DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY
NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS

AND

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

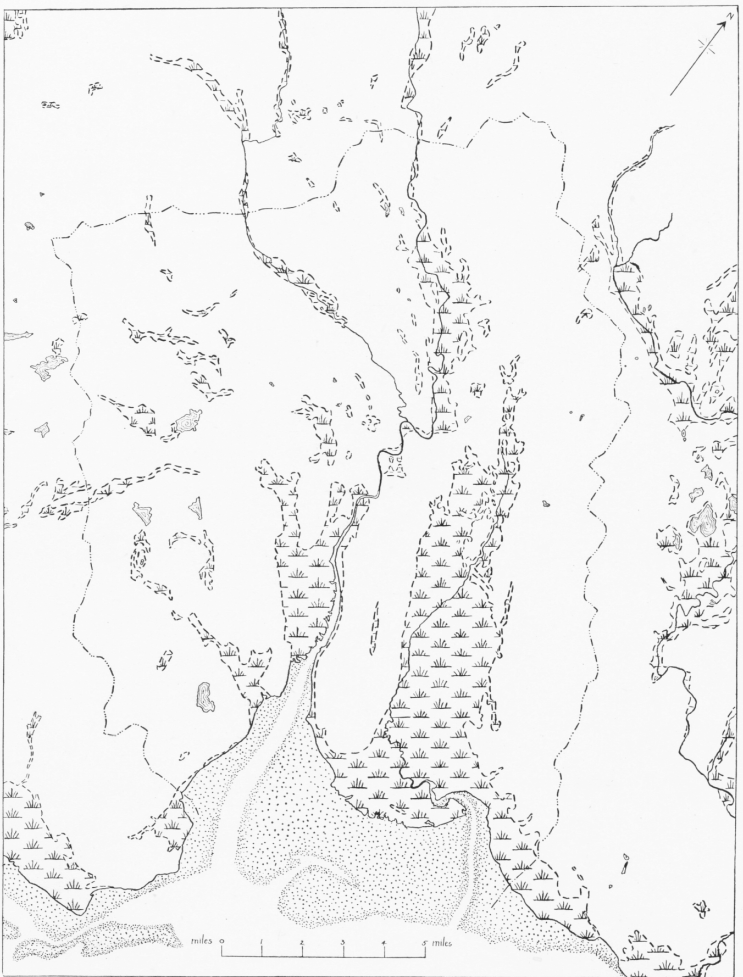
1923-24.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XI.

EDITOR:
G. W. SHIRLEY.

DUMFRIES:
Published by the Council of the Society
1925

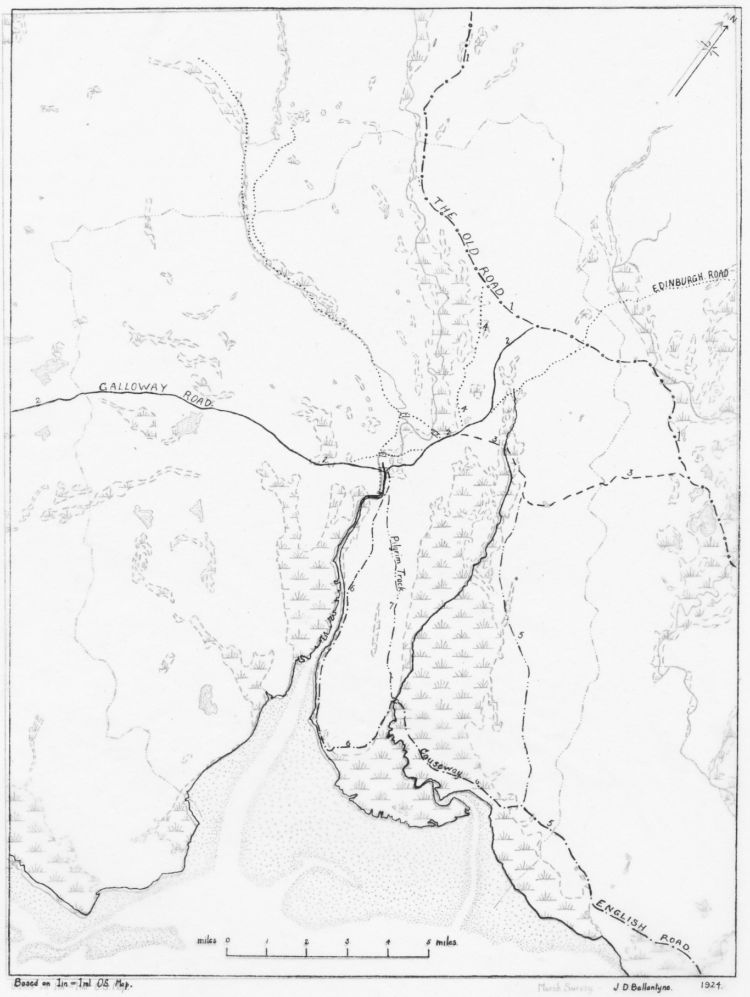
LOWER NITHSDALE.- MARSHES.



Based on 1in=1mil. O.S. Map.

Marsh Survey - J.D. Ballantyne. 1924.

LOWER NITHSDALE. OLDER TRACKS.



Based on 1in=1mi OS Map. Plane Survey J D Ballantyne 1921.

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS

AND

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

1923-24.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XI.

EDITOR:
G. W. SHIRLEY.

DUMFRIES:
Published by the Council of the Society
1925

Office-Bearers for 1923-1924.

President.

HUGH S. GLADSTONE of Capenoch, Thornhill, Dumfriesshire, F.R.S.E., V.P.Z.S., M.B.O.U., F.S.A. Scot.

Hon. Vice-Presidents.

S. ARNOTT, F.R.H.S., Fernlea, Dumfries.
G. F. SCOTT ELLIOT, F.R.G.S., F.L.S., Drumwhill, Mossdale, Kirkcudbright.
Dr J. MAXWELL ROSS, Duntrune, Maxwelltown.
JOHN RUTHERFORD of Jardington, Dumfries.
Sir P. J. HAMILTON GRIERSON. 7 Palmerston Place, Edinburgh
FRANK MILLER, Cumberland House, Annan.

Vice-Presidents.

JAMES DAVIDSON, F.I.C., F.S.A. Scot., Summerville, Maxwelltown.
T. A. HALLIDAY, Parkhurst, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries.
ALEXANDER TURNER, Glen Sorrel, Maxwelltown.
R. C. REID, Cleuchbrae, Ruthwell.

Hon. Secretary.

G. W. SHIRLEY, Ewart Public Library, Dumfries.

Editor of Transactions.

G. W. SHIRLEY.

Hon. Treasurer.

M. H. M'KERROW, 43 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries.

Hon. Librarian.

G. W. SHIRLEY.

Hon. Departmental Curators.

Antiquities—JAMES FLETT, Hillhead, Bankend Road, Dumfries.
Coins and Tokens—JAMES DAVIDSON, Summerville, Maxwelltown.
Geology—ROBERT WALLACE, Durham Villa, Charnwood Road, Dumfries.
Herbarium—Dr W. SEMPLE, Mile Ash, Dumfries.

Hon. Secretary, Photographic Section.

J. P. MILLIGAN, Aldouran, Maxwelltown.

Members of Council.

The President; Vice-Presidents; Secretary; Treasurer; Departmental Curators; Secretary, Photographic Section; Miss M. CARLYLE AITKEN, and Miss GORDON; Messrs THOMAS HENDERSON, BERTRAM M'GOWAN, JOHN M'BURNIE, Dr. T. R. BURNETT, FRANK MILLER, J. D. BALLANTYNE, E. A. HORNEL, and JOHN WIGHTMAN,

CONTENTS

SESSION 1923-24.

PAGE

PAGE.

Abstract of Accounts 208

Annual Meeting 9

Arnott, S. The Logan Gardens 185
The Romance of Helen Craik of Arbigland ... 77

Ballantyne, J. D. Natural Determinants of Routes in Lower Nithsdale 10

Blackwood, G. G. Dragon Flies 96

Callander, J. Graham. Dumfriesshire in the Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages 97

Elliot, G. F. Scott. Bracken and Heather Burning 87
Fungus Records for Galloway 84

Home, J. H. Milne. Some Notes on the Growth and Increment of Forest Trees in Great Britain 149

Field Meetings. Wamphray and Auchen Castle 168
Mull of Galloway 177
Buittle 189

Neilson, Dr. George. The Maid of Enterkin — Poems by Helen Craik and Burnsiana 64

Presentations 209

Rainfall Records for the South-Western Counties 166

Reid, R. C. Buittle Castle 197
Buittle Church 189
Logan Estate 178
Mote of Urr 204
St. Medan's Cave 180
The Tragedy of Wamphray 169

Shirley, G. W. Notes on the Arms of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries 160

Smith, A. Cameron. Wallace's Capture of Sanquhar and the Rising in the South-West 21

Watson, W. J. The Celts (British and Gael) in Dumfriesshire and Galloway 119

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Routes in Lower Nithsdale—Marshes ... ... } Older Tracks ... } *Frontispiece*

Flint Arrowheads—Polskeoch, Penpont; Barndennoch, Keir; Standing Brae, Farding, Keir; and Townhead, Closeburn 102

Flint Knife, Barndennoch, Keir 102

Stone Ball, Dumfries 117

Bronze Axes and Spearheads, Dumfries 108

Flanged Bronze Axe from Applegarth 109

Bronze Chisel from Dumfries 109

Urn and Bronze Blade from Shuttlefield 109

Bronze Bridle Bit from Birrenswark 117

Bronze Torc from Lochar Moss 117

Various Representations of the Arms of Dumfries 161

Various Representations of the Arms of Dumfries 162

Ancient Seal of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries 164

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

Ross of Hamelake and Ross of Wark 48

Mowbray of Barnbogle and of Kirkmichael 62

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Members working on local Natural History and Archæological subjects should communicate with the Honorary Secretary. Papers may be submitted at any time. Preference is always given to original work on local subjects.

Enquiries regarding purchase of *Transactions* and payment of subscriptions should be made to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr M. H. M'Kerrow, 43 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries.

Exchanges, Presentations, and Exhibits should be sent to the Honorary Secretary, Ewart Public Library, Dumfries.

It must be understood that as each contributor has seen a proof of his paper, the Editor does not hold himself responsible for the accuracy of scientific, personal, or place names, or for the dates that are given therein.

G. W. S.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Dumfriesshire and Galloway

Natural History & Antiquarian Society.

SESSION 1923-24.

14th December, 1923.

Annual Meeting.

Dr. WILLIAM SEMPLE in the Chair.

The Secretary submitted an apology from the President for his absence. He submitted also his report for the past session, showing a membership of nearly 200, and that seven ordinary and four field meetings had been held. For the organisation of the latter the Society was indebted to Mr R. C. Reid. He referred to the loss the Society had sustained from the death of Dr. George Neilson, the most scholarly, ingenious, and imaginative antiquary Dumfriesshire had produced, and a valued contributor to our *Transactions*. He also referred to the death of Earl Loreburn, ex-Lord Chancellor, another of our esteemed members.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report.

The Secretary submitted as a recommendation of the Council that Mr Frank Miller be appointed a Vice-President in place of Dr. George Neilson, and that Mr E. A. Hornel be appointed a member of Committee. It was remitted to the Council to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mrs Matthews.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr John M'Burnie, the recommendation was unanimously adopted.

Natural Determinants of Routes in Lower Nithsdale.

By Captain J. D. BALLANTYNE.

Man is for ever moving into and out of his locale as well as within and about it. Constant movement generally tends to follow along certain well-defined lines, and the more or less incessant use of a certain path alters the physical nature of the ground, and we have a track produced. Man is only one of a huge number of track-makers, for every animal produces its own, especially along lines joining the food and water supplies with the ordinary resting places. A road is a necessity even for animals, and will always have its objectives. The permanence and importance of the road will be in proportion to the permanence and importance of the objectives and the numbers making use of the route.

The necessity for a road once recognised, there arises the defining of the route from base to objective. In their early journeyings the first travellers aimed at the most direct way, but obstacles compelled detours and often a retracing of the steps already taken. The lessons learnt on the first adventures were utilised on the later journeys; and the best way, once known, was habitually used by the wise: and thus the stamp of wisdom was literally marked on the earth for all to read. Every natural road is wiser than it seems to be, and every turn and twist in it is a monument of past thought. How vital a road becomes when viewed in this way few of its users realise.

> "Every bush 's aflame with God,
> But only those who SEE put off their shoes."

In this wisdom of the road we can discover several fundamental principles or rules; and the sheep tracks on the hillsides, the rabbit runs through the brackens, the tiny track of the water-vole, well serve to bring these out better than most of our present-day roads. The sheep walks on the hills follow everywhere one great rule, for they alter their level as little as possible. Whenever they move up or down it is to avoid some obstacle—a mass of furze, a clump of thorn trees, a deep gully, a small patch of marsh. This latter obstacle is

not of the obvious type, but brings out a further rule, that the foothold must be as firm as possible. The study of the rabbit run gives examples of all these, and brings out clearly the first one of all—that a road will have its objectives—for at one end lies the burrow, at the other end of the track, water and food.

Man in his earliest roads followed the natural routes, but wherever his means allowed he shortened them, made firmer the foothold, removed obstacles, and eased gradients. These expedients produced the built road as distinct from the natural; but since the work of man always tends to rapid decay, the maintenance of the road can only be secured in regions where order is kept. Thus with each road we can appreciate its necessity, observe the wisdom of its course, and measure the civilisation of its maintainers.

Dumfries was no objective in the early days when the basin floor of Lower Nithsdale was a vast marsh with a few families of isolated hunters (Selgovæ) living on its islanded ridges and morainic mounds. The roads were late in development. But even thus early the tracks of the hunters pursued certain well-defined lines. The breeding season of the birds attracted the hill dwellers to the marshes where, for a time, food was abundant. The hill edges of the basin abound in old forts above the limits of the tangled woods of early days. When agricultural life began the hunters long remained in possession of their morasses, but the heights were peopled more thickly. The hill cultivation is exceedingly ancient, and traces of it are evident especially on the flanks of the hills, where the slope gave sufficient drainage (e.g., Auchencairn, Kirkmahoe). Indeed it was not until it became possible to drain the holms and flats that man lived anywhere except upon the slopes. All early roads tended to run along the edge of the hill tops—not along the flat crests, but just where these begin to tilt downward into the valleys. All such old roads in a " whinstone " land must have been obliterated long ago, but their track from fort to fort may be surmised. The advent of iron and the Romans gave a tremendous impetus towards the clearing of the thickets of gorse and

broom, of hazel and birch and such like, which clothed the better drained bottom lands. The roads then tended to keep to low levels in place of high, but Lower Nithsdale was still a land of great difficulty.

The two great plains of Britain—the Scottish and English Lowlands—communicated with each other through the lands of the Brigantes. The eastern route was the chief, and so the ancient " Edinburgh " sat at its entry to the Scots Land. A western track was available, but it did not pass through Dumfries—the Lochar Moss took care of that. It passed through Lochmaben and Amisfield along the flank of the Dalswinton Spur to Auldgirth, and so up Nithsdale, and this low, easy route is still the easiest line. (See Collingwood's map in 1919-20 *Transactions*.) Why, then, does no great road run this way to-day? The answer here offered is a suggestion based on geographic facts, coupled with the historic conditions of the times.

Vision the two plains with their comparatively dense populations of farming and industrial communities, and the corridor of Nithsdale with its easy gradients passing through the wild Southern Uplands. For the Nith alone of all the upland streams rises on the northern slopes, but sweeps round, cutting its way to the south through the main divide of the land. Imagine, further, the merchants of the time with their merchandise carried on pack animals—human and otherwise—passing and re-passing from fair to fair, and augmented by the numerous pilgrims of those days. Then on the western flank of this deep corridor picture a wild land and a wilder people. Little more is needed to lead us to an almost inevitable result and to imagine the road " from Jerusalem to Jericho " at our own doors. There were ambuscades and raids; and the wild Galwegians returned home jubilant. But what of the merchants? Escaping, they approached the King with their plaints until at last, other affairs permitting and the lust of acquisition urging further, the King moved his soldiers to protect the road (e.g., Malcolm IV., William the Lion). We see this in India to-day. Time and again it has occurred in history.

The soldiers were mercenaries organised feudally: to keep the road they must quell Galloway or cow it by punitive expeditions. But Galloway was no easy land to cow, and so on the far side of the road camps were established lest the freebooters should return. And to protect the length from Carlisle to Thornhill, what better point than Dumfries? The advent of this garrison was the most important event in the history of Dumfries. Since this was so, let us see what Dumfries offered.

It lay west of the great road, for the greater dangers came from that direction. Through the vale ran the Nith, in those days bordered by great marshes practically impassable, and hence a great obstacle. Between Auldgirth and the sea (20 miles) there was only one place where both banks were high and firm and approachable; and this was where the Nith, deflected by great moraines, crosses from its own valley into that of a smaller stream. Cutting through the morainic debris, its sides were steep and firm. The moraines stretched north-eastwards, dividing the Lochar Moss from the Carziel Flats, and this gave a raised causeway from the high ground near Amisfield and Tinwald. The land to the west also offered firm footing, for the moraines of Corbelly Hill and Laurieknowe ran westward by Suffolk Hill until they joined the Carruchan Ridge coming down from the Galloway heights like a builder's plank. The raiders' path was narrow, and where cut by the Nith it was most easy to bar. From Dalscone to the head of the Kingholm crossing was possible, and somewhere along this line the fort was built. The specific facts which decided the site of Dumfries have been already explained by G. W. Shirley in his *The Growth of a Scottish Burgh*, but will bear re-statement in geographic terms.

The most obvious fact is that the Nith had to be crossed, and that meant a suitable ford. The lower course of the Nith is tidal, and below the Old Quay this fact, added to the marshy tidal flats, left no safe ford below Troqueer Mote. Above this the river was fordable almost anywhere in the summer months, and in winter certain places with firm foot-

ing were preferred. But the Cluden, entering from the west a mile and a half above the lowest possible ford, gave a secondary area of marsh which prevented the free use of fords to the north of the confluence, whilst beyond Dalscone the Carziel Flats forbade approach until near Auldgirth, seven miles further north. Just below the confluence for a short distance both banks were firm, then the marshes of the Maryholm intervened as far as Townhead Mote and the Stakeford. Hence the only available fords were at Lincluden or Martinton, and again between Townhead and Castledykes. The exact point of the regular or popular ford was defined by other considerations, for the ford is really only a tiny portion of a track or roadway; and we need to investigate the lines of movement before we can definitely mark the customary ford.

If we conceive ourselves to be a party of Galloway raiders desirous of ambushing the merchants on the great road, we can, perhaps, reconstruct the method of approach. Coming from Galloway, the barriers of Cluden and Carziel Flats tended to deflect the roads to the south of Lincluden, whilst the tidal marshes deflected them north of the head of the Kingholm. The two main approaches from Galloway to-day both descend into the basin by means of deeply cleft ravines. But the streams debouching on to the lower ground spread out into the marshy flats of the Cargen and Mabie Moss. There was thus an insuperable obstacle to the use of these tracks in early days. Between them, however, the Carruchan Ridge runs down, and affords firm footing, whilst the morainic crescent extends across the Nith to the foot of the ridge. Where the Cargen cut through the moraines there was firm ground on either bank, and so the obvious line of approach was by this route, which descended to the river, having skirted the south flank of the great moraine of Corbelly Hill, this being more direct and drier than the alternative route along the northern side.

On the eastern side of the basin floor the Carziel and Cargen Flats were still further reinforced, for east of the Cargen Flats there lies, first, the long ridge of the Craigs

anciently covered with thicket, and secondly, still further east along its foot and extending from the sea for over ten miles inland and with a width of from two to three miles, the great turbary of the Lochar Moss, in those days an impassable morass.

Between Carziel Flats and Lochar Moss, however, there stretched a strip of hummocky ground from the northern end of the Craigs Ridge northward and eastward. This was a great line of moraines left by the ancient glaciers in their retreat some ten thousand years or so ago. This strip served as a kind of raised causeway, and enabled the basin to be traversed from east to west in spite of the marshes.

The bends of the Nith seeking its way through this belt of mounds gave two loops towards the south-east, and travellers, to avoid repeated fording, chose a route just south of a line joining these bends. The Moffat-Edinburgh road has obviously done this in approaching Dumfries from the Amisfield Gap, which avoided crossing the hills. The Wald (or Vellir) Ridge, which divides the Dumfries Basin from the Howe of Annandale, maintains an average height of over 600 feet. By Torthorwald, however, there is a gap (435 feet), and this gave facilities for a more direct approach from Lochmaben, which could still utilise the morainic causeway. Close to Dumfries the roads joined, for reasons which are stated below.

At Dumfries the river takes a great right-angled bend, flowing first west and then south round a low morainic mound some fifty feet in height. Between this mound and the northern slope of the Craigs lay a wide marshy hollow. Along the eastern flank of the mound lay another marsh joining the first. At the point of junction the marshes were nipped, like an hour glass at the waist, where another mound almost parallel to the first almost joined it. Beyond this second mound lay another and still larger marshy hollow opening northwards, but almost joining a northward extension of the marsh along the foot of the Craigs Slope. The marshes were separated by a ridge where another large drumlin touched the second. There were thus two places where the morainic

ridges were practically in contact, and these marked out the line along which the road must approach the river from the east. This road reached the Nith almost at the point where the Galloway road approached the opposite shore, and thus the regular ford was at this point. Mr Shirley's researches, worked along altogether different lines, have shown that this was the case, and the Suspension Bridge of to-day almost marks this ancient crossing place.

The feudal levies sent to police the Galloway border were most probably under Norman organisers; and the defensive works which were erected to protect the road and hold in check the Galloway raiders were similar in type to other Norman works, which at this period were usually motes or mote-hills. Let us put ourselves in the position of a military commander faced with the task, and see how we would make our dispositions. The first need would be to place the garrison in a safe and strong position, but one at which they could strike at the raiding parties. Right at the head of the Kingholm a ridge of rock stood high above the river, to south lay the Kingholm marsh, eastward a low isthmus connected it with the thicket-clad Craigs Ridge, to north lay the marshy flats of the Millburn, whilst eastward lay the river. On this rocky knob the soldiers could dwell in safety, and, if necessary, could obtain relief by the path of the river itself. Also the opposing bank was firm and fording possible. To hold the crossing the opposite " bridge-head " must be held too, and so a subsidiary outwork was made. Here we have the Mote of Troqueer. This first castle of Dumfries on the Castledykes knob was within striking distance of a party using the ford at Nith Place: but the alternative crossings north of Corbelly Hill about the Stakeford needed other works. The Loreburn Marsh could be passed by skirting its northern edge where the steep banks of the Nith gave a drained crest. At the critical point rose a knoll, and this, probably artificially enlarged, was made to serve as a mote —The Town Head Mote. But even now the crossing at the confluence of Nith and Cluden was remote. Another mote was necessary to hold this crossing, and within the

last bend of the Cluden a morainic ridge with little alteration served as the Lincluden Mote. Considerations of military strategy and the local topography suggest the positions of the strongholds, and the remains of motes are found at each of these points. Other points were available, but none so suitable as these, and it will be seen that these were sufficient. There are, it appears, no historical records concerning the origin of the Dumfries motes, but the military problem of those days of almost a thousand years ago and the countryside considered together give reasonable answers.

The garrison added to the local population, gave safety to the village by the ford, attracted trade, and by the feudal tenure of land placed a farming population on the hitherto debateable lands to the east of the strongholds. Each of these facts added to the importance of Dumfries, and had an effect on the roads of the district.

Dumfries, by virtue of its garrison and those connected with its maintenance, now became the largest community of the district, rapidly outstripping its rival, Lochmaben. The assured safety of its approaches and the certainty of trade induced merchants to leave the old beaten track and pass through Dumfries. At first this was done by a fork from the old route after it had entered the Dumfries Basin by the Amisfield Gap. This was virtually the old raiding route reversed. The vital point was at the bifurcation, and a stronghold secured its control, and here Amisfield Tower arose. But a more direct route from Lochmaben was possible by the alternative raiding route through Ryemuir Gap. This was deflected round the northern end of Lochar Moss, but a short causeway was soon constructed to shorten the journey, as gravel kames are scattered fairly closely at this part of the moss, and so gave sections of firm ground.

But since the merchants did not all wish to trade in Lochmaben as well as Dumfries, more direct routes from the old track were sought. Coming from England, the best way was along the coast until the southern end of the Wald Ridge had been passed at Ruthwell. From this point the direct road is impossible owing to the presence of the Lochar

Moss. The routes had to take one side or other of the moss. By turning along the foot of the forested Wald Ridge past Mouswald it was possible to reach the Torthorwald track. Before the Roucan-Brownrigg causeway had been made this meant a considerable detour to the north, and offered no real advantage over the old route via Lochmaben. The alternative route took advantage of the firmer and sandier ground which cut off the peaty moss from the Solway mud-banks of the Blackshaw. This spur of sand crosses from the end of the Craigs Ridge towards Ruthwell, and formed the lagoon in which the original moss grew. This route, via Cockpool and Locharwoods, was low, since the sandy soil was little above the sea level and subject to inundations. To avoid these a raised causeway seems to have been constructed—but a very narrow one indeed, since it would appear to have been only wide enough for loaded pack horses to pass each other. This causewayed track crossed the Lochar Water where it ran close under the Craigs Ridge, and thus gave firm ground at one side (Bankend). Where the route divided at Ruthwell was placed the stronghold of Comlongon Castle. From Bankend the route along the western edge of the moss was impracticable since the Craigs come down fairly steeply on this side. Even to-day no road pursues this route, although two make the attempt— one to end at Georgetown, the other at Kelwood. A third crosses the crest of the Ridge itself to reach Bankend, and since in these days the thickets could be cleared, it was probably the route adopted. Earlier still, however, a primitive track pursued the easier route along the foot of the ridge, with the thickets on the right and the sea marsh on the left. This compelled a detour to the south, and passed Caerlaverock Castle. Another keep was built near Bankend. This Bankend route was adopted as the chief route from England, although the narrow causeway made it somewhat difficult for an enemy unless the weather had been dry for a considerable time. The situation of Comlongon and Caerlaverock, and the action of the sea under the persuasion of the prevalent south-west winds, had constricted the ground available for the road, and these points

strengthened the position of Dumfries as a military post in times of war with England.

The direct approach from the Scottish end was little out of the old route which already ran down the eastern bank of the Carziel Flats to Duncow. Here it swung eastwards through the Amisfield Gap, and travellers to Dumfries had simply to follow the edge of the Carziel hollow until they struck the track leading from the gap to Dumfries at Heathhall. This track, like the Amisfield route, passed over the old moraines which had been tumbled and crushed against the eastern wall of the valley. After Galloway was pacified and it was safe to use the western bank of the Nith, the more level route on this side attracted travellers, and to-day (from 1770 A.D.) it is followed by the main route to Glasgow.

Thus the trend of events initiated to protect the section of the great road between Lochmaben and Thornhill had been to destroy what it was meant to render safe : but it had substituted a newer, slightly longer, section in its place, with a stronger link at Dumfries than ever Lochmaben had been. Thus does history affect geography. The story of the roads does not end here, for other forces were still operating which strengthened or modified many of these routes. Besides, once Galloway was pacified and there were objectives in the west—Ireland and St. Ninian's Shrine—many travellers desired to move directly to the west. The shore roads already led them as far as Bankend and Caerlaverock, but beyond lay a mass of obstacles, tidal estuary and bore, tidal marshes, and the huge bulk of Criffel on the western side, 1800 feet high on a base with a diameter of eight miles. Thus even the western traveller was compelled to use the Craig tracks and pass by the tide-free ford at Dumfries. This point already stood opposite the only easy route to Eastern Galloway. Hence besides the merchants' stores and the soldiers' fort and farms, there were pilgrim inns. The use of these roads drawing the travellers from Lochmaben would no doubt create ill-feeling between the two places, and may probably partially account for the bitterness of the feuds of Johnstones and Maxwells. So strong, indeed, has been the pull of Dumfries that it is

practically impossible to trace accurately the old track through Lochmaben, Amisfield, and Auldgirth.

Other developments of the roads caused few changes. Destruction of the hill thickets permitted the short circuiting of the Annan Way, via Cummertrees, by a track through Carrutherstown; as a similar procedure over the Craigs Ridge from Bankend had been adopted for the pilgrim traffic. Both these roads use steeper gradients than the older. The drainage of marsh areas made possible the crossing of the Lochar Moss by direct tracks where scattered moraines and kames gave some foothold, e.g., Collin to Dumfries; and also permitted easier gradients along two new roads which replaced the hill track to Galloway. These new ways pierced the hill buttress through gorges whose entries had been impossible because of the marshes at the debouchments. These are the Dalbeattie and Castle-Douglas roads.

The development of the droving of Irish cattle, and the advent of the stage coach, brought about temporary modifications, but the arrival of the steamer and locomotive soon stopped all this. The railroad when built closely followed the lines of existing roads.

The study of the roads suggests the following Historico-Geographic Sequence :—

1. Period of the Hill Roads when the vales were trackless forest and marsh.
2. The time of the great Valley road between English and Scottish Plains, and which formed the artery of Strathclyde-Cumbria. This road left Dumfries side-tracked.
3. Period of Saxon and Norman intrusion, with a line of strife west of Nithsdale. Dumfries now a frontier post opposite a door of Galloway.
4. Period of Border Warfare. Dumfries as a rear fortress of the Western Marsh, and hence a Sanctuary.
5. Period of Local Strife between older and newer roads when peace permitted Lochmaben to reassert itself.

6. Peaceful development—Drove Roads and Stage Coach Routes.
7. Industrial Period—road and rail linkings.
8. The coming Period with the probable development of the older, shorter road for national motor traffic.

Geographically the direction of the ways was controlled :—

1. By the gaps in the rimming hills.
   (a) Blackwood Gorge.
   (b) Amisfield Gap.
   (c) Torthorwald Gap.
   (d) Ruthwell Pass.
   (e) Gap of Galloway Downland between Criffel and Bennan Hill Masses.
2. By the marshes and moraines, on the valley floor :—
   (a) Carziel Flats.
   (b) Lochar Moss.
   (c) Cargen Flats, including Mabie Moss.
3. The strategic point or centre was determined by :—
   (a) The windings of the Nith.
   (b) The range of the tide.
   (c) The peculiar arrangement of the drumlins.
   (d) The Craigs Ridge, causing a bifurcation of the valley floor.

1st February, 1924.

Chairman : Mr R. C. REID.

Wallace's Capture of Sanquhar and the Rising in the South-West,

With Accounts of the Rosses of Wark and Sanquhar and of the Mowbrays of Kirkmichael.

By A. CAMERON SMITH.

The story of the capture of Sanquhar as given by Blind

Harry is contained in Book 9, lines 1577 to 1838, beginning

> The Sawchar was a castell fayr and strang;
> Ane Inglis capdane, that dyd feyll Scottis wrang,
> In till it duelt, and Bewffurd he was cauld,
> Rycht ner off kyn was Douglace wiff and he.

The following notes were collected in an attempt to fix the date of the capture and especially of the chase which resulted in what may be called the first battle of Dalswinton, usually assigned to *circa* May, 1297 [*S.P.* 3, 139]. It may be said once for all that Harry's chronology is hopeless. It would be impossible from his book to determine the date of the battles of Stirling Bridge or of Falkirk. Living 160 years after the death of his hero, he had to rely on tradition, and some of the exploits attributed to Wallace may have been borrowed from other heroes or other ages. The personages introduced, it was thought, might afford some circumstantial evidence, and indeed so little is really known about Wallace's movements that very careful sifting of all available records is necessary.

A very brief resumé of the story may first be given. Sir William Douglas and his henchman, Thom Dycson, in the disguise of a cousin, one Anderson, who was in the habit of keeping the castle supplied with firewood,

> Graithyt him a drawcht, on a braid slyp and law,
> Chargyt a hors, and to the hous can caw.

i.e., 'gan drive. From the reading of the text we conclude that it was not a wheeled cart, but the shafts bore heavily on the horse's back. This introduced under the portcullis, the " yet geid up." Dickson " cuttyt a thourtour bande, that all the drawcht upbar." This was no doubt the backband passing " athort " the horse's back. " To ground the slyp gan gae, Cumryt the yet, stekying thai mycht nocht mae."

Running up a grece, Douglas found the knight Bewfurd on the chawmyr floor, and slew him. One only of the garrison escaped, who passed to Dursder, the Enoch, Tybris Mur, and Louchmaban, and warned the English garrisons in these castles. Douglas, realising the danger of being himself besieged, despatched Dickson to beg assistance from Wallace. The hero was then vesying Kynsith (Kilsyth)

Castle held by one Rawynsdaill, who was at that time visiting Cummyrnauld,

Lord Cumyn duelt on tribut in that hauld.

Wallace made a rather circuitous journey, adding on the way a few more feats for the epic. Meanwhile the English who had set siege to the Sawchar took alarm, and fast south they went. Wallace, then in Crawford Muir, debouched (perhaps from Dalveen Pass) upon their flank, through Dursder, abone Morton, kepand the hycht lest the Sotheroun should turn to Lochmaban (by the Loch Ettrich Pass). (Blind Harry's knowledge of places is seldom at fault). Above Closeburn he brought seven score to earth, and Earl Malcolm likewise took toll.

Feyll men was slayn, upon the Southeron sid,
Five hundred larg,[1] or[2] their past Dawswyntoun
On Sotheroun sid to ded[3] was brocht adoun.

