, had themselves attempted to mine iron ore, and therefore to smelt, since the offers of 1732 reveal that an ironstone mine already existed. In spite of Davidson's urgings, however, the new offers were not taken up and, in 1734, what must have been a substantial set of bellows from the forge was sold by order of the estate commissioners for £1 5s sterling, 'they being of no use there'.[47]

In 1737, the woods of Canonbie were publicly rouped. The successful bidder was a tanner from Hexham who, in the conditions of sale, was to be allowed to make charcoal and to process the bark but no rights to the 'forge' were mentioned.[48] This continued into 1752 when the third Duke of Buccleuch, Henry, was in his minority, his grandfather, Francis the second Duke having died in 1751 and his father the Earl of Dalkeith having died in 1750.[49] The head of the family was thus the dowager Countess of Dalkeith to whom the ironmasters of the Low Mill in Cumberland addressed their offers for the wood of Canonbie to make charcoal for their ironworks.[50] Perhaps advertisement of the wood had attracted the interest of others seeking charcoal for iron smelting. A letter from one Henry Kendall to the Duke of Argyll survives in the Buccleuch Muniments. It described how Kendall thought Lochaweside

45 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/344/30/19.
46 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/344/30/20.
47 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/239/36.
48 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/388/2/31, GD224/392/10.
49 J.B. Balfour-Paul, (ed.), *The Scots Peerage*, 9 vols (Edinburgh, 1904-14), ii, 237-42.
50 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/388/5/5.

was eminently suitable for ironworks because of the ready supplies of wood and waterpower there. Accompanying it was an offer for a three year lease of the woods. In the same bundle of documents is a similar offer from Richard Ford, Michael Knott and Company, those who successfully established the furnace at Bonawe, to buy rights to the Duke of Argyll's woods on Lochaweside for ten years.[51] The connection was that the dowager Countess of Dalkeith was none other than Caroline Campbell, daughter of the Duke of Argyll.

The impact that the 'forge' had in its approximately 30-year existence in the parish of Canonbie was lasting. The site is still known as Forge and is traceable on maps as early as about 1750, when it was misrecorded as 'Ford' in General Roy's Military Survey of Scotland, although this might have been due to a mistake having been made in transcription between the original protracted version of the survey and the final copy by Paul Sandby. The first Ordnance Survey (1857) recorded it correctly as Forge but, by the date of the first *Statistical Account*, its function appears to have been entirely forgotten, presumably since few if any people who had been alive when it was operating were still around in the 1790s.[52]

In spite of its failure to flourish, the construction and operation of the ironworks at Canonbie between 1699 and 1729 is of some significance. As the first furnace built in Scotland by English ironmasters seeking new sources of charcoal, it takes documentary evidence for that phenomenon back nearly 30 years and, more significantly, to before the Anglo-Scottish parliamentary union of 1707. It is also revealing about the iron industry in the north west of England. The secondary literature on that subject suggests that the furnaces established before Backbarrow in 1711 were signally unsuccessful.[53] It seems unlikely that a partnership already involved so unsuccessfully in iron manufacture in that part of the world would come to Scotland in 1699 with a financially ambitious scheme not only to buy charcoal but also to extend their operations geographically. Perhaps it was this expansion which led to the failure of the Cleator furnace due to the business being overstretched, rather than to an inherent problem at Cleator.

What this study lacks is the firmer answers which could be obtained through detailed archaeological investigation. Recent fieldwork by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland found 'no physical traces of the Works…at the supposed location'.[54] It seems that only detailed excavation could clear up many of the uncertainties which purely document-based research has been unable to resolve, most notably whether it was a blast furnace or a reverberatory furnace which was actually constructed at Canonbie. The documentary evidence would suggest that remains of the building containing the forge hammers, the charcoal sheds, the slitting mill and the workers' houses ought also to be detectable, if only as foundations under current soil levels or later buildings, as should traces of the weir and the lade for the water-wheels. Unless and until such work is carried out, however, the truth about this fascinating site will continue to elude scholarship.

51 SRO, Buccleuch Muniments, GD224/388/5/6.

52 ' The Military Survey of Scotland', c.1750, sheet 7/1; Ordnance Survey, first edition, 1:10560, Dumfriesshire, sheet 53, 1857; *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, ed. J. Sinclair, vol. 14 (Edinburgh, 1795), 407-32, entry on Canonbie parish by Rev Mr John Russell.

53 J.R. Harris, *The British Iron Industry,* 18; Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry*, 191-2.

54 Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Eastern Dumfriesshire: an archaeological landscape* (Edinburgh, 1997), 275. See also, the RCAHMS online National Monuments Record, *Canmore*, under 'Canonbie, iron smelting works and forge' no.112826, National Monuments Record no.NY37NE 134.

CARRUTHERS OF WARMANBIE
A note from the Dumfries Burgh Court Records

by
A.E.Truckell

On 19th November 1578 and page 760 of the Burgh Court Book of Dumfries schir John Bryce, Vicar of Dumfries and William Paterson produced and had minuted in the Court Book documents relating to the family of Carruthers of Warmanbie extending backwards to 1472, mentioning several other properties besides Warmanbie, and a bond by the Grahams 'to be friends' to Carruthers of Warmanbie. They then delivered the documents 'in a kist' to Thomas Carruthers of Warmanbie. As most of this predates the Register of Sasines and it is possible that no other record of the documents has survived it is felt that publication would be desirable[1]. Most notaries public in Scotland at this time were clerks 'by apostolic authority'. The 'sir' before their names signifies that they were in Holy Orders but had not taken a degree.

Page 760 Carrutheris. wormanbie [19 November 1578]

The quhilk day schir Johne bryce vicar of drumfreis & william patersone producit in Jugement ane precept of sesyng made be vmquhile robert lord maxwell to thomas carrutheris of warmanbie of all & haill the hundreth schillingis land of nether wormanbie with the pertinentis of the date the nynt day of the moneth of februare the yere off god Dxxxvi zeris ane Instrument of sesyng of the samyn landis vnder the syng & subscriptione of schir Johne oliver notare of the date the viij dav of the moneth of marche the zere of god Dxxxvij zeris ane Instrument of sesyng of sex markland of flemyng raw of ane vmquhile thomas carrutheris of the date the xxvij day of the moneth of maij the zere of god Jaj iiii^{c} iiij^{xx} xij zeris vnder the sygne & subscriptione of schir Johne weill notare ane Instrument of sesyng of vmquhile cuthbert Irwyng of robgill gevin be vmquhile herbert corrie of newbie superior thareof be vmquhile schir Johne walker notare transumptit furth of the sade schir Johne prothogall be vmquhile schir Johne turnor officiale of nyth & vnder the syng of schir thomas conelsone notare as the sade transumpt of the date of the zere of god Jai v^{c} xxxj zeris & the viij day of the moneth of marche & the principall Instument tharein Ingrossit of the date the xviij day of february 1530, ane charter made be ane vmquhile roger carrutheris of wormanbie to vmquhile Johne carrutheris his sone of all & haill the sextene ss land of raffellis & four ss annuell rent furth of the landis of robequhat of the date the first day of marche 1472 with ane Instrument of sesyng procedyng tharevpon vnder the sygn & subscriptione of schir william chapman notare of the date the vij day of marche 1472, ane contract betuix thomas carrutheris of wormanbie & richie Irwyng of gretnayhill for the set of xx aiker of land of beltenement with certane vther bandis ~~of~~ under the subscriptione off herbert cunyghame notare of the date at drumfreis the xxviij day off marche 1566. Item ane band off richie the grahame of netherbie dik the grahame will grahame geordie grahame thom grahame & hew grahame his sones bindand thame to be freynds to thomas carrutheris of wormanbie as the samyn off the date at netherbie the xxiij day off maij 1565 at mare lenth proportis & [?]& the sade schire Johne bryce & william patersone Instantlie in Jugement delyverit the same in ane koist [kist] to the sade thomas carrutheris & protestit the same suld be minutit in ane act of court for thare discharge of the samyn And tharevpon descyrit Instrumentis.