Then the flight broke in various directions, Lochyrmoss, Crochtmaid, Cokpull, and Louchmaban. Harry makes some of all the Nithsdale names join in the chase, a habit pardonable in a strolling minstrel accustomed to be feted at the hospitable board. There were Adam Corre, Johnstoun in Housdaill (? Ewesdaile or Ae'sdale ?), Kyrkpatrick and Halyday. Gude Corrie brought a fresh horse on which Wallace renewed the chase. Maxwell came out of Carlaveroch. There Wallace rested overnight and came to Dumfries in the morning.

The following notes deal with some of the proper names :

TOM DICKSON.—Tradition is that Douglas gave to his henchman the twenty merk land of Hisleside, near Douglas, which his posterity enjoyed to recent times. [*Hume*, House of Douglas 24.] One of the wings of St. Bride's old church at Douglas, no longer enclosed, is known as the Dickson Aisle, and it belonged to this family. Yet the minstrel gives him a cousin, one Anderson, on the Sanquhar side of the Lowthers. In the accounts of the (English) sheriff of Dumfries, Eustace de Maxwell, for the year ending 29th Sept.,

[1] No less. [2] Before, Ere. [3] Death.

1336, one Thomas, son of Thomas Dickson, is shown as possessing 5 burgages in the vill of Sennewhare, which used to be worth 16/8, but like most of the other lands in the year's accounts these forfeited lands were waste, and no issues could be got for them. Here is one Thomas, best known as son of his father of the famous name, a patriot, no doubt, in rebellion against the foisting of Edward Baliol upon Scotland. Was he son of Douglas's henchman?

The same Tom Dickson appears in Barbour's Bruce as playing a part in the incident known as the Douglas Larder with the good Sir James, son of Sir William, above mentioned. Barbour makes him end his life there, in that adventure, the capture of Douglas Castle, about 1307.

SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS.—The potentiality of Douglas for working mischief ended on 24 July, 1297. Taken at the capture of Dunbar 31 March, 1296, he was released on 10 June of that year. He submitted to Percy and Clifford at Irvine on 9 July, 1297. For some reason he was again taken into custody. Hemingburgh says the Scots delayed handing over the hostages agreed on and haggled for better terms, while the brigand Wallace was courting the populace. The English threatened to take military measures, and the Scots nobles, alarmed, laid the blame on William Douglas and the Bishop of Glasgow, who surrendered, and were imprisoned in Roxburgh and Berwick respectively. The story given by the records is that because Douglas did not produce his hostages on the day that others did, Percy and Clifford carried him, and also Sir Alexander Lindsay, via Roxburgh (17th July) to Berwick (24th July). Here Douglas was thrown into irons, he having behaved in a wild and abusive manner to his captors. The same letters show that between these dates Wallace lay with a large company in the forest of Ettrick "like one who holds himself against English peace." [*Stev.*, 2, 202-18; *Bain*, 2, 916.]

On 12th October he was committed to the Tower, but he was dead by 24th January, 1299. His audacity and high-spirit are vouched for by the forcible manner in which he had carried

off Lady Ferrars, widow of Sir William, and married her shortly before 28th January, 1288, and also by another incident of date 3rd August, 1293. The bailiffs of Lanark came to give to his mother seisin of certain tenements recovered before the Justices and levy damages of seven score merks. Douglas took them and locked them up for a night and a day. He had also detained three of the "King's men before he became King" (John Baliol). One died, one was beheaded, the third escaping. Douglas admitted the facts alleged. [*A.P.S.* 1, 448.]

WALLACE.—Unfortunately little is authentically known of Wallace's doings before the surrender at Irvine. His slaying of Hazelrig at Lanark in May, 1297, is sufficiently documented. Ormsby, the justiciary, had, however, frequently pronounced exile upon him before this date. While this official was holding a court at Perth, Warren and Cressingham were at a Parliament held in London 1st August. Wallace attacked the justiciary and nearly captured him. Hemingburgh associates Douglas with Wallace in this outbreak.

Rising in Nithsdale.

The first mention of a disturbance in Dumfries, Nithsdale, and elsewhere, is on 4th June, and Percy is ordered to suppress it. [*Stev.* 2, 171.] The Sheriff of Dumfries had similar orders. On 13th June English thanks were addressed to Dovenald Fitz Can, Gille Michel MacGethe, and Maurice de Stubhille, and others in the company of Thomas de Saunforde, for putting down evil-doers and retaking castles in their country. [*Stev.* 2, 177.] Sir Dovenald was pretty certainly a great Celtic landowner west of Nith. The inference seems to be that the rising was not an isolated foray, and there is other evidence that Galloway participated (see later).

The cause of the rising, or at least the pretext, is given in a manifesto of the Scottish nobles dated July, 1297, to the English King. [*Stev.* 2, 198.] The Scots had been told that the King of England would seize all the middle people (*menzane*) to send them beyond the [Scottish] sea in his army. [The translator has inserted "Scottish" without assigning a reason. The French is *de la la mer,* modern *au*

delà de la mer, beyond the sea, to Gascony. The Scottish sea is the Firth of Forth.] Such a summons did in fact come, dated 24th May, to the Earl of Carrick, John, brother of the Steward, Ingram de Umfraville, Wm. Douglas, William Ferrars, and the following barons of Nithsdale among many others :—Ingelram de Gynes, Alexander de Lindsay, Herbert Maxwell, Thomas de Torthorwald, Roger Kirkpatrick, Andrew de Chartres, John Maxwell, Henry de Mundeville, Walter Logan. [*Bain* 2, 2884; *Stev.* 2, 167.] They were to be ready at 7th July with horse and arms to cross with the English King in person. [*Pat.* R. 249.] And the Scots at this time had a particular distaste for fighting against France.

There were other letters ordering the Earl of Carrick to bring the men of Kyle, Cunningham and Carrick, to Gibon Fitz-Kan and Donkan Macdowal to bring the men of Galloway, and to Richard Siward to bring 300 chosen men from Nithsdale (anno 1297). [*Stev.* 2, 178.] These, however, rather appear to belong to February or March, 1296.

Percy's expedition of 300 men-at-arms and 40,000 foot had a false alarm at Lochmaben. While they lodged there by night some local wits raised the cry, " not indeed The Philistines, but The Scots are upon you "—Hemingburgh's joke. But the English, running to arms, set fire each to the house in which he had lodged, and by that light departed in safety. He gives the date as *circa* 10th August, rather late. For Percy and Clifford were at Senewar on 30th June. [*Bain* 2, 902.] Thence by easy stages they made their way to Ayr and Irvine.

It seems most probable that the attack on Sanquhar was part of this general rising. There cannot be much doubt that the Castle was again in English hands at the above date, 30th June. Further, Wallace was at 23rd July in approximately the position from which Blind Harry makes him invade Nithsdale. If Douglas took part in the capture, English displeasure might at once be looked for, and on 12th June, the day before thanks were sent to Fitz Can, the stock on Douglas's Northumberland and Essex estates was ordered to be seized and sold. [*Stev.* 2, 176.]

Conditions of Castles in Nithsdale.

DALSWINTON—COMYN—Were these in English occupapation? As regards Lochmaben, Dalswinton, Tibbers, and Durisdeer, the answer seems to be in the affirmative. The history of Dalswinton seems typical. At this date there were Sir John Comyn, the elder, and Sir John Comyn, the younger, his son (killed 1306), both of Badenoch. The elder, as might be expected, steered a middle course, the younger was a fervent nationalist. In Northumberland they had great estates—Tyrsete, worth £200, belonging to the father, and Thornton (£19 6s 4d) to the son. [*Stev.* 2, 48.] In Scotland, south of Forth, they held Dalswinton, Kirkintilloch, and (or) Cumbernauld. Kirkintilloch appears in the records, Cumbernauld only in the chronicles. The possible site of Cumbernauld Castle is unknown unless it was Castlecary. It does not seem certain which occupied each, but it is quite certain that from the summer of 1296 till harvest, 1297, neither could have been in residence. The son, a very violent and hot-tempered youth, was, like many others of the Nithsdale barons, captured at Dunbar 27th April, 1296, and carried to prison in the Tower. From this prison he was not released till 20th July, 1297, and then only upon condition of serving in Flanders and giving his son (a child, afterwards slain at Bannockburn) as hostage to England.

Comyn, the father, was not at Dunbar. He took the milder course of submitting to Edward, at Montrose, July, 1296. [*Stev.* 2, 60.] Shortly after 12th October there was a royal command to come to England with his wife and dwell in Gettington. [*Stev.* 2, 113.] The castle of Kirkintilloch was about the same time, October 2nd, committed to Wm. Fitz Glay. [*Rot. Scot.* 1, 35.] He was an Englishman. [*Bain* 2, 1062.]

There is little further mention of the elder Comyn till about 11th June, when Edward, out of policy, allowed him to return to his Scottish estates, then restored to him. Again, 31st July, John Comyn of Badenoch is to be allowed to return to Scotland and get his lands and castles taken in hand on account of his rebellion. He is to be given his castle with fruits of the present autumn and his implements, if any can

be found in the castle of Kirkintilloch now. At the same time the son, about to go abroad, by royal letter was given his fruits, but no castle is named, and there is no mention of leave to visit Scotland. [*Rot. Scot.* 1, 43.] The King sailed for Sluys 21st August, 1297. It is said that all the Scots he took with him deserted and made for Paris. [*Wals.* 213.]

Both Badenoch (father) and Buchan, according to Hemingburgh, were sent home to Scotland to quell the popular tumult (11th June). Buchan made a fair show at first, but soon from a convert became a pervert. Badenoch, "unable to change the minds of his people, remained with us in body at least, whether in fealty, I know not." By this date (August) Douglas was out of the way, however. Presumably Dalswinton was all this time occupied by an English garrison.

TIBBERS—SIWARD.—The history of this castle is similar to that of Dalswinton. Sir Richard Siward and his son of the same name were both captured at Dunbar, and were both interned in the Tower 16th May, 1296. [*Bain* 2, 742.] The father probably was only released from prison upon his undertaking, 30th July, 1297, to go to Flanders. He then left another son, John, as hostage. [*Bain* 2, 940.] The barons of Nithsdale were all inter-related by marriages. Sir Richard (the father no doubt) had married one of the sisters, unnamed, of Sir John Comyn, elder of Badenoch. At this time his (second) wife's name was Mary, widow of Simon Frissel. (Not, of course, Sir Simon, the patriot, and the companion of Wallace in the ensuing years). She had to support four children of Richard by his former wife, and five of her own by her previous husband, and her husband being in prison, she —3rd September, 1296—received a grant in support. He must have been an important baron, for he possessed 500 m. of land. [*Stev.* 2, 92.]

Perhaps here we have the origin of the numerous Frizzels or Frasers in Upper Nithsdale.

Richard, son of the last, was not so fortunate as his father, but his imprisonment in Bristol was mitigated, 29th May, 1298, on account of his father's late good service in Flanders. [*Stev.* 2, 284.] He was still prisoner, however, at 21st November, 1299. [*Close R.*, 325.] His wife,

Elizabeth, had a grant at the same time and date as Mary (above). [*Stev.* 2, 93.]

Long before this date Sir Richard, home from Flanders, was, 27th August, 1298, building a new house at Tibbers, and as his kinsman, John St. John, hinted to a friend at court, needed money. [*Bain* 2, 1005.] This was no doubt the castle which was captured by the Brucian party in 1306 and he within it. [*Bain* 2, 1811.]

DURISDEER—GYNES.—The lord of this castle, Sir Ingelram de Gynes, had married Christian, only child of Wm. de Lindsay and of Ada, sister of John Baliol. [*S.P.* 4, 143.] He himself was a Frenchman, son of Arnold, Count of Guignes (France), and Alice, daughter of Ingelram, Sire de Coucy (Aisne, France). The ancient chateau was blown to powder in the Great War, on which occasion the public were reminded of the proud device of this powerful baron :—

> Roy ne suis, ne prince, ne duc, ne comte aussy,
> Je suis SIRE DE COUCY.

Alexander II. was proud to marry a daughter of this house.

Sir Ingelram's attachments to Scotland were not very strong, and he did not go to Dunbar. But about 3rd May, 1296, he did a very prudent thing for an English holder of lands in Scotland. He placed a mortgage on Durisdeer with a burgess of Dumfries, and leased it and his other lands of Westerker (Westerkirk) to Sir John Soulis, a national Scot [*Bain* 2, 1452], and immediately thereafter, 16th May, took a safe conduct to go to England. [*Stev.* 2, 49.] He does not seem to have continued in Scotland, for—14th November, 1297—he and Margaret de Ros were ordered to resist the Scots under Wallace, then invading England. [*Close R.* 316.]

ENOCH—LOVEL, SOULIS.—Sir John Soulis may at this time also have been in possession of Enoch and Domcroy, lands of the Lovels. [*Pat.* 312.] Hugh Lovel dying before 16th June, 1291, John de Soulis was given ward of two-thirds of his lands until majority of the heir. [*Bain* 2, 534, 703.] Some relationship is here indicated. Much later (1306) his own lands were given by Edward I to Richard Lovel [*Pat.* 314] in retaliation for his adherence to Bruce. In the early half of

1295 Soulis acted as Baliol's ambassador to France for arranging a marriage between Edward Baliol (afterwards " king ") and some relation of Philip of France. [*A.P.S.* 1, 453, *Hem.* 2, 86.] This proposal was most obnoxious to England, and Soulis's favours and grants were resumed into the English King's hands, 3rd October, 1295. [*Pat. R.* 150.] Thereafter he appears as " rebel," 10th October, 1296 [*Rot. Scot* 1, 35]; or " enemy," 10th June, 1299, stating to be intending to cross to France [*Pat. R.* 422] as Wallace actually did about the same time, 19th August, 1299. [*Nat. MSS. Scot.* 2, 8.]

As regards this last date, the doubt expressed in Dunbar, [*Kings* 121, 127], and the Scots Peerage as to whether the year is 1298 or 1299, is removed by an examination of the document. In it there is reference to Sunday [last], the morrow [16th August] of the Assumption. Now 16th August in 1299 was Sunday (and in 1298 Saturday).

MORTON CASTLE—RANDOLF.—Thos. Randolf, whom we take to be the lord of this castle at this time, was absent in France, 3rd September, 1296 [*Stev.* 2, 94], and, if the entry is correct, one year later, 6th September, 1297 [*ibid* 83n.].

SANQUHAR—ROSS.—We shall shortly see that the English lord to whom Sanquhar was transferred in 1296 was away in Gascony fighting for England, and that the Scottish claimant had died shortly before January, 1297.

It thus appears generally probable that in the early half of 1297 all the castles of Nithsdale were, as Harry implies, under alien control, and their owners either absent in the power of England, or fugitive.

The Rebellion in Galloway Proper.

In the covenants made 7th July, 1297, at Irvine, there was confession of rebellion in Galloway, particularly on the part of Robert Wishart, Archbishop of Glasgow, Sir James the Steward, John, his brother (father of the first Stewart of Dalswinton), Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick (later Robert I.), Sir William Douglas, and Sir Alexander Lindsay.

There seems little doubt that the rebellion was due to sympathy of Galloway with John Baliol about the time when English indignities compelled him to withdraw allegiance to

England in the end of March, 1296. Galloway, east of Cree, at any rate was devoted to the son of Dervorgilla, and Gallovidians and Baliol himself are said to have taken an important part in the two great raids made into England, in the rear of Edward I then at Berwick—Monday, 26th March, and Sunday, 8th April—with incredible cruelties. [*Pat.* 141, 151.] It is suggested that Douglas may have been fighting his way towards the obtaining of the Ferrars lands in East Galloway. The port of Kirkcudbright was closed to messengers to or from foreign parts by an order undated, but certainly after 28th August, 1296, when Warren was appointed custodian of Scotland. [*Stev.* 2, 131.] The Celts who remained faithful and had thanks and encouraging words, 13th June, 1297 [*Stev.* 2, 177; *Pat. R.* 253], were Galloway landholders in modern Kirkcudbright and Wigtown, as the following notes show.

Dovenald Fitz Can and Gilmighel MacEthe signed the Ragman Roll as del counté de Dunfres at Elgin 28th July and at Berwick 28th August, 1296. [*Bain* 2, pp. 195, 198.] Sir Dovenald had been sitting there on Sunday, 26th August, as one of the jurors on the extent of the Zouche lands in Dumfries, viz., Girthon, Senwick, parts of Troqueer and Drumsleet, and of the village of Kelton. [*Bain* 2, 824 (4).] We have seen him under orders early in 1296 with Duncan M'Dowal to bring a thousand men of Galloway to the King three weeks before Easter. John Baliol gave him an annuity out of Royal land in Ayrshire in lieu of a pension of £10 which Dame de Baliol, his mother, had granted to him and his heirs. In 1305, 2nd November, it was converted to an annuity out of the Scots Exchequer. [*Bain* 2, 1712.] He and one Michael Macgethe were jurors on a Bruce claim in Annandale, the subject of an enquiry at Dumfries 31st August, 1304. [*Bain* 2, 1588.] The name, apparently M'Ghie, occurs frequently, and naturally suggests Balmaghie as the home of the clan.

Gilmighel MacEthe is in Ragman Roll, 28th August, Berwick, as of Dumfries. [*Bain* 2, p. 198.]

Morice de Estubbille appears in the Ragman Roll as del counté de Dunfres [*Bain* 2, p. 210], but the fact that he,

Maurice de Stubhil, was one of the fermers of Cyplaunde (Sypland, near Kirkcudbright) in 1291 [*Stev.* 1, 284] gives a better indication of his location. There is a farm Barstibly near Castle-Douglas.

These had fought in the company of Thomas de Saunford, and the date of his going to Scotland was 10th September, 1296. This fact points to a rather prolonged state of insurrection in Galloway.

The tragic story of the Galloway hostages seems to emphasise the stubbornness of the Galloway Celts. By the capitulation at Irvine, July 1297, the Scots consigned hostages into English hands. These, 22 at least, were thrown as prisoners into Carlisle Castle, 23 October, 1297, shortly after, and perhaps in consequence of Wallace's success at Stirling Bridge. Next summer during a whole fortnight, 20th July to 2nd August, the Scots delivered an attack upon Carlisle Castle and city. Then commenced 1st September following a mysterious succession of casualties. The tenth died 10th June, 1300, and an eleventh was liberated. Starvation may have been the cause. If so the Bishop's charge for their board, 2d per day, or twice a labourer's daily wage, and something more for attendance, was an extortion. A separate batch of 11 remained prisoners till 1302 without further casualties [*Bain* 2, 1179, 1300.]

All the 22 are described as hostages of Galloway. No others are in fact mentioned. Only one can be located with absolute certainty. This was Yvo, son of Stephen de Killeosbern (Closeburn), who is shown as dying 9th October, 1299. An order dated 20th October, 1299, was issued for the transference of Yvo de Killosbern of Galewidia to the custody of Clifford. [*Close R.* 280.] We must suppose that the order came too late.*

* The names of the eleven hostages are as follows:—Laughlan, son of Laughlan de Carsan; Dovenald, son of Thomas de Carsan; Martin, son of Ivo de Slethan; John, son of William Brunbert; Gillepatrike, son of Brice, son of Make Rori; Ninian, son of Thomas Make Rori; Andrew, son of John Make Gille Reue; Matthew, son of Maurice Make Salui; Ivo, son of Stephen de Killeosberne; John, son of Duncan Makehou; and Robert, called "Maistersone," who was freed on 8th Sept., 1300. [*Bain* 2, 1179.]

A move which seems to have been a menace to the tenure of John Baliol in Galloway, is indicated by a passage in the *Chronicle of Lanercost* (ed. Maxwell, p. 141):—"At this agitating time [after the battle of Dunbar, 27th April, 1296] the Lord Bishop of Durham caused to be seized all the lands which Sir John de Balliol held of the fee of St. Cuthbert; and upon these lands at Castle Barnard, he caused a prisoner of the same John, [aged] eighty-eight, to be brought out of filth, had him shaved, gave him a change of clothing, and set him at liberty, besides restoring to him the lands of which he had been deprived. All these things go to prove the Christian mercy of the English, who, despite the response of ill-disposed people, returned good for evil gratuitously." No name is given, but there is another reference to Thomas of Galloway in the same *Chronicle* [*ibid.*, p. 40.] Relating events about the time of Alex. III.'s death (1286), he refers to emissaries from the King of England due at Norham with the bodily presence of Thomas of Galloway, whose release from prison was besought at that time by Sir John de Baliol, the son of the older Baliol, who died 1269 [and of Dervorgilla].

The story of the chronicler might have been passed as a myth were it not that in the records there appear suddenly a number of references to Thomas of Galloway. On 6th March, 1296, the King of England grants privileges to the men of Galloway at the request of Thomas of Galloway, as in the time of King David and of Alan, the said Thomas's father. [*Bain* 2, 728; *Rot. Scot.* 1, 22.] This seems to be the aged prisoner of the *Chronicle*. Next day, 7th March, 1296, the Sheriff of Westmoreland has instructions to receive Thomas de Galwaye from William de Huk, and to deliver him to the constable of Carlisle, who is at the same time directed to keep Thomas according to the form which the Bishop of Durham shall make known. [*Pat. R.*, 475; *Bain* 2, 729.] One cannot help wondering whether the attack by the Scots upon Carlisle Castle on 27th March had anything to do with the presence of Thomas in the castle. Hemingburgh chronicles the death on this occasion of one of the noblest of Galwalia, but in the army of the besiegers. [2, 94.] Nevertheless it may have been old Thomas, who at least is never mentioned again.

Thomas, son of Alan, eighty-eight years of age, recalls a long stretch of Galloway history. He is, of course, Thomas the Bastard, who upon Alan's death in 1234 claimed as a son, though natural, preference to the three legitimate daughters, " according to a detestable custom common in Wales of putting legal and illegal sons on equal footing as heirs." [*Pap. Lrs.* 1, 87; *Anno,* 1222.] Thomas, who had married the daughter of Olaf, King of Man, and whose rule was desired by the rude people of Galloway in preference to a regiment of women, was made by them quasi-king. He was joined by an evil-doer, Gilroth, often referred to as Gilruth. But the name was probably a contraction for Gilrotheri, i.e., Gil Rory. Other instances of this can be found, that is of Gil Rotheri appearing as Gilroth. Further, Gil Rory appears frequently in a Galloway connection in the records, while Gilruth does not.

Two years of war followed. " But the King of Scotland after great slaughter restored the lands to the daughters. Afterwards John Baliol, who had married the eldest daughter [the youngest, Dervorgilla], was given the custody of Thomas, who till his decrepit age was shut up in the inner part of Castle Bernard." [*Chron. Lan.,* Max. 42.] From this Bastile he only emerges apparently for brief spaces at the end of Alex. III's reign, and at the end of John Baliol's short reign.

I had at first a strong suspicion that the chronicler in introducing Alex. III had simply confused the date with the end of John Baliol's reign. This opinion has to be revised. In an inventory of writs found in Edinburgh Castle by the English in 1292 [*A.P.S.* 1, 114, 115] appear two items:— (1) Certain rolls dealing with the negotiations touching John de Baliol and Thomas of Galwidia; (2) a letter of John Baliol on the subject of restoring to the King of Scotland Thomas of Galwidia and his wife and child.

The chronicler may therefore be quite correct in stating that there were proposals to bring Thomas from England at an earlier date. The " King of Scotland " must have been Alex. III (died 1286).

On two occasions, therefore, when the succession to the

Scottish Crown was in dispute the King of England produced his trump card, Thomas of Galloway.

The age of the prisoner takes his birth back to 1208, the year before Alan married his second wife, Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, who became grandmother of "King" John. It is obvious that the rather ostentatious favour shown to Thomas could only be intended to make "King" John Baliol uncomfortable about the security of his great heritage in Galloway, and deter him from his purpose of renouncing English allegiance.

The next indication of a rising in Galloway is contained in a document in which a number of Celts are named and described as the chief men (*greinours*) of the lineage of Clenafren. These admit, under date 25th July, 1296, having aided John Baliol against the King of England, who is about to send an army into Galloway against them. They now make submission by letters done at Wigeton, and have given hostages. [*Bain* 2, 990.]

The names appended are interesting, as being the earliest though only a partial list of the Celtic inhabitants of Galloway. They appear thus :—

Gillenef McGillherf.	Cuthbert M'Euri.
Neel M'Ethe.	Kalman M'Kelli.
Gillcryst M'Ethe.	Michael, his brother.
Duncan M'Gilleuras.	Hoen M'Ethe.
Duncan M'Gillauenan.	Cuthbert, his brother.
Adam M'Gilleconil.	Auchmacath M'Gilmotha.
Gillespie M'Euri.	Michael M'Gilmocha.

The name Clenafren seems to suggest a Clan. The surname Afren is, I am informed, found in Lewis at the present day, though uncommon.

Another short list of malcontents is obtained by examination of a long list of Scots to whom their lands were restored, 3rd September, 1296. These, of course, all appear as swearing fealty a few days earlier, 28th August, but there are only four from Dumfries (none from Wigtown) out of many Galwegians who signed the Ragman Roll. The following, therefore, had come under special displeasure, and had had

their lands taken in the King's hand. [*Stev.* 2, 90.] [R.R. denotes time of signing the Ragman Roll.]

Makerathe Molgan. — Macrath ap Molegan, R.R. 28th August. [*Bain* 2, 198.] Ap is specially a Welsh patronymic as distinguished from Highland or Irish Gaelic.

Thomas de Kyrkecovende.—Unless identical with Thomas de Kirkconnel is not found in R.R. or elsewhere.

Walterus de Wynham.—Wautier fiz Richard de Twynham, R.R., 28th August. [*Bain* 2, p. 198.] Walter, son of Richard de Twynham, juror, 26th August, on Zouche lands [between Cree and Nith.] Sir Walter de Twynham, keeper of the shire of Wigtown, presided 25th August on the enquiry as to Mauhinton (Wig.). [*Bain* 2, 824 (2) (1).]

William Polmadoc.—William de Polmaloche, R.R., 28th August. [*Bain* 2, p. 198.] Juror 25th August, on Zouche possession in vill of Mauhinton (Wig.). [*Bain* 2, 824 (2).]

Eufamia, widow of William de Hornedone.—Eufeme, widow of William de Horndene, R.R. 28th August—of Wigtown? [*Bain* 2, p. 214.]

Robert de Ross.

Edward I. had summoned Baliol to appear before him at Newcastle-on-Tyne in Mid-Lent, 1st March, 1296 [*Heming.* 2, 273], and also to deliver certain castles on the marches of both kingdoms, of which Wark-on-Tweed was probably one. Baliol did not present an appearance. " Whereupon the King marched to Scotland with a great army and kept Easter [25th March] at Wark [upon Tweed], of which castle Robert de Ros was lord, who deserted the service of the said King of England on the third day before the King's coming. The King was there on 17th March, 1296 [*Bain* 2, 731], and continued there till, on Wednesday in Easter week, 28th March, " the Forenene passed King Edward the ryver of Twede." [*Diary Edward I., Bann. Misc.* i., 272.] Robert, the narrative continues, left the castle empty and betook him to Senewar, a small castle which he had in Scotland, all on

account of the love *par amours* which he bore to Christian de Moubray, who afterwards did not deign to have him. [*Scalachr.* (Maxwell), 14.] This event is referred to by many chronicles. Rishanger, who was 62 in 1312, seems a good authority (*ib.* 156). Hollinshed (2, 513) gives a satisfactory summary of the story. Hemingburgh (2, 93) says he desired to have the lady in marriage, but a few lines later makes an insinuation as to her honour (*forte meretricis*). Before leaving Robert opened his mind to his brother William, and confessed that he was in league with the Scots, and begged him to cast his lot in with him. But the brother refused to forsake his allegiance, and took steps to inform the King, then at Newcastle, that the castle was deserted. Edward immediately sent on a force of a thousand. These reached " Prestefen (Presson, a hamlet some two miles SSE of Wark), and while quartered there they were surprised by a body of Scots drawn from the castle of Roxburgh under the captaincy of the renegade Robert. The Scots surrounded them with the cry of " Death to the English." All that could not answer the word of challenge, " Tabard " with " Surcoat " or " To horse " (" *Supertunicam vel ad equum* "), were mercilessly butchered. [*Bates* : Northumberland, 148.] Edward thanked God that his hands were clean, and swore to finish the business which his enemies had begun. Robert, adds the chronicler, who expected great things after his victory over the King of England, skulked (*latitavit*) for some time as a wanderer and fugitive, and died in poverty. [*Hem.* 2, 94.] Unfortunately the records do not add much to this story of Robert. He was dead by 28th January, 1297. [*Pat. R.*, 231.]

The desertion of his King by Robert of Werk does not rest solely on the authority of the chroniclers. As it was retold in 1367 [*Bain* 4, 133], Robert joined the Scots in burning Werk, in Northumberland (this is Werk in Tyndale), and afterwards joined William le Waleys. This refers evidently to the second raid made by the Scots in the communications of Edward while he was at Werk on Tweed.

It took place on 8th April, 1296, and being a reprisal

for the massacre of Berwick, it was accompanied by terrible barbarities. Of the two columns, that of Galloway, probably with an Annandale contingent, was led by the E. of Buchan, who had recently been placed by the Scottish party in possession of the Bruce lands there. [*Hem.* 1, 83-93.]

William de Ros, the brother, continued faithful to England, and was at Stirling Bridge, 11th September, 1297. After the English constable of Stirling Castle had been slain at the bridge, William, by his own account, threw himself into the Castle with Sir William Fitz Warren and Sir Marmaduke de Twenge by the Earl of Warren's orders. But they had to surrender it from want of victuals, " whereon William le Waleys spared him from being Sir Robert's brother, but, as he would not renounce his allegiance, sent him a prisoner to Dumbarton Castle, where he lay in irons and hunger till its surrender (to the English) after the battle of Falkirk, 22nd July, 1298. [*Bain* 4, 1835.]

This is the statement, but actually their release was only arranged for at 16th July, 1299, when they were to be exchanged for the Scotsman, John de Mowbray, and another. [*Bain* 2, 1062; *Pat. R.*, 406; *Close R.*, 258].

There is a strong presumption that William was the unnamed *nepos* in a stirring incident described in Hemingburgh's very picturesque account of Stirling Bridge (2, 139). Sir Marmaduke was one of those who had crossed the bridge and found themselves intercepted by Scots, who had come between the English and the bridge. Seeing this, some of the English were for swimming the Forth, but Marmaduke declared that he did not intend to drown himself without an effort to hack his way through his King's enemies. He put spurs to his horse, and, being of great strength and remarkable stature, was on the point of success when his nephew (*nepos*) was wounded and stunned, his horse being killed under him. Standing on foot he shouted, " Save me, my lord." Sir Marmaduke bade him mount behind him, but the other answered, " I cannot, my strength fails." Hereupon a comrade, the squire of Sir Marmaduke, dismounting from his horse, raised the wounded man to the saddle, and cried to his

lord, " I'll follow thee, wherever thou goest." And both crossed to safety, almost the last to do so. Warren committed the custody of the castle to Marmaduke, promising to return in ten weeks, but he failed to implement this promise, and Marmaduke and William remained prisoners, as already related.

As the account just given does not seem to be apt in making William a *nepos* of Marmaduke, it may not be irrelevant to state Marmaduke's relation to the Rosses. His father, Marmaduke de Twenge also, of Kilton Castle (Cleveland, Yorks.), married Lucy, second sister and co-heir of Peter Bruce of Skelton (Yorks), by November, 1243. [*Complete Peer.*, 5, 269n.] Their elder son, Robert, dying without male issue, Marmaduke, their second son, became heir. He died in 1323, and was the hero of Stirling Bridge just referred to. By his mother he was cousin of William de Ross, as will be seen from the pedigree of that family. Marmaduke, however, married Isabel, daughter of William de Ross of Ingmanthorpe (Kirk Deighton p., Yorks.), but the relationship of this branch of the Rosses is not known. As Marmaduke's eldest son was born about 1293, or about the same time as the daughters of Robert de Ross the turncoat, brother of William, it is quite improbable that Marmaduke could have had at the battle of Stirling Bridge a *nepos* (either nephew or grandson) capable of bearing arms. We must therefore suppose Hemingburgh wrong in this detail, and substitute cousin for *nepos* in his story, and identify that cousin with William de Ros.

This presumption receives still further support from a document of date a few years later. At the muster at Carlisle for the siege of Carlaverock, 25th June, 1300, Sir Marmaduke undertakes to perform in person the service of three-quarters of a knight, due by himself and his partner (*particeps*), William de Ros. [*Pat. Doc.*, 219.] Later we shall hear of William's mother granting lands to her son William and to her nephew Marmaduke a little before the date of Stirling Bridge. In fact the frequency of association of these two names is rather remarkable.

A short statement of the family to which Robert belonged seems necessary for an understanding of his position. As the elder line provided one of the competitors for the Scottish Crown in 1291, its pedigree is common knowledge. [*Dunbar, Kings of Scot.*, 283; *Comp. Peer.* (1895), 6, 400.]

The two branches diverge from a certain Robert de Ross (I.) of Hamelak (Helmsley, Yorks.) and of Werk, who came to Scotland in the reign of William the Lion and married at Haddington that King's illegitimate daughter, Isabel, in 1191 [*Scots Peer.*, 2, 429.] She had first been married to Robert de Brus in 1183. Her mother was a daughter of Robert Avenel. Robert de Ros, surnamed Furfan, became monk in 1209, and died 1226. [*Roll of Battle Abbey* 3, 52.]