1. It should be noted that the Murray of Murraythwaite muniments in the SRO comprise (*inter alia*) titles back to 1466 and there is a good deal of early Carruthers material amongst this. The papers held by the Carruthers of Dormont include a charter of 1361 and six other titles up to 1619 in date [Eds.]

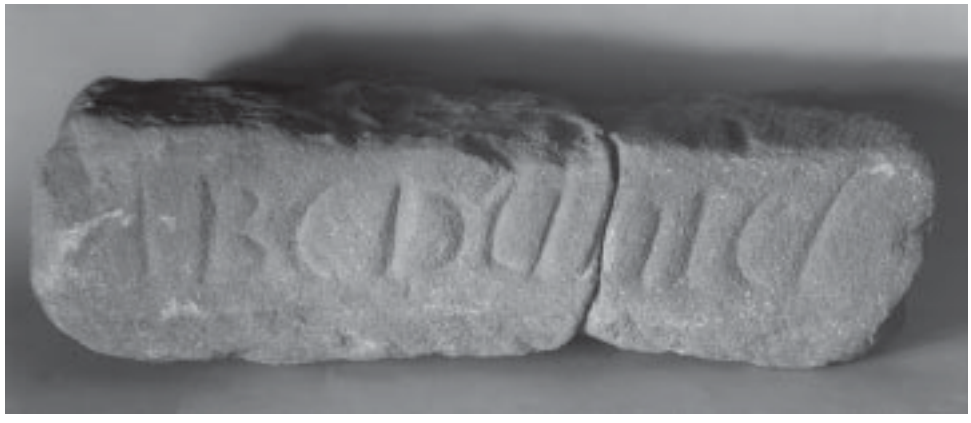


Fig. 1 13th century inscribed stone or abecediary from
Castle Street, Dumfries. Photo - Dumfries Museum.

Fig. 2 Mediaeval inscribed stone from Three Crowns Close, Dumfries.
On right, Lombardic face; on left, Gothic face. Photo - Dumfries Museum.

TWO MEDIAEVAL INSCRIBED STONES FROM DUMFRIES

by A.E.Truckell

The premises of Lennox the grocers and wine merchants in 9, 11 and 13 on Castle Street, built on the site of the Church of St Mary of the Grey Friars, have several times in this century yielded material of interest. Early in the century much skeletal material was found just behind the shop - in one case two bodies laid on top of one another crosswise (*vide* these *Transactions*): and in the late 1950s or early 1960s more burials were found in digging a drainage ditch - these latter are now in Dumfries Museum. A few years later Lennox's was demolished to make way for a supermarket and some distance below ground a piece of the local red sandstone was found with the first seven letters of the alphabet inscribed upon it in Lombardic script dating it to the 1260's, the time of the building of the church: this is an 'abecediary' (Fig. 1) and the complete thing would have stood close to the altar and so, in 1306, to the assassination of the Red Comyn. Abecediaries are generally considered to be teaching aids but, particularly to the illiterate, the alphabet may have possessed supernatural powers or to the devout a symbolic meaning just as its counterpart the futhork had in the runic world. The stone is now in Dumfries Museum, registration DUMFM: 1967.608.1.

In the late 1950s or early 60s the late Dr R.C.Reid pointed out to the Writer an inscribed block of granite forming part of the kerb near the foot of the Three Crowns Close opposite the office of the late Edgar Bell, painter - now (1998) the 'Bistro' restaurant. He feared that it might be damaged by the heavy traffic by that time passing up and down the close, and as the Burgh Works Department was at that time working its way along Queensberry Street and the adjacent properties demolishing and renovating, suggested that when they came to it they should remove it to the Museum: this is due course was done (Fig. 2). The stone is 35.5cm high.

His interest was due to the fact that he knew it to be from St Gregory's Ludgeing, a substantial mediaeval building near the New Wark in Queensberry Square and Munches Street, the rent of which maintained the St Gregory Altar in St Michael's Church[1].

It is unusual in two ways: one, granite is rarely used for this purpose in the Middle Ages: and two, the IHS inscription (*Jesus Hominem Salvator*) which occurs on two faces, is in one case in the Lombardic script (Fig. 2 right) and in the other in the Gothic script (Fig. 2 left). Lombardic is normally considerably earlier than the Gothic. The inscriptions are attractively presented on the face of the stone. Examples of stones with the IHS monogram still *in situ* locally are built into Bonshaw and Robgill Towers.[2] A discussion of the monogram's appearance 'in a mediaeval cult of the Holy Name of Jesus' and how it became a symbol of the Counter-Reformation associated with the Society of Jesus has been discussed in a recent paper.[3]

This stone has the Museum registration DUMFM: 0198.192

1. Shirley, G W, 1915. 'The Topography of Dumfries' in these *Transactions*, 3rd Ser. Vol. 3, p 182.
2. Slade, H G, 1997. 'The Buildings Survey' in Mercer, R J, *Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire - An Anatomy of a Parish in S. W. Scotland*, pp 91, 94, 98.
3. Bryce, I B D and Roberts, A 1993. 'Post-Reformation Catholic Houses of north-east Scotland' in *PSAS*, 123, pp 363-72.

LOCKERBIE TOWER

by Alastair M T Maxwell-Irving, FSA Scot

At the time of publication of my short paper about Lockerbie Tower in 1992 (these *Transactions* Vol. 67, p. 61), I was unable to trace any record of a plan having been made before the tower was demolished in 1967. Now, however, thanks to Antony Wolffe's excellent paper on James Barbour (these *Transactions* Vol. 71, pp 139-158) and a search among the Barbour archives by John Copland, the present representative of Barbour's firm, a plan has come to light. It was prepared by Alexander Fraser, Architect in Dumfries, in September 1868, and shows the complete police station, including the tower, which was then in use as two cells. It does not show which way the vaults ran, nor, unfortunately, does it give any indication of any former stair to the floor above, but it is reproduced here for the record (figure 3).

I would like to thank Mr John Copland, Architect, for his assistance in searching the Barbour Archives.