II. It seems necessary to introduce into the pedigree at this point a second Robert, partly because the interval, 1191 to 1274, is too long for one generation, and partly because a certain Christiana appears as alive in 1274 and dead in 1275, who was once wife of Robert, father of William and Robert to be next mentioned. Robert (II.) received from his father Robert (I.) by charter, confirmed 15th August, 1227 [*Charter R.* 1, 56], all the land of Werk and the castle, with some exceptions. The land was to be held by rendering yearly at Roxburgh fair a sore gerfalcon in lieu of all service saving the (English) King's foreign service. His possession must have been brief, and he may have been dead by 5th July, 1227, before above confirmation, when his heir, William, is mentioned as confirming one of his father's pious grants to the church. His widow married a second time. In accordance with this change it seems necessary to transfer some statements about Robert the monk to this Robert. "He left two sons, William and Robert. To William as first born he gave his great Yorkshire barony; to Robert, the smaller fief in Northumberland, adding to it a Scottish barony, to be held of the elder by military service. For each he built a great castle, at the head of their Honour; Hamelake for William, and Werk for Robert." [*Roll of Battle Abbey*, 3, 52.] This second son, Robert, will be made later the starting point of the pedigree of ROSS OF WARK AND OF SANQUHAR.

III. William, the elder son, married Lucy, daughter of Reginald Fitzpiers, and, dying in 1258, was succeeded by his son,

IV. Robert, who in right of his wife, became also of Belvoir (Leic.), having married before 17th May, 1244, Isabel, daughter and heir of William de Aubeny of Belvoir. She died in 1301. Robert died in 1285, and was succeeded by his son,

V. William. This William, born about 1255, was the competitor for the Scottish Crown in 1291. He was a faithful subject to Edward I., and followed him in his wars in France, Wales, and Scotland, and held the office of King's lieutenant.

Ross of Wark and of Sanquhar.

IA. The first of the younger family is taken to be Robert, second son of Robert (II), who owned Werk and its castle and gave it to this younger son. We shall find later the evidence that he possessed Sanquhar, but no doubt this Scottish barony came to his grandfather by the marriage of 1191. The peculiarity of holding Wark and possibly also Sanquhar of his elder brother is understandable, because it thirled these estates to an English baron and secured subservience to the English Crown. But it placed the holder in a difficult position, and the attachment of his castle to Roxburgh was probably the cause of this family drifting away from their English allegiance. At any rate Robert entered into full possession of Wark, and between 1227 and 1252 had new concessions of markets and fairs at his Manor of Werk. When the English party opposed the Government of the Comyns in 1255, and succeeded in securing the persons of the young King of Scots and his wife, daughter of Henry III, Henry moved up to the borders, and occupied Werk Castle, September, 1255. [*Charter R.* 1, 449.] Robert had apparently sided with the Comyns, and was accused, from the English side, of causing trouble and vexation to Margaret, Queen of Scotland, the English King's daughter, while of the Council of Alexander II, King of Scotland, and was amerced in 100,000 merks, but he was subsequently exonerated and pardoned.

The King had been lately suing Robert in his court to recover the castle and manor of Werk, and whereas the said Robert vouched to warranty thereof William de Ros, his elder brother, the King released to these two all action and claim to the said castle and manor. [*Charter R.* 2, 25.] We shall see, however, that the claim was revived and made effective.

Robert married Margaret, heiress of Kendal, the third daughter of that Peter de Brus of Skelton who married Helwise de Lancaster, one of the four sisters and heiresses of Peter de Brus of Skelton, who died 18th September, 1272. [*Comp. Peer.*, new edition, 5, 269n.] [For Lancaster see Rev. Fred. W. Ragg in *Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. and Arch. Soc.*, Vol. X., new series (1910), p. 494.] Margaret, his wife, survived her husband, and can be traced till near the end of the reign of Edward I. She was dead by 20th January, 1307. Her husband, dying shortly before 28th April, 1274 [*Fine R.* 1, 22], left two sons—1. Robert, who abandoned his English allegiance as already related. 2. William, who remained faithful. To him, then actually in Gascony, his mother granted her heritage of Kirkeby in Kendal, with 45 acres of her demesnes of Helsington. The charter, along with another to her nephew, Marmaduke de Twenge, then going beyond seas on the King's service, was confirmed on 20th August, 1297 [*Pat. R.*, 304], by which time both of these brothers in arms were probably home again and making for Stirling Bridge (11th September, 1297). William married Elizabeth —— (who survived him, and married John of Howgill, who died 1351), and they had a son, Thomas, who died after 1365. [Rev. F. W. Ragg, *l.c.*, where a continuation of the family will be found.]

After the death of Robert (IA), the father, there is mention, 20th October, 1274 [*Fine R.* 1, 32], of a dispute over Cargou, which, it is stated, was held by Robert de Ros (II) of Werk, father of the deceased, of the gift Sapientia, late the wife of William de Karliol, the yr. Order is made to deliver the manor to Sapientia, saving to Christiana, late the wife of the said Robert, her dower assigned in the manor. Christiana appears to be widow, still to survive for about a

year, of Robert, father of William and Robert. It is incidentally mentioned that the deceased Robert held nothing in chief of the King, and this view is further developed on 7th May, 1274 [*Close R.*, 83], in an order to permit Robert de Ros (IIA), son and heir of Robert de Ros (IA) of Werk, to have seisin of the castle and manor of Werk provisionally till the King's return to England, " as the King learns that Robert (IA), son of Robert (II), held the castle and manor of Robert (IV), son and heir of William (III) de Ros of Werk, of the gift and feoffment of Robert de Ros (II), father of William (III) and Robert (IA), and it does not appear that Robert (IA) held anything of the King in chief." That William was " of Werk " seems to rest on a superiority already alluded to, now revived for the purpose of securing Werk for England.

IIA. Robert, who succeeded 1273-4, must have been under age, because by 10th July, 1275 [*Close R.*, 201], it is stated that Sapientia in her last will bequeathed the custody of Cargou during the minority of Robert's heir to Geoffrey de Tyllol. [For Manor of Cargou see Cumb. and West. Soc., XXIV., n.s., 50.]

Sanquhar, we know, belonged to this Robert who lost Werk. That it had belonged to his father also may be inferred from the fact that partly in lieu of her widow's terce of " the lands of Le Senewhare in Scotland," Margaret of Kendal as widow received Belestre and Playnmelore in Tyndale [*Inqns.* 2, 70, 145.] As these lands were in the franchise of Werk in Tyndale (to be distinguished from Werk on Tweed), which King John Baliol, 3rd July, 1295, granted to Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham [*Pat. R.*, 8th February, 1297, 233], the latter ejected her in 1297-8 from these manors, which were worth £40 per annum. In her plea against the bishop she was able to say that she had been dowered in these lands 18 years before the bishop had anything to do with them.

The mother's third of lands in Le Senewhare in Scotland was the subject of a petition by the daughters of the deceased Robert, the Scotch rebel, in 1312. [*Inqns.* 5, 396.]

In this case the reference is to Robert's wife, whose identity is quite unknown, unless we disregard the chroniclers' insinuations and call her Christian de Moubray.

On Robert's desertion of England in March, 1296, the King did not at once take action. On 4th September following the Dumfries and Lanark lands of Robert were ordered to be delivered to Alexander, son of John de Stryvelin [*Rot. Scot.* 1, 28], and on 8th September the lands of Robert were declared forfeit, and Wark castle was committed to Osbert de Spaldington for the benefit of William de Ross (V), then in the King's train in Gascony. By 28th January, 1297, Robert was dead, for there is under this date an order for Osbert to deliver the lands to Robert, brother and attorney of William, then in Gascony [*Pat. R.*, 231; *Stev.* 2, 162], and there is added, " which Robert de Ros of Werk, who was against the fealty of the King on the day of his death, held of the said William. So Hemingburgh is correct, and the career of Robert with Wallace must have been a short one. If he took any part in the capture of Sanquhar, then that event cannot have taken place later than an early day of January, 1297.

BEWFFURD.—In a plea over the manor of Werk pursued by John Salveyn and Margaret, his wife, and Isabella, her sister, the two daughters of this Robert (IIA), against William de Hamelake (V) [*Placita in Parliamento* 1, 183], it was admitted that William had been guardian of the forfeited Robert's lands in England *and Scotland*. The plea that the peace granted to John Comyn of Badenoch in 1304 cancelled forfeiture was refused on the ground that Robert died a traitor before the peace and so could not be held to have come to the King's peace. Now, though here called by the ancestral name of Hamelake, William was son of that Robert who, dying in 1285, was described as Robert of Beuveyr, alias Beuvayr, or Beuver. [*Inqns.* 2, Ed. I., 580.] The spelling indicates the pronunciation of the day, and the resemblance to Bewffurd is at once obvious. At the present day the name of Belvoir, the castle of the Duke of Rutland in Lincs., is

pronounced " Beevor." The distortion of Beuver is no worse than that of Ferrars to Ferss, which is the minstrel's form.

Here Blind Harry has built his story on a substratum of fact, that Sanquhar was in the possession of the Beuver family. I have looked in vain for the disappearance about this time of a Ross of the elder branch. Nor have I found one to whom the minstrel's line,

Rycht ner off kyn was Douglace wiff and he [9, 1578],

would apply. The curious thing is that Robert, the claimant of Sanquhar, disappears about six months before the date usually assigned to Wallace's exploit.

IIIA. Robert the rebel left two daughters, Margaret and Isabel, named in the inquest on the death of Margaret of Kendal, their grandmother, as her next heirs in blood. [*Inqns.*, 2 Ed. I, 427.] At the date, shortly after 30th January, 1307, their ages were respectively 15 and 12. It is interesting to see that they were born about 1291 and 1294. They are obviously legitimate, and it seems probable, if we accept the story of Christiana de Mowbray, " who afterwards did not deign to have him," that his previous lawful spouse died between 1294 and 1296. Margaret and Isabella were both born and baptised in Scotland [*Bain* 3, 282; *Inqns.* 1 Ed. II, 396], probably at Sanquhar. Margaret appears with her husband, John Salveyn, in 1305 [*Placita,* l.c.], when Isabella was still unmarried, until 1312, when the husband of Isabella, John de Knoches, is also mentioned as suing for their mother's third part in the Senewhare in Scotland. [*Bain* 3, 282.]

John Salveyn was probably a younger brother of Gerard Salveyn, who possessed North Duffield and Harsewell (Yorks.)—[*Pat. R.*, 427],—and died shortly before 13th March, 1320. [*Fine R.* 3. 21, 43.] His nearest heir is described [*Inqns.* 6 Ed. II, 223] as Gerard, son of John Salveyn, aged 12 (so born 1308). His father, whom we take to be Margaret's husband, was therefore dead at this date (1320). Gerard appears at various dates in connections which establish relationship to Margaret. Thus in 1367 Gerard, kinsman and heir of Margaret, has exemplification of letters

finally granted to her 6th November, 1312, cancelling the effect of the forfeiture of Margaret's father, Robert of Werk. [*Bain* 4, 133.] It does not seem to be certain that this favour was extended to the younger sister, as, 30th July, 1312, Margaret and her husband, who has done homage to England, obtain their half, while the other half of John de Knoches is held till further enquiry. [*Bain* 3, 282.]

There was a similar application for the manor of Belestre, 1306-7, upon Margaret of Kendal's death, by John Salvein and Margaret, his wife, and Isabel, her sister. There were two other competitors at this time, Robert de Bures and William de Ross, brother of the late Robert, who based his claim on his faithful service at Werk and Stirling Bridge. [*Bain* 4, 1835.] In this case the manor was granted, 4th April, 1307, to Robert de Bures for life. [*Pat. R.*, 515.] It is not evident whether he had any particular claim upon Belestre, but he had had a charter of lands in Scotland since annulled by the peace made with John Comyn. [*Bain* 4, 1835; *Pat. R.*, 515.] Later, 19th May, 1355, we find Belestre occupied by Gerard Salvayn, at which date the long past forfeiture of Robert, his ancestor, is made a ground for the King recovering the manor. [*Fine R.*, 342, 427.]

Of John de Knoches, husband of Isabel, we have only two glimpses—5th March, 1311, when he petitioned England for his wife's pourparty of the manor of Werke, now possessed by William of Hamelak; and 30th July, 1312, when his suit is continued. The name de Knokkis appears occasionally about this time, though the earliest form of the original family of Knox of Ranfurly is de Knoc, the final *s* appearing much later in this family. Thus in 1488 John of Knok of that Ilk appears. [*Chart. Pais.*, 406, &c.] Peter de Knokkes, esquire, at Bothwell in 1312 in the English service at the time of John's application for English favours, may have been some relation. As the name is not at all an English form and nowhere appears in the English records proper, we may infer that he was a Scot, as Salveyn was an Englishman. If the latter's suit with England was successful and the former's rejected, the difference in their relations with Scotland was apt to be intensified.

Later Possessors of Sanquhar.

The *Scots Peerage* [3, 53], following *Nisbet* [1, 281], explains William de Kreichtone's possession of Sanquhar by supposing that he married " the Lady Isabella, one of the two daughters of the last Ross of Sanquhar." He had one half of the barony, while Richard Edgar had the other half.

The difficulty is that, as now appears, Isabella was the name of the second daughter of Robert de Ros, but in Robertson's Index this jotting appears:—To *Elizabeth* Crichtoun [charter] of the forfaultry of Margaret Saluan (Salwan). [*R.M.S.*, App. 2, 1231.] Unfortunately there is no indication of a date. The index is full of errors. If we suppose " Elizabeth " an error for Isabella, one would interpret the charter as putting Isabella in possession of the whole of the barony. This supposition can hardly be avoided, seeing that Isobel, spouse of William de Kreichtone, is stated (see charter following) to have been a portioner of Sanquhar in her own right though she did not have the chief manor.

The charters which form the evidence for the division of the barony are subjoined. They are undated, but are obviously subsequent to the actual division.

1. [Charter.] To Richard Edgar the chief manor with one half of the whole barony of Seneschar pertaining to the said chief manor, as said barony was lately divided by letter from our Council [*Capella*]. To hold to said Richard, his heirs, and assignees in fee. Doing suit and service as in the time of Alexander, our predecessor. No date, but apparently reign of Robert I. [*R.M.S.* 1, 27, also *App.* 2, 141.]

2. Confirmation of Richard [Edgar] of the donation which Richard Edger has made to Dovenald, his son, of the chief manor of Sanquhar, with half of the barony, as the barony was divided between William de Kreichtone [and] Issobella, his spouse, on the one part, and Richard Edgar himself on the other [except three pennies] [*R.M.S.*, I., 1. 56.] Extract only, without date.

Richard Edgar was a life-long friend of Bruce. He is

said to have been a witness at the King's second marriage in 1302 [*House of Edgar,* p. 4], and he was that King's sheriff of Dumfries in the closing years of the reign [*Exch. R.,* I., 123, 154.] It was Helena Edgar who was permitted to wait on his Queen Isabella while prisoner in England before Bannockburn. [*Bain* 3, 354.] Other three of his sons are known. To Richard, his eldest son, he in his life-time gave the penny land of Kirkpatrick. The third and fourth sons were Edgar and Dungal. [*R.M.S.* 1, 94.]

Why Dovenald, the second son, should have received the chief manor of Sanquhar seems difficult to explain, but we may hazard a conjecture. Creichton eventually only had half of the barony, and not the leading half. Richard Edgar the father, may have married Margaret de Ros, as indeed Nisbet suggests, and, her forfeiture being cancelled, Dovenald may have been the eldest son *of this marriage.* He had also the honour conferred on him apparently in the reign of David II. (1329-70) of the chieftainship of the Clan MacGowan. The name is not specially recognisable as a Galloway name, and does not appear in the index to *Landowners of Galloway,* 2nd edition. Perhaps it is one of the variants of M'Kean (locally pronounced M'Kyan), such as M'Kan, or fitz Kane which appears in Galloway lists about 1300 and in Welsh lists as Can, or Cain about the same time. [*Pat. R.* (1301), 566-7.] A M'Gachan was said to have been standard-bearer to Bruce in his War of Independence. [*M'Kerlie, Lands,* new edition, 1, 425.] It was probably Edgar's own clan, and at any rate the names of the sons indicate the old Celtic stock. The sheriffdom passed to the Creichtons and became hereditary.

It is likely enough that Isabella, who was wife of John de Knoches in 1311-2, married secondly William de Creichton. He at least eventually secured the whole of the barony. This may have occurred through the translation of the Edgars elsewhere. The Edgars of Wedderlie (Berwick), who died out in 1817, claimed descent from one of the younger sons above named, " probably the King's godson." [*House of Edgar,* 4.] The surname has always had some representatives in Nithsdale.

Pedigrees of Ross of Hamelake and Ross of Wark.

I. Robert de Ros, "Furfan," of Hamelake and Werk, di. 1226,
Md. 1191 Isabel, Nat. dr. of Wm. the Lion. Became Monk, 1209.

II. Robert of (Hamelake and) Werk, appears 1227 to 1252, whose widow Christiana was alive in 1274, father of Wm. and Robt.

III. William of Hamelake and Trusbutt in Wartre (Yks.) di. 1358.
Md. Lucy, dr. of Reginald Fitzpiers.

IV. Robt. of H. & T. became by his wife of Belvoir. Di. 17 May, 1285.
Md. before 17 May, 1244, Isabel, dr. of Wm. de Albini (Daubeny) of Belvoir. She was bo. 1233, died 1301.

V. William di. 1316-7. Served in French and other wars, and rec'd Werk, forfeited by Robt. in 1296.

Robt. attorney for his br. in 1296 or 7

VI. William alienated Werk to the k. of England, but was later made governor thereof

Ia. Robert of Werk (on Tweed) became of Kendal. Di. 1273-4.
Md. Margt., heiress of Kendal, one of the sisters of Peter de Bruce of Skelton. She died before 20 Jany., 1307.

IIa. Robt. de of Werk at 28 Jany. 1297. Succ. as minor, joined the Scots, 1296.

IIb. Wm. remained faithful to England. Di, Mch., 1310.

IIIa. Margt. bo. c. 1291, wife in 1305 of John Salveyn, who di. 1312-20.
? Md. 2, Richard Edgar.

IIIb. Isabel bo. c. 1294, wife in 1311-12, of John de Knoches.
? Md. 2. Wm. Crechtoun.

Thos. s. and h., aged 3½ at his father's death.

Geoffrey Salveyn bo. 1308, heir in 1320 of his uncle, Geof. S.

Mowbray [of Kirkmichael, &c.].

The reference to Christiana de Mowbray in the story of 1296, at first suggested a famous trio, daughters of a lord of Kirkmichael [Dumfriesshire], whose claim to their father's land divided all Scotland into two parties. The civil broil resulted in the death of the Earl of Athol, custodian of Dalswinton in 1335, at the battle of Kilblain in Moray. Athole was immediately succeeded in the custody of the castle by Alexander de Mowbray.

The ancient historians of Scotland gave so contradictory and erroneous accounts of the family dispute as to render it desirable to frame a pedigree for the numerous Mowbrays who figure in Scottish history from about 1290 to 1340.

I was unfortunately not aware till this research was almost completed that a very extensive and reliable history of the Scottish Mowbrays had been made by the Rev. William Stephen in his *History of Inverkeithing and Rosyth* (pub. 1921). The discovery of this valuable pedigree has enabled me to curtail the argument in many places by a simple reference to Mr Stephen's work. At the same time I have avoided mere repetition by concentrating on the two or three generations which have a bearing on Dumfriesshire events and problems. Mr Stephen does not discuss the relationship of the competitors against the daughters of Philip de Mowbray.

The nearest contemporary of Sir Robert de Ross was

SIR GEOFFREY DE MOUBRAY.—He may have possessed Kirkmichael, and his famous son, Sir Roger, certainly did so. Sir Geoffrey had strong local connections. He married the second daughter of the Sir John Comyn who granted to the monks of Melrose (1250) passage through his lands of Dalswinton and Duncow. She was sister to Sir John, the Black Comyn, whose wife was sister of "King" John Baliol.

He was heir to his uncle, Sir Roger, who died in 1263 or 4. [*Chamb. R.* I. 38, 39, 40.] With the lands of Bolton he inherited a dispute which arose out of an agreement made by Sir Roger in 1261 to dower one Christiana apparently on her marriage with Adam de Gesemue. [*Stev.* 1, 365; *Bain* 2,

p. 150.] One would infer that here was a Christiana related closely to Sir Roger. Sir Roger's wife was also a Christiana, daughter and heir of Sir Bernard Fraser of Fortun and Linton. [*Stev.* 53.]

An idea of Sir Geoffrey's age is obtained from the fact that in 1282, at the request of the son of the King of Scotland, there was granted to Geoffrey by England a respite of knighthood. [*Bain* 2, 210.] This would suggest 1261 as the year of Geoffrey's birth, and we know that the Prince who made the request was born in January, 1264. [*Dunbar, Kings*, 99.] At the time of Sir Robert de Ross's desertion of England he would be 34. The age is rather inconclusive, but would permit Christiana, the second love of Sir Robert de Ross, to be placed as a sister of Geoffrey. No brothers or sisters of Sir Geoffrey are known, and he had few or no contemporaries of his name. On the other hand, he had a numerous family of sons. Of one of these sons it is told

> In all Scotland was nowcht than
> As this Jhon so fayre a man.
> [*Wyntoun* 2, 312.]

As marriages between neighbours were very common in Dumfriesshire, it would be in accordance with his alliances if Sir Geoffrey had a dwelling in Kirkmichael, and there is some presumption that the family owned it at this time. Sir Geoffrey's political conduct was similar to that of other barons who had lands on both sides of the border. Besides Bolton in Allerdale, he had in England Raskelf (Yorks.), but exchanged it with Sir Alex. de Penyngton for lands (unnamed) in Scotland in 1295 or 6. [*Bain* 2, p. 173.] In Scotland he had the manor of Eckford (Rox.), and probably also Barnbougle, Dalmeny, and Inverkeithing, which appear in the hands of his ancestors and successors.

Like other barons in Scotland, he swore fealty to Edward I in 1291, but when Baliol renounced his allegiance to England, Sir Geoffrey joined the Comyns in their gallant fight against the usurper. He last appears, 2nd July, 1299 [*Bain* 2, 1070], and he was dead by 30th June, 1300, when he is described as rebel to England. The ground for this con-

demnation was his possession of Bolton in Allerdale (Cumberland), which was, of course, forfeited [*Pat. R.* 529], but later, 20th March, 1312, restored to one of his heirs. [*Bain* 3, 258.]

In the absence of definite evidence as to Geoffrey's father, we may name him as Nigel, son of Philip (therefore brother of Sir Roger), who was in 1213 a hostage of the King of Scots in England. [*Bain* 1, 574.] In 1230 he had disputes with Cumberland miners. [*Bain* 1, 1091.] He cannot have survived his brother, Sir Roger.

Issue of Sir Geoffrey.

According to Wyntoun (2, 312), Sir Geoffrey had five sons—William, John, Roger, Philip, and Godefrey (Geoffrey). To these a sixth, Richard, must be added.

I. William.—He was dead by 28th February, 1305, when John, as heir of Galfrid, his father, claimed the lands of Glendogher, in which John Baliol, the King, had infefted his father. [*Rec. Parlt.*, 227.] As heir of William, John claimed the lands of Edenham in 1305, but the claim was not admitted in England, perhaps on account of the father's forfeiture. [*Bain* 3, 1815.]

II. John, named in 1294 with Sire John Comyn as one of the worst troublers of England [*Pat.* 278, 287], was, as John, son of Gaufrid, taken prisoner at Dunbar 27th April, 1296 [*Bain* 2, 742; *Hem.* 2, 104], and, as John Fitz Geoffrey, knight, on 16th May sent to the Tower. There he remained till about 3rd August, 1299, when he was moved to the borders for exchange with Sir Marmaduke de Twenge. [*Bain* 2, 1062, 1086.] Representative from Scotland in Parliament at Westminster [*A.P.S.* 1, 119], with expenses (£20) paid out of the English Exchequer [*Bain* 2, 305] in Lent, 1305, he about the same time preferred suggestions favourable to English domination, and *per contra* begged certain favours. For Geoffrey (probably his brother) he asked the lands of James de la Garviau and those of Andrew de Chartres [? Amisfield], worth 20s, in payment of his wages due by the English King. For himself and another he desired

the ward beyond the "Mouns de Escoce." [*Bain* 2, 1726.] He is said to have fought at Methven on the English side, 26th June, 1306 [*Chron. Lan.*, Maxwell, 177], where his brother Philip had a hand-to-hand contest with the Bruce. As head of his family, he had, 23rd February, 1306, custody of the murdered Comyn's English lands. [*Bain* 2, 1746.] He effectively thirled himself to England by signing, 21st August, 1307, at Cumnock, in presence of Edward II., a bond for a considerable sum. [*Bain* 3, 5,200.] In return for his English services, Sir John was made one of three wardens of Galloway, Annandale, and Carrick, June, 1308. [*Bain* 3, 43, 47.] John de Mowbray, of Scotland, was dead by 7th December of the same year, when his lands in England were taken into the King's hand. [*Fine R.* 34.]

The parentage of Sir John is definitely established by a plea against the Earl of Strathearn, 17th September, 1304, over his lands of Methven. There it is stated that his father, Sir Geoffrey, had withdrawn from the King of England's peace in the beginning of the war. [*Bain* 2, 1592.] Another over the lands of Glendogher, 28th February, 1305, definitely names Galfrid as father of John, his heir. [*Rec. Parl.*, 227.]

III. Roger [*Close R.* 38] no doubt assumed John's debt of 1307 after John's decease, and succeeded his brother John in Methven in 1308. But Roger of Methven signed the Ragman Roll, 28th August, 1296 [*Ragman Rolls* 116, 125; *Bain* 2, p. 199.] and was a juror at Perth in 1305. [*Bain* 2, 1689.] Roger's grandmother was Cecilia, a daughter of Malise, 5th Earl of Strathearn, from whom Keillor in Foulis (Perth, on the borders of Forfar) passed down to Roger de Methven as her descendant, who held these lands. Her sisters were born in the 40's, and she received her charter from her father after 1258. [*Reg. Hon. Mort.* 2. 5, 60, 61, 86.] It will be remembered that for participation in the Soulis conspiracy, in which Roger was involved, a Countess of Strathearn was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. [*Dunb. Kings*, 137.]

After Roger's forfeiture the lands of Keillor went to Robert Harkars [Herkiles.] [*R.M.S.* 1, App. ii.] Robert Stewart, as Earl of Strathearn, before he became Robert II. granted them to a Douglas.

Roger played a double part, and in the end was regarded as a traitor in both realms. In 1311 Edward II. requested the Pope for dispensation for marriage of his lieges Roger de Mowbray and the daughter of Alex. de Abernethy, related in forbidden degrees. [*Foed. O.*, 3. 270, 320.] It is doubted if the marriage ever took place, and his children were probably born before this date. A grant of 20 merks out of Templar lands, 14th October, 1313 [*Bain* 3, 338], seems like an English bid for his services. Yet he is said to have been standard-bearer to the Bruce, and to have received the augmentation of a golden crown to his blanch lion for services at Bannockburn. [*Roll of Battle Abbey* 2, 242.]

The statement has support from the records. On 4th October, 1314, immediately after Bannockburn, and again in 1318, Boulton in Allerdale is referred to as escheated by the rebellion of Roger de Moubray, a Scotsman. [*Bain* 3, 394; *Pat. R.*, 196; *Inqs.* (1318), 159.] He also had Bastenthwayt, but quit-claimed it. Confirmation was given, 11th May, 1322, after his death. [*Pat. R.*, 119.]

The duplicity of Roger is emphasised by the fact of his signing the famous letter to the Pope, dated from Arbroath 6th April, 1320 [*A.P.S.* 1, 474], whereas a few months later he was implicated in the Soulis conspiracy against Bruce. Though he died before the Black Parliament (August, 1320), they brought his body before them for judgment, and condemned it to suffer ignominy. [*Fordun*, 341; *Scal.*, Max., 59.] There is independent evidence that he was dead by 30th March, 1321. [*R.M.S.* 1, 11.]

A collected list of his lands shows their great extent. They included :—Barnbougil, Dummanyn (Dalmeny), Inverkeithing, Methven (Perth), Eckford (Rox.), Kellie [? Keillor] (Forf.), Cesseworth [*R.M.S.* 1, *passim*] and Kirkmichael Barony [*R.M.S.* 1, 590; *App.* 2, 294, 505.]

Issue of Roger.

1. John.—Appears to have been executed in the year of his father's death (1320). The entry in Robertson's Index [*R.M.S.* 1, *App.* 2, 839] runs thus—" lands which belonged to John Mowbray, son to Roger Mowbray, slaine traitors, Dalruscoun, on Dee," and must indicate the eldest son of Roger. The reading should probably be Dalruscoun on Æ, and, if so, it denotes lands contiguous with Roger's barony of Kirkmichael (Dumfriesshire).

2. Sir Alexander.—Appears early (1323) as superior of Bolton. [*Inqns.* 443, 636.] After the vengeance taken upon the Mowbrays it was impossible for any men of the family to remain in Scotland. In an account of the Soulis conspiracy [*Illustrations of Scot. Hist., Mait. Cl.* 10], which seems to be inaccurate in joining Philip with Alexander as the Mowbray conspirators, it is added—" But Alexander de Moubray fled into England." The latter statement is in accordance with the records.

Many of the historians, though their accounts of the relationship are very discordant, make Alexander a brother of Philip, but he seems to be of a younger generation. In 1312 he appears as valet of Sir Roger [*Bain* 3, p. 429], a description capable of being interpreted as a younger son. In the same year, as King's yeoman, he received for good services in Scotland the forfeited lands of William Vipont in Boulton in Lothian. [*Bain* 3, 263.] In the reign of Robert I (probably at the Soulis rebellion) he was forfeited in Invercaboch and Lickein in the barony of Strathoune (Banff). [*R.M.S.* 1, *App.* 2, 35, 502.] These seem to have been small lands, " twa davochs."

After a blank in the English records, during which he was no doubt like his father faithful to Scotland, we observe Alexander preparing to go to England 17th November, 1320, three months after the Soulis conspiracy. At first the overtures of Edward II were intended to be secret, for he was under truce with Scotland, and he desired to preserve appearances. Accordingly Alexander was asked to come under hostages not to disturb the truce, but this condition was

waived, and Alexander, the Scot, was pardoned his forfeiture for all felonies committed within the realm, 11th February, 1321. [*Close R.* 280, 2; *Pat. R.* 562.] At this stage he appears as *Sir* Alexander. [*Bain* 3, 723, 4, 9.] For the next 12 years he was one of the Disinherited Knights who found refuge in England awaiting the restoration of their lands in Scotland, under one of the conditions of the treaty of Northampton (1328). For support of himself and his wife the honour of Tonebrigge (1323) and the ancestral lands of Bolton in Allerdale (Cumberland) (1324), escheated by Roger de Moubray, not here described as his father [*Bain* 3, 760, 769], were conferred upon him. [*Inqns. p.m.* 634.] With the other disinherited Knights he made a descent upon Scotland in 1332, was at Baliol's coronation at Scone 24th September, 1332 [*Ford.* 2, 347], and witnessed one of his charters at Roxburgh 20th October following. [*Pat. R.* (1341), 173.] He was made procurator for Edward Baliol in 1333 [*A.P.S.* 1, 541], was with him in his Parliament at Perth 12th February of the same year [*A.P.S.* 1, 541], and in the famous Parliament at Dairsy April, 1335. [*Ford.* 2, 350.]

Though in the trusted service of England [*Bain* 3, 435, 1111, 1129], he incurred the temporary displeasure of the English King. An order was issued, 27th October, 1334, for the Sheriff of Cumberland to take his lands on the ground that he had rebelled and joined the Scots. [*Bain* 3, 1137.] This may be explained by his falling out with Sir Henry Beaumont and his joining Sir Andrew Moray, a patriotic Scot, in besieging Beaumont in Dundarg. This castle they two captured 23rd December, 1334. [*S.P.* 2, 260.] Hollinshed says that lands in Buchan were the cause of the great altercation which arose in 1333 [1334] between Mowbray and Beaumont. They had been given to Alexander's brother John by Edward I, and Beaumont claimed them in right of his wife (heiress of Buchan.) It was a peculiar situation, Beaumont claiming Buchan lands in right of a female heiress, and Alexander claiming (as will be explained later) Kirkmichael *against* female heiresses. Nothing more

is required to explain their difference in views as to the law of succession!

Shortly after, Sir Alexander and Sir Galfrid made their peace with Edward at Perth 18th August, 1335. [*Knighton*, 1, 473.] In October, 1335, there is pardon of all offences since the beginning of the world to Sir William, Sir Roger (and others), and Sir Geoffrey de Moubray, Scottish gentlemen, come to peace under the conditions of Sir Alexander de Moubray. [*Bain* 3, 1184.] On the death of Athole, 30th November, 1335, Dalswinton, of which Athole had held custody in virtue of his relation to the Comyns (he was son of Joan, eldest sister of John, the Red Comyn of Badenoch and Dalswinton, murdered in 1306 at Dumfries, male heirs having failed), was committed to Sir Alexander for a similar reason. [*Bain* 3, p. 318.] The latter's claim was no doubt based on the marriage of his grandfather, Geoffrey, with a Comyn. Bolton in Allerdale was restored to Alexander shortly after, on 20th December, 1335. [*Pat. R.* 189.]

Soon the Scots were to recover Dalswinton and drive the English over the border, and Sir Alexander does not again appear in a Scottish connection. He, with Sir Geoffrey and Sir Roger, was under arrest 26th June, 1337 [*Pat. R.* 462] for advising Baliol to trust the Scots. [*Chron. Lan.*, Max., 304.] He is last mentioned 13th January, 1364, when, as one of the disinherited, he was promised restoration to lands in Scotland worth 100 merks yearly. At 5th October, 1375, his successor in Boulton, by Carlisle, was Sir John Mowbray, who had it for life. [*Pat. R.* 180.]

Sir Alexander had at least one son, Roger, who was bailed out of Bristol Castle, 28th July, 1339. Another Moubray, who enjoyed similar release at the same time, is named as Sir Geoffrey, no doubt his uncle. It does not seem easy to decide whether the Sir Roger occasionally associated with other Mowbrays is the same person or not. The name appears as late as 29th November, 1352, among witnesses to a charter of Edward Baliol done at Botille (Buittle). [*Bain* 3, 1578.]

3. Geoffrey is identified as brother of Alexander. [*Bain* 3, xliii.] The two are at least frequently associated in a way which suggests this relation. Sir Geoffrey, Knight of Scotland, had a safe conduct, 25th October, 1334, to come to the English King [*Pat. R.* 34], and appears in the pardon of 1335, the last in the list. After the temporary loss of Edward Baliol's favour he was received to peace by England, 18th August, 1336. Before 15th September, 1334, he had married Isabella, widow of Donald, Earl of Mar, who divorced him before Easter, 1336. [*S.P.* 5, 583.] After the attempt on Scotland he seems to have returned to England, and he and Sir Roger were enlarged [from prison], 21st July, 1339, on the bail of Sir Richard Talbot and Sir John Marshall and others, undertaking that they should follow the King with loyalty abroad, and then return to prison unless by his favour. [*Bain* 3, 1315.) He does not appear again. One Geoffrey chivaler and John, his son, were killed by John Nable in self-defence in 1354. [*Pat. R.*, 69, 76.]

4. William Moubray appears in the list of Scots killed at Neville's Cross, 17th October, 1346. [*Hailes* 2, 385.] Like his brother Alexander, he took part in the descent on Scotland. Landing at Dunnottar in 1335 with Sir Thomas Roslin, he engaged the Scots at Aberdeen in a fight, in which Roslin was slain. [*Wynt.* 2, 422.] Like his brothers, he came under temporary displeasure in 1335. He was forfeited in Strathbroke (Linl.), now Uphall, 26th February, 1336 [*Bain* 2, p. 390], but on 24th March following was granted other lands there. [*Ib.*, p. 341.] Though he seems to be the only Moubray who recovered his nationality, he does not appear to have had successors.

This list of the issue of Roger is built on somewhat slender evidence, no one except John actually appearing as son, or in a stated relationship. Alexander's conspicuous prominence after the death of John and his possession of Bolton seem of some significance. The relation of the others to Alexander is more or less founded on circumstantial evidence.

Issue of Sir Geoffrey Resumed.

IV. Philip, to begin with, was no friend of Bruce. He almost captured the new-made king at Methven, 19th June, 1306 [*Barbour's Bruce, 2*, 416], and played an active part in the pursuit of that harried King. As governor of Stirling Castle he gave the rash undertaking to surrender in a year and a day if not relieved by his English master before that time. After Bannockburn he is said to have adhered to the Scots and to have continued faithful till he fell mortally wounded in the company of Edward Bruce, King of Ireland, at Dundalk, 14th October, 1318. [*Bruce* 2, 18.] Unhampered by English possessions, the records of that country are silent regarding him after 1312, except for one instance.

In the English accounts for the year to 1336 it is definitely stated that the barony of Kirkmichael had at one time been held by the deceased Philip of the King of Scotland, and that on 1st March, 1336, the King of England took the barony in his own hand pending discussion of the right of the barony between Anselm de Guyse, who married one of the sisters and heirs of John, son and heir of Philip, and Robert Gower, who married another sister and heir, and David Mareschal, who married the third sister and heir, on the one part; and Alexander de Moubray on the other. [*Bain* 3, p. 318.]

That his wife was Eva, heiress of Reidcastle (Forf.), is inferred from an entry in Robertson's Index; Charter to William Douglas, of Reidcastle, which Eve Mowbray and John, her son, forfeited. [*R.M.S.* 1; *App.* 2, 1127.] This entry is to be read in conjunction with the Douglas charter of 1342 to be quoted presently.

Sir Philip's widow was still alive and one of the inmates of Cumbernauld, one of Athol's Comyn castles, when, on 23rd July, 1335, it was captured by King Edward. [*Knighton*, 1, 473.]

Issue of Sir Philip.

1B. Sir John must have been the only surviving son at the time of his death, or the daughters could not have claimed the heritage of their brother. He was dead by 4th January, 1335

(see later under " Margaret "), when he is described as Lord of Tours in Vymeu. This village is on the plateau of Vimeu, 15 kilometres south-west of Abbeville, Somme (France)—not Vimy Ridge. In the neighbouring department, Pas-de-Calais, are St. Pol and Guines. The charter of 1342 leaves little doubt that he was Sir John Moubray who was killed on 16th December, 1332, when Baliol, surprised at Annan, escaped over the border in a scanty toilet. [*Chr. Lan.*, Maxwell, 275.] He had invaded Scotland as one of the Disinherited, landing with Edward Baliol at Kinghorn in Fife. [*Scal.*, Maxwell, 88.] All the lands of Sir John, " our enemy and rebel killed in war against us," by succession of Sir Philip, his father, were granted 19th January, 1342, by David II to Sir William Douglas. [*Reg. Hon. Morton*, 1, 45.]

2B. Philippa, named first in the 1336 list [*Bain* 3, *App.*, p. 318], after her brother's death and while still unmarried, resigned as sister and one of the heirs of John de Moubray, kt., late Lord of Tours in Vymeu, the third part, which by the law of France came to her by inheritance of the lands of her brother. The date of the deed is not given, but may have been that of Margaret's resignation (see later). After she married Anselm de Guyse, the spouses, 16th June, 1335, acknowledged the resignation, which was in favour of Mary de St. Pol, late wife of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (who died 1324). This lady, who lived to 1377, is best remembered as the pious foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge. [*Chron. Ed. I. and II.*, 292n.] Aymer's sister, Joan, was wife of John Comyn of Badenoch, the son (killed 1306). [*Com. Peer*, 6, 204.]

The daughters claimed their Scottish inheritance in Kirkmichael, and in this they were supported by Athol, whose claim to the Comyn estates rested on his father's marriage with Joan, eldest daughter of the murdered John Comyn, Lord of Dalswinton. This similarity of legal interests did not prevent Anselm from abandoning Athol, when he joined the Scots, and departing to England with his wife, here described as a Scotswoman, 11th May, 1335. [*Bain* 3, 1335.]

This was when Athol turned against Beaumont, the other supporter of female succession.

Anselm cannot long have survived this date, for Philippa before 1st July, 1338, contracted marriage " by declaration in turn " with Bartholomew de Leon, a foreign knight. A subsequent contract of marriage with Thomas de Weston was, 18th December, 1343, declared null and void by the Church. The contract with Bartholomew was to stand, and the parties were to be married after 30 days in face of the Church. Sir Bartholomew was a favourite with David II., and received from him the lands of the Moubrays of Barnbougle and Inverkeithing. Both were still alive on 25th November, 1375. Their son, David, adopted the name, and continued the line of Moubray in Scotland. [*Stephen*, 54, 56, and Addenda.]

These spouses also possessed half of Preston " in Dumfries," no doubt in Kirkbean parish [Kirkcudbrightshire], till they resigned it and it was given to Thomas Harkars, to be held of Douglas. [*R.M.S.* 1, *App.* 2, 1349.]

3B. Margaret, wife of Sir Robert Gower, on 12th February, 1336, acknowledged a deed resigning her third to the deceased Countess. The document, in French, is dated 4th January, 1335. [*Pat. R.*, 222.] They may have been already married in 1332 when Athole, as " Stewart of Scotland," resigned to Gower for life the manor of Kentwell (Suff.). [*Pat. R.*, 385 and (1339) 213.]

As the King's dear cousin, constantly with him, Gower is mentioned by Edward in 1346, the year of Crecy and of Neville's Cross. [*Bain* 3, 1458.] Except that he served under Edward Baliol in Scotland in 1337 [*Bain* 3, 1253], he does not appear to have had much connection with Scotland, beyond his marriage.

4B. ———, third daughter, with her husband, Sir David Mareschal, were captured in Cumbernauld in July, 1335. [*Knyghton* 1, 473.] Her Christian name has not been ascertained, and little is known of her husband. He was head of the Lothian branch of a family who were about this time supplanted in the office which gave them their surname by the Keiths. [*Bain* 3, lxviii.] A native of Scotland, he possessed

lands in Berwick. [*Bain* 3, 1366.] While Athole was received back to Baliol's favour in August, 1335, Marshall must have failed to give satisfaction, for immediately after, on 13th September, 1335, at Edinburgh, Edward Baliol gave the manor of Belford (Northumberland), escheated by the forfeiture of David le Mareschall, a Scot, to Michael de Presfen. He must have returned to English fealty at a later date, however, because the Scots harried his lands for his desertion of them, and he was granted monetary concessions at various times up to 25th April, 1344, out of the English Exchequer. [*Bain* 3, 1366 to 1432.] After this no more is heard of him or of any successors of his marriage.

Issue of Sir Geoffrey Concluded.

V. Geoffrey.—Of him Wyntoun only tells us that after Bannockburn he went to England and became a Friar Preacher. From the title, Master, it may be inferred that he was bred a cleric, and he had ambitions corresponding to the importance of his family. In 1305 we have observed him [*sub* John] as an aspirant to the lands of Amisfield in return for English service. He may not have got his desire. On 4th October, 1306, according to Dowden (308), Edward I. begged the Pope to make his clerk Master Geoffrey de Moubray, Bishop of Glasgow in place of the traitor, Robert Wysehard, who had absolved Bruce within eight days of the murder of Comyn. The entry in Foedera, however, mentions only custody of the Bishopric. He took part in the pursuit of Bruce, bringing footmen from Tyndale to Carrick and Glentrool, March, 1307. [*Bain* 2, 1913, p. 512.] Again in 1310 he is found on the English side moving for the release of Walter Comyn, prisoner with the Scots. [*Bain* 3, 131.] His English pay can be traced till 1311. [*Bain* 3, 193.] Master Geoffrey does not appear further in the records.

VI. Richard.—The only notice of him is quite explicit. In February, 1312, Sir Philip, then in English service, had permission from England to obtain Richard, his brother, then prisoner with the Scots rebels, in exchange for Mary de Brus, sister of Robert I. [*Bain* 3, 244.] She had been captured

in Kildrummie in 1307. It may be mentioned, however, that the names Richard and Roger are liable to confusion [e.g., *Stev.* 1, 366.]

MOWBRAYS IN KIRKMICHAEL.

Kirkmichael barony certainly belonged to Sir Philip.

According to Buchanan, the lands of John, son of Philip, which were the subject of the famous dispute, were granted to his ancestors by Edward I., then lost in the vicissitudes of the times, and again recovered during the reign of Edward Baliol (1332). [*Buch.—Aikman* 1, 468.]

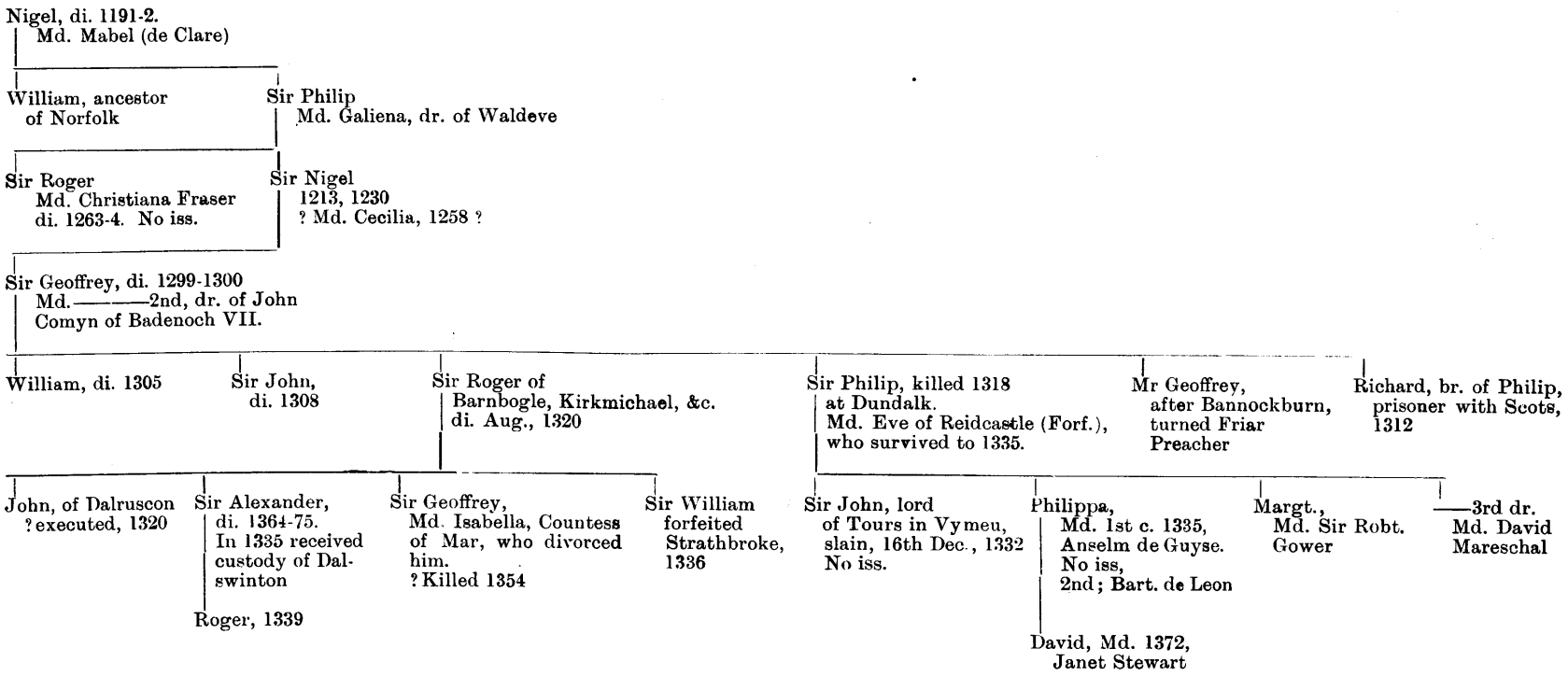
A difficulty arises when the evidence is examined in detail. It is certain that Philip, killed in 1318, held the barony of the King of Scotland, and had a son, John, his heir (killed 1332), and there is also evidence that Roger (died 1320) forfeited the barony.

It is necessary to explain, however, that there is no definite evidence that John ever possessed Kirkmichael. If the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* is correct in identifying John, who was killed in 1332, with John, who was warden of the marches for England in 1314, it is quite possible that he, Lord of Tours in Vymeu, never received recognition of his rights from the Scottish King. The English notice of 1336 does not assert that John held Kirkmichael between 1318 and his death in 1332, but only that Philip, father of the daughters, held the barony of the King of Scotland, Robert I of course. It is a rather suggestive omission.

It is therefore easiest to suppose that after 1318 these lands were given to Roger (elder brother of Philip), then and for two years later in high favour with the Bruce, when they were forfeited upon his rebellion, and that the barony was then granted by charter to William Lindsay, channon of Glasgow [*R.M.S.* 1, *App.* ii., 505.], perhaps about the time when Cesseworth (another of Roger's possessions) was given to Edmund Marescal, 30th March, 1321 [*ib.* 11.]

Kirkmichael, and even further west, was debateable land. In the year after Sir Philip's death, in 1319, Edward II displayed his claim to Kirkmichael, by making presentations to

Pedigree of Mowbray of Barnbogle and of Kirkmichael, &c.



that parish and to some others which had a Moubray connection, such as Preston under Crofel [Criffel] and Dalswynton. [*Pat. R.*, 381.]

In 1342, January 19, there was granted to Sir William Douglas all the lands which belonged to Sir John de Moubray, "our enemy, by hereditary succession of quondam Sir Philip, his father." [*Reg. Hon. Morton* 1, 45.] This explains why Harkars was given Preston to be held of Douglas (see under "Philippa"). The Lindsay grants next to be mentioned may perhaps be explained in a similar way.

To one of the years immediately succeeding the Soulis rebellion of 1320 may perhaps be assigned the granting of the barony of Kirkmichael "whilk Roger Mowbray tint be forfalture" to William Lindsay, channon of Glasgow. [*R.M.S.* 1, *App.* ii., 294, 505.] The possession by Roger Mowbray is again mentioned for the last time in a charter of 4th January, 1377, given by Robert II to his "dearest nephew," Sir James Lindsay, as Roger held these lands (Kirkmichael), and as in an infeftment of Robert I. The charter does not say it was an infeftment of this Sir James, who indeed was born long after the close of the reign of Robert I. [*R.M.S.* 1, 590; *S.P.* 3, 8.]

As to the antiquity of the Mowbrays' entry into Dumfriesshire there is little evidence. "After the commencement of the war" (1296) Roger was infefted by John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, in some holdings in Dumfries. [*Pat. Doc.* 286.] If this refers to Kirkmichael, the grant may have been made during the period when the Bruce lands in Annandale were put into the hands of the Comyn family by the Baliol Government.

An older piece of evidence is a mere scrap from an inventory made at 16th September, 1296:—"Item letter patent from . . . . . in ferm to Sir Galfrid de Moubray by Eufemia de Kyrkpatrick." [*A.P.S.* 1, 118.] Perhaps the Mowbrays obtained a footing in Annandale through the Kirkpatricks.

15th February, 1924.

The Maid of Enterkin.

[POEMS BY HELEN CRAIK AND BURNSIANA.]

By Dr. GEORGE NEILSON.

[Dr Neilson made two communications to the Society on the Helen Craik manuscript, the first on March 21st, 1919, just before the third of his articles on the same subject appeared in *The Glasgow Herald*. In this contribution little more was given than appeared in these articles. The second communication was on 10th February, 1922, when further extracts and comments were made upon the same MS., particularly with reference to the social life of the period. Commenting on the change from lightness to melancholy, which appeared to take place, Dr Neilson suggested that some profound tragedy had occurred in Miss Craik's life. In explanation of that, Provost Arnott told the story which follows Dr Neilson's paper in this volume. These articles are reprinted by kind permission of the Editor and Mrs Neilson from The Glasgow Herald, March 8th, 15th, and 22nd, 1919.—ED.]

Relatively little is extant in the original to prove the actual contact and atmosphere of literature which surrounded Burns, the air without which the poet could hardly have lived. This rarity intensifies the examples such as the correspondence with Lapraik and David Sillar. Its noblest manifestations, however, are his own collective copies of his pieces lovingly written for the fit audience, though few. Frequently appealed to as critic of performers of far inferior grade he revealed his native generosity by over-appreciation. Specialists may recall the few cases in which the actual script submitted remains. Not quite so rare, yet rare and precious enough are the poetry books containing references to or quotations from Burns. Perhaps "The Maid of Enterkin" opens a fresh vista.

It is the initial item of a little quarto manuscript volume which came into my possession some years ago, containing 172 pages, measuring about 8 inches by about 6¼ inches, the paper being without other distinguishing sign than a watermark ruling of eight lines. The first two and the last nine pages are blank. Pages 3 to 13 and 68 to 70 are written in what may be styled the principal hand, and of the re-

mainder certainly 136, probably 141, are in a rather inferior copyist's hand. "The Maid of Enterkin" occupies pages 2 to 10: it is a tragic poem about a melancholy "incident said to have happened in the neighbourhood of Enterkin," that wonderful, steep, grassy cleft in the Lowther Hills to which Dr John Brown devoted a famous and beautiful essay. So perfect in spelling and punctuation is the initial poem that all presumptions favour its being the author's autograph, and an extremely neat script it is. On page 13 the same precise and beautiful hand gives us a ten line tribute to Burns, and on pages 68 to 70 sets forth a Troqueer local poem of particular interest to be examined in due course. Inside the book, when I purchased it, but on a separate sheet, folded as two quarto pages measuring $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches, were verses written in the precise principal hand on "The Death of J. H. in the East Indies." This separate sheet is watermarked with a crown over a hunting horn surmounting "G. R." The suggestion it conveys is that the lines on J. H. are intended to be copied into the book, although this has not been done.

Of the Enterkin poem it may be enough to quote the lugubrious close of the speech of the maid over her dead father, herself about to die.

> —— Perhaps kind *Chance* some wand'ring step may send
> To the lone Cot where our poor ashes blend;
> And while the scene each fixt attention claims,
> While these sad Lines the source of *feeling* drains,
> The shel'tring Grave Compassion may assign,
> And our cold Frames to kindred earth resign.
> —— What tho no solemn Dust to Dust be said,
> The last sad office *thus* humanely paid
> Recording Angels shall applause bestow,
> Well pleas'd to find *some pity still* below.—

Little wonder that an admirer of the poetess should have remonstrated in verse with her for her choice of dismal themes

> "Where Madness Murder Horror dwell."

The little poem on page 13 following a longer piece on

the death of " Mr C. E." will at once arrest the attention of Burns students, and it is printed precisely as written :—

——Lines written on a blank Leaf of Mr Burns's Poems—

Here native Genius, gay, unique and strong,
Shines through each page, and marks the tuneful song,—
Rapt *Admiration* her warm tribute pays,
And *Scotia* proudly echoes all she says;
Bold *Independence* too, illumes the theme,
And claims a manly privilege to fame.——
——Vainly O Burns! wou'd rank or riches shine
Compar'd with inborn merit great as thine!
These *Chance* may take as Chance has often giv'n,
But pow'rs *like thine can* only come from Heav'n.—

At present suffice it to note that apparently with some slight verbal incorrectness these lines appear in a scribe's handwriting as the motto prefixed to the famous Glenriddell MS. without any intimation of authorship. Scott Douglas ascribed it as " probably by Roscoe "; the editors of the fine facsimile of the Glenriddell MS. which the world owes to the munificence of Mr John Gribbel, directly assign it to Miss Helena Craik of Arbigland.

More intense and intimate in its Burns touch is a piece on page 37 headed

" TO CAPTAIN R."

and beginning thus :—

On Solway's Banks a humble Muse
Let Fancy's pow'r prevail,
And oft along the winding Beach
Arrang'd some artless tale.——

Deprecating adverse criticism and hinting that poems sent to be examined are sent only because Captain R. has requested it, the poetess appeals for kindly treatment :—

—Oft wou'd she by the gliding wave
Her idle thoughts rehearse,
But merit ne'er presum'd to claim,
Nor dreamt they rose to verse.——

—As sad or cheerful prospects shone
Unbidden came the rhyme;

No flatt'ring hopes of Fame in view,
But just to *pass the time.*

—The partial friends wou'd sometimes smile,
And think the page might do,
Yet much she fears the judging eye
Of Coila's Bard and You.——

This introduces Burns as poetical censor and friend. Another poem on page 42 is even more specific :—

TO CAPTAIN R——LL

WITH THE MAID OF ENTERKIN.

While timid Hope succeeds well grounded fears
The trembling Maid of Enterkin appears,
And begs no stern, no criticizing brow,
O'er her poor Lines a Judging eye may throw—
Too well she knows no merit they can claim,
Where shines a Burns's never dying strain.

. . . . . .

Alas no Mount Parnassus here is seen,—
No crystal Helicon's inspiring Stream!
On barren Criffal Laurels ne'er wou'd grow,
Nor Solway in poetic numbers flow.—

. . . . . .

And while with Candour you the tale peruse
Whose mournful theme you gave the weeping Muse,
May *Pity* still her sovereign sway maintain,
Nor kill the Maid of Enterkin again.—

Putting these various intimations together, there can be no hesitation in identifying the Solway Muse. It was to Miss Helen Craik, daughter of William Craik of Arbigland, that Burns on August 9, 1790, wrote :—

" I inclose you two of my late pieces as some kind of return for the pleasure I have received in perusing a certain manuscript volume of poems in the possession of Captain Riddel." A later letter of January 12, 1792, exhibits Burns not only as revising or willing to revise Miss Craik's lines but also as valuing high his opportunities of literary intercourse with her.

" As to *Helen*," he writes, " I shall certainly bestow my utmost attention on it, if possible that I can start a hint that may not have occurred to you in smoothing a line or improv-

ing a thought. Now that I have by my removal to town, got time and opportunity, I shall often intrude on you with my assurance how sincerely and respectfully I am, Dear Madam, your obliged and obedient humble servant, Robt. Burns."

One may readily accept as probable a statement by that industrious bibliographical commentator on the poets, Alex. Gardyne, in his MS. Notes (in the Mitchell Library) that *Helen** was a poem concerning Helen of Kirkconnell, an eminently likely theme of tragedy immortalised in the grand border ballad of the Kirtle in Annandale narrating how the avenger pursued the murderer to death and " hackit him in pieces sma' On fair Kirkconnell Lea." Possibly Miss Craik's poem is not lost beyond recovery. To Captain Riddell, she tells us, her " weeping Muse " owed the suggestion of " The Maid of Enterkin."

There is no need to claim peculiar merit for her metrical performances; the literary respect paid her by Burns and her own modesty are warrant enough for attention to her book, the forces and fashions of contemporary literature it reflects, its intimations of a more or less poetic circle, the identification of some of the figures which cross the scene, and finally the problem of authorship presented by an enigmatic poem of banter in which it is imperative to suspect the hand of Burns himself.

A noteworthy characteristic is the recurrent Werterism of Miss Craik's poems. Goethe's romance written in 1774 had appeared in translation, the " Sorrows of Werter," in 1779. My manuscript includes verses " written by Charlotte at Werter's grave, 1779," and another of Miss Craik's pieces bids us " the sorrows of Werter deplore." Burns sent Mrs Walter Riddell his copy of " Werter " after the offence and

* A poem so entitled appears in each of the MS. volumes by Helen Craik owned by Mr Adam Wood, Skeldon, Dalrymple, Ayrshire, and by Mr R. J. Henderson, Craigleur, Penicuik. In the former it is entitled " Helen, An Epistle to a Friend, p. 95;" in the latter, " Helen, Written in the Summer House at Arbigland, Feb. 25, 1792," which last seems to be identical with the verses printed, p. 80, *Ed. from Dr Neilson's Notes.*

quarrel of 1793. Whether fostered by " Werter " or not, a kindred tragic sentimentality appears in Miss Craik's preference for suicidal and murderous subjects. Verses on the Earl of Caithness who shot himself in 1789, on Hackman's murder of Miss Ray in 1779, and on the mutual murder-suicide of Faldoni and Theresa in 1770 are instances of this painful taste. We can repeatedly sympathise with her rhyming critic, who wrote :—

> With powers so great how cou'd you Helen
> So hideous a subject, dwell on?

A word regarding the Glenriddell MS. motto will close the present instalment. The precise date when that was added as a sort of leading introductory note of homage to the contents of the priceless volume, mainly in Burns's own handwriting, does not seem to be known. The MS. itself, although Burns's preface to it is dated April, 1791, contains in Vol II. half a dozen letters written in 1793. Where did Captain Riddell, who died in 1794, get the motto? That Miss Craik might have got it from him is precluded by the significant error of the Glenriddell MS. which misspells " Rapt " (line 3 above) and turns it into " Wrapt." Where she has " Scotia " the Glenriddell MS. has " Scotland "—on the whole the less poetic form. Her profuse italics fall with perfect aptness on the emphatic words of a little tribute to Burns which, while it may lack the supreme distinction necessary to justify its acceptance as an adequate inscription to a work of genius at a unique pitch of literary power, was at least felt by Captain Riddell to be worthy to grace the frontispiece of the poet's own autograph volume. The citations already made prove that the Captain had her verses through his hands, and that Burns himself was not insensible to her appreciation. Is further argument required for a conclusion which is no novelty that the checkered honours of the motto belong to the humble Solway Muse?

THE SOCIAL AND LITERARY CIRCLE, 1790-1793.

An amateur mannerism, current at the time, may be seen in Miss Craik's volume in sundry tame and easy charades on Fortune, Adam, and Woman. Mainly quite undistinguished

one of the set introduces a star of the poetess's coterie :—

> My *First* with some help is to Valley allied
> My *Second* the place where Queen Caroline died
> My *Whole* is a compound of wit sense and whim,
> No changeable Proteus more various can seem.

The " Second " is Zell (modern spelling Celle) in Hanover, where Queen Caroline of Denmark, sister of George III., closed her ill-fated days in 1775. The " Whole " is Dalzell, being apparently the Lady E. D. of one poem and the " Lady Elizabeth Dalzell " in a pencilled note to a piece " on the death of a Brother." Presumably she was the Elizabeth Johnston who married in 1775 Richard styled Lord Dalzell, grandson of Robert, Earl of Carnwath. The Craik circle closely touches that of Burns. Very odd is " the humble petition of Margaret and Helen " (p. 46) into which an insertion in the principal handwriting (the words " To R. O. Esqr. sheweth ") discloses the addressee. The initials need little ingenuity to interpret, still less when the gay petitioners bid him :—

> Wonder not Sir that we prefer this pray'r
> A poor Ten Thousand of your wealth to share,

archly adding :—

> We'll take ev'n Twenty Thousand if you please,

Mrs Oswald of Auchincruive had died in December, 1788, the subject of Burns's distressing Ode, and her heir, styled " wealthy young Richard," is glanced at with adverse eye in Burns's second Election Ballad. It must be noted that Cavens, a seat of the Oswalds, is a neighbouring residence to Arbigland in Kirkbean Parish. Lines " To Lady W. M. Constable—with a Bird of Paradise " (p. 66) remind us that Burns also addressed verses to her.

One piece requires particular notice. It is on pages 68, 69, and 70 in the " principal " hand, and its title is " A Card from J. M. Esq." :—After certain explanations about the desirability of social gatherings the Card goes on thus from general head to specific application :—

> With this view Mr M . . . . . his Compliments sends,
> And requests at K . . . . . to meet with some friends
> He'll insure them a welcome if granting his boon

They 'll repair to the sign, when he *hangs out the Broom,*—
From Cargen 'tis hop 'd all the party attends,
To cheerful good humour 'tis said they are friends,—
Goldie-Lee 's beauteous Inmate he means to invite,
To enliven the scene and enrapture the sight.
On the Colonel 's attendance he too must insist
For the Broom shews there 's wine and a party at Whist—
Dalscerth 's worthy owners if timely from Town,
His endeavours to please with their presence shall crown.—
Miss Maxwell, if she 'll at the summons repair
Of the strongest of Shrub shall have *fully* her share;
And on Helen he 'll gladly bestow his sweet wine
To prevent her from scribbling nonsensical rhyme.—
Captain Craik, who tho sober, from *hedging* is free
Shall fill Bumpers as long as the Glass he can see,
While Carruchan as usual exerts all his pow 'rs,
To preserve proper order and timely good hours
For each Guest in particular, this Card has not room
But in short, it announces he hangs *out the Broom.*—
As a Landlord his merit has long been confest,
And his friends shall acknowledge he now does his best.—
'Tis hop 'd then in person they 'll answer him soon,
And the signal observe when he hangs out the Broom.

The exercise in identifications these verses involve opens with the six dots after M and the nine dots after K in the indication of the inviter and his abode. Plainly it is James Maxwell of Kirkconnel, father of Dr. Maxwell, Burns's friend, that is made to " hang out the broom " in the mode once customary as the Card explains at Preston, which was the next house to Arbigland.

" In Preston as time immemorial has shown." Preston at the foot of Criffel is styled in the old titles the " Barony of Prestoun under the Fell," and is thus expressly associated with that most beautiful Galloway mountain known to Camden and beloved of Carlyle. It emerges from the obscurity of charter history as a commonty of horse pasture *super montes et fellis vocatos Crufellis.*

All the localities named lie between Kirkbean and Dumfries, and the lairds of several of them appear in the correspondence or verses of Burns. Maxwell of Carruchan he valued and respected particularly. But the chief interest lies in the allusions to three personalities of the Burns coterie

prominently seen for a moment of illumination in the playful but animated characterisations of the Card. " Goldie-Lee's beauteous inmate " is a welcome and telling phrase, which sufficiently reveals the great contemporary impression made by Maria Riddell *née* Woodley, the handsome and brilliant young wife of Walter Riddell, on her appearance as a new and dazzling light in the Dumfries firmament at Goldielea renamed, after her, Woodley Park, although ere long restored to its earlier title. The Riddells both at Friars' Carse and Woodley Park are inseparable from the life of Burns in his glory as master-poet, an association overcast at the end with poignant regrets due to the still mysterious quarrel not ended when Captain Riddell died in 1794. It was one more of the friendships of literature closing in severance and pain. No such distressing memory attaches to the guest who follows the radiant Mrs Riddell in the hospitable Kirkconnel's invitation. " The Colonel " can be no other than the doughty old wooer of the Muses, Colonel De Peyster of Mavisgrove, afterwards the " honoured Colonel " of Burns as volunteer, but now not long returned, hale, hearty, and jovial, from distinguished service with the Army at Fort Niagara and elsewhere in Canada as well as in what by fortune of war and politics had become the United States. And as for " Helen," can one be far astray in believing that her own modest self-disparagement may be recognised in the twinkling humorous and sly allusion to her poetical proclivities? In the following line close after her comes Captain Craik—" the Captain " to whom as well as to old Mr Craik, deservedly renowned for his public spirit and enterprise in agriculture, Burns sent his greetings in his letter to Miss Craik. The agricultural connection, found a trifle oppressive, is rather skittishly glanced at in a poem " To a Gentleman—from Newabbey—" appropriately located Where gloomy Criffald bleakly stands. This perhaps explains the " hedging " of Captain Craik. Surely, however, at any rate this Card of Kirkconnel's has served its turn in these flashes of passing light on the associates of Burns. A word may be in place to mention that the word " Card " in the

special sense of a " card of invitation " was in full vogue from about 1770, as shown by the Oxford Dictionary of Dr. Murray. But in addition there are signs of its adaptation as a literary form or medium. For instance, in 1781 the dedication of the " Poetical Works of John Cunningham " (Apollo Press, Edinburgh) consisted of " A card from the author to David Garrick, Esq." My closing article will embrace what is possibly a flash of Burns himself.