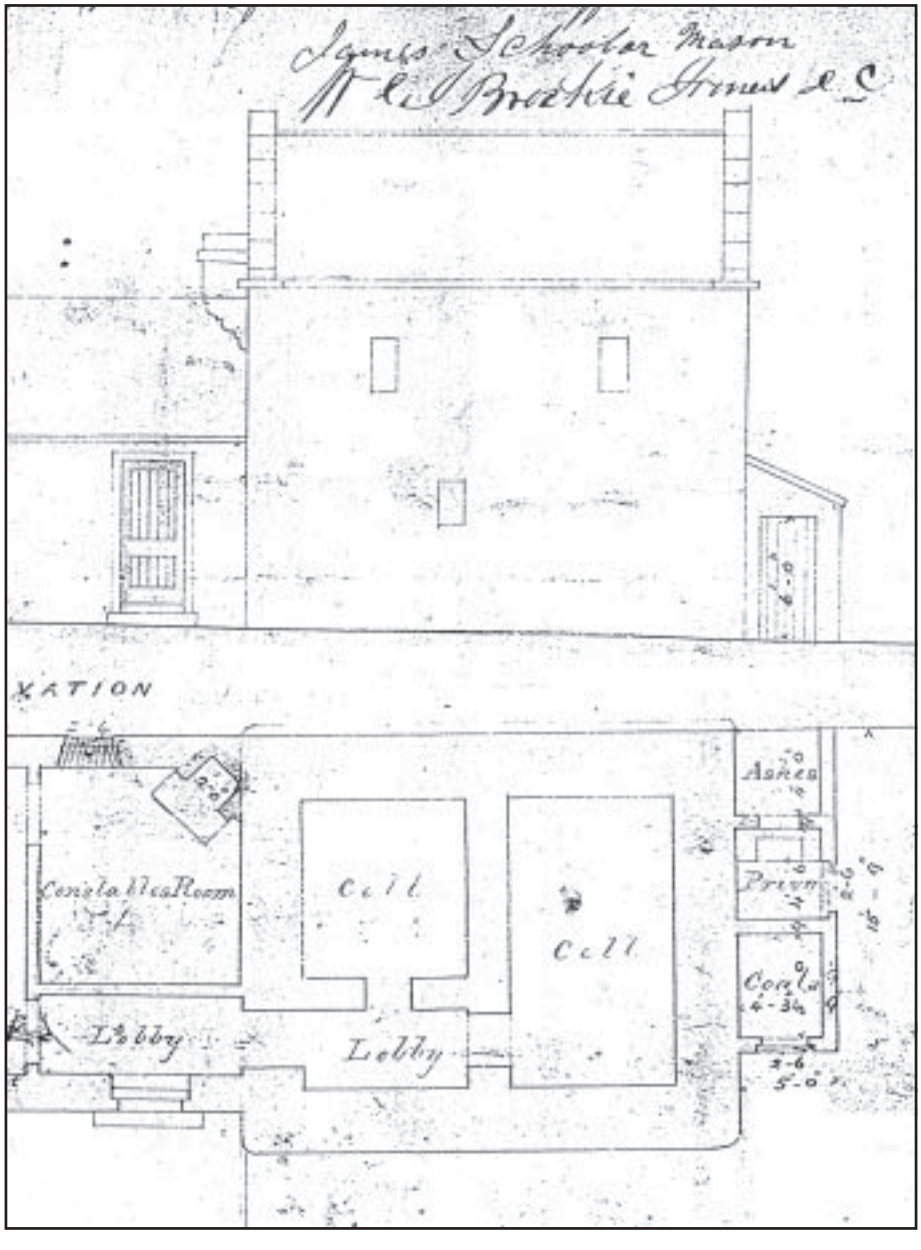


Figure 3: part of plan, dated 1868, of proposed additions to Lockerbie Police Station showing Lockerbie Tower. Reproduced by courtesy of Messrs Sutherland Dickie and Copland, Architects, Dumfries.

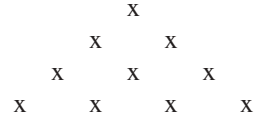
Christian Celts. Messages and Images by Charles Thomas. 1998, Stroud, Gloucestershire, £19.99. ISBN 07524 1411 9.

Professor Thomas's book is based on 23 short Christian memorial inscriptions from Wales, Cornwall and SW Scotland, belonging to the period from the fourth to the eleventh centuries. They represent something like a tenth of the still extant post-Roman inscriptions from the area, and, according to Professor Thomas, are distinguished by their use of Biblical style, a term applied by Dr David Howlett to a number of insular texts belonging roughly to the same period and illustrated by the title and contents of one of his books, *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style* (Dublin, 1995). The style so described is primarily literary, basically that of the Vulgate, St Jerome's Latin version of the Bible, completed c. 404 AD. But it has earlier roots. So far as was possible, Jerome preserved the features which characterize his texts in the original Hebrew and Greek.

Dr Howlett (p.6) lists certain verbal and compositional aspects of the style - echoes of Vulgate phraseology; verbal parallelism and chiasmus; composition in mathematically determined forms; composition in rhythmic formulae; decoration of texts for the eye. The style, it may be added, is seen at its most developed in biblical poetry and prophecy.

Composition in mathematically determined forms provides most difficulty to modern readers, for whom ratios are on the whole unperceived and unimportant and individual numbers are not regarded as significant, still less as possessing geometrical shape. As may be established from a wide range of texts, this was not always so. Ancient musical theory, for instance, depended on ratios. The highest form, *musica mundana*, the music of the spheres, formed the soul of the created universe, the physical operations of which it directed by way of these same ratios. Earthly music echoed the heavenly because the human soul operated similarly, although on a lesser scale. In more immediately biblical terms, the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* (11:20) declared that God has 'ordered all things by measure and number and weight.'[1]

Some numbers possessed, as it were, inherent significance. 33 represents Christ, because it was believed that at the time of the Crucifixion he was 33 years old. 10 is perfection because it is the first limit of numbers and because it is the number of the Ten Commandments. 11 (10+1) represents transgression. And so on. Numbers which could be represented geometrically were particularly well regarded. 10, for instance, is triangular - it may be represented by a group of 10 points arranged as a triangle:



10 is thus closely linked to 4 because the triangle representing it is made up of 4 groups of points, representing the numbers 1,2,3 and 4. It may thus be expressed as Δ4, 'the triangular from 4'. This particular triangle the Pythagoreans called the tetractys, 'the sum of the first four numbers', and regarded as possessing great power and authority.

1 See John MacQueen, *Numerology* (Edinburgh, 1985), 14, 26-46.

Square and cube numbers are still to some degree familiar and may be represented similarly. A little reflection will show that any square number is also the sum of two triangulars. Oblong and polygonal numbers also occur; 20, for instance, (5x4) is oblong. Thomas makes no use of the more exotic polygonals.

Prime numbers which have no factors except themselves and 1 (11, 13, 17, etc.) have no geometric form; they are 'incomposite' and as a consequence tend to be regarded as threatening or unlucky. It is perhaps unfortunate that 23, the number of inscriptions taken into account by Professor Thomas, is such a prime, believed to signify 'vengeance on sinners'.

Two ratios are particularly important. One is symmetry, division by half (1:1, 2:2, etc), which may be expressed in terms of the fraction 1/2. The second is the so-called 'golden section', also called 'extreme ratio', in which the smaller stands to the larger as the larger to the whole (a+b = c; a:b = b:c). This ratio cannot be expressed as a fraction; approximate values may be established by the Fibonacci series of numbers in which, after the first two, each number is the sum of its two immediate predecessors. One example is:

1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34.....

Thus in a line 34 units long, 13 and 21 indicate the approximate position of golden sections. The series gives a more and more precise result as the numbers involved increase.

The series plays a part in philosophy and art. Plato, for instance, regarded it as one aspect of the harmony of the four elements, fire, air, water and earth. It is a favourite constructional element in classical and modern painting.

Howlett and Thomas also believe that messages may be conveyed by letters which occur in a text at regular intervals, which are separated from each other, that is to say, by a recurrent number of letters. The resulting message may be either verbal or numerical. Jewish scholars use the acronym ELS (Equidistant Letter Sequences) for the method, and by applying it to *Genesis* have discovered the encrypted names of 32 sages who lived between the ninth and eighteenth centuries of the modern era. The mathematical odds against this occurring by chance are said to be 62,500 to 1. Using the same method, Michael Drosnin has discovered references in the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Old Testament) to President Clinton, Einstein, Newton, President Kennedy, Roosevelt, Shakespeare and Watergate, to name only a few. More recently, a similar reference to Princess Di has been found in *Genesis*[2]. Despite the statisticians, all this may seem a little suspect to the ordinary reader.

Thomas makes extensive use of a system by which the letters of the alphabet also have a numerical value. The Roman alphabet (subsuming *J* in *I*, *K* in *C*, *V* in *U*, *Z* in *S*; lacking *W* and *Y*) he regards as containing 20 letters; his claim (pp 17, 56-9) is that, according to the system, *A* = 1, *B* = 2.... *X* = 20 (this last despite the fact that usually *X* = 10). The Hebrew and Greek use of the alphabet to represent numerals is well known, but differs substantially. Nor was it generally assumed at the period of the inscriptions that the Latin alphabet contained 20 letters. Contemporary acrostic (i.e. alphabetic) poems (e.g. *Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, nos. 13, 28, 30, 48)[3] are constructed in terms of a 23 letter alphabet which includes *K, Y,* and *Z. X* would then be 21, not 20. Each letter after *I* would in fact have its

2 *Bible Codes* (Savyon, Israel, 1998), iv, 23-4.
3 Edited by F J E Raby (Oxford, 1959), 14, 34, 39, 59.

numerical value increased by 1, to the consequent disruption of much of Thomas's analysis. The encyclopaedist Isidore of Seville (602-36) says firmly[4] that the Latin alphabet has 23 letters, intermediate between the Hebrew with 22 and the Greek with 24. He assumes, it is true, that *K, X, Y* and *Z* were additions from an earlier period, but this makes the original alphabet one of 19 rather than 20 letters. He contrasts Latin and Greek usage in the representation of numbers: *Latini autem numeros ad litteras non computant, sed sola verba componunt*[5]. Thomas provides no documentation to support his alternative scheme.

However unfamiliar the practice now appears, composition in mathematically determined forms was widespread in European literatures during the first seventeen centuries of the Christian era. P.S.Allen remarked unsympathetically on the Latin poetry of the Carolingian era: 'It is perhaps as if one's hand had reached out half unconsciously for a book of poems and had picked up a table of logarithms instead.'[6] E.R.Curtius[7] and his successors, among whom Dr Howlett must be numbered, have gone some way to rehabilitate such literature, or at least to allow us to read it with greater understanding, perhaps even pleasure. Thomas aims to bring into the fold some at least among the Latin inscriptions from western Britain during an extended sub-Roman period. He treats them as if they possessed the validity of fully literary texts, almost as if they were poems, and claims some fascinating discoveries. His methods deserve close scrutiny.

Save possibly in the context of modern archaeology, inscriptions are not literary texts for study and analysis in the library. The stones on which they appear are weighty and stand in the open air often in isolated situations. Thomas draws a picture of the literate visitor making a copy 'on a wax tablet or just by scratching it out knife-point on a bit of slate' (p.17), after which presumably he takes it home and subjects it to mathematical processes, addition, squaring, triangulation, ELS, division by ratio, and so forth. To me at least the picture seems unreal, and yet, if Thomas is correct, something of the kind must have taken place.

Thomas's analysis depends, not so much on the inscription itself, as on the version, the model, which he himself has produced by his treatment of the text, transcribing Roman numerals by words (*XIII*, for instance, by *tredecim*), sometimes, but not always, correcting misspellings, and adding letters which appear to have been omitted - a process which he thinks might readily have been followed by any educated early reader. His exposition is based on the consequent series of totals - words, syllables, letters in the actual display, and in the postulated model. The number of syllables depends not on the display, but on the model, and is perhaps an unnecessary elaboration.

The number of letters in the model, or some part of it, provides the basis for triangulating or squaring, and so allows the generation of a 'devised profile', a mental image. The process may be assisted by the use of letters as numbers. Thomas claims (p.18) that he proceeds 'by logical steps, following ascertainable rules and clues.' His method thus should not involve any arbitrary steps or procedures. That it does not is the assumption underlying his belief that any educated reader in earlier times might have duplicated the process.

The first example discussed in the book is *Rostece*, no 421 in Macalister's *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*[8], from Montgomeryshire in Wales. The text reads (ob-

4 *Etymologiae*, edited by W M Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), I, 4.
5 Ibid., I, 11.
6 Quoted in John J O'Meara, *Eriugena* (Oxford, 1988), 177.
7 *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, translated by Willard R Trask (London, 1953), 501-9.
8 2 vols. (Dublin, 1945, 1949).

liques indicate line divisions): *Hic in/ tumuloia/cit.Roste/ece.filia.Pa/ternini./aniXIII.in/pa*, 'here in the tomb lies Rostece daughter of Paterninus. Years 13. In p(e)a(ce).' Latin of a more literary kind would have *jacet* rather than *jacit*, *anni* rather than *ani*. The second *e* in *Rosteece* is apparently an addition of uncertain date. The *-mu-* of *tumulo* is indicated by a ligature, counted by Thomas as a single letter. The inscription apparently breaks off before completion; it is virtually certain however that *in pa* is for *in pace*, 'in peace', although why only the first two letters should appear is something of a mystery. The stone-cutter's eye may have been distracted by the *Pa* of *Paternini*, which ends the third line above. If so, it suggests that his model contained an abbreviation; it would be easier for *pce*, say, rather than *pace* to be misread as *pa*. There remains a slight possibility that some word other than *pace* (for instance *paradiso*) was intended.

Thomas suggests that Rostece may have died in childbirth. The fact that she is described as 'daughter' rather than 'wife' argues against the idea.

The analysis depends on a count of words, syllables, letters in the display, and letters in the hypothetical model, with totals 11, 25, 47, and 55 respectively. One should note in particular the considerable discrepancy between the last two. Thomas's subsequent calculations are based on the 55 of the model rather than the 47 of the display - some indeed would be impossible in terms of the latter. As has been noted, count of syllables is based solely on the model: *XIII* does not break down into syllables.

Thomas's demonstration that 13 is an important number for the interpretation of the inscription depends substantially on the dubious system of assigning numerical values to individual letters. Where it does not, it depends on model rather than display.

The inscription has 11 words, a number which forms part of the Fibonacci sequence 1, *3, 4, 7, 11,* 18... . It divides quite naturally at the reverse golden section, the first part (*hic...Paternini*) containing 7 words, the second (*ani...pace*) 4. The first part also fits the sequence; from *hic* to *jacit* there are 4 words, from *Rostece* to *Paternini* 3. The result is to emphasize the fifth word, the name *Rostece*. This part of the analysis I find reasonably convincing.

Thomas suggests two related derived profiles, the second of which (pp.20-21), because it is immediately visible, may be given priority. The sign of the cross does not appear on the monument. The tops of the letters in line 3 of the display (*cit. Roste*) are aligned, however, in a way which might suggest the lateral beam. The upright is indicated by the *i* of *in* (line 1), the upright ligature representing *u* in *tumulo* (line 2), the second *i* of *filia* (line 4), and the second upright of the first *n* in *Paternini* (line 5). The junction of the two beams is indicated by the *o* of *Rosteece* (line 3), while the *III* of *XIII* (line 6) indicates the base. With some effort of the imagination this can be seen on the stone.