OLD AND NEW: " A MONODY " TO DAVIE.

Indirect as may be the implications regarding the environment of Burns which Miss Craik's triflings with the Muses would warrant, direct contacts are not wanting. Lines addressed " To a Lady—with a copy of Burnses Poems "—the spelling is that of the copyist scribe—although rather too apologetic about the rudeness of " Our Poet's Lay " are emphatic about its charm and power of gift.

If chance some luckless blot appears
O may it be forgiven
For rough the course that Genius steers
Wild as the flash from Heav'n.

But it might be expected from the terms of Burns's letters to the poetess that signs should emerge of direct communication of some piece or pieces of his work whether finished or on the anvil. In this respect the spoil for future Burns editors is meagre, but there is some. First, there is a version of the impolitic inscription at Stirling extolling the Stewarts, and decrying the Hanoverian sovereigns, as well as of the bitter rejoinder ascribed to the Rev. G. Hamilton of Gladsmuir. Unfortunately the copyist has nodded badly in both versions, yet as it may be that they are the earliest rendering extant, it is desirable to give the script as it is, with all its imperfections on its head. The closeness of these versions to those in James Maxwell's " Animadversions " published in 1788 may be such as to leave little dubiety about the source. Some reader may deduce the inferences from a collation.

WRITTEN IN A WINDOW AT STIRLING.

Here Stewarts once in Triumph reign'd
And Laws for Scotia's weal ordain'd;

But now unroof'd their palace stands
Their Scepter fallen to other hands.
The injur'd Stewarts line is gone,
A race outlandish fills the throne,
An Idiot race to honour lost
Who knows them best dispise them most.

B——

WRITTEN BENEATH.

Thus wretches rail when sordid gain
Drags in factions gilded chain;
But can a Man which fame inspires
When genius lights her highest fires
Can B——s disdaining truth and Law
Factions venom'd dager draw—
And skulking with a villains aim
Basely stabb his Monarchs fame
Yes B——s its o'er thy race is run
And Shades secure thy setting Sun
With pain thy wayward Fate I see
And mourn the Lot that's doom'd for thee
These few rash lines shall d—— thy name
And blast thy hopes of future fame.

Burns in his American War Ballad was severe on Burgoyne's surrender in 1776. In one of Miss Craik's "Charades" (page 58) the missing word has its various implications pointed out:—

"And many a gallant Soldiers skull
Of *this* and *this* alone is full
Burgoyne by numbers forced to yield
For *this* or worse resigned the field
And all our Troops on Yankee shore
Have just done this or litle more."

The answer was "Nothing." In different strain, however, is a piece (page 153-154), "The Soldier's Widow," which opens with the curlew screaming

O'er Saratoga's mournful plain,

and is in the orthodox pathetic vein. On the next leaf is a bright little song in a new handwriting of peculiar interest. Those who share with my friends, Mr J. C. Ewing and Mr H. S. Gladstone of Capenoch, the opinion that Captain Riddell as man of letters deserves better of his country will

learn with pleasure that the song is in his bold and dashing script. Mr Ewing gave me among other valuable hints the clue to the unusual significance of this piece. It begins :—

When fame proclaimed with tongues in hundred
Gallant D——s sudden flight
Believe me girls the baggage blundered
For he'll be here this very night.

When this was written " Gallant D——s " was only a subaltern. Time came in 1794 when an ambiguous toast proposed by Burns provoked Captain Dods to such resentment as almost " to end in a brace of pistols." It seems in every way probable that the " Captain " of Burns's quarrel was the " Lieutenant " of Riddell's arch and laughing song.

A larger problem arises with a poem which the copyist, here a good deal more careful than usual, has taken evident pains to render distinctly and exactly. It is a piece that may require some critical construing, for its relationships to Burns in general diction, special vocabulary and easy epistolary style are patent, however they are to be explained. The subject of the " Monody " affords room for speculation, and perhaps it is well to say that " the fatal 29th Decr., 1789," does not seem to be a date writ large and deep in the calendar of history. Inferentially its fatality is to be understood with reference to some private accident or episode of which " Davie " was the unlucky cause.

A MONODY ON THE FATAL 29TH DECR., 1789.

Arms and the Man I scorn to sing,
The thread-bare tale is common
Coila thy chiefest succours bring,
My Theme is lovely Woman.
O Muse! if e'er ye heard my prayer
If e'er I dearly prized ye
Had to my hand wi' rhymin ware
To Sing that fatal Tyseday.

Not for your fauts, ye bony twa
This Sair mishap ye've got it
Your Virgin forms like Virgin Snaw
Are taintless and unspotted,
For Your sweet Sakes it cou'd na be;
But thou, Unlucky Davie,

Thy Sins and Sinfu' Companie
Brought a' this Cursed Shavie.

Dispel your fears, ye lovely Pair
For a' the ills that's near ye
Angels are Heaven's peculiar Care
Misfortune dare na Steer ye
But Davie lad do thou repent,
E'er out again ye venture
Or Korah like ye'll meet a rent
Will send ye to the center.—

Had but the wheel within the wheel
Of our administration
Run wi' their Cargo to the deil
It wad been less vexation
But such a precious freight nae less
Than lovely Virgin Beauty
How cou'd even senseless iron and brass
Refuse to do its duty.—

In line seven " Had " should, of course, have been spelt " Haud." In line eight the form " Tyseday " familiar enough in Scotland though perhaps not in recorded use by Burns, will compel scrutiny. Its complete verification as correct by the rime is of final importance in the verbal criticism. The 29th of December, 1789, it is to be specially noted as a fact of the calendar, was as the poem tells us a Tuesday. Nothing in the entire piece tells a plainer tale of poetic power and confidence than line five; the writer proclaims himself as one who knows that on other occasions than this the Muse has heard his prayer and may hear it again. The unique phrase " Korak like " is—Burns et praeterea nihil; and " center " is used with obvious knowledge of the history of that fascinating word in mediæval cosmogony and the derivative concepts of later natural philosophy. It is legitimate to speculate whether the first two lines of the last verse are a direct reference to politics. The " Monody " apart from an obscurity of theme is a bit of first-class composition, and can fearlessly encounter the cut and thrust of the critics to whom it is now definitely committed.

The Romance of Helen Craik of Arbigland.

By S. ARNOTT, Provost of Maxwelltown.

In the course of a paper, entitled " The Ghosts of Kirkbean," which I contributed to this Society, and which appeared in the *Transactions,* I referred to a tradition relating to the ghost of a white lady which was said to appear at a certain point on the road near Arbigland, Kirkbean, and which was reputed to have been habitually seen since the death by murder or suicide of one of the servants of Arbigland, who was alleged to have had an intrigue with Miss Helen Craik, the poetess, the daughter of Mr William Craik, the proprietor of Arbigland, a well-known man of his time. The tradition was quite a romantic one, but I attached no special importance to it, and it only assumed a different aspect when the late Dr. George Neilson gave a lecture on Helen Craik to the members of this Society on 10th February, 1922. At that meeting I had the honour of being called upon to preside, and, in passing, I should like to say that it is with the deepest regret that we know the death of Dr. Neilson, one of the brightest ornaments of our Society, made that his last contribution to our work. His illness, which followed almost immediately, prevented him from putting his lecture into permanent form for preservation in the annals of the Society. In the course of the lecture Dr. Neilson made reference to the striking change in the tone of the poetry written by Miss Craik in later years as compared with her earlier verses. The latter were, as a rule, cheerful, almost sprightly, indeed, while those of her later years were of a melancholy kind, dealing largely with such subjects as murder and suicides. Dr. Neilson also quoted from one of her poems, a portion of which I give later, written evidently in deep despondency, lamenting her banishment from Scotland, as if it were enforced and would for ever remain. At the close of the lecture I referred to the local tradition, of which Dr. Neilson had never heard, as a possible indication of the cause of this change of tone and the depression into which the poetess had fallen. It had been my hope that Dr. Neil-

son would have been able to make use of this tradition in preparing his lecture for publication, or as part of a later paper on the same subject, but, alas! that was otherwise decreed. I have been favoured by Mr Shirley with a perusal of Dr Neilson's material on which his lecture was founded, and from various pieces of information contained in the notes I have culled some interesting particulars, which appear to go a long way towards explaining the change in Helen Craik's poetry, and to confirm, to a certain extent at least, the tradition, not of the ghost, but of the belief that this was a spot where some dread deed had been consummated.

The tradition itself was related to me many years ago by two old residents of the parish of Kirkbean, who have been dead for a number of years, and who, though not contemporaneous with Miss Craik's residence at Arbigland, were in their early youth at the time of her death, and whose excellent memories yielded many stories of past days and of the people of the vicinity.

The tale was to the following effect, and it may be added that these two old residents agreed in every substantial particular.

There was employed at Arbigland a young man, whose name was said by my informants to be Dunn, but I heard another one from a different source, but had omitted to take a note of it. This man was a groom or horsebreaker—probably the former. Miss Craik is said to have formed an attachment to Dunn, and this was said to have been reciprocated by him and that clandestine meetings took place between them, apart from the numerous occasions on which they met in the ordinary course of life about a country house. It ought, I think, to be said that no hint of anything which would impugn the virtue of Helen Craik emerged in the tales, but that she was said to have been infatuated with the man. In some way the affair was brought to the knowledge of the Craik family, with the usual inevitable result.

When the discovery of the affair came to the knowledge of the family, their anger blazed out furiously. Then came the tragedy. According to the tale, Dunn was sent to Dum-

fries for a message on horseback, and about the time he was due to return the horse he had ridden came home riderless, and shortly afterwards the unfortunate man was found lying dead quite near Arbigland entrance, having been recently shot. There could only be two alternative theories of the cause of the tragedy. The man had either been murdered or had committed suicide. Public feeling was almost unanimous that it was a case of murder, and guilt was supposed to belong to one of the family. The police took up the matter, and inquiries were duly made by the Procurator-Fiscal of the Stewartry. In the end no proceedings were taken against anyone, it being attributed by the Fiscal to suicide. It was a common belief in the vicinity that the influence of Mr Craik, which was very powerful with the authorities, had been exercised to avert any charge of murder. In accordance with the feeling of the times, the body of the slaughtered man was buried on the sea shore at the precipitous promontory called Borron Point. Shortly afterwards, it is said, Miss Helen Craik disappeared from Arbigland, to which she never returned, and it was said that her face had been seen by someone belonging to the parish looking out of a window in Maryport. Some mystery attaches to the disposal of the body of poor Dunn. According to the tale related to me, it was removed from its lonely grave by a man living in a little hamlet called The Borron, near the point of that name. This man was called " Umfrey Fenimore " by the people of the vicinity, and it was said that he retained the skeleton in his loft for some time, but that it was eventually sent to Miss Craik in England. Mr Shirley informed me the other day that the Rev. J. D. Cochrane, the present minister of the parish, had been told that the skeleton had been sold for anatomical purposes, but I can only give you what I was informed many years ago.

From the time of the burial of the unfortunate man a white lady was said to appear at night at the lonely spot where the tragic event took place.

One difficulty in following up this tale is that we have no reliable date at which this occurrence is said to have taken

place, so that we might have a better idea of the probability or improbability of the tradition, which seems to have some connection with the doleful tones of Miss Craik's later poems.

Yet I think we can come to a close approximation of the time, and that we can put ourselves in a position to form a surmise at least of the period of the tragic deed. The theory of suicide seems to have very little to support it, nor can I, even in view of the certainty that there would be fierce resentment in the family at the intrigue, believe that any of its members lay deliberately in waiting for the return of Dunn and shot him in cold blood. If he was murdered it was probably done in a time of passion and probably after a heated altercation between man and man. In order to form an idea of who could have been alleged to be the perpetrator of the deed, we have to arrive within a reasonable conjecture as to the date of the affair, and this, I think, we may learn from the verses written by Miss Craik. Here are extracts from "Lines Written in the Summerhouse at Arbigland in 1792." This must have been about the time the gifted poetess left Arbigland never to return. The date is February 25th, 1792.

Deprived of peace—to calumny a prey,
HERE Helen wept her lonely hours away;
Though guiltless, forc'd *imputed* guilt to bear,
No justice destin'd—and no pity near.

Forlorn! neglected!—happier prospects flown,
And doom'd to expiate errors *not her own,*
HERE oft to grief unbounded sway she gave
And wearied heav'n with pray'rs to reach the Grave!
The *shelt'ring* Grave!—that cure for human smart,
The *last* sad refuge of a broken heart!

Scotia! from *thee* my streaming eyes I turn,
Now doom'd to rest in SOME far distant urn!
Exil'd from all I valu'd!—country, home!
Near Solway's banks, no more, alas! to roam;
O'er youthful scenes where pleasure led the way,
Where fond *remembrance* oft shall ling'ring stray.

Affliction pours *this last*—this *parting* strain,
And proves WEAK REASON'S boasted efforts VAIN;
Alas! HOW VAIN!—torn!—from each comfort driv'n,

Thus robb'd of *all* save innocence and heav'n,
Can *her cold* precepts *mental* strength impart
When *outrag'd Nature* wrings the bursting heart?

Scotia, farewell! Long cherish'd Land, adieu!
Soon, soon on *thee* shall close my aching view!
No more; but ah! let anguish speak the rest,
For *deep'ning* anguish rends my hapless breast,
I go!—sad Nature's *final* pang is o'er.
Scotia, farewell! *now fate can* wound *no more!*

In these despairing words, so full of deep feeling, and which cannot but touch all with any sense of compassion, do we not see that some crisis in the life of Helen Craik had come and gone, and that her departure from her beloved Scotland was an involuntary one? Does not this sad poem give at least some colour to the tradition current in the district round her beloved home? If we are to accept this as in any way confirmatory of the tale and of the period at which the tragic event of the murder or suicide took place, we are driven to the conclusion that no part could have been taken by her brother, Adam Craik, who was accidentally drowned near Flimby, on the Cumberland coast, in 1782, some ten years before. There was another member of the family, then in early manhood, to whom the death may have been attributed, but I do not purpose giving his name. He has long passed away, and we have no right to include his name in this connection without better proof than we can submit. What came of Helen Craik in the immediate time after she wrote this lament in the Summerhouse of Arbigland we cannot tell. She may have rented a house or taken lodgings, but it is possible that she may have gone to reside with her uncle, James Craik, and his sisters, Anne Elizabeth, Barbara, and Margery Neilson, who lived at Flimby Lodge, Cumberland. We do not know when she went to reside at Flimby Lodge, but we know that she died there on 11th June, 1824, in her 74th year, and was interred in Flimby Churchyard, the tombstone calling her " Helen Craik of Flimby Lodge." Her uncles and aunts predeceased her by some years, but all four were alive in 1792, when she probably went into Cumberland.

In two other poems, written, apparently at Flimby, Miss Craik reveals her personal feelings. "Lines addressed to Miss Young in receiving a present of a Tartan Handkerchief from her Mother" display strong resentment at her relations and indicate that calumny had embittered her days in Scotland.

MY LOVE FOR MY COUNTRY!!! from *whence must* it flow?
From falsehood—injustice—each species of woe?
From *cunning's deep* fountain too *winding* to sound,
From Avarice grasping at *all* seen around;
From the *envy* of *some* who with malice pursued me,
From the *coolness* of *Those* who mistakenly view'd me;
From inhuman connections—from Nephews and Nieces
Who all for the best tore my conduct to pieces;
Being formed by *self-int'rest* with morals so civil
As for sixpence to sell *half* their *kin* to the Devil;
Yet that *once* they spoke truth must I think be confest
Since THEIR WORDS I can echo* "'twas all for the best!!"

* "'Tis all for the best," said Mr H—— when the late Captain Riddell of Friars' Carse expostulated with him on certain *existing* circumstances; "'Tis all for the best," re-echoed the *Committee* of *Ways* and *Means*, and *for once* I completely *agree* with them.†

In her "Lines Addressed to Miss Staig with the foregoing Poems" she expresses her appreciation of Miss Staig's constancy in friendship, as she does also of Miss Young and her mother in the poem already quoted, "When the keen blast of slander near blighted the mind."

YOU who *through chance* and *change* have *prov'd the same*,
Whose bosom glows with *Friendship's purest* flame,
Whose tongue ne'er stab'd *where* Fate *too heavy* prest,
Nor *un*reprov'd let pass th' unfeeling jest;

and describes the circumstances under which many of the verses were written.

If *wrapt* in *gloom* the pensive strain appears,
The *pen* that trac'd it *oft was steep'd* in *tears*.
With *tears* the page was often deluged o'er,

† Anne Craik, sister of Helen Craik, married 4th June, 1758, John Hamilton of Ellershaw, their son, Douglas Hamilton Craik, born 1762, inherited the Arbigland estate, married, and had issue. Ellen Craik appears not to have had a niece, and but one grandniece. Captain Riddell of Friars' Carse died 21st April, 1794.

Forc'd from the bleeding HEART'S *half* broken *core,*
And *when deep* anguish THERE usurps the sway,
All else she *tinges* with her *sombre* ray—
Then ANNA!—*still* let *Friendship's pow'r* prevail,
And o'er *each error* throw *Indulgence'* veil.

One or two weak points arise in connection with the tradition. The leading one is that, if we take 1791 or 1792 as the time of the tragedy, Helen Craik was not then the young inexperienced maiden who, carried away by poetic feelings, and it may be inoculated by the sentiments of Robert Burns and the revolutionary ideas of many in that age, would think lightly of social differences and distinctions, and would readily fall in love with a handsome and attractive-looking youth. In, say, 1791 she must have been 40 or 41 years of age—not usually an impressionable age. But it must be admitted that this is not a point necessarily overthrowing any idea of the truth of the tradition. All history and experience show us otherwise, although it must be stated as casting some doubt on the tale. We can find no trace of her ever being back in Scotland again, although she seems to have been at Gilsland, in Northumberland, at a later period, and a poem written in connection with a visit to that place, where she stayed at Orchard House, reveals some lightening of the cloud which had hung over her so long, and which had saddened the lays she produced.

Whatever the truth or otherwise of the local tradition, it is sad to think that this talented woman, whose friendship Burns evidently appreciated, had her later years clouded with grief and sadness—a cloud she should never have borne if we accept her own words in the verses quoted above. Unfounded suspicion may have poisoned the minds of her family, and the gloom of her final years will seem only a proof of the words of her great examplar in the worship of poesy :—

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

Fungus Records for Galloway.

By Mr G. F. SCOTT ELLIOT.

The short list brought forward to-night is offered in the hope that it will stimulate members of the Society to take an interest in these most interesting plants. It is really unfortunate that so few have been recorded for our district.

I wish especially to express my gratitude to Mr R. B. Johnstone, who has most kindly identified those marked * on the list.

I must also thank Professor Wright Smith and the staff at the Botanic Gardens for confirming or correcting those marked †.

Specimens of the microscopic fungi have been preserved, and will be given to the Society.

1417. Agaricus (Collybia) velutipes curt. On dying branches of Oak. January, 1923, The Oakwood, Drumwhill.*

1394. Agaricus (Flammula) gummosus *Larch.* Amongst dead Oak leaves. Bridge Wood, Drumwhill, December, 1922.*

1415. Agaricus (Crepidotus) calolepis. On an old Ash tree. Lilac Sunbonnet Bridge, Drumwhill, January, 1923.*

1397. Marasmius peronatus *Fr.* Amongst beech leaves, which were almost exactly the same colour. Bridge Wood, Drumwhill, December, 1922.*

1402. M. epiphyllus *Fr.* On Birch leaves. Birch Wood, Drumwhill, December, 1922.*

1370. Panus stypticus (*Bull*) *Fr.* Very common on stumps and larger branches between bark and wood. Drumwhill, December, 1922.*

1416. Polyporus varius *Fr.* On bark of Oak branches. Drumwhill, January, 1923.*

P. betulinus *Fr.* Abundant on Birch. Craehill. Always on dying or unhealthy trees. December, 1922.

1418. Poria vulgaris. Inside of bark (which is peeling off) on branches rotting on the ground. Drumwhill, January, 1923.*

1368. Radulum orbiculare *Fr.* Birch Wood, Drumwhill, November, 1922.*

1369. Phlebia meris-moides *Fr.* Birch Wood, Drumwhill, November, 1922.*

1400. Stereum hirsutum *Fr.* Very common on fallen branches of Oak, etc. Crae Brae, December, 1922.*

1367. St. rugosum *Fr.* Very common. This species is of great importance in breaking or lifting bark. Drumwhill, November, 1922.*

1449. Corticium calceum *Fr.* Oak branches lying for two or more years. December 15, 1923.*

1450. C. laeve *Fr.* As above.*

1395. Clavaria rugosa Bull. Amongst Scots Pine needles, avenue gate, Drumwhill, December, 1922.*

1399. Tremella viscosa P. White, then pink, on twigs amongst Beech leaves, Crae Brae, December, 1922.*

1453. Exidia glandulosa. Very common on dead Oak branches. "Oakwood," Drumwhill, December 15, 1923.*

RUST AND SMUT FUNGI.

1300. Uromyces polygoni. Fckl. Garden on P. lapathipolium. Drumwhill, August 3, 1920.

1301. U. valerianæ. Schum. On Valerian, Blates Mill, Balmaghie, 30th July, 1920.†

1430. U. alchemillæ Pers. On Lady's Mantle, Carsphairn Road, one mile from Dalmellington, 18th June, 1923.

1360. U. Behenis Unger. On Silene Maritima, Rocks near Kirkcudbright Bay, August 30, 1922.†

1433. Puccinia pulverulenta Grev. On Epilobium, Dunlop Policies (Ayrshire).

1356. P. violæ D.C. Roadside, New-Galloway-Station Road, August 20, 1922.†

1302. P. coronata Corda. On Rhamnus Frangula, Holland Isle, June 20, 1920. (Also on Holcus, Drumwhill Garden.)†

1352. P. poarum Nielsen. On Poa pratensis, Drumwhill, August 10, 1922.

1305. P. phragmitis Körn. On upper surface of Leaf Phragmites, Crae Lane (per Mr I. Cochrane).†

1439. P. Traillii Plowright. On Rumex acetosa, Crae Brae, July, 1923.

1303. P. obtegens Tul. Very common on Common Thistle, Drumwhill, 1920.†

1355. P. centaureæ DC. Roadside, Laurieston Road; half a mile from New-Galloway Station, 20th August, 1922.†

1359. P. sonchi Rob. On leaves of Sonchus, Kirkcudbright Bay, August 30, 1922.

1436. P. glomerata Grev. On Senecio aquaticus (stems and leaves), Banks of Dee, June 29, 1923.

1348. P. Zopfii Winter. On Caltha, Banks of Dee, June, 1922. †(Probably, but not indistinguishable from P. Calthæ at this stage. Malcolm Wilson.)

1306. Triphragmium ulmariae Schum. Crae Lane, June 20, 1920.

1431. Phragmidium fragariastri DC. Carsphairn Road, one mile from Dalmellington, June 18, 1923.

1362, 1438. P. disciflorum James. Shady places on Wild Rose, Crae Lane.†

1308. P. Rubi-Idaei. Bughts Gate, Banks of Dee, September 21, 1920.

1309. Melampsora farinosa Pers. Bughts Gate, Banks of Dee, September 20, 1920.

1310. M. betulæ Pers. Roadside, Crae Brae, Drumwhill, September 21, 1920.

1311. M. Vacciniorum Link. Bridge Wood, Banks of Dee, June 20, 1920.

1312. Coleosporium senecionis Pers. On Groundsel, Drumwhill, August, 1920.

1354. C. Sonchi Pers. Danevale, August 18, 1922.

1442. C. Euphrasiæ Schum. On E. officinalis, Peatrigg, Drumwhill, August 8, 1923.

1313. Ustilago avenæ Jensen. On Oats, July 15, 1920†

1314. U. Kühneana Wolff. In flowers of Rumexacetosa, Drumwhill, June, 1920.†

1366. Crucibulum vulgare Tul. On old willow trunk, Crae Lane, August, 1922.

1304. Septoria polygonicola Gacc. On Polygonum aviculare, Drumwhill, August 3, 1920.†

1328. Rhytisma acerinum *Fr.* On young Sycamore, Banks of Dee, July, 1920.

1363. R. salicinum *Fr.* On Salixcaprea, Crae Lane, September 5, 1922.

1331. Epichlœ typhina Berk. On Molinia, shade of Slœbushes, Deirdrie Planting, Drumwhill, August 15, 1920.

1316. Polystigma rubrum Pers. Leaves of Sloe, Holland Isle, August 15, 1920.

1358. Stigmatea Robertiani, *Fr.* Very common, Herb Robert leaves. Kirkandrews, Borgue, August 30, 1922.

Bracken and Heather Burning

By Mr G. F. SCOTT ELLIOT.

The common bracken, Pteris aquilina, is not only very widely spread in Galloway, but seems to be occupying more and more of our hill farms with every year that passes.

It is not only dangerous in that it kills out grass, heather, and anything that can be eaten, but sheep, especially tups, force their way through it and cut the skin of the forehead below the horns. Blow flies at once attack the wound. The animal loses condition, and hides in the bracken where the shepherd cannot possibly find it, at least until he discovers its body in winter. I think also that the bracken is a most useful shelter for the tick (Ixodes ricinus), which is supposed to be the carrier of the disease called "Trembling."

The plant has a very wide distribution; normally it is found as undergrowth or as part of the ground flora in woods, as, e.g., in the Scotch Pine forests of the Highlands or in Oak woods everywhere.

But it is not at all particular as to the trees with which it associates. It is abundant in the French Landes under the maritime Pine, with Tree-heather (Erica arborea) in the Canary Islands and in the Casuarina forests of East Java; it is common in Brazil, in Usambara (Africa), and also in the

grassy hills of Upland Madagascar, where I was astonished to find it flourishing everywhere.

It is also characteristic of the Scrub or Maqui of Mediterranean countries. Here and in many of the other localities mentioned it is quite clearly either a sort of pioneer preparing the way for the occupation of the land by forest, or covering ground from which the trees have been removed and where they cannot grow again because of goats, sheep, or other vegetable Apollyons.

In some places in the Mediterranean the bracken thickets make so formidable an entanglement that one can only get into them by using an axe. (1)

This probably explains its prevalence and encroachment in Scotland, for it is occupying the land once covered by Scots Pine or oak forest. It is not at all exacting as regards soil except that it dislikes lime. It grows in our district right over the tops of lower hills (over 300 feet), and appears to be in no way affected by the level of springs. It does not grow on flat, undrained peat mosses, nor can it compete successfully with Bog myrtle where a small ravine or hollow is being gradually occupied by swamp.*

Its rhizomes develop in soil as shallow as $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but in good ground they are found abundantly at from six to nine inches and even as deep as 15 inches. The better the soil, the more luxuriant it is. I have found clumps 5-6 feet high, and in woods, as at Newtonairds, a frond 11 feet long has been measured. (2)

The underground rhizomes are very well protected and full of starch and other food material. The tender coiled up fronds appear early in summer, at a date which varies with the weather and with the exposure to wind and sun. It is frequently caught by a late frost; in such cases they may be killed or only the tips of them turn brown and die.

An active boy can destroy all these young leaves with a long switch, and as far out as this will reach, but the tender stage only lasts two or three days. If only half of the juicy

* It is in Galloway quite common on ridges and knolls, and even on soil only six inches deep. cf. Gordon (3).

stalk is cut through, however, the rest will develop into part of a normal leaf.

The uncurling and spreading out or arching over of the frond is rapidly performed. If not interfered with, many more will develop next year, and most of the good grasses cannot grow under them. Veronica officinalis, Holcus, and a few other grasses characteristic of woods continue to grow feebly; but after some five or six years everything else seems killed out, and one finds below the fronds a brown, barren surface of dead bracken without any other vegetation.

Now, at this stage and after some further years of growth the bracken would probably become unhealthy, for no plant can continue to occupy the same ground for an indefinite period. If Scots Pine seed were brought by the wind, it is even not unlikely that a forest of Scots would reproduce itself, but we cannot afford to wait for half a century for this to happen, even if seed trees were available. I have found in practice that young Sitka spruce are able to make a very good fight with bracken; if they are two or three feet high, they sometimes survive even if left alone. Nor do Roedeer damage them so seriously when the trees are partly hidden by bracken.

However, to return to the life history of the bracken itself; late in the summer the leaves wither, turning first brown, and then various shades of a rich red brown. In this dry condition the stalks will cut the finger like a knife, and they do not decay the same year. The withered, dry foliage protects next year's shoots. The stalks are eventually weakened by a Fungus, Rhopographa filicinum, which breaks them up. The process of decay when the leaves are on the surface is extremely slow.

During the life of the frond, any attack by parasitic fungi seems to be very unusual. I know of only two fungi which possibly attack the living leaf. Of these, Sphaerella Pteridis Desm. is classed as a parasite by Winter (4), but as a Saprophyte by Cooke (5); the other, Cryptomyces Pteridis, has not been recorded in Scotland (to my knowledge), nor is it certainly parasitic. (6)

What, then, is the best method of destroying bracken. First, is it possible to destroy the rhizomes?

One suggestion, widely advertised in the newspapers, was that large herds of pigs should be turned loose both in woods and on the hill sides. They were supposed to root up and devour the rhizomes.

I have myself seen a few acres of woodlands in which some eight pigs had been pastured during the summer. There was certainly no bracken; nor was there anything else. Moreover, every tree had its bark rubbed. I wondered also how the pigs could be trained to eat the bracken rhizomes and leave the tree roots alone.

To anyone who has ever used a pick or spade on the tough, wiry sods of rough mountain pasture, it is obviously absurd to expect a pig, even if starving, to get a livelihood by rooting them up.

Moreover, I have on two separate occasions offered fresh bracken rhizomes to different pigs. The first lot entirely refused to touch them, and the second only played with them, and clearly had no desire whatever to eat them.

On the other hand, we have managed practically to eradicate bracken by ploughing up the ground and growing two crops of corn—one of potatoes or turnips, and one of corn with seeds. Even then, one has not only to weed the crops but to go over the grass with a scythe every following year, especially at the field edges.

This method is only possible, of course, on a very small proportion of our hill farms, though an area much larger than one would suppose has been under the plough in past years and could be ploughed again.

One is reduced, then, to an attack upon the leaves above ground. From what has been said of its life history, the desirable time to cut is just when the first crop of leaves are nearly but not quite mature. Some part of the starch in the rhizome will have been used up in forming these leaves, and they will not have had time to contribute much fresh sugar by their own activity. Then, *in theory,* if you watch the various places, and cut the second and third crops, as they

approach maturity, you should exterminate the bracken in one year.

As a matter of fact, however, I have myself cut bracken five times in one season without destroying it.

Theoretically cutting twice or thrice for three successive years should exterminate bracken, but in practice it is impossible to do this.

Col. Fergusson Buchanan has managed to practically (not completely) destroy the bracken on his estate. He has most kindly given me some valuable hints on this subject, on which he has every right to be considered an authority. Yet even at Auchentorlie, six Boy Scouts and two men go over some 2000 acres annually, cutting stragglers of bracken and other weeds, although it must be nearly ten years since the campaign against bracken began. His advice is to continue on at the same place, spring after spring; always cut from the top of the hill downwards, that is destroying the pioneers first.

It is quite clear from the careful experiments made by the West of Scotland Agricultural College, from Col. Fergusson Buchanan's experience, as well as from my own, that every cutting weakens the plant. This, of course, must obviously be the case from the life history of the plant. If this is done before the end of August, every cutting weakens it, and the fronds become continually shorter until indeed they are so close to the ground that scything is difficult.

If the ground is sufficiently smooth and not too much covered by rock, or stones, an ordinary horse mower or reaper is quite effective.

There are several makes of thistle or bracken cutters on the market which may be even more efficient.* Of these I cannot speak from experience, but most farmers possess or can borrow a mower, which really does quite well.

Still, for the huge areas of uplands and hillsides which carry bracken to-day only the scythe or the Auchentorlie

* Messrs Jack & Sons, Maybole, advertise the following:—Allan, £25 to 26 10/-; Sutherland, £28 to £34; and Symms, £18 to £21.

bracken hook† can be of any real service. Moreover, any able-bodied man can scythe bracken : It is a matter of astonishment to me that during last summer one or more million men were paid to be idle with thousands of acres of bracken waiting for them.

Attempts have been made to destroy bracken by spraying, and when ferrous sulphate in solution was used some real good was done. It is said that the cost was only a third of that required for cutting.

But one is not dealing with Charlock on a few acres worth £1 to £2 in rent, but with thousands of acres rented at from 6d to 2s 6d.‡

So it seems doubtful if spraying is a practical business proposition. For the same reason, although bracken dislikes lime, one could not spread lime over a hill farm. The cost would be financially prohibitive.