Not so with the earlier profile (pp.17-19), to which Thomas gives priority, and which depends on the square number 49 (7x7) included in the total of 55 letters found in the model. If the final words *in pace* are omitted, the remaining letters total 49. But the omission is surely unexpected and arbitrary? If the model is in fact significant, the total of the letters, 55, is a triangular number, which, as it is based on 10 (Δ10), would seem to proclaim its own importance, but which Thomas completely ignores. Subsequent developments - the image of a headstone and cross above a body in a grave (represented by *in pace*, despite its absence from the numerical scheme) - turn on the position and supposed numerical values

of the letters within the 7-sided square. The *o* in *tumulo* rather than that in *Rost(e)ece* now marks the point of intersection of the two beams - slightly out of position. The beams are of equal length, although more of the lateral shows above ground. The long lateral also partly obscures the headstone on the left. The name *Rostece* is suspended from, rather than attached to, the cross, part at one level, part at another.

Even after the difficulty of accepting 49 as a basis, I find the profile arbitrary and unconvincing. The actual inscription, including *in pa*, contains 47 letters and in itself remains unaffected by 49 or 55. If *in pace* is accepted as the reading intended, the total becomes 49, but simultaneously the possibility of using the number to create the profile disappears.

Elsewhere Thomas attempts to find anagrams of words and names. One example is the name *Viola* and the word *privatus* extracted (p.144) from *CIIC* 393, *Carausius*. Viola, he suggests, is the young woman who planned the monument for her fiancé (*privatus*), Carausius. This sense of *privatus* he takes from its Welsh derivative *priod*, although it is not known from any certain Latin source. The inscription contains 37 letters, the model 38. 37 is an incomposite prime, 38 neither triangular nor square. Thomas produces *Viola* by taking as a basis the oblong number 40 (8x5). This he does by the arbitrary reintroduction at the end of the inscription of the two letters which begin it, *Ca. Privatus*, or rather *sutavirp*, he constructs arbitrarily, from random letters, a process repeated in the most pictorial feature of his analysis, the supposed display profiles of Carausius and Viola in the cairn. But it is surely inconceivable that a Christian should have been buried, like a pagan, inside a cairn, or even that his grieving fiancée should have thought of such a thing? The idea smacks more of Mills and Boone than of early Christian Britain.

Further inherent risks in the procedure may be illustrated from 421 *Rostece* where, if the 55 letters of Thomas's model are triangularised, the name *Hitler* appears in a kind of irregular telestich. Adolf is also present in a more dispersed way which may easily be paralleled in the book:

H
I C
I N **T**
U M U **L**
O I *A* C I
T **R** *O* S T **E**
C E *F* I *L* I A
P A T E R N I N
I A N N I T R E *D*
E C I M I N P A C E

Petain is also present (l.8), as is a near approximation to *Churchill*. This is purely the result of chance, and we may think the same of Thomas's examples.

In *CIIC* 393, *Carausius*, Thomas suggests (p.144) that the translation of *in hoc congeries lapidum* as 'in this pile of stones' is mistaken, classical usage demanding *in hac congerie lapidum*. He wishes to regard *congeries lapidum*, that is to say, as an independent syntactic unit. In terms of classical usage he is, of course, correct. But even if *tumulo* is understood as

in agreement with *hoc, Carausius hic jacit in hoc* remains a very odd sentence; it is perhaps easier to regard the inscription as grammatically and syntactically imperfect. But if this is so, it means that the composer, whether Viola or another, was not particularly well educated and consequently probably incapable of the intellectual elaborations, even perversities, suggested by Thomas.

Similar objections, usually involving the arbitrary nature of the process selected, may be brought against other interpretations. I shall conclude by examining the treatment of the Galloway examples likely to be of most interest to members of this society.

First, *CIIC* 520, *Latinus*, the Latinus stone at Whithorn, dated 450 or earlier: *Te Dominum laudamus. Latinus annoru[m] XXXV et filia sua ann[orum] IV [h]ic sinum fecerunt, nipus Barrovadi*, 'We praise thee, O Lord. Latinus, descendant of Barrovadus, 35 years (old),and his daughter, 4 years (old), here made a *sinum*'. The inscription is twelve lines long. Thomas sees it, not as a memorial for the dead, but as a record of the completion of some kind of building, almost certainly a church. Latinus and his daughter, he claims, were the founders of this church, still alive when the inscription was carved. But if so, it is difficult to see in what sense a four-year-old girl could have been involved, or indeed why the age of either should be recorded. The opening words, *Te Dominum laudamus*, conflate the two clauses in the opening line of the great hymn[9] by Niceta of Remesiana (d. c.414), *Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur*, 'We praise thee, O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord', certainly used in the offices of the church by the end of the fifth century, and probably considerably earlier. They are thus appropriate for the purpose suggested by Thomas, as well as for many others. The word *sinum*, is usually expanded to *signum*, 'sign', but Thomas insists that it is the accusative of the fourth-declension noun *sinus*, primarily 'fold', hence 'bosom', 'place of refuge', etc. He suggests the translation 'church' - 'If, as here, it must imply a Christian building of sorts, "church" is permissible' (p.106) - but adduces no parallel example. One can speak, in Latin or English, of the bosom of mother church, and of course there is New Testament authority for 'Abraham's bosom' (*sinum Abrahae*, Luke 16:22); in neither case however does the phrase relate to a specific church building. I find it hard to believe that in isolation the word could bear such an interpretation. It seems more likely that *signum* was intended.

The word in that sense has been taken to refer to the chi-rho which heads the monument. The Latin however is not *hoc signum fecerunt*, 'made this sign', but *(h)ic signum fecerunt*, 'made a sign here'. The phrase *signum facere* has a specialized New Testament meaning, best illustrated from *John*, where the account of the marriage feast at Cana (2:1-11) ends with the words: *Hoc fecit initium signorum Jesus in Cana Galilaeae; et manifestavit gloriam suam*, 'This beginning of miracles (*signorum*) did (*fecit*) Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory.' Cana was also the scene of the second miracle, the healing from a distance of the nobleman's son in Capernaum: *Hoc iterum secundum signum fecit Jesus, cum venisset a Judaea in Galilaeam*, 'This is again the second miracle (*signum*) that Jesus did (*fecit*), when he was come out of Judaea into Galilee' (*John* 4: 54). Similar phrases occur elsewhere, for instance at the climax of the feeding of the five thousand (*John* 6: 16). 'Miracle' is only partially adequate as a translation; the full meaning is something like 'a revelation of the power and glory of God by a violation of the natural order'. The miracle commemorated in the inscription was perhaps that of martyrdom: members of a Christian

9 *Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, no.14, pp.16-17.

community, Latinus and his daughter were killed by enemies of the church at the spot marked by the stone, and so manifested the power and glory of Christ. The adaptation of Nicetas' hymn would have an obvious relevance, as would the mention of their ages; Latinus had completed half the biblical natural span, his daughter half that from infancy to girlhood, when they suffered martyrdom. Some indication of family was also appropriate, more particularly if the martyrs were, as seems not improbable, Irish converts rather than Britons of the immediate neighbourhood.

Thomas's interpretation is limited to the first nine lines of the inscription. He excludes *nipus Barrovadi*, following a suggestion by Macalister that the words are irrelevant to the inscription, and consequently must have been added by a second cutter. The former point my suggestion above perhaps answers; the latter is by no means certain, and need not entail the consequences suggested. We know nothing of the immediate circumstances under which the monument was erected; the first cutter (if the distinction is to be made) might have been unable to complete the inscription, say as the result of an accident; a second cutter would then have to be summoned to complete the job. But there is no real reason to assume more than a single cutter.

Thomas then seeks to establish certain arithmetical relationships within his shortened text. Those which he regards as relevant depend on model, not display. The calculations depend partly on the appearance within the text of letters attested as Roman numerals ($I = 1$, $V = 5$, etc.), partly on the dubious system of letters as numerals ($A = 1$, $B = 2$, etc.). The ratio 1:4, the number 35, and the concept of a square thus emerge. From the first two lines, *Te DOMINum lauDaMUs*, the words *Domini Domus*, 'The House of the Lord', are extracted. This Thomas relates to Solomon's Temple, the House of the Lord, not as it appears in *1 Kings* 6 and 7, but in a later version, *2 Chronicles* 3-5. He then creates a text of the inscription, corresponding neither to display nor model, which provides, he suggests, a display plan of the Temple of Solomon, the ideal form, as it were, of the church built at Whithorn by Latinus and his daughter.

There are some anomalies. for instance, a not-quite-symmetrical group of four *V*s appears in lines 6-9 of his text, which he interprets as indicating the Temple dimensions of the Holy of Holies, 20 cubits square, at the west end. A similar, but more symmetrical, group appears in lines 1-4, at the east end, but Thomas offers no comment. And why should *V* be regarded as 5 rather than 19?

He depends heavily on anagrams, which sometimes depend on the insertion of letters not actually present, to provide words which he regards as significant. Even if we leave aside the possibility of a different interpretation, the processes which Thomas employs seem arbitrary rather than built up by logical steps following ascertainable rules and clues. The total effect is unconvincing.

The treatment of the Kirkmadrine stones (*CIIC* 516-18), with which Thomas associates the lost stone from Laigh Curghie, depends heavily on letters-as-numbers and thus immediately becomes suspect. The most important of the group is 516, *Viventius et Mavorius*, for which Thomas proposes the model version: *A et W. Hic iacent sancti et praecipui sacerdotes, id est, Viventius et Mavorius*, 'Alpha and Omega. Here lie holy and excellent bishops, that is, Viventius and Mavorius,' He accepts, as is now usual, the reading: *id est, Viventius et Mavorius*, but let me confess that I find the interjected, unnecessary and pedantic phrase, *id est*, stylistically most peculiar for a monument. An additional name would seem consider-

ably more likely. Thomas claims (p.115) that 'the first line *must* (italics mine) be treated with *alpha et omega* verbalised as /ah et o/, 3 words, 3 syllables.' Why? The answer is simple - if they are treated otherwise, virtually every aspect of the numerical scheme proposed falls apart. But it is by no means clear that they should be so treated. The omega symbol, transliterated as *W*, is not a letter of the Latin alphabet. In the Vulgate texts on which this part of the inscription is based (*Revelation* 1:11, etc.) the clear assumption is that the Greek characters used should be read aloud as Alpha and Omega - as indeed the Authorized Version makes explicit. The first line, I suggest, indeed has 3 words, but 6 syllables, 12 letters.

Thomas sees a reverse golden section in the inscription as a whole, which he regards as divided into two semantic parts, from *A et W* to *sacerdotes*, and from *id est* to the end. In fact, there are three units, - semantically *A et W* stands apart - and if there are three, the golden section disappears. Even if one ignores this, the section partially depends on *A et W* having three syllables, and disappears if they have 6.

Thomas uses 64 (8x8), the number of letters which he finds in his erroneous model, to construct a letter-square, from which, using letters as numbers, he derives various multiples of 19, the number of letters in the phrase *Viventius et Mavorius*. He is more concerned however with the number 7, which he derives principally from 36, one of the two triangular numbers which, with 28, constitute the 64-square. Thomas ignores 28, but by manipulating the numbers indicated by significantly placed letters in the triangle of the first 36 letters, he finds several multiples of 7. This he relates to the 7 brothers of *Matthew* 22:25, a text from which he derives a wide range of 6s and 7s, together with one instance of 64. His argument is brought to a climax by the last word of the story of the brothers, *Matthew* 22:32, 'God is not the God of the dead but of the living', *Non est Deus mortuorum, sed viventium,* of which he finds an echo in the name *Viventius*.

The conclusion is that Kirkmadrine was 'the locale of a small band of incoming priests - from Gaul - around or shortly before 500', a band which 'happened to number 7' (p.117). The number, Thomas thinks, is to some small degree confirmed by the other inscriptions, *CIIC* 517, *Florentius*, and 518, *Initium et Finis.*

Almost every step and deduction leading to this conclusion is arbitrary. There is no way, I think, in which one of Thomas's educated visitors, copying the inscriptions and taking them away for analysis, could be sure of coming to the same conclusion as the composer. And of course there is no reason to assume, as Thomas sometimes (e.g., pp.78-9) does, that any single composer, let alone the entire group, was the equivalent of a modern Ximenes or Torquemada. Apart from anything else, there was no way in which he could publish the solution of his puzzle for the enlightenment of his baffled readers.

As is only to be expected in an author of Thomas's distinction, the book contains many incidental felicities of phrase and exposition, felicities which sometimes extend to entire chapters - 2 and 3 ('The Roman Background' and 'Education and Commemoration') particularly stand out. He has not however treated his central theme with the intellectual rigour demanded by his revolutionary proposal. As a whole the book thus fails to convince.

There are a number of misprints one or two of which irritatingly obscure the immediate argument.

John MacQueen

Galloway Dialect, a Study, (1985) and
A Dialect Study of Comparative Areas in Galloway, with particular reference to the Irish Connection, (1977) both by W A D Riach. A-4 typescripts. Copies in Ewart Library, Dumfries.

The first of these comprises a collection of three successive reports of research carried out in Galloway in 1971-2 by Alastair Riach to which has been added a supplement on a Galloway Schools Dialect carried out by him in 1980. Some of the material has been published in the *Scottish Literary Journal* or in *Scottish Language* but all the sections are here brought together. These form a valuable record of 800 traditional dialect words. The author also analyses their distribution and suggests several apparent isoglosses in their use.

The second of these collections records two by-products of Professor Riach's researches into the Galloway Dialect arising from its proximity to Ireland and the two-way movement of people between there and Galloway. The two chapters of this paper are titled 'Physical Communication in Galloway' and 'The Irish in the 18th and 19th Century Galloway'. As well as discussing the immigration from Ireland and its effect on the local population and the economy he also has brought together much information on the earlier movement from Scotland to Ireland and in particular the Galloway 'undertakers' who were prominent in this movement.

These two papers make a useful contribution towards an understanding of the survival and interchange of dialectal words in what is in effect a border zone of Scotland.

W F Cormack

By Royal Command - William Ewart Lockhart R S A, R S W, by Margery A Wilkins. Friends of Annandale and Eskdale Museums, Annan 1998. 59 pp. 16 b & w, 10 coloured ills. plus key and family tree. Coloured and laminated soft cover.