Of course if one could find any sort of market for the leaves when cut, this might to a certain extent diminish the cost.

Sir James Crichton-Browne has very kindly sent me certain correspondence dealing with efforts made during the war to find profit in Bracken.

1. As a source of Potash. This might be obtained by burning dry bracken. It is, of course, quite feasible. I have not, however, been able to obtain records as to the yield per acre or per ton of bracken.
2. Papermaking. The material is in most mills first softened by boiling, and then torn into fibres by special machines.

Messrs John Craig & Son reported that after the first, second, and third boiling at a pressure of fifteen pounds to the square inch, little impression seemed to have been made upon the softness of the bracken. Moreover, great difficulty was experienced in getting it through the beating engines,

† Supplied by Lawson, ironmonger, High Street, Dumbarton.

‡ Land rented at less than 3/- an acre would probably yield a far better return under trees.

and the beating bars tended to splinter the fibres instead of separating them out.

There are paper mills which use much higher pressures, but straw seems to be a far better substitute for esparto than bracken.

Nevertheless Messrs Cross & Bevan did succeed in manufacturing, in the laboratory, really good stout brown paper from Bracken.

The method recommended by them consists in steeping the bracken from two to six days in water; ordinary bacterial decomposition will then remove the softer parts and leave the fibres. This suggestion involves a restoration of the ancient lintholes for retting flax. It is conceivable that the sugar, &c., might also be turned to some useful purpose. Yet one could not safely recommend this process without long and careful experiment.

Then also the collection and carriage of bracken from places which often cannot be reached even by a farm cart would be an extremely difficult matter.*

3. As Food, it has been said that in Japan the young tender shoots are soaked for 24 hours in salt water, and are quite good to eat, also that the taste resembles that of asparagus.

When we tried the experiment, the taste of it did not remind me of asparagus, nor indeed of anything else, for I had never imagined anything could be quite so abominable.

4. Bracken is, however, quite useful in a minor scale for bedding cattle, covering turnip and potato pits, and for stack bottoms.

If dried bracken is spread on the red land that is on the bare soil after a turnip crop, and ploughed in, it certainly appears to improve the following crop of oats. I hope this year to test this method more exactly, and must confess that I have hardly sufficient experience to recommend it except as an experiment on sandy or poor soil.

* Pulp has also been produced by careful boiling with caustic soda by Mr W. Tyndale Love in laboratory experiments.

The reason for the present invasion of bracken seems quite simple.

When the land is covered with a close, even crop of heather (Calluna), the young shoots of bracken have difficulty in getting through its tough roots and close-set wiry branches. Under these circumstances bracken is not a serious pest.

But when the heather has been destroyed by overburning, all the competitors of bracken are killed or arrested in growth, whilst the rhizomes of bracken some six inches below the soil are quite uninjured.

Muirfire or heather-burning is, of course, sometimes necessary, as when the heather is coarse and a foot or more in height, but to continue burning every three years, or, as is often done, every year, is simply disastrous.*

If the fires are made late in the season when the earth is dry, not only the heather roots but the uppermost inch or so of really good fertile soil is burnt away. Not only so, but the whole population of worms, algæ, fungi, protozoa, and especially bacteria, are destroyed. The value of these mostly microscopic organisms has only recently been fully demonstrated by the brilliant researches of Russell and his colleagues.

In the first year after the fire a scanty scattered growth of fresh green blades does appear, but this soon vanishes, and for years afterwards Erica tetralix, Molinia cacrulea, Scirpus, and such mosses as Leucobryum occupy the ground, forming an exceedingly poor pasture. In fact by too zealous burning the land is put back into its original condition soon after the glacial period. It is especially in the early spring months that the evil effects appear, for there are no young heather shoots for the sheep, and what grass exists is of the poorest possible character. This has been well shown by Wibeck (7).

The present dangerous increase of Bracken is, in my

* Gordon (l.c.) admits that bracken is uninjured by muirfire, but hardly seems to realise that all good grasses as well as heather are destroyed by injudicious burning.

own opinion, simply the result of injudicious burning, and especially of burning too late in the season.

One can hardly blame the shepherds, for they have been continually urged to burn heather as late and as often as possible by those who ought really to have found out first whether there was any heather left to burn.

In places where bracken has obtained a strong hold, the only course is to cut with reaper, scythe, hook, or switch. It seems even doubtful if it is economical to carry away the fronds or even to burn them for potash; the soil will lose the manurial value of the potash and other substances in the dead leaves.

Where it is not quite so strongly established a few hardy cattle do good, for they break down the foliage and knock off the young shoots. I am hardly competent to give an opinion, but I also think that a few cattle greatly improve rough sheep pasture by their manure.

Where bracken is beginning to establish itself, do not burn at all, or very lightly, and only when the ground is damp. This will be an unpopular suggestion, for from 55 B.C. until this last year, every spring has probably seen huge volumes of smoke on the Scottish Uplands, but I suggest that these fires are wasteful, dangerous, and unnecessary in five cases out of six.

LITERATURE.

1. Warming Oekolog Pflanz Geog., 1896.
2. On the authority of Mr Norman Menzies, Newtonairds.
3. Gordon: *Trans. High. and Agr. Soc.*, 1916.
4. Winter, Rabenhorst, Die Pilze.
5. Cooke: *Handbook of British Fungi.*
6. Tubœuf: *Diseases of Plants*, 1897.
7. Wibeck: Botan. Centralbe 120, p. 191, 1912.

Amongst other papers dealing with Bracken are:--

Farrow: *Journal of Œcology*, IV., 1914.
Young: *Board of Agric.*, Oct., 1911, and Jan., 1914.
Scottish Land Report, 1914.
Scottish Farmer, Oct. 11, 1913.
Cox: *U.S. Dept. of Agr. Farmers' Bulletin*, No. 607, Sept., 1915.

Dragon Flies.

By Captain G. G. BLACKWOOD.

Captain G. G. Blackwood (1 Blacknest Crescent, Dundee) has very kindly favoured the Society with a list of all Dragon Flies hitherto recorded in our area.

Sympetrum striolatum—Kirkcudbright, Dumfries.

S. Scoticum—Kirkcudbright (Slogarie, Curling Pond. Capt. Blackwood), Dumfries, and Wigtown.

Orthetrum cærulescens — Kirkcudbright (Colvend. Dr. Buchanan White). (The only authentic Scotch Record. G. G. B.).

Æschna juncea—Kirkcudbright (Curling Pond, Slogarie. G. G. B.), Dumfries, and Wigtown.

Æ. grandis — Kirkcudbright (Colvend. Dr. Buchanan White). (This is the only specimen ever caught in Scotland. It occurs in Ulster, and is a strong flier. G. G. B.)

Lestis sponsa (misnamed L. nympha in Dr. Buchanan White's list. G. G. B.)—Kirkcudbright and Dumfries.

Pyrrhosoma nymphula — Kirkcudbright (Curling Pond, Slogarie. G. G. B.), Dumfries, and Wigtown.

Ischnura elegans—Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigtown.

Enallagma cyathigerum — Kirkcudbright (Lochanbreack. G. G. B.), Dumfries, and Wigtown.

Calopteryx viago—Kirkcudbright.

Agrion puella—Dumfries.

Authorities.—Dr. Buchanan White, see M'Diarmid "Handbook of Colvend and Southwick"; W. T. Lucas, "Annals of Scottish Natural History," July, 1910; Wm. Evans, "Annals Scottish Natural History," January, 1911.

7th March, 1924.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

Dumfriesshire in the Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages.

By J. GRAHAM CALLANDER, F.S.A. Scot.,
Director of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

Before discussing the prehistoric archæology of any part of the country it is well to take a glance at the physical features of the district chosen for investigation. In Dumfriesshire we have a county of considerable area, for a great part consisting of mountainous country no more suitable for human habitation in prehistoric times than it is to-day. Partly maritime and penetrated deeply by three river systems abounding in fish, also with a considerable extent of rough country probably carrying a good head of game, there would be a considerable food supply for a primitive people depending to a greater or less extent on the chase. It is therefore in the coastal and less elevated districts, the river valleys, and the foot-hills that we may expect to encounter the monuments and pick up relics left by the early inhabitants. But these parts do not extend to half the area of the county, for, though the rivers cut far into the hill districts to the north-west, north, and east, their valleys are narrow, and though a large portion in the centre and south is under the 500 feet contour line, considerable areas in early times were covered with mosses and marshes.

The evidence that pre-historic man occupied any special tract of country consists of the monuments and constructions erected by him, which have survived, and the relics left by him, either scattered about, deposited in graves, or occurring on sites inhabited during early times. But, the abundance or scarcity of remains cannot always be relied upon as an indication of the relative density of population, because, in the case of monuments, many which once existed in the low country have been swept away during agricultural operations. As for relics, while considerable numbers may have been left behind in the hills, absence of tillage on the higher ground makes their recovery less frequent there than on cultivated land.

Proof of the occupation of the county by man during the Neolithic Period (the New Stone Age), the Bronze Age, and the Early Iron Age, is to be found in many parts, but so far, as in the rest of Scotland, no traces of Palæolithic (Old Stone Age) remains have been discovered. Although it is now recognised that relics belonging to Azilio-Tardenoisian times, which immediately preceded the Neolithic Period, have been found in several parts of Scotland, none has, so far, been discovered in our area. Still, a harpoon belonging to these times having been recovered from the River Cree, in the adjoining Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and flint implements of the same period having been obtained near Stranraer, in Wigtownshire, it is quite possible that traces of the Azilian culture may yet be found in Dumfriesshire. In the county, monuments of the Neolithic Period and of the Bronze Age occur in the form of burial cairns, while of the Early Iron Age there are defensive constructions in the shape of hill forts and crannogs. Relics of the three periods have also been found, though, considering the size of the county, not in quite such large numbers as might have been expected.

The Stone (Neolithic) Age.

No Stone Age dwelling sites have been recognised, which is not surprising, as very few have been identified in Scotland. But three pit dwellings of this period were discovered near the Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire, a district not far from our area.

When we come to the burial monuments of this time we find a few examples in the county. Although a considerable number survive in Scotland they are chiefly confined to the north and west, in many of the counties in the east and south not a single example has so far been recorded. They exhibit great variations in form, and in the arrangements of the sepulchral chamber. The greater number consist of long heaps of stones, frequently high and broad at one end and tapering away towards the other, while others to a lesser extent are round. In the north and west these cairns are found with one or more large chambers of bee-hive shape, often divided into several compart-

ments, with a low entrance passage for successive burials; in the Hebrides some have a long rectangular chamber of considerable dimensions, which does not seem to have been sub-divided; and in the Clyde area the long rectangular chamber occurs, but it is broken up into divisions by large septal slabs, sometimes with an entrance passage. In Galloway little exploratory work has been done amongst these monuments, but in a long cairn at Drannandow, in the adjoining Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, six bi-partite chambers, without an entrance passage, were recently excavated. Some of the long cairns have horn-like projections at one or both ends and are known as horned cairns—a few of the round cairns are similarly provided. The range of the horned cairn, although it is found chiefly in the north, extends into Galloway, but so far as we know, not into Dumfriesshire.

There are, however, six long cairns all more or less dilapidated—one, " the White Cairn," at Fleuchlarg, Glencairn; one on Capenoch Moor, Keir; one near Stiddrig, Kirkpatrick-Juxta; one near Clonfeckle, Kirkmahoe; and two in alignment on Windyedge, Canonbie. Possibly some of the larger circular cairns, which are to be found in the stretch of country occupied by the long cairns, may belong to the Stone Age, but as none of them has been systematically explored, their period cannot be determined. In the two ruined cairns in the parish of Canonbie there are indications that the burial chambers were rounded and of bee-hive shape, but the form of the burial chambers in the other cairns, both long and round, is not known, as their scientific examination has not been attempted. In discussing the routes by which the Neolithic people who built these cairns penetrated the county, in the " General Introduction " to the Ancient Monuments Commission's *Inventory of Monuments in Dumfriesshire,** it is pointed out that from the distribution of

* The pre-historic monuments in Dumfriesshire were surveyed in 1913 by Mr Alex. O. Curle, F.S.A. Scot., for the Ancient Monuments Commission (Scotland), and the *Inventory and Report* was published in 1920. As this is the most complete record of these structures, and is practically up to date, it must be constantly referred to in dealing with the antiquities in the county.

the chambered cairns in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright it would seem that the people who built them may have entered that county from two directions, either from the Solway up the valley of the Cree, or from the north, crossing from Ayrshire in the neighbourhood of Carsphairn. From the evidence of the cairns the influx from the south does not seem to have spread further than the lower reaches of the Cree, a district quite remote from Dumfriesshire, but as the northern part of the Stewartry where the other monuments are to be found is much nearer our county, it seems probable that from this direction the cairn builders filtered into Dumfriesshire, by way of Stroanfreggan, thence by Moniaive and Thornhill to the moorland region between Queensberry Hill and Annandale.

When we come to consider the relics of this period, the commonest which may be expected are implements made of flint, and axes of stone.* Neolithic pottery, which when found in Scotland is generally of good quality and pleasing shape, and is peculiar in having a rounded base, is not common anywhere in Britain, although recently quite a number of discoveries have been made in Scotland and in England. No examples have been recorded from the county, but such ought to be found in some of the burial cairns.

Judging from the recorded specimens of flint implements which have come under my notice, Dumfriesshire has proved very disappointing. For this there are probably two reasons: first, the scarcity of the raw material; and, second, the want of systematic searching for relics. Scotland is not a flint-producing country, as the only extensive deposit of this very important material available for the use of a primitive people

* With regard to the pre-historic relics found in the county, I am greatly indebted to Mr John Corrie, Moniaive; his son, Mr J. M. Corrie; Mr G. W. Shirley, and Mr J. D. Ballantyne for supplying me with information about discoveries of which I had no record, and with descriptions of the specimens. Further, Mr J. M. Corrie very kindly placed at my disposal copious notes on the implements, weapons, and other objects of the Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages found in Dumfriesshire, which he had compiled.

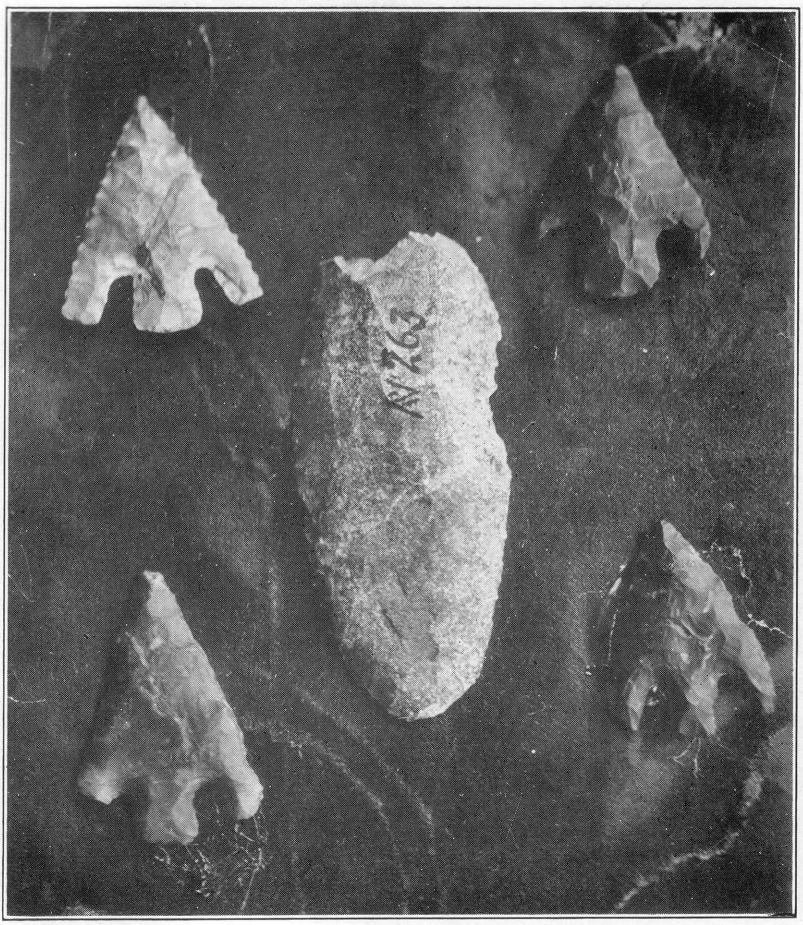
occurs in Buchan, Aberdeenshire. Certainly small quantities are to be found in the raised beaches round the coast, but that supply is limited. Wigtownshire in the south-west, which has yielded enormous numbers of flint implements, imported much of its raw material from Ireland, and Berwickshire in the south-east, which has produced considerable numbers in certain localities, possibly got part of its supply from England. It is interesting to note, however, that where flint was scarce or of poor quality the Neolithic population made use of other kinds of stone for the manufacture of implements, even though these materials were less tractable to work than flint. Occasionally jasper, quartz, and pitchstone were used, but implements made of these stones are extremely rare. More frequently radiolarian chert, which occurs in many places in the south of Scotland, was utilised for the manufacture of arrow-heads, knives, and scrapers. Examples of these implements made of this material have been found in the counties of Lanark, Midlothian, Peebles, and Berwick, and I have seen two arrow-heads of the leaf-shaped variety which were found in the parish of Closeburn.

The varieties of flint implements which we expect to find are axes, arrow-heads, spear-heads, scrapers for curing skins for clothing, hollow scrapers for rounding shafts of implements and weapons, knives, saws, borers, and drills. Although the scraper is the most common of all flint implements and is found in very large numbers in some counties, notably Wigtownshire, Aberdeenshire, and Morayshire, I have heard of only five examples from Dumfriesshire. Three of these came from the parish of Glencairn, two from Gaps Mill and one from Crechan; the fourth was found on Robgill, Ruthwell; and the fifth at Bellfield, Holywood. Of the other types of small flint implements that have come under my notice, there are very few examples. A nice knife, dressed along both edges and all over its convex back, was found on Girharrow; and a small triangular knife-like object, a core, and a flake with slight secondary chipping, on Graines, the find spots in both instances being in the parish of Glencairn. A knife $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and an arrow-head, like one of the

scrapers mentioned, were found on Robgill, Ruthwell, the three objects being preserved in the Kelso Museum. A small saw from Lochar Moss is now in the National Museum of Antiquities. No doubt such objects would be found in greater numbers if searched for, but while a person would not fail to pick up an arrow-head which he happened to notice, he might pass unheeded many examples of the other implements simply because he did not know that such things existed.

Of arrow-heads there are five from Lochar Moss, two being barbed, one hollow-based, and two leaf-shaped; eight barbed from Rigmoor, Gretna; two barbed from Gretna; and one, also barbed, from Grainhead, Gretna Green, preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities; a barbed example from Kirkmichael is in the museum at the Observatory, Dumfries; four of the barbed variety, one from Townhead, Closeburn; one from Standard Brae, Farding, Keir; one from Polskeoch, Penpont; and one of pitch-stone from Barndennoch, Keir, in the Grierson Museum, Thornhill; and two barbed from The Green, Gretna, in the Kirkcudbright Museum. Other records of arrow-heads consist of two said to have been found with urns at Wallace Hall, Closeburn, in 1795; one at Ryehill, Sanquhar; one found while digging for the foundation of the Observatory at Eskdalemuir; and two at Townhead, Closeburn. A barbed example was also found on Buckrig Farm, Beattock, in 1924. Of spear-heads, one $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches long from Lochar Moss, and another $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long from Gretna Green, are in the National Museum of Antiquities. In the latter collection is also a flint knife believed to have been found in a cist in a cairn at Barndennoch, Keir, along with the arrow-head above mentioned. Probably many other flint implements have been found, and are preserved in private hands, but this list compares very unfavourably with those of recorded examples from other southern counties.

Stone axes are more numerous. Mr J. M. Corrie has noted nearly forty in his list, the parishes in which they were found including Dumfries, Holywood, Kirkmahoe, Keir, Durisdeer, Tynron, Kirkconnel, Sanquhar, Wamphray, Kirkpatrick-Juxta, Tinwald, Mouswald, Cummertrees, Lang-



FLINT ARROWHEADS AND KNIFE.

Polskeoch. Barndennoch.

Townhead, Closeburn. Barndennoch.

Standing Brae, Keir.

Face page 102.

holm, Annan, Middlebie, and Ecclefechan. An example in the National Museum which comes from Dinwoodie Green, Annandale, is notable because it shows the mark of the wooden handle crossing the centre of the axe.

The Bronze Age.

Although we have considered these implements of flint and stone when dealing with the Stone Age, it should be kept in mind that some of them belong to the succeeding period, the Bronze Age, such, for example, as the arrow-head and knife found in the Bronze Age cairn at Barndennoch. No arrow-heads of bronze have been found in Scotland, and flint was used for fashioning them probably until iron was introduced. Stone axes also must have been made long after the commencement of the Bronze Age, because for centuries subsequent to its introduction the metal would be scarce and expensive.

We have seen that no dwelling sites of the Stone Age have been recorded in the county, and although none has been actually proved as belonging to the Bronze Age, there is good reason to believe that the small hut-circles found in juxtaposition to the small cairns which occur in groups in many parts of our area, belong to this period. Three of these structures in Ayrshire have yielded pottery belonging to this time. Groups of small cairns and accompanying hut-circles are found in profusion in many parts of Scotland, usually at an elevation of 700 to 900 feet above sea-level, and frequently they occur in the neighbourhood of undoubted Bronze Age cairns and stone circles. This combination of monuments is met with in the north of Scotland, in Galloway, and in East Lothian, and doubtless in other parts. In Dumfriesshire over thirty groups of small cairns, frequently with hut-circles, are recorded in the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments*. These hut-circles are simply the stony foundations of small huts, often measuring about 12 feet in diameter, which is also a common diameter of the small cairns found in their vicinity. By far the greater number of the Dumfriesshire examples are to be found between the 800 and 900 feet level, only four groups having been noted between 700 and 800 feet, and two below the 700 feet contour line. From 700 to 900 feet seems

to be a favourite elevation for these monuments in different parts of Scotland, although I have visited groups in East Lothian about the 1100 feet level and others in Aberdeenshire below 300 feet. The distribution of the small cairns in the county is peculiar. They occur in ten parishes, eight of which, extending from Closeburn to Sanquhar, are in Nithsdale, and two in Annandale, in the parishes of Kirkpatrick-Juxta and Kirkmichael, which lie over against the former region. No groups of these monuments have been recorded in Eskdale, although two occur near the long cairns on Windyedge, Canonbie. It is interesting to note that in the parishes of Closeburn and Kirkpatrick-Juxta, where the larger Bronze Age cairns are most numerous, there are also many groups of the smaller variety; both kinds occur also in Sanquhar and Kirkmichael. Fine groups of the small cairns are to be seen on Craes Hill and in the glen of the Girharrow Burn, both in Glencairn.

The general form of the hut-circle is circular, but on Whitestanes Moor, Kirkmahoe, are a number which are oval, and exhibit the unusual feature of the interior excavated from 1½ to 2 feet below the natural surface of the ground. Although there are no small cairns in Eskdale, a few hut-circles have been recorded, but these may belong to a later period than those associated with the cairns, possibly to the same time as the examples seen so often in forts which undoubtedly belong to the Iron Age.

The ordinary Bronze Age cairns, which are of considerably larger size than the small examples referred to, differ from those of the Stone Age in being nearly always round, and in containing one or more graves of small dimensions. Frequently the burial chamber is in the form of a short cist made of slabs, into which the body was placed in a crouching position, but after cremation was introduced the incinerated remains of the body were placed in an urn or simply deposited in a hole in the ground, within the cairn. These monuments vary from less than 20 feet to over 90 feet in diameter. More than thirty have been noted in the county, but many of them have been so despoiled for the building of dykes and other purposes that only the foundations can now

be traced. They are widely distributed through the county, though they do not occur in large numbers in any part. Most of them are situated in the stretch of country where the long cairns are found, and a few in the southern parts, but in the eastern side they are extremely scarce. Closeburn, Kirkpatrick-Juxta, Tynron, and Sanquhar parishes contain the largest number of these monuments, and they can well be studied in the first mentioned district in the cairn on Gufhill Rig, Knockenshang, which is 93 feet by 85 feet in diameter and 5 feet in height; in another on Gawin Moor, 62 feet in diameter and 8 feet in height; and in the " Mid Cairn " on the same moor, which is 54 feet in diameter and about 9 feet high. Another cairn on this piece of moorland was found to contain three short cists, one of which yielded fragments of a beaker urn and a flint implement. One of these monuments at Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, contained a cist with an unburnt burial but no other relics. Mention may be made of the discovery of a cinerary urn in an earthen mound at Wyllie's Wood, Kirkbean, as it is just outside the boundary of the county. This burial mound of earth more resembled the English barrow than the Scottish cairn which consists chiefly of stones. It can quite well be realised that such earthen mounds occurring in a cultivated country-side would have little chance of surviving generations of agricultural operations, and possibly there may have been many others which have been entirely swept away.

Another class of monument with which Bronze Age interments are almost invariably associated is the stone circle, and a few of these survive in our area. Although there seems little reason to doubt that the Scottish stone circle is developed from a ring of boulders placed round a Neolithic cairn and is occasionally seen surrounding Bronze Age as well as Stone Age cairns, not one of the Dumfriesshire examples occurs in the districts where the cairns are most numerous.

Six stone circles still remain, and possibly some of the standing stones which survive in different districts may have originally formed parts of circles. The most important of these monuments is that known as the " Twelve Apostles " at Holywood, a circle of 290 feet diameter, and consisting

of eleven stones, of which five remain erect. The setting is oval on plan, and the longest stone measures 10 feet 6 inches in length. Near Kirkhill, Wamphray, are the remains of a circle of which seven stones remain, but probably only two of them are in their original positions. A number of stones have evidently been removed. The stones have an average length of about 3½ feet, and their height above ground is not more than 1 foot 6 inches. The circle seems to have been about 50 feet in diameter. The circle known as the "Seven Brethren" on Whiteholm Rig, Tundergarth, consists of seven or eight stones of small size, the highest showing only 2 feet 4 inches above ground. Its diameter is about 62 feet. At Whitecastles, in Hutton and Corrie, is a circle formed of nine massive blocks with a diameter of about 160 feet. The remaining two circles are the "Girdle Stanes" near Cot, on the White Esk, and the "Loupin Stanes" some 600 yards distant at Hartmanor, also on the left bank of the same stream. The "Girdle Stanes" circle is incomplete, as part of it has been dislodged by the river encroaching on the site. Possibly six or eight boulders lying in the water may have originally formed the western arc of the circle. The remaining part shows ten erect stones and sixteen flat or prostrate. The highest upright stone is 5 feet 4 inches in height, and the approximate diameter of the circle is 130 feet. The "Loupin Stanes" is better preserved, and consists of an oval setting of two erect stones and ten boulders, the upright stones being about 5 feet 4 inches in height. From north to south the diameter is some 38 feet, and from east to west 31 feet.

All these monuments are simple circles, none of them showing any of the numerous variations met with in other parts of the country, especially the north-east.

The scarcity of the three classes of Bronze Age monuments which we have been reviewing, the cairn, the small cairn and the stone circle, in the eastern part of the county is noteable, although we have two circles and a very few cairns in Eskdale.

When we consider the relics of this period we find that although metal gradually usurped the place of stone for many

kinds of implements and weapons, stone continued to be utilised for the manufacture of certain classes of objects which would have been more efficient if made of bronze. Reference has already been made to the survival of the stone axe and the flint arrow-head, but in addition to these, small perforated hammers, and axe-hammers both small and massive were fashioned. A small axe-hammer found at Amisfield, and small hammers from Slacks Farm, Tinwald, from Balagan, Durisdeer, and Coshogle, in the same parish, are preserved in the Thornhill Museum. The small size, the elaborate form, and the absence of signs of wear on many of these objects, seem to point to their use having been rather ceremonial than industrial. Hitherto in speaking of relics, apart from the stone axes, we have had to note a general scarcity from the county, but when we come to the massive axe-hammer, broad at one end, and wedge-shaped at the other, we find a great change in the relative numbers recorded. Three dozen are known to have been found in the county, twenty of them being preserved in the museums at Thornhill and the Observatory, and in your Society's collection. This is not surprising, as Galloway and the south country have produced far more of these very clumsy weapons than any other part of Scotland. The good representation of these objects from the county I think lends weight to my suggestion that if a better search were made for pre-historic relics generally, many more would be forthcoming. The most careless observer could not miss seeing a large axe-hammer which he happened to unearth, while it requires a knowledge of the less obvious relics to secure their recovery.

Of implements and weapons made of bronze we never expect to find so many as those of stone, no matter what part of the country we are investigating. The commonest type of implement which we find is the axe, which appears in three distinct varieties, the flat axe, the flanged axe or palstave, and the socketed axe, the first being the earliest and the third the latest. So far I have been able to hear of only two flat axes which have been found in the county. One came from South Cowshaw, Tinwald, and the other, which has

recently been presented to the National Museum of Antiquities, from Brockhillstone, Dunscore. Of flanged axes twelve examples fall to be noted. In the National Museum there are one from Applegarth, one from Mouswald Place, one from Birrenswark, one from Canonbie, one found near Annan, and one from Springfieldfoot, Dunscore. In the Thornhill Museum there are one each from Raeburn Bog, Eskdalemuir; Townfoot Loch, Closeburn; Park of Closeburn; and Kirkless, Durisdeer; and in the Kelso Museum two from Birrenswark. The axe from Applegarth is a particularly fine example; it has narrow flanges, a fine crescentic cutting edge, and the sides elaborately ornamented. Four socketed axes found near Annan are in the National Museum; and one from Auchencairn Hill, Closeburn, is in the Thornhill Museum; while another, now in the possession of this Society, was found in a garden at Annan.

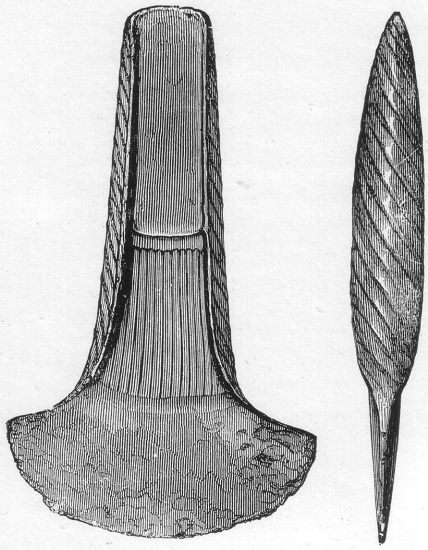
Other varieties of bronze implements or weapons found in the county include a chisel from Dumfries, a dagger from Holywood Kirkyard, another found near Gretna, a rapier-shaped dagger from Fairholm, Lockerbie, a sword found near Lochmaben, another sword of which the exact locality is unknown; two found at Cauldhome, Drumlanrig; a spear-head from Springfield, Dunscore; one from Bowhouse of Caerlaverock; one from Tinwald found with a flattish ring $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter; one from Castlemain, Lochmaben; two found in the loch at Lochmaben two found near Dumfries, and three found near Annan.

A very important hoard of bronze implements was found in digging for the foundations of the Greyfriars' Church in Dumfries. The relics, which originally were exhibited in the Crichton Museum, have disappeared, but fortunately casts made from them are preserved in the Society's collection. The hoard consisted of four axes and two spear-heads. Three of the axes were of the early palstave type without a loop, and the fourth was provided with a loop. One of the spear-heads was of the early type with loops on the socket, but one of the loops was broken off. The other spear-head was of the Arreton Down type, a form rarely found in Scot-

BRONZE SPEARHEADS AND AXES

Found during the excavations on the site of Greyfriars' Church, Dumfries, 1866. Photograph of casts from the originals.

Face page 108.



Flanged Bronze Axe found at Applegarth.

Bronze Chisel from Dumfries.

Urn and Bronze Blade from Shuttlefield.

Face page 109.

land. This example not only showed an early form of the socket, but it had two small bosses cast on each side of the socket, close to the blade, simulating the rivets with which the socketless blades were attached to the haft.

In the Thornhill collection are three rapier blades from Drumcoltran, Kirkgunzeon. Although they were found in an adjoining county, their discovery is one of importance, as not only are such weapons rarely found in Scotland, but the position in which they were discovered has an important bearing on the dates of some of our forts. These three, as well as two in a private collection and one in the National Museum, are the survivors of a hoard of twelve or thirteen said to have been found in the bottom of the ditch of a fort. If this record is reliable, it follows that this fort must have been made during the Bronze Age. As, so far, no Scottish fort has been proved to belong to this period, the importance of this discovery will be recognised. In the National Museum there are a few specimens belonging to this period—in addition to the flanged axe from Applegarth there are one from Birrenswark; and another found near Annan; a rapier-shaped dagger from near Lockerbie; a dagger from Gretna; and part of a sword wanting the exact locality but found in the county. There is also a bronze cauldron found in Whitehills Moss, Lochmaben. These vessels, which are fine examples of the hammerman's craft, were beaten out of sheet bronze, and were made during the end of the Bronze Age and beginning of the Early Iron Age. A particularly fine example was found in Peeblesshire, and another in Carlingwark Loch, in the Stewartry. The examples from Whitehills Moss and Carlingwark Loch, however, probably belong to the Early Iron Age.