Born in 1846 at Eaglesfield, William Ewart Lockhart overcame initial social disadvantage to display as a schoolboy at Annan artistic ability which was recognised by Dr Bogie. As a result of this, with praiseworthy local financial help, he was enabled at age fourteen to enter the Academy in Edinburgh run by the Royal Scottish Academy. This early promise materialised and the formal training which he received established Lockhart as one of the most successful Victorian portrait painters. His most prestigious commission was to paint the scene of the Queen's Jubilee Service in Westminster Abbey in 1887. He was to die in 1900 at an age when many more fruitful years could have lain ahead for him.

Mrs Wilkins has researched the difficult material for this most interesting booklet admirably. Many of the fine illustrations are from photographs taken by her husband Alan. There is much information on Lockhart's background and family. She also records contemporary assessments of his work and points out that it is now being reappraised and more appreciated by a wider public. Not least, she gives a list of known works - this amounts to 390 but this is probably less than the true total. Furthermore the whereabouts of only 100 of them is known.

This is an excellent publication reflecting much credit on Mrs Wilkins, on the many galleries and private owners who allowed access to their paintings, these included Her Majesty the Queen, on The Friends and on the printers, Solway Offset Services, Dumfries.

W F Cormack

A Mid-Nithsdale Glossary - Dumfriesshire dialect seventy years ago, by the late William A Scott: New Edition edited and prefaced by I G Anderson, 1998, Addendum Books, Thornhill; 27 + v pp; soft cover.

This Glossary originally appeared under the title of 'The Vernacular of Mid-Nithsdale' in our *Transactions*, 3rd Series, Volume 13. It had been edited by Mr G W Shirley from Mr Scott's notes of a talk by him to the Society on 6th November 1925. Willie Scott suffered an untimely death as a result of an accident a few days later. The original paper did not therefore have the benefit of his own revision.

This edition has a new biographical Preface by Mr Anderson followed by Scott's original Introduction then, with a few minor amendments, his glossary of over 600 words with explanation of each and in many cases a valuable example of context of the word. Scott rarely essays an etymology and the modern reader might well want to compare his list with Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* and *The Scottish National Dictionary*.

This improved reprint will however enable Scotts's work to reach on into the 21st Century in readily available form for which Mr Anderson and Addendum Books deserve our commendation.

W F Cormack

Seven Centuries in the Royal Four Towns of Lochmaben by Anne Fairn, Dumfries, 1998. 128 pp., 6 colour and 88 b. & w. illustrations in coloured laminated soft cover. £9.95.

Rural communities in Scotland have tended to be mobile and transient for, if tenants, they seldom continued in the one holding longer than a generation or two or, if agricultural workers, they tended to move from tied house to tied house as work became available. A noticeable exception to this have been the King's Kindly Tenants of the Royal Four Towns of Lochmaben, who because of long-standing protection by the Crown, although strictly speaking tenants on year-to-year leases, have in effect enjoyed security of tenure together with certain valued privileges, including rents due to the ground landlord pegged at their mediaeval figures, free right to transfer their holdings either on sale or death and salmon fishing rights in the river Annan.

Previous accounts of these small communities have tended to concentrate on the legal aspect of this unique tenure, so specially welcome is this authoritative new account which gives the people themselves and their way of life the prominence it deserves. Eleven chapters cover the subject in chronological sequence - the first three are historical with the next three covering the great changes from the Agricultural Revolution of the 18th Century up to the outbreak of the first World War. The final five chapters deal with the wars and changes of the 20th Century and their impact on the people of the Royal Four Towns.

Throughout the whole book the author gives names, properties and social life in detail rather than generalisations and, as a bonus to this, provides an index of all three. Sources and a glossary are also given. Although some of the old surnames have disappeared this book not only reflects the remarkable continuity of this community but in itself should help to further the community spirit of this unique enclave in Scotland. As well as bringing together many scattered facts and making available much information at a reasonable price, it is a good read too.

W F Cormack

Alexander Robertson

Alexander Robertson, who died on 12th. June last, had been a member of the Society since 1957, serving as a member of Council, Secretary 1959-1961, and President 1977-1980. His Presidential Address in 1980 was entitled '*Aegean Atlantis*' a title so typical of the scholar.

Sadly, those who could match his classical erudition are becoming ever fewer.

Alex was born in Perth on 16 June 1920 and attended Perth Academy where in 1938 he was awarded the Dux, Classical and Mathematics Medals and English Prize, and in the same year won a bursary Competition to Edinburgh University, first place in the John Welsh Classical Bursary, third place in the general list and a Cowan House Scholarship. His Honours Classics course was interrupted by 5 years' war service with the Royal Armoured Corps (22nd Dragoons) in France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany. Alex returned to Edinburgh University graduating in 1947 with First Class Honours in Classics and was. awarded the Vans Dunlop Scholarship in Classics, the Scott and Dunbar Prize in Greek, the Society of Writers to the Signet Prize in Latin and the first Hardie Prize in Latin Prose Composition. Concurrently he then took his Diploma in Education and Moray House Training College Teacher's Certificate in Classics.

Teaching posts followed at Falkirk High School (1948-1951) and Aberdeen Grammar School (1951-1956) before Alex became Principal Teacher of Classics at Dumfries Academy in 1956. During his last 10 years before retiral he was Assistant Rector (1972-1982). From 1967-1973 he was also a setter and examiner in Greek and Latin with the SCE Examination Board.

These are fine academic achievements - but what of the man? Alex carried his learning lightly: he was unassuming, caring, thoughtful, punctual, punctilious. To generations of pupils, colleagues, friends and family 'wee Eck' was a gentleman in every sense of the word, commanding affection and respect. His disposition was to assume that other folk were helpful, charming, had the most altruistic of motives, and a fascination to know how Hannibal crossed the Alps! Never a disciplinarian, his manner of achieving class control was through kindliness, humour and positive expectations. He never lost his rapport with the young. The story is told that a certain minister was surprised when his 3-year old son, recently in Alex's company, declared that he now knew Latin - proving it by appropriately reciting '*Nec tamen consumebatur*'. The lad could also explain both meaning and origin.

In retirement Alex and Mary Robertson enjoyed many holidays abroad. Visits to Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Yugoslavia, or wherever they went, were preceded by careful preparation and study of the language. They would travel light, touring out-of-the-way places (and of course, the classical sites) using local transport, staying in tavernas, enjoying conversation with the local people and giving full rein to Alex's fascination with linguistics and etymology. Much of Alex's leisure time was spent hill-walking with family and friends, a pleasure curtailed in recent years by failing health, yet to the end he kept an observant eye and eager interest in weather changes and the flora and fauna of the countryside. A life-long Christian, Alex Robertson was ordained an elder in 1953 in Aberdeen and served on the Kirk Session at Maxwelltown West Church from 1956, during which time he also held several posts in Presbytery.

It was a privilege to call him friend. *Vale*, Alexander.

M.Aitken

Olga Margaret Stewart

Olga Stewart was born in Edinburgh in 1920, her father being James L Mounsey, Writer to the Signet there, and her mother a Canadian from Nova Scotia. She attended schools in Edinburgh and in Kent where she excelled academically and in sports. On leaving school, where she was joint head girl, she spent a year studying architecture at Edinburgh College of Art, moving from there, during the war, to Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia where she was the only woman studying engineering. She joined the National Research Council of Canada in the Naval Dockyard at Halifax where she was involved in research to combat magnetic mines, her engineering and exceptional drawing skills being put to good use.