In speaking of cairns, reference has been made to the discovery of clay urns of the beaker and cinerary variety. Cinerary urns have also been found at Newton Rigg, Holywood; at the Fairyknowe, Carronbridge; and in the public park at Maxwelltown. In the National Museum there are part of a cinerary urn and a small leaf-shaped blade of bronze found with it at Shuttlefield, Lockerbie. In the *New*

Statistical Account it is stated that in 1795 two cinerary urns containing incinerated bones and associated with two arrow-heads and a number of flakes of flint were found at Wallace Hall, Closeburn. This is an important record, as flint arrow-heads are so seldom found with this class of pottery. An incense-cup urn is recorded from Greystone, Dumfries, but so far I have been unable to hear of any of the food-vessel type being found. A few more urns are referred to in your Society's *Transactions*, but the accounts of these are so tantalisingly inadequate that it is quite impossible to hazard a guess at their character.

During this period both gold and jet were utilised in the manufacture of ornaments. A gold lunula, a broad flat crescentic object of beaten work for wearing on the neck, of which only four have been recorded in Scotland, was found at Auchentaggart, in the parish of Sanquhar, and some jet beads, probably parts of necklaces, have been found in various districts. A particularly fine bead, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, preserved in the National Museum, was found on Watch Hill, Loch Skene. Part of a jet button, found many years ago, in a short cist with unburnt human remains, at Holmains, Dalton, has been presented recently to the National Museum.

In many parts of the country peculiar sculpturings in the form of small hollows sometimes surrounded by rings are very frequently found on rocky surfaces, boulders, and standing stones. These are known as cup-marks, or cup-and-ring-marks. Occasionally the sculpturings are in the form of spirals. Although there are some magnificent examples of cup-and-ring markings in the valley of the Cree in the adjoining Stewartry, none have been reported in Dumfriesshire, but a slab which forms the sill of a doorway in Hollows Tower, Canonbie, bears several incised spirals.

Early Iron Age.

The monuments and constructions of the Early Iron Age differ entirely from those of the earlier periods, which, we have seen, consist practically of monuments associated with burials. In the Iron Age a great change took place in the burial customs, and the practice of erecting large cairns over the

grave ceased. Occasionally small cairns continued to be erected, but very few of these have been recognised. Burial in short cists continued, but it soon seems to have been stopped, only two short-cist graves of this period having been recorded in the country. The constructions of this period take the form of forts, usually situated on the hills, crannogs or artificial lake dwellings, and earth-houses.

Taking the last-mentioned first, there is not a single example in the county, but generally speaking they are not numerous in the South of Scotland, although they have been found in Lanarkshire and Roxburghshire, counties adjoining our area.

Four crannogs or lake-dwellings have been identified: At the Black Loch, Sanquhar; one in Rough Island, Loch Urr; one in the Castle Loch, Lochmaben; and one in a small loch near Friars' Carse, Dunscore. The superstructure of the lake-dwelling in Loch Urr consisted largely of stones, and there was a submerged causeway also of this material connecting it with the shore, but the crannogs in the Black Loch and in the Castle Loch were typical examples, showing wooden platforms kept together by morticed beams and piles, dug-out canoes being found in each of the lochs. Another canoe was discovered in a moss not far from Morton Castle. A stockade enclosing about half an acre of ground on Kelloside, Kirkconnel, is worthy of mention, as the woodwork showed a striking resemblance to that at the crannog in the Black Loch, Sanquhar, and a platform of logs found in a peat moss at Corncockle, Applegarth, may be compared with some of these structures though no piles were discovered. Crannogs are numerous in Wigtownshire and Ayrshire.

If we have had to remark the scarcity of other classes of monuments in the county, we can note with surprise the abundance of defensive constructions, as no less than two hundred and twenty have been recorded in the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments*, one hundred and forty-three of these being forts, and seventy-seven being partly for defence and partly for concealment. With the latter I do not propose to deal, as they seem to belong to later times than the pre-

historic defences. They were probably stock enclosures and their range in Scotland seems to be limited, extending from Annandale to the east side of Gala Water in Midlothian, and into Roxburghshire.

Any enquiry into the pre-historic forts of Scotland is very much handicapped by the fact that little is known about their chronology, as so few of them have been excavated, scientifically or otherwise, and the evidence of the relics obtained from them is not available for ascertaining their period. As in other parts of the country the construction and occupation of the forts in Dumfriesshire extended over centuries. Some of them may belong to the Bronze Age, but in all likelihood by far the greater number were erected in the Iron Age, some before the beginning of the Christian era, and others during the early centuries of that time.

From the discovery of a hoard of bronze rapier blades in the bottom of a ditch at the fort of Drumcoltran, in the adjoining Stewartry, which has already been referred to, it is probable that this fort deserves a Bronze Age attribution. If this assumption be correct it is reasonable to believe that similar fortifications would be erected, not only in adjoining counties, but in other parts of the country, and thus some of the Dumfriesshire forts may have been erected in the Bronze Age, though these we may not yet be able to identify.

The number of Scottish Iron Age forts which have been excavated is not very large, but a few of them are believed to date back to pre-Christian times. The partial excavation of the fort on Bonchester Hill, Roxburghshire, and of some hut-circles within it, yielded a pin of a very early type, and saddle querns, relics suggestive of an early date; the forts on Castle Law, Abernethy, on Castle Law, Forgandenny, both in Perthshire, and the fort at Burghead, Morayshire, had a framework of oak beams built into the stone walls for strengthening them, similar to some of the Gaulish forts described by Julius Cæsar, and in the first of these forts were found a pin similar to the Bonchester example, and a bow-shaped brooch of very early La Tène type; while the vitrified fort of Dun-a-goil in Bute produced pins and other relics

of such early character as to allow the excavators to claim a pre-Roman date for the building and occupation of the structure. It would be strange if some of the forts in the county were not contemporary with some of these mentioned. But, although we cannot identify the later forts any more than those of the earlier periods, there is little doubt that many of the Dumfriesshire forts belong to the early centuries of this era, the time when the fortified town on Traprain Law was a busy centre occupied by a people skilled in the working of metals and glass.

The forts of Dumfriesshire for the greater part occur along the three main river valleys which penetrate the county, while a number are to be found occupying heights in the less elevated southern part of our area. As the coastal district is low, there is an absence of the cliff forts so frequently met with in some of the other southern counties where there are stretches of a high rocky coast-line.

Twenty-five forts are found in Nithsdale, ninety-four in Annandale, and twenty-four in Eskdale and Ewesdale, the first-mentioned valley offering an easy access in a north-westerly direction into Ayrshire, the second a less easy road to the head-waters of the Clyde and Tweed and the north country, while the third leads into a high-lying, bare stretch of hill and moorland of much greater width and extent than is to be found in the upper reaches of the first two rivers. Before they issue from the hills the valleys of the three rivers are of no great width, the land soon rising on both sides to over 1000 feet elevation. A large number of the forts lie between the 500 feet and 1000 feet contour lines, within easy access of the rivers, but occasionally they are found a considerable distance up the lateral valleys, and there is quite a numerous group on the sides of the burns which descend from the elevated moorland in the angle between the Annan and the Esk.

Many of the forts, like that on Tynron Doon, occupy strategic positions meant to command the lines of communication along the river valleys, but doubtless others were erected to provide places of safety to which the population occupying the lower country could retire in case of invasion.

Although very many of the ancient Scottish forts have received a Roman attribution both in maps and in literature, the percentage erected by that people is very small. The Roman fort, of which there are several in the county, and which have been dealt with by Dr. George Macdonald in a communication read before this Society, is distinguished from the native fort, in being rectilinear, while the other is generally curvilinear.

There is a great variety in the arrangement of the defences in the native forts, which may take the form of stone works with or without ditches, earth-works with ditches, or a combination of both stone and earth works. Through the destruction of walls and ramparts and the filling of ditches by the hand of man, and through the action of the elements, it is difficult to visualise their appearance when they were in full occupation. Impressive though some of them are even in their present state of dilapidation, when their defences stood to their full height, often crowned and strengthened by rows of palisades, they must have presented an imposing appearance of strength and security, exhibiting no little skill on the part of the engineers who selected the sites and planned the fortifications.

The natural features of the site frequently determined the character of the defences. On rounded hill tops and regular gentle declivities, circular or nearly circular forts are often found; on ridges they frequently assume an elliptical form; and on rocky ground the lines are usually governed by the irregularities of the site, advantage being taken of steep slopes and outcrops of rock.

The forts of Dumfriesshire* which have walls entirely made of stone are much less numerous than those which consist of earth-works or partly of stone and partly of earth. There are two of the former class in Nithsdale—one, a promontory fort, at the Belt, Hightownhead, Kirkmahoe, defended on its vulnerable front by three outer walls; and the

* For a comprehensive survey of the various types of forts in the county, the "General Introduction" to the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments*, pp. l.-lvi. should be consulted.

other on the Mulloch, in the same parish, a hill-top fort defended by two concentric walls, and notable as being the only vitrified fort recorded in the county. In Annandale stone forts are more common, but they are confined chiefly to the parish of Kirkpatrick-Juxta, there being several on Beattock Hill. One of these is circular on plan, and two oval or elliptical, their form being determined by the contours of the sites. The fort known as Hell's Hole, in the same parish, which rests on the edge of a ravine, is of semi-circular shape, and is defended for part of its circuit by two walls, and for another part by three. There is only one stone fort in Eskdale, on Craig Hill in Westerkirk, and it is oval on plan. The walls of the stone forts are now in a ruinous condition, and generally appear as a tumbled mass of stone where they have not been cleared away. Their original thickness seems to have been from 7 to 10 feet.

It has been noted elsewhere that the Dumfriesshire stone forts occur in the district where cairns are most numerous, but it does not follow that there was any connection between the two classes of structures or their builders. A plentiful supply of loose stones lying on a hill-side would appeal as strongly to the Bronze Age cairn builder as to the Iron Age military engineer.

Of the forts which consist of earth-works, or of earth and stone, the two most important examples in the county are Tynron Doon in Tynron parish, and Castle O'er in Eskdale. Tynron Doon occupies the summit of a detached, steep, conical hill of great natural strength, and is defended by an elaborate system of ramparts of stone and earth and rock-cutting especially on the western sector. Its entrance passage is ingeniously defended by the return of the various ramparts which abut on it, flanking it at different places. On plan the entire fort roughly forms a triangle with a rounded apex and convex base, its extreme length between the outer defences being about 450 feet, and its breadth at the widest part, across the base, about 300 feet. Castle O'er also occupies the summit of a rocky height, and is strongly defended by ramparts and rock-cutting on its most vulnerable side. It is an

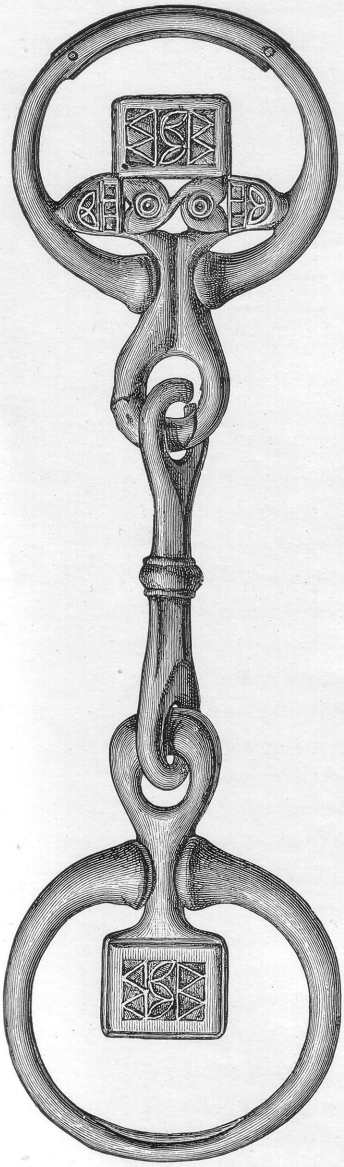
irregular oval in form, and has an all-over measurement of about 800 feet by 400 feet.

Kemp's Castle, in Sanquhar parish, which occupies a long, narrow tongue of land, with steep sides, in the angle between the Barr Burn and the Euchan Water; Dalmakethar fort, in Applegarth, which is bordered by the ravine of a burn on one side and by a steep declivity on the other; and the fort, Bogle Walls, in Westerkirk, are good examples of promontory forts. The first is defended by ramparts and trenches cut across the promontory, the second by an extra rampart and ditch on its two most accessible sides, and the third by a segment of a massive curved rampart still reaching a height of 7 or 8 feet above the interior, with a trench outside it 42 feet wide, and showing a depth of 11 feet on the scarp and 9 feet on the counter-scarp.

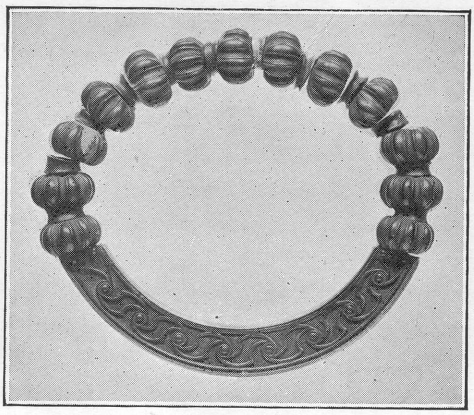
As examples of circular or oval forts, mention may be made of the fort on Wardlaw Hill, in Caerlaverock, with its double line of ramparts, which measures internally 210 feet by 180 feet in diameter; Range Castle, in Dalton, the main defence of which is a trench cut through rock for the greater part, measuring 30 feet in width and from 7 to 8 feet deep—its internal diameters being 300 feet by 280 feet; and the fort on Barr's Hill, in Tinwald, surrounded by a scarp and a double line of ramparts and ditches.

Rock-cutting is seen in the trenches of other forts, and quite a number of them show parts of the interior, especially in the vicinity of the entrance lowered by excavation; some also contain hut-circles.

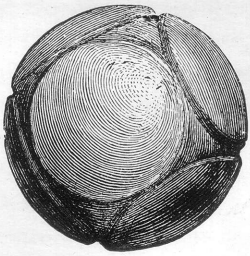
The introduction of iron very soon resulted in a great increase in the numbers and varieties of tools, implements, and weapons, but owing to the rapidity with which this metal disintegrates and decays, coupled with the re-melting of broken and worn articles, objects of iron made during the Early Iron Age are seldom found. But for the two large hoards of iron objects found in bronze cauldrons respectively in Carlingwark Loch in the Stewartry, and at Cockburnspath in Berwickshire, and the relics found on such sites as the fort on Traprain Law, all of which are to be



Bronze Bridle Bit from Birrenswark.



Bronze Torc from Lochar Moss.



Stone Ball from Dumfries.

Face page 117.

seen in our National Museum, our knowledge of the metal appliances of the inhabitants of Scotland at this time would be very meagre. Without considering the great assortment of iron objects found in the Roman fort at Newstead, and confining our attention to the hoards mentioned and to the finds on Traprain Law, we learn that the native population were well provided with domestic and industrial appliances, and weapons, of iron. They had hammers, axes, saws, chisels, punches, files, pincers, shears like the sheep-shears of to-day, small sickles, hoes, socks for ploughs, linch pins for wheels of vehicles, chains, hooks, rings, nails, bolts, knives, swords, spear-heads, and other classes of objects. Up till the present there does not seem to be any record of the discovery of any iron objects dating to this period from the county, but excavation of some of the forts would doubtless yield examples.

In addition to articles of iron, some very beautiful ornaments of bronze, beads of glass and enamel work, were produced in Scotland during the Early Iron Age. Not only did the bronze worker of this period lavish his skill of decoration on personal ornaments, but he applied it to horse-trappings and other objects. The style of decoration consists of flamboyant designs in which the divergent spiral or trumpet-shaped pattern is the chief motive. Owing to the prevalence of objects decorated or fashioned in this style found in the lake dwellings at La Tène in Switzerland, the name of La Tène has been applied to it. This style of ornamentation travelled westwards across France into these islands, where it reached its highest state of perfection. Relics of this character are not common, but the county has produced some notable examples. A beautiful beaded torc or neck-ring, and a bowl found in Lochar Moss, are preserved in the British Museum. Fragments of a similar torc were found in a crannog at Hyndford, near Lanark, and another of slightly different form with brooches, bowls, and pateræ on Lamberton Moor, Berwickshire. A handsome bridle-bit still showing traces of red-enamel was found at Birrenswark. But the most important find of all took place at Middlebie, where a hoard

of bridle-bits, terrets (rein-rings), harness mountings, and other objects was discovered. This hoard along with that from Lamberton Moor is now in the National Museum. Another very important group of relics belonging to this time ought to be mentioned, as it was found a few miles from the western boundary of the county. This consisted of a mirror and other indeterminate objects of bronze, as well as an ornamented top stone of a quern, found at Balmaclellan, New-Galloway. The mirror is the only one of its class found in Scotland.

There are several records of adder stones, or adder beads, from the county. Some very fanciful stories used to be told in explaining how the adder bead was made, but these beautiful little ornaments are simply beads of parti-coloured glass fashioned by our forefolks round about the beginning of the Christian era.

If the occurrence of the monuments and constructions made by the early inhabitants of the county, which have survived, can be taken as a criterion of the relative density of population at different periods, an enquiry as to the localities where the Stone and Bronze Age burial monuments, and the forts, which we presume are generally of the Iron Age, are most numerous, would seem to show that there had been a shifting of the centre of gravity of population between these times. As we have seen, the Stone and Bronze Age monuments are found most frequently in the western and central parts of the county, with a great scarcity in the east. The Iron Age forts, however, are most numerous in Annandale and more frequent in Eskdale than in Nithsdale. That is to say the northern, central, and eastern portions seem to have contained a greater population than the western parts during the later period.

In closing, reference should be made to the Deil's Dyke, a bank thrown up across the country from Ayrshire well into Dumfriesshire. I have seen only a short section of this work, in the neighbourhood of Sanquhar, and certainly I am convinced that that part of it was never erected as a defence. Its dimensions are too slight for that, and besides it

would have required a huge army to man it. In Berwickshire there are quite a number of similar constructions, and these, too, are generally of small size. Their period is not known, but as some of those in the last-named county run up to hill forts, it is quite possible that they may belong to the time when those defences were erected. I think the only feasible explanation of the Deil's Dyke is that it is an old boundary.

21st March, 1924.

The Celts (British and Gael) in Dumfriesshire and Galloway.

By W. J. WATSON, LL.D., Professor of Celtic Languages, Literature, and Antiquities, Edinburgh University.

Our earliest information about the country which is now Scotland comes from the classical writers. The first voyager to the far north who left a written account of his observations was Pytheas, the scientist who sailed from Massilia about 325 B.C. One of the names recorded by him, Cape Orcas, has been preserved by Diodorus of Sicily, who was a contemporary of Caesar. Another name which must have come from Pytheas is that of the island called Dumna; it is named by Pliny, who died in 79 A.D. I mention this because both these names are beyond question Celtic, and they go to prove that Celtic influence was already strong in the very north before 300 B.C. It is proper to note here that though the men of the ruling race in Britain were undoubtedly Celts, the people as a whole were never styled Celts by the classical writers, nor did they themselves designate themselves by that name.

The Romans entered Scotland in A.D. 80 under Agricola, and thenceforward they must have known at least the southern part very well. It is a great loss to us that Tacitus, when he wrote the life of his father-in-law, Agricola, did not include, as he might so easily have done, some detailed account of the tribes and physical features of the scene of Agricola's campaign in Scotland. He relates nothing whatever that bears

on our district unless by way of inference, but that is to some extent made up for by the work of Ptolemy.

Ptolemy, the famous mathematician and geographer of Alexandria, flourished in the second quarter of the second century. He himself, of course, never visited this country, but he had evidently good sources of information, and his account is on the whole wonderfully accurate wherever it can be tested. Many of the names recorded by him are either still extant or appear in independent mediaeval records.

In the south of Scotland Ptolemy places four great tribes —the Novantae and the Selgovae on the Solway Firth; the Damnonii north of the Novantae in Ayrshire and Strathclyde, and also further north; the Otadini, or rather Votadini, south of the Firth of Forth. These, then, were the tribes inhabiting the south of Scotland in Agricola's time. As to how they fared during the Roman occupation we have no details. One point, however, is generally agreed on, namely, that the Roman occupation of Scotland was in the main a military one, as it was in the west and part of the north of England. The Roman part of Scotland did not become Romanised as the eastern parts of England did. Our people retained their native British language, and continued to practise their native arts and industries. On this latter head abundant proof has been furnished within the last few years by the excavations begun in 1914 and still in process on the native stronghold of Dunpelder, now Traprain Law, in East Lothian. The results show that this site was occupied from a period considerably earlier than Agricola's time down till after A.D. 400, and that a remarkable variety of native manufactures was carried on, uninfluenced by Roman art. Another interesting point to note is that some at least of the tribal names mentioned persisted long after the Roman evacuation of Britain. The Votadini are well known in early Welsh poetry as the Guotodin or Gododdin, and they appear in Gaelic also as Fotudain. The name of the Damnonians appears in the inscription on the stone near Yarrow Kirk, which commemorates the sons, "Nudi Dumnogeni," "of Nudd the Dumnonian." The Novantae, too, seem to be

mentioned in one of the old Welsh poems. This indicates that the old tribal organisation survived through and after the period of Roman occupation.

The tribe who inhabited the province roughly corresponding to Dumfriesshire were the Selgovae. Their name means without doubt "hunters"; from the base seen in Gaelic *sealg,* hunt; Old Welsh *helghati,* to hunt; modern Welsh *hely, hela,* to hunt. It was once claimed that the name of the Selgovae survives in "Solway," but this claim has to be abandoned. Solway is an English term, meaning "mud-ford."

The Selgovae had, according to Ptolemy, four towns—Carbanto-rigon, Uxellum, Corda, and Trimontium. The last of these, Trimontium, is Latin in form, and means "three hill place"; the reference is doubtless to three prominent peaks set near each other. This at once suggests the Eildon Hills, whose triple peak is so very prominent and far seen, and near which was the Roman station of Newstead. This view has the weighty authority of Dr. George Macdonald, who says "that Newstead is Trimontium cannot be doubted by anyone who has followed the Roman road northwards from the Cheviots, and seen for himself how the triple peak of the Eildons towers above the horizon and serves as a beacon for a stretch of many miles." There is, however, the difficulty of locality. The territory of the Votadini extended southwards from the Firth of Forth as far at least as Bremenion, which was one of their towns, and Bremenion is definitely identified with High Rochester in Redesdale in Northumberland. We should therefore expect the Eildon Hills to be within their bounds, and not within the bounds of the Selgovae.* On the situation of the other three towns I have no opinion to offer. In Carbanto-rigon the first part is clearly *carbanton,* a chariot, borrowed from Gaulish into

* "Three Mullach Hill," at the head of Dryfe Water, apparently means "hill of three tops," and on my suggestion Mr R. C. Reid undertook the rather troublesome task of reconnoitring this remote spot. The result of Mr Reid's investigation was distinctly unfavourable to any idea that this might have been the site of Trimontium.

Latin as *carpentum*; Gaelic *carbad*; Welsh *cerbyd*. The second part is probably to be compared with Welsh *rhiw*, a slope, and the name would thus mean "Chariot slope," the equivalent of a place at Tara in Ireland called *Fán na Carpat*, "slope of the Chariots." Uxellum means simply "High place," now in Welsh *uchel*, Gaelic *uasal*, as in Ochiltree in Wigtownshire and elsewhere, but there is no place-name in Dumfriesshire which contains this term. The meaning of Corda is doubtful.

Ptolemy mentions two rivers which are to be placed in the county, Novios and Abravannos.

Novios is a Celtic word meaning "new, fresh," and survives in W. *newydd*, Ir. *núa*, Scottish G. *nodha*. There is a river *Nodha* in Lorne, flowing through *Gleañn Nodha*, Glen Noe, and in both cases the reference may be to the verdant pastures along the streams. The Novios is doubtless the Nith as far as position goes. Whether Nith represents Novios etymologically is another matter, and rather a doubtful one. If Skene's idea is accepted that the Niduari of Bede are the Nith-folk, it puts any connection between Novios, W. *newydd*, and Nith out of the question, and also incidentally negatives any theory of a Norse origin, for Bede wrote long before the Norsemen came.

For my own part, I do not accept Skene's identification, and it seems to me not impossible that the old name, transmitted first through Welsh, then through Gaelic, should be Nit of Stranit c. 1124 (Lawrie), Stradnit 1147/53 *ib.*, later Stranith Stranid 1350, Nythe 1369 (R.M.S.). *Lit* stands in O. Welsh for *lwydd*, grey, in the Book of Llandaf; Nithbren in Fife is now Newburn, where "new" seems to be a translation of *nith*.

Abravannos is Annan as regards position, but unless it is an erroneous reading—which is probable—it cannot be the origin of Annan, which belongs to a class of Scottish rivers ending in *—ann*, the genitive case in Gaelic, from an old nominative in *—u*, representing an earlier ending *—áva*. Thus the earliest form of Annan would be *Anava*, which is the name of a river given by the geographer of Ravenna, and

equated with Annan. It is a goddess name; in Ireland, *Anu,* genitive *Anann,* was the mother of the gods, and apparently a goddess of fertility; in Welsh *Anaw* means wealth, riches. The earliest form in our records is Estrahanent, 1124 (Lawrie), where " estra " is distinctively contemporary Welsh in form; cf. Estrateu in Book of Llandaf, 1128 A.D. It is among the very earliest instances, if not the earliest instance, of prosthetic *e* or *i,* now *y,* in Welsh.

After the departure of the Romans, affairs in this region as elsewhere were in great confusion. The Picts from the north swarmed southwards; according to the Irish version of Nennius the Picts and Gael drove the Britons to the Tyne. It was in these circumstances that the great British lord, Cunedda, and his family abandoned Manau of the Guotodin, that is the district about Edinburgh, and went south across the wall of Hadrian, and settled in North Wales, where his sons drove out the Gael who had settled there from Ireland, and founded the kingdom of Gwynedd. This notice, the only one we have of the period, suggests that for some time after A.D. 400 the native rulers of the district between Forth and Tweed were in eclipse.

We come in touch with them next in the sixth century, when the old Welsh accounts mention as among the princes of the north (Gwyr y Gogledd) Clydno of Eitin, i.e., Edinburgh; Catrawt of Calchfynydd, i.e., Kelso; and Urien of Reged, all of the great house of Coel, whose seat was in Ayrshire. This was the period when the Angles of Northumbria were beginning to threaten the Britons north and north-west of them. It was a long struggle. Nennius records that four British kings—Urbgen or Urien; Riderch Hael, king of Strathclyde; Guallauc, and Morcant—fought against Hussa of Northumbria, son of Ida, whose period is put at 567 to 574. Against Deodric, another son of Ida, as Nennius further records, Urbgen with his sons fought valiantly. Deodric is reckoned to have died in 579. The leaders of the British resistance were undoubtedly Urien of Reged and his son Owein. Urien was slain by Morcant, one of his own allies, while besieging Inis Medcaut or Lindis-

farne. Owein was also slain, but the circumstances of his death are obscure. The loss of Urien and of Owein was a disaster to the Britons.

The question now arises, where was Urien's province of Reged? There has been much discussion on this point. Skene put it near Dumbarton, " right under the nose of Riderch Hael," as Sir J. Morris Jones says. Others have placed it in Cumberland; Sir Francis Palgrave placed Reged in the south of Scotland about Dumfriesshire; and J. R. Green's map follows this view. More recently Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans placed it about Oswestry in Shropshire.

Sir J. Morris Jones has shown in his book on Taliesin that Carlisle was in Reged, which disposes of the theories of Skene and of Dr. Evans. To this now falls to be added another piece of evidence. The name Reged is still extant; it is found beyond question in the name Dunragit on Luce Bay in Wigtownshire, spelled Dunregate in 1535 (R.M.S.). It follows that Wigtownshire was in Reged, and the further inference is that Reged included the whole of Galloway and Dumfriesshire. A careful survey of the references to Urien, to his son Owein, and to Reged contained in the old Welsh poems goes to show that they are all intelligible on this view and consistent with it. It may also explain the references to Urien as " Uryen yr Echwydd," which appears to mean " Urien of the flow " (of water), i.e., as I suppose, the Solway; he is also styled " Shepherd of Echwydd."

Such being the position of Reged, it is easy to see how Urien, lord of this great province, which was next to the Anglic settlements, should be the head and moving spirit of the British confederacy while that confederacy lasted, and why, after the confederacy had apparently broken up, he and his sons should continue the resistance. The matter concerned them primarily, and it was a matter of life or death for them. We may be sure that the men of what is now Dumfriesshire and Galloway took an active part in the struggle.

That struggle, however, did not end with the death of Urien and of Owein. We should naturally have expected as

their successor in the leadership one of the British princes, but it was not so. There may have been none suitable as regards position, ability, and age. In any case, after a period of some years, of which we have no details, a successor to Urien was found in the king of Scottish Dal Riata, Aedán Mac Gabráin, a Briton on his mother's side, and one of the ablest men of his time, but now about 70 years of age. His army, which included auxiliaries from Ireland, was defeated in the battle of Degsastan in 603. The result of this decisive battle was to leave a clear way for the Angles both to Lothian in the north and to Dumfries and Galloway in the west.

During most of seventh century and the whole of the eighth the Angles were overlords of the whole region to the western sea. Notwithstanding this, it is doubtful whether they effected much in the way of settlement. In 685 the Northumbrian power was shattered by the Picts in the battle of Nechtansmere, and their king, Egfrid, was slain.

It has to be noted, however, that there were Anglic bishops at Whithorn from about 730 till about 800, "and beyond these," says William of Malmesbury, "I find no more anywhere; for the bishopric soon failed, since it was the furthest shore of the Angles, and open to the raidings of the Picts and Scots.

It was during the seventh century, 635-664, that the Celtic Church from Iona was active in Northumberland. During this period, according to Bede, "very many began to come to Britain day by day from the country of the Scots, i.e., Ireland and Dal Riata, and to preach the word of faith to those provinces of the Angles over which Oswald reigned. . . . Churches were built throughout the land. . . . Along with their parents the children of the Angles were instructed by the Scots, their teachers, in the studies and observance of regular discipline." One is inclined to ask whether some of this activity may not have been directed to the Britons on the Solway, who formed one of the Anglic provinces. It is worth noting in this connection that there were friendly relations between Northumberland and Iona

long after 664. Aldfrid, who succeeded Ecgfrid in 685, had studied long among the Scots, and was an accomplished Gaelic poet; several poems and a number of wise sayings ascribed to him are extant. Adamnan, abbot of Iona, styles him his friend, and visited his court twice. Adamnan's route was by sea, up the Solway, and we are informed that he put in at *Tracht Romra,* "the strand of the mighty sea,"* by which was meant the Solway. It is thus unlikely that Gaelic clerics would have met opposition to their labours among the Britons up to the time at least when the Anglic bishops began to rule at Whithorn.

We have no documentary evidence for the Celtic Church in Dumfriesshire. We know, however, there was an important religious centre at Whithorn in Galloway, which was frequented not only by the Britons but also by Irish clerics. The famous Irish saint, Findbarr of Magh Bhile (Moyville), who died in 579, came to study there under Mugint, a Briton. But we hear little or nothing of Whithorn as a centre of learning after Columba went to Iona. Again one of the Welsh triads says:—"Arthur the chief lord at Penrionyd in the north, and Cyndeyrn Garthwys the chief bishop, and Gurthmwl Guledic the chief elder." Cyndeyrn is of course Kentigern. Penrionyd, otherwise Penrhyn-rhionydd, can be proved to be the British name for the northern end of the Rhinns of Galloway.† But of course Arthur and Kentigern could not have been both at Penrionyd at the same time: Arthur was killed in 537, according to the Welsh Annals; and Kentigern, on the same authority, died in 612. Nor is there any independent evidence that Kentigern had an establishment in the Rhinns. The Life of S. Kentigern, however, states that "the holy bishop Kentigern, building churches in Holdelm (now Hoddam), ordaining priests and clerics, placed his see there for a certain season of time; afterwards, warned

* *Tracht* is from Latin *tractus; romra* is genitive sg. of *ro-muir,* "a mighty sea."

† "Rhionydd" is the Welsh form of *rigonion,* "royal place;" Ptolemy's Re-rigonion means "very royal place." It was doubtless the royal seat of the Novantae.

by divine revelation, justice demanding it, he transferred it to his own city Glasgu." The parish of Hoddam is adjacent to the parish of St. Mungo, and it is remarkable that this should be the only dedication to the saint throughout Dumfries and Galloway. St. Conall or Convallus, who is said to have been a disciple of St. Kentigern, is, however, commemorated in Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbright; his centre may have been Dercongal, "Conall's Oakwod," now Holywood. According to Fordun he is buried in Inchinnan in Renfrewshire.

Kilblane in the parish of Kirkmahoe, and Kilblain or Kirkblain in Caerlaverock, commemorate the saint who is styled in Gorman's *Félire* "triumphant Bláán of the Britons." Bláán was bishop of Kingarth in Bute; Dunblane is said to have been his chief monastery. He is commemorated also in Kintyre, in Inveraray parish, at Loch Earnhead, and in Aberdeenshire. His tutor was Cattan, who is said to have been his uncle, and who was a contemporary of Comgall, who died in 600, and of Cainnech, who died in 598. This would make Bláán flourish about the end of the sixth century. He was most probably an Irish-trained Briton.

Closeburn is Killeosberne in 1300, and the first part is Gaelic *cill,* dative of *ceall*, a church. It is supposed to commemorate Osbern, an English saint; there was, however, an Irish saint, Osbran, anchorite and bishop of Cluain Creamha in Roscommon, who died in 752.