In 1943 she returned to Edinburgh where she continued research work with the Royal Navy. In 1945 she re-met her future husband, Frank Stewart, who had just returned from five years as a Prisoner of War in Germany. They married the following year and set up home and brought up four children in Edinburgh where Frank practised as a Writer to the Signet.

Olga became expert in her two great loves of curling and botany. She joined the Edinburgh Ladies' Club where she won many competitions. In 1967 she represented Scotland on a curling tour of Western Canada and only retired from the sport in 1997 when she suffered an injury.

In 1947 she and Frank went on their first holiday to Aviemore where, as she wrote later, 'While climbing a hill rather slowly .... I collected flowers on the way and sat down to draw them. So began my collection of drawings of practically every plant, wild and naturalised, that I have seen since.' Her outstanding collection of drawings is unique and includes more than 4000 British plants and grasses, mostly in water-colour. She contributed many flower illustrations for books and journals, the highlights being for the late Princess Grace of Monaco's book *My Book of Flowers*, Dudman and Richards' *Dandelions* and Stace's *New Flora of the British Isles.* A dandelion, *Taraxacum olgae*, is named after her.

In 1965 Olga joined the Wild Flower Society and the Botanical Society of the British Isles and, ten years later, the latter appointed her their official recorder for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. She took up her duties seriously and in 1990 produced a Check List of the Flowering Plants and Ferns in that vice county - see our *Transactions* Vol 65.

Olga was a very popular member of our Society, of which she had become a life-member in 1978, and served on the Council and as Vice-President for a number of years. There is general agreement that she was one of the best field botanists in Scotland. She was also heavily engaged in charitable works.

Olga Stewart died at her home in New Abbey in August 1998.

The words of the President of the Botanical Society of the British Isles echoes the thoughts of many in this Society:-

> '.... we have lost one our greatest stalwarts - exemplary county recorder, critical species expert and encourager, superb artist, tireless exhibitor and a great hostess. We shall miss her very much indeed, not only in the botanical world.'

M White

Dr Ralegh Radford

Dr C A Ralegh Radford, who died in December 1998 aged 98, was never a member of our Society but we are indebted to him more than any other scholar in the field for the great increase in our knowledge of the mediaeval church in Dumfries and Galloway which took place in the 1940s and 50s. This was only a small part of his work throughout Britain for which reference should be made to other obituaries such as that in *The Times* of 23rd January 1999. His early start, in the 1920s on Whitby Abbey with Sir Charles Peers, however resulted in his archaeological expertise failing to keep in step with new techniques, unlike his unparalleled and continually refined knowledge of religious liturgy and ritual and consequent structural requirements of chapel, church or monastery and of the style and epigraphy of their accompanying crosses. Thus he has been described during latter years as an excellent authority on above-ground structures but not so reliable on below-ground traces. None-theless his great influence on thought and improving techniques of research should not be under estimated.

A friend of our R C Reid's, Dr Radford commenced excavations at Whithorn in 1949 and promptly published an interim report in our *Transactions* Volume 27, a volume which also contained related historical papers by six other national scholars. He also found time to record separately in the same volume two unpublished crosses from the Rhinns, now in Stranraer Museum.

The next volume, No. 28, saw three further papers by him, one on 'The Bells of Whithorn', one on 'An early cross at Ruthwell' and a third in collaboration with RC Reid and R B K Stevenson on 'Castle Loch Island, Mochrum'. This last report, which catalogued the finds from the chapel/manorhouse from the Marquess of Bute's excavations there, described the structures and gave the history of the Dunbar owners, was to yield a welcome sequel 40 years later, in that Dr Radford had postulated a missing church site in the neighbourhood, mentioning Barhobble, which led directly to the successful excavations there in the 1980's and 90's (Vol. 70).

Meantime, in collaboration with Gordon Donaldson, he wrote for the Ministry of Works the *Official Guide to Whithorn and Kirkmadrine* in 1953. This was an authoritative best-seller for years with several editions and reprints. The only major revision which we, with nearly half a century of hindsight since then might make, is his attribution of the early building appearing from under the east end of the priory to St Ninian himself, whereas recent church archaeologists might rather opt for an Anglian date for that structure.

In Vol. 31 (1952-3) Dr Radford turned his pen to Hoddom where he published, for the first time, all the known crosses from that site, including, from photographs which had been taken by O G S Crawford, several important fragments destroyed during World War II. The next year in Vol. 32 appeared 'Two Reliquaries from S W Scotland'. One of these was from Whithorn but the other, a 'drop' from the end of a crozier from Hoddom, when added to a second drop from there later noted in the British Museum, has fuelled the belief, which will not go away, that some of the Bishops of Strathclyde or Glasgow were buried at Hoddom. In the following year in Vol. 33 appeared 'An Early Cross at Staplegorton' in which Dr Radford showed that the carving hinted at earlier timber crosses from which it had been copied.

In the next volume, No 34, not only his final thoughts on his Whithorn dig appeared but a 'Note on St Constantine' - this of particular relevance to Govan in which he was equally interested along with many other sites thoughout Britain. Three years later, in Volume 37, he published, in collaboration with Dr Reid, 'Unthank, A Manor of the Lovels'. Finally, at our Centenary Celebrations in 1961 he read a paper, 'The Churches of Dumfries and Galloway', which was printed in Vol. 40. Sadly, this appeared together with his contribution to the obituary of his friend and our much missed ex-president R C Reid.

All these papers in our *Transactions* have proved to be of lasting value. Thus for half a century Ralegh Radford has been a major influence in our Society's affairs for which he merits our grateful memory.

J Williams and W F Cormack

Proceedings 1997-1998

17th October 1997

Annual General Meeting
Speaker: Mr N de N Winser - 'The Sea of Sands and Mists - Seeking Solutions in the Wahiba Sands'.

31st October

Speaker: Prof John Davenport - 'A Marine Biologist's View of South Georgia'.

14th November

Speaker: Mr W F Cormack - 'Barhobble - Final Thoughts'.

28th November

Speaker: Mr Gordon Riddle - 'The Wildlife of Culzean'.

12th December

Speaker: M/s Jo Miller - 'Music Making in the Time of Burns, and a Gatehouse Fiddler's Notebook'.

16th January 1998

Speaker: Dr Lawrence Keppie - 'New Light on the Romans in South West Scotland'.

30th January

Speaker: Dr H O'Brien - 'Queen Victoria, Haemophilia and the Russian Royal Family'.

13th February

Members' Night
Speakers: Dr David Devereux - 'Two Recent Acquisitions in the Stewartry Museum' (A Miniature portrait of Jane Maitland and the diary of her son David Campbell).
Mr Ronan Toolis - 'The Archaeosights Project'.

27th February

Speaker: Dr Bill Finlayson - 'Time and Tide - the Archaeology of the Solway Coast'.

13th March

Speaker: Mr John Docherty - 'Spitzbergen and the Wild Goose Migrations'.

28th March

Speaker: Mr Richard Torrance - 'The Maclellans of Kirkcudbright'.
This meeting was held in Kirkcudbright.

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No. 2* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Poorhouse, by D.Adamson.

No. 3* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Miscellany

Mossknow Game Register 1875.

Diary of J.Gordon Graham 1854.

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No. 4* Middlebie Presbytery Records, by D.Adamson.

No. 5* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Miscellany

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Fergus Graham of Mossknow and the Murder at Kirkpatrick.

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