Kirkmahoe is Kirkmahook, 1428, Reg. Glas., five times in the same charter; Kirkmocho, 1430, *ib.*, Kirkmacho R.M.S., Vol. I. There has been much doubt as to which saint is commemorated here, and I have been at some pains to settle the matter. There are two places in Ireland called Timahoe —one in Queen's County, the other in Kildare—and in both cases the saint is Mochua. That, however, is not decisive by any means, for Anglicised forms of Gaelic names in Ireland cannot be always safely compared with our forms in Scotland. It happens, however, that there is a Kilmahoe in Kintyre, of which the Gaelic form is extant, and I have

ascertained it to be *Cill Mo-Chotha.* This indicates that the name of the saint was Mochoe. There were eight saints of that name, and the earliest on record is Mochoe of Oendruim or Noendruim, who died in 496; his day is June 23. Oendruim is an island in Strangford Lough, now called Magee Island.

St. Columba's chapel and well are in the parish of Caerlaverock. Ecclefechan is supposed to commemorate St. Féchin of Fabhar, who died in 664. But it may well mean simply " little church "—a Welsh name.

Besides these there are the dedications to St. Patrick and to St. Bride.

The ancient term *annat* occurs in Galloway : Annat Hill in Kirkinner; Annatland, near Sweetheart Abbey; Ernanity, formerly Ardnannoty for *earrann* (or *ard*) *na h-annaide* Crossmichael. " Annat," old Irish *andóit,* means a patron saint's church; a church which contains the relics of the founder, and the presence of an Annat is a sure sign of the early Celtic Church. I have not observed one in Dumfriesshire, and it would be of considerable interest to ascertain if the term occurs here. Dumfries as far at least as the Nith is so closely associated with Galloway that the early church history of both must be alike.

Another point which deserves notice here is that in certain cases the names connected with the church bear clear traces of Welsh influence. One of these is Kirkgunzeon, which contains the Welsh form of Finnén, an affectionate diminutive of Findbarr. Close to Kirkgunzeon Church there is a place called Killiemingan : this appears to be for *Cill M'Fhinnein,* the church of my-Finnén, the purely Gaelic form of Kirkgunzeon. Another is Terregles, of old Travereglis, which is plainly Welsh *tref yr eglwys*, " the *tref* of the church "; corresponding to Pinhannet in Ayrshire, i.e., " pennyland of the Annat."

To draw valid inferences from names which commemorate saints is a very difficult matter. There are undoubtedly cases—there may be many—in which the saint's name is

attached to a church actually founded by the saint himself. On the other hand it is equally certain that in other cases we have to deal not with foundations by the saint, but with dedications to, or commemorations of, the saint after his death. It is, for instance, most unlikely that Colum Cille actually founded in person the chapel in Caerlaverock parish that bears his name. There is again the case of Whithorn, founded by Ninian, but dedicated to St. Martin of Tours soon after Martin's death. The Iceland Landnámabók relates how a Norseman named Orlygr, sailing from the Hebrides to Iceland, received consecrated earth from his bishop and other things necessary for founding and equipping a church. He landed in Iceland, built his church, and dedicated it to Colum Cille. These are instructive examples of *bona fide* dedications, the one very early, the other comparatively late. In these cases we have definite information. But when we come to deal with instances in which no such information is available, it appears to me practically impossible to distinguish between a foundation made by the saint and a dedication that commemorates him, made after his death. In connection with the latter class, it has to be remembered that under the Celtic Church the clerics were as a rule members of a monastery. When they founded a church they might very naturally call it after the patron of the monastery from which they came: a Kingarth cleric would commemorate Bláán; a cleric from Iona would commemorate Colum Cille. The new church received a grant of land for its support: this would be given to God and to Bláán or to God and to Colum Cille, and so on. I believe that a number of our dedications are to be accounted for in this way. Thus Kirkmahoe may well have been founded by a cleric from Mochoe's monastery of Oendruim, but the name is no guarantee whatever that the founder was Mochoe in person. In the reign of William I., certain churches in Galloway which belonged to I of Colum Cille (i.e., Iona) were granted to Holyrood, viz., "Kirchecormach, the churches of St. Andrew, of Balencros, and of Cheletun," but how far back this connection went there is nothing to show.

Another factor that may have to be reckoned with is immigration, as in the Iceland instance. The connection between the dedications of Kintyre and of Dumfries and Galloway is rather striking: Bláán, Donnán, Mochoe, Faolán are common to both, in addition to Brigid and Colum Cille. We shall see that the political circumstances both in Kintyre and in Galloway about the middle of the eighth century made an immigration from Kintyre not unlikely.

These are some of the considerations that make it so difficult to get an objective view of what is implied by dedications or commemorations of saints. But, notwithstanding this, I think that it may be taken as beyond question that the Celtic Church was active throughout this region before the period of the Norse invasions, which, of course, put a stop to missionary work.

I may now say something on the question of language. As to the speech of Dumfriesshire and of the whole of the south of Scotland in early times there is no doubt whatever. It was Celtic of the Welsh or Cymric type. Further, there is ample proof that this language persisted long enough to pass into the stage known as Old Welsh : the proof is derived partly from Welsh literature, partly from names of places and of persons. If, however, we consider the map of this region from the western sea eastwards, we find that as far as the Nith the great majority of the place-names are Gaelic, with an admixture of British names and also of names of Teutonic origin. East of Nith the Gaelic names become rarer; British names become rather more frequent; but Teutonic names form the majority.

The territorial name Galloway itself is striking evidence of the change, for it means "foreign Gael." Here I may note that Galloway of old appears to have been a rather elastic term, for we find Annandale included in it, and also apparently Strath Irvine in Ayrshire.

In Irish literature very few references to this district occur at any period, but two early instances deserve mention. An Irish poet of the first century named Nede, son of Adna,

in going to Ireland from Kintyre, passed through the Rhinns of Galloway and embarked for Ireland at Port Ríg, "the king's haven." About the middle of the third century an Irish prince named Lughaidh Mac-con, being banished from Ireland, is reported to have come to Alba and to have obtained help from the rulers there. These British auxiliaries sailed for Ireland from Port Ríg. This place is now Portree, near Portpatrick, and the name is perhaps the oldest Gaelic name in Galloway.

At some later time there must have been Gaelic settlement, from Ireland or from Gaelic Scotland or from both, but as to the period of that settlement we get no direct information from Irish or other sources.

In the first half of the eighth century political conditions suggest the probability of immigration from Argyll. The Gaelic kingdom of Dal Riata had been wasted and subjugated by Angus, son of Fergus, king of the Picts, in 736; a natural effect of this would have been emigration of the dispossessed nobles with their followers, always provided that a suitable new home presented itself. They may well have found this in Galloway under the king of Northumbria, then at enmity with the Picts.* In 756 the army of Edbert, the Northumbrian king, was destroyed, apparently by the Britons of Strathclyde, on the march home from Dumbarton, and thereafter, says Green, followed fifty years of anarchy in Northumbria. There could be no more favourable time for the growth of Gaelic influence in Galloway.

A strong suggestion, if not a proof, of close relations between Galloway and Argyll, especially Kintyre, is supplied by the number of commemorations of Gaelic saints which are common to both.

Another is the similarity of the names of places and of land denominations. In names of hills, *sliabh*, which is so common in Ireland, seems to be absent; *beinn*, rare in Ireland, occurs; *tulach* is common on the west of Scotland as far south as Loch Leven; thereafter it is rare, being displaced

* Compare Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I., p. 291.

by *barr*. Throughout Galloway and Dumfriesshire *tulach* is rare, while *barr* is common. The term *eileirg*, a deer-trap, does not occur in Ireland so far as known to me; it occurs in Argyll and in Galloway, anglicised as Elrick.* The penny-land (Pin, Pen), the halfpennyland (Leffin), the farthingland (Feorlin), the markland, are all common to Galloway and Argyll, though the period of their introduction is not so clear.

While there are thus indications of settlement from Argyll, there are also signs of immigration from the north of Ireland. The most important of these is the " Creenies " of Galloway mentioned and described by Dr. Trotter in *Galloway Gossip*; the Creenies are obviously *Cruithnigh* from Ulster. These people in early times occupied a great part of north-east Ireland; in the historical period their territory was much restricted, and they became vassals of the Gael. Cormac, the third century king of Ireland, is credited with a great expulsion of the Cruithnigh. At what time they came into Galloway is quite uncertain, but their status there is clear from the alternative term " Gossocks " preserved by Dr. Trotter. In Welsh *gwas* means "servant"; we have it in various personal names, the best known of which is Gos-patrick, " servant of Patrick." From *gwas* comes *gwasog*, " a servile person," " a man in a servile condition," and this is the term anglicised as Gossock: the Creenies or Gossocks were serfs under the old Welsh inhabitants. Their language was doubtless Gaelic: they would have called themselves *Cruithnigh*, a Gaelic term.

In mediæval times the term *Cruithnech* came to be regarded as the equivalent of Pict, hence the common practice—a most improper one in my opinion—of calling the Irish Cruithnigh " Picts." Some mediæval historians who wrote in Latin speak of " the Picts of Galloway," meaning thereby the Cruithnigh or Creenies or Gossocks. This practice did not arise out of compliment to the Galwegians; on the contrary the term was evidently one of opprobrium: the sting of it lay in the fact that the Cruithnigh were the lowest class

* *Eileirg* occurs freely between Forth and Inverness, and also in Argyll.

of the Galloway population.* I think, therefore, that for modern historians, including Skene, to talk of the Galwegians as "Picts" is a complete misunderstanding of the racial conditions.†

In A.D. 852 and onwards to 858 the Irish records make mention of the *Gall Ghàidheil*, who came to Ireland in a fleet under Caittil Find to take part as mercenaries in a contest which was then going on for the High-kingship of Ireland. From other references in Irish literature it appears that the islands of Bute and Eigg were in the bounds of the Gall Ghàidheil, so that it is reasonable to infer that the term included the people of the other islands of the Inner Hebrides That it also included the people of Galloway, or part of them, may be taken as certain, seeing that it settled down to denote that district in particular, and this, it may be remarked, goes to show that the Gael of Galloway were regarded as the same as the Gael of the west of Scotland. It appears clear that by A.D. 800 Gaelic had got a firm hold in Galloway.

Dr. Trotter mentions another Galloway "breed" called the Fingals, who were supposed to be of Norse origin. These are not to be confused with "Fionnghall," the term applied first to Norsemen and thereafter in particular to the Norse who had come to speak Gaelic. The Fingals belonged in all likelihood to the "Fine Gall," "Sept of Foreigners," who occupied a district called after them, to the north of Dublin. They may have been late arrivals in Galloway, and most probably spoke Gaelic.

Here, as wherever one language gradually displaces another, there must have been a long period of at least partial

* About A.D. 1259, in the Castle of Dumfries an inquisition was held on Richard, son of Robert, for the slaying of Adam the miller, who had called him a thief, viz., "Galuvet," a Galwegian. Richard was exonerated. The insult would have been greater had he been called a Creenie.—Bain's *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, I., No. 2176.

† I have tried to show elsewhere that the Picts whom Bede in his prose *Life of St. Cuthbert* is supposed to place on the Nith must have been north of Forth (*Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*).

bilingualism, and also probably to some extent of mixture of the two languages.

In 1124 King David granted Estrahanent, now Annandale, to Robert de Brus, and all the land from the march of Dunegal de Stranit, now Nithsdale, to the march of Randulf Meschin. Estrahanent, as we have noted, is a Welsh form. Dunegal represents Old Welsh *Dumngual*, corresponding in origin to the Gaelic *Domnall.*

Sons of Dunegal were Radulf and Duuenald, on record in 1136 (Lawrie). Here Dunegal, the father, has a Welsh name; his son Duuenald was called after him, but the son's name is Gaelic in form; compare Dovenald for Domhnall, now anglicised as Donald, in the *Chronicle of the Scots.**

Witnesses to a charter granted by Uchtred, son of Fergus, of the lands of Colmanel in Ayrshire about 1150 were MacGillegunnin, Gillecrist mac Gillewinnin, Gillecatfar "collactaneo Vchtredi," "fosterbrother of Uchtred," lord of Galloway. These are names of much interest. "Gunnin," otherwise "Winnin," is the Welsh form corresponding to Irish *Finnén* or *Finnian*, a short form of *Finnbarr,* "white-crested," and it is usually held with reason that this Gunnin, the saint after whom Kilwinning and Kirkgunzeon are named, was the great Irish cleric Finnbarr of Moyville, who studied at Whithorn and died in 579.* The first name, then, means "son of Finnén's servant," and we note that while *mac* and *gille* are Gaelic, *gunnin* is Welsh. The second name means "Christ's servant son of Finnén's servant"; here "winnin" is Welsh; the rest is Gaelic. The saint after whom Gillecatfar is named is Welsh, perhaps *Catfarch,* an early Welsh saint.

A similar mixture of Welsh and Gaelic is seen in "Macrath ap Molegan," who signed the Ragman Roll in 1296, and had his lands in Dumfriesshire restored later in the same year. His name means "lad of luck (Macrae), son of

* Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,* p. 130, and elsewhere *passim.*

* "Quies Vinniani episcopi" (*Ann. of Ulster*).

Maolagan," from Irish *maol,* bald, with Welsh *ap* instead of Gaelic *mac.*

Later the name appears on record as Amuligane, e.g., Thomas Amuligane, Wigtown, 1485; George Amuligane, burgess of Dumfries, 1510; Christopher Amuligane, Kirkcudbright, 1530; John Amwligane, 1550; James and George Amyllikinis, 1585—all from Reg. Mag. Sig. This suggests that the initial *A* of some other Galloway and Dumfries names may represent Welsh *ap* rather than Irish-Gaelic *úa* or *ó.* The very common name Ahannay, now Hannay, may be for *ap Sheanaigh,* " son of Senach," rather than for *úa Seanaigh*; Asloan, now Sloan, may be for *ap Sluaghain,* rather than *úa Sluaghain*; Agnew may be *ap Gnimh,* rather than *úa Gnimh,* anglicised in Ireland as O Gnyw, Agnew. The name Acarsan, now Carson, appears in 1371-4 " Thomas A carsane " (R.M.S.), but the second part is not clear to me. Another early name is Askolok, apparently for *ap scolóig,* " son of the *scológ.*" Reginald of Durham writes of " these clerics who abide in that church (Kirkcudbright) who in the language of the Picts (i.e., Galloway Gaelic) are called Scollofthes." This term can hardly be other than a bad spelling of *scolóc, sgológ,* the name applied to the lowest order in a religious or monastic community; *ap scolóig* is of the same class as *Mac an Aba,* Macnab, son of the abbot, &c. Gilbert Askalok of Galloway appears in 1291 (Bain's Cal.); Hectur Askelok of Wigtonshire did homage in 1296 *ib.*; his seal has " Ascoloc "; so did Fergus Askolo, also of Wigton.

The remarks which I have made on settlement by Gaels and others and on the gradual change of language may be further illustrated by reference to the preface to the Inquisition by Earl David as to the extent of the lands of the church of Glasgow, circa A.D. 1124, which deals with the condition of Cumbria, " a region situated between Anglia and Scotia." Here it is stated that after the death of Kentigern and his successors there arose civil commotions (*seditiones*) which not only destroyed the church and its possessions but laid the whole region waste and drove its inhabitants into exile. In this way, when all the good men had been done away with,

and the great men had died out by lapse of time, various tribes of various nations flowing in from various parts came to inhabit this deserted region, but being of different race, different language, and different customs, they did not readily agree, and practised paganism rather than the worship of the faith.

The historical accuracy of the first part of this statement does not concern us here; the latter part describes a state of matters that existed, in part at least, in the writer's time. The reference to paganism recalls the Irish description of the Gall Ghàidheil as people who had renounced their baptism.

We may now take some of the early personal names of Gaelic or of Welsh origin—apart from names of saints—which are connected with our district.

One of the earliest is *Suibne mac Cinaetha,* king of the Gall Ghàidheil, who died in 1034 (AU). Suibne is a very old name; more than twenty men so named are recorded in the Annals of Ulster as having died before A.D. 800. It seems to be a compound of *su,* well, good, and to be compared with *Duibne,* the Ogham *Dovvinias* (genitive sg.), the first part of which is *du, do,* ill, bad; the second part is uncertain. This name has nothing to do with Norse *Svein,* which becomes *Suain* in Gaelic. Suibne's father's name was Cinaed, genitive *Cinaedo,* later *Cinaetha*; the second part is *aed,* fire, seen in the name of the Gaulish tribe *Aedu-i,* and Macbain rendered *Cinaed* by "fire-sprung." The English form is Kenneth, used as the equivalent of *Cainnech,* now *Coinneach,* which is a name of quite different origin from *Cinaed.*

Witnesses to a grant by Radulf, son of Dungal (Dunegal) of Stranit (Nithsdale), some time after 1136 (Bain's Cal.), are :—

Gilchrist, son of Brunn, "Christ's servant, son of Brown," the latter name being English.

Gilendonrut Bretnach, "G. of the Britons"; I do not understand *donrut,* which is most probably either a saint's name or for *domnaigh, domhnaich*; "Gille-domhnaich" means "Sunday's servant."

Gilcomgal mac Gilblaan, " servant of St. Comgall, son of St. Bláán's servant." Comgall, abbot of Bangor, died in 602, but the saint intended here may rather be Congall, that is Conall, the great saint of this region. *Mac Gille Blááin* became later MacBlane; John M'Blane was a burgess of Wigtown in 1539 (R.M.S.).

Waldeve, son of Gilchrist, i.e., " Christ's servant "; here the father's name is Gaelic, the son's is English.

The following names occur in Bain's *Calendar,* Vol. II. :—

Patrick M'Gilbochyn, juror at Berwick in 1296; his seal has S' Patricii Mak Gilboian; Patrick Magylboythyn, juror at Dumfries in 1304; " the lands of Patrick M'Gilbothin in Botill (Buittle)," 1325 (R.M.S.). This is *Padraig mac Gille Baoithein,* " son of St. Baithene's servant "; Baithene was Columba's successor in Iona, and died in 600.

Cudbert mac Gilguyn, on an inquisition at Berwick in 1296 : if this name is correct, it is to be compared with Gillebert mac Gillefin, witness about 1150 to a charter of Uchtred, son of Fergus; Gilguyn is " Gwyn's servant," Gillefin is " Finn's servant," *gwyn* and *finn,* " white," corresponding in Welsh and Gaelic, and they are most probably short forms of Finnen of Kilwinning and Kirkgunzeon. This is another instance of the mixture of Gaelic and Welsh.

A list of quite exceptional interest is that of " the chief men (greinours) of the lineage of Clen Afren " given at p. 254 of Bain's *Calendar,* Vol. II. " Clen " is either *clann,* " sept, clan," or perhaps rather *clainn,* dative sg. of *clann*; but " Afren " is obscure to me. There are fourteen of these Gaelic nobles who aided John Balliol against the king of England, and who, under threat of chastisement, came to his peace and swore on the Saints to assist him against Balliol and all others at Wigtown in 1296 :—

Gillenef M'Gillherf, *Gille nan Naomh mac Gille Sheirbh,* " servant of the saints, son of St. Serf's servant." " Gillenef " is fairly common, sometimes as Gillenem, sometimes in error as Gillenein, Gillenen.

Neel M'Ethe, *Niall mac Aodha*, now " mac Aoidh," Neil Mackay, or, as it is in Galloway, M'Ghie.

Dungal M'Gilleueras: " Dungal " is Welsh; the rest may be for *mac Gille Labhrais,* " son of St. Laurence's servant."

Duncan M'Gillauenan, Duncan, son of St. Adamnan's servant (*mac Gille Adhamhnain*).

Adam M'Gilleconil, Adam, son of St. Conall's servant.

Gillespic M'Euri, servant of the bishop (*Gille Easbuig*), son of Cuthbert M'Euri.

Kalman M'Kelli, for *Calman mac Ceallaigh,* Calman (Colman), son of Ceallach.

Michael, his brother.

Hoen M'Ethe, for *Eoghan mac Aodha,* now Ewen Mackay or Mackie or M'Ghie. " Hoen " may be for Welsh Owein; compare, " Hoan, king of the Britons," A.D. 642 (AU); but compare also " Oan, superior of Eigg," who died in 731.

Cuthbert, his brother

Achmacath M'Gilmotha: I do not understand the first name, the rest is probably for *mac Gille mo-Chai,* son of Mo-Choe's servant.

Michael M'Gilmocha, Michael, son of Mo-Choe's servant.

In 1304 there are on record (Bain II., p. 412) Michael Macgethe, i.e., *Mac Aodha* or *Mag Aodha,* Michael M'Ghie or Mackay, and Gilbert Macmonhathe, whose name may be compared with M'Gilmocha, -motha.

There is a sad interest in the list of Galloway men, hostages in Carlisle, who died in prison between 1297 and 1300 (Bain, p. 301):

Laughlan, son of Laughlan de Carsan: here *de* is used as if " Carsan " were a place-name, i.e., " A Carsan " was understood to mean " of Carsan."

Dovenald, son of Thomas de Carsan.

Martin, son of Ivo de Slethan.

John, son of William Brunbert—an English name.

Gillepatricke, son of Brice, son of Make Rori, i.e., *mac Ruairidh,* Roderick's son.

Andrew, son of John Make Gille Reue, i.e., *mac Gille Riabhaigh,* son of (the) brindled lad.

Mathew, son of Maurice Make Salui, i.e., *mac Sealbhaigh,* Selbach's son, whence M'Kelvie (for Mac Shealbhaigh, with aspiration of *s*).

Ivo, son of Stephen of Killeosberne (Closeburn).

John, son of Duncan Makehou, perhaps for *mac Adhaimh,* Adam's son.

Robert, called "Maistersone," i.e., MacMaster, *mac* (*an*) *mhaighistir,* which used to be the name of a sept in Ardgour. This man did not die in prison, but was released.

In the reign of David there appears on record Gilbert M'Gillolane, captain of Clen Connan. Nothing seems to be known of this clan; the chief's father was Gille Faolain, St. Fillan's servant, whence Gilfillan and MacLellan.

In the same reign Michael M'Gorth was chief of Kenelman, otherwise Kenclanen. The latter form is meaningless, but Kenelman may be for *Cenél Maine,* Maine's sept, which was the name of a sept in Ireland. M'Gorth may be for *mac Dorcha,* "son of dark"; in Ireland now MacGorty is for *mac Dorchaidh.*

In the reign of Robert I., Nigellus M'Herarde or M'Horrard had lands in Kirkandrews. His name is *mac Eraird,* Erard's son, Erard being a compound of *air* and *ard,* meaning "very tall"; in this position, *air* becomes *er, ir, or, ur.*

What impresses one most as regards these names is their strong religious flavour, and the extent to which they are influenced by the local saints. The men of Galloway, some of them at least, must have reverenced their saints greatly; the character of the names in fact suggests that the Galwegians were not quite so savage or so pagan as is sometimes thought.

As to the form of the names, it may be noted that up to about the year A.D. 1000 the usual term prefixed to a saint's name is *mael, maol,* originally meaning "bald" or rather

" close-cropped," and as shorn hair was the mark of servitude, this term meant practically " servant," e.g., *Maol Ciarain*, Ciaran's servant. From about A.D. 1000, *maol* began to be displaced by *gille, giolla*, which is the first element in so many of the names we have been discussing.

The Celtic place-names of Dumfriesshire are numerous enough to fill a good-sized volume, and here can only be glanced at. The great majority are Gaelic and not particularly difficult, though here, as elsewhere where Gaelic speech has died out and all we have to go upon is the old spellings and the modern Scots pronunciation, there must be in many cases an element of uncertainty. There is also, as might be expected, a substantial number of Welsh names, which are older than the Gaelic ones and often difficult. West of Nith the Gaelic names are very numerous; they become less numerous on the eastern side.

The chief terms that connote peaceful settlement and agriculture are the Welsh *tref*, and the Gaelic *baile*, a homestead, and *achadh*, a tilled field. Of the first, only a few instances survive; it is far more common in the Carrick and Kyle districts of Ayrshire, where it usually appears as *Tra* at the beginning of names. *Baile*, too, is rather rare, but *achadh* is common. The term Pet or Pit, so characteristic of eastern Scotland north of Forth, does not occur.

The name of the Britons survives in Drumbreddan, formerly spelled Drumbretan, " the Britons' ridge," with which may be compared Drumbarton in Aberdeenshire. The Saxons, by which term is meant the Angles of Northumbria, appear in Glensaxon; probably Pennersaughs in Annandale, on record as Penyrsax, Penresax, &c., is for Old Welsh *pen yr Sax,* " the Saxon's head "; we may compare Glensax in Peeblesshire and *Gleann Sasunn,* " glen of the Saxons," near Kinlochrannoch in Perthshire. Irish settlement is suggested by such names as Irishauche, Irishfauld, Irsebank or Ersbank, which I take from the Retours; these names may not, however, be ancient. We may compare the Gaelic name Barnultoch, *barr nan Ultach,* " hill of the men of Ulster,"

in Wigtownshire, and *Dùn nan Ultach,* " the Ulstermen's fort," in Kintyre.

Some of the place-names involve personal names. Caerlaverock means probably " Lifarch's *caer* "; the older form of *Lifarch* is *Limarch,* later it becomes *Llywarch.* This name was not uncommon among the Welsh. There is another Caerlaverock in Tranent parish, Lothian, and there was also Caerlavirick near Cramalt on Megget Water in Selkirkshire. For the form of the second part and the metathesis we may compare Lainrik, the local pronunciation of Lanark, from Welsh *llanerch,* a glade. Clochmaben near Gretna, on record in 1398 as Clochmabanestane, means " Mabon's stone," and Lochmaben is " Mabon's loch." Mabon, which means a manchild, a youth—like Gaelic *macan*—represents early Celtic *maponos,* which was the name of a god corresponding to Apollo, who appears as Mabon in the Old Welsh tales. Seeing that Clochmabon formed part of a stone circle, according to the *Old Statistical Account,* it is not improbable that here we have a mythological reference. This argument, however, does not seem to apply to Lochmaben, and it has to be remembered that Mabon was certainly used as an ordinary personal name, e.g., in the Book of Llandaf.

Gaelic personal names are more numerous. Cormilligan and Strathmilligan are " Maolagan's round hill " and " Maolagan's strath " respectively. Balmaclellan is *baile mac Gille Fhaolain,* " stead of the sons of St. Fillan's servant." Balmaghie is " stead of the sons of Aodh "; there is also Macghie's Seat. Dalmacallan and Dalmakerran mean " the dale of the sons of Allan (*Ailin*) " and " of the sons of Ciaran." In Dalmakethar, of the same type, the personal name is not clear to me. Ironmacannie is for *earann mac Canai,* " portion of the sons of Cana." Mac Canai (also Mac Canae, Mac Cana) was the style of a chieftain in Armagh Co. These names, in which I have taken *mac* to be genitive plural, suggest family settlement: the type is fairly common in the North also, e.g., *Baile mac Cathain,* Balmacaan in Invernessshire, " stead of the sons of Cathan." Balmangan seems to be " Mongan's stead." Torrkatrine is " Catriona's knoll "

—not to be compared with *Loch Ceitirein,* Loch Katrine, which is different.

A few of the names of Welsh origin may be noted. The following begin with *tref*, a homestead, small community or township:—Trailflat, spelled of old Traverflat; Trailtrow equated with Travertrold of early record; Trevercarcou, which appears in 1275 in Boiamund's list of churches: in all these the first part is *tref ir,* "tref of the . . .," or, making *ir* the preposition, "tref on (or near) the . . ." As to meaning of the last part, I can say only that Trevercarcou seems to mean "tref near Carco"; but Carcou, Carco, may be genitive plural of a word unknown to me, in which case it would be "tref of the . . . c." Other instances of *tref*—without *ir*—are Trabeattie and Tregallon; here again I do not attempt to explain the second parts. *Tref* occurs terminally in Trostrie, for Old Welsh *Trostref* (Book of Llandaf), modern (*y*) *Drostre* in Brecon, meaning "cross stead," "thwart stead," corresponding exactly in meaning to the Gaelic Baltersan for *baile tarsuinn.* In Troston, Glencairn, *tref* is translated by *toun.*

Pen, head, occurs in Penpont, "bridge-head"; in Lothian it is half translated into Gaelic as Kinpont. The writer of the *Old Statistical Account* of the parish derives it quaintly from Latin *pendens pons,* "hanging bridge," "there being a bridge of one semi-circular arch, supported by steep rocks, over the river Scar." There is also the Pen of Ettrick, at the head of Ettrick river.

Aber, a confluence, occurs in Abermilk and Aberlosk—the only instances in Dumfries and Galloway.

Pumpla appears to be for *pumple*, "place of fifths," if we may suppose Welsh *pump* used like Gaelic *cóig* to denote a fifth, as in Upper and Nether Cog (fifth) on Crawick Water, and the Coigs or Fifths of Strathallan and of Strathdearn.

Some miscellaneous Gaelic names may now be given. The following are east of Nith: —

Auchengyle is probably for *achadh an ghoill,* "the stranger's field."

Auchenroddan is *achadh an rodain,* " field of the red scum "—iron water.

Auchencrieff is *achadh na craoibhe,* " field of the tree "; compare the Welsh Traprain, " tref of (the) tree," in Lothian.

Auchengeith is for *achadh na gaoithe,* which may mean either " field of the wind " or " field of the bog "; *gaoth,* a bog, is rather common in the east, e.g., Bog o' Gight, in Gaelic *Bog na Gaoithe,* a tautologous formation, evidently made up when the people had forgotten the old word *gaoth,* bog.

Auchensow is for *achadh nan subh,* " field of the berries," or more particularly " of the raspberries."

Allfornought is *all fornocht,* " stark naked rock."

Balgray is *baile graighe,* " stead of (the) horse-stud."

Conness is *coneas,* " dog waterfall," probably from otters; there is a fine waterfall of that name in Glenglass, Ross-shire.

Dalbate is *dail bhàidhte,* " drowned dale," from liability to flooding; compare *Feith Bháidhte,* anglicised Feabait, in Ross, also *Bàidhteanach,* Badenoch, so called from the frequent floods of Spey of old.

Duncow, formerly spelled Duncoll, is *dun coll,* " fort of hazels "; Cowden in St. Mungo parish is probably for *calltuinn,* hazel-wood, as in Cowdenknowes in Lauderdale, and Cowden near Comrie.

Enzie is for *eangaigh,* " place of the *eang* " or " gusset "; *eang,* cognate with Latin *angulus,* is applied to anything of a shape more or less triangular; compare " the Enzie " in Banffshire.

Ericstane, Ayrikstan, 1315-21 (R.M.S.), is probably not from the personal name Eric but a half-translation from Gaelic. It may be for *clach na h-éirce,* " stone of the atonement " (*éiric*), or for *clach eireacht,* " stone of meetings." For the latter compare Pennant's note on Duntulm in Skye: " near it is a hill, called *Cnock an eirick,* or, *the hill of pleas*: such eminences are frequent near the houses of all the great men, for on these, with the assistance of their friends, they

determined all differences between their people." The Gaelic term, *Cnoc nan Eireachd,* "hill of the assemblies," Pennant's "hill of pleas" is an echo of *mons placiti,* the technical Latin term. "Parles on hills" were common in Ireland, and in Scotland also. For half-translation of a similar term we may compare Coldstone, formerly Codil-stone, in Aberdeenshire, where "Codil" is for old Gaelic *comdáil,* now *comhdhail,* a meeting or tryst, the full name in modern Gaelic being *Clach na Comhdhalach,* "the trysting stone."

Fingland is *fionn-ghleann,* older *find-glend,* "fair glen" or "white glen." In some names *fionn* may have the secondary meaning of "holy"; Fingland, Finglen, is a very common name.

Glencorse, like Glencorse in Midlothian, is "glen of the crossing"; the old spelling of the Lothian glen is Glencrosk, from Gaelic *crosg, crasg,* a crossing over a ridge. Compare Corsincon, the hound's crossing, in Ayrshire.

Ironhirst may be for *earrann hirt,* "portion of death," "deadly portion," with reference to loss of cattle, &c., in Ironhirst Moss. Craighirst in Dumbartonshire may be compared; *Eilean Hirt* is the proper name of St. Kilda, and the dangerous rock off Colonsay, which has a lighthouse now, is *an Duibhirteach,*" "the black deadly one."

Dalgarnock is for *dail g(h)airneig,* "dale of the little crier"; *Gairneag, Goirneag,* "little crier," is the name of several streams, for streams are often named with reference to sound or its absence.

Knocktimpen is for *cnoc (an) tiompain,* "hill of the rounded hump"; in Lewis there is *Rubha an Tiompain,* Timpan Head.

West of Nith the Gaelic names are so many that only a few can be mentioned.

Auchensinnoch is for *achadh nan sionnach,* "field of the foxes."

Auchencheyne is for *achadh an teine,* "field of the fire."

Appin is for old Gaelic *apdaine,* meaning primarily "the office of an abbot," then concretely "abbey-land"; hence Appin in Argyll, Appin of Dull in Perthshire, Abden in Fife.

Auchenstroan is *achadh nan sruthan,* " field of the brooks."

Baltersan, already noted, is " thwart-stead."

Conrick, at the head of Dalwhat Burn, is old Gaelic *comrac,* now *comhrag,* a meeting, here used as " confluence." There is another Conrick in Badenoch.

Cornharrow may be for *cor ha h-airbhe,* " round hill of the wall " or fence; compare Altnaharra or Altnaharrow, " burn of the wall," in Sutherland, and *Maol na h-Airbhe,* " bare hill of the wall," on Loch Broom. The meaning of the two latter is certain, and the walls still exist. One would expect to find this term—*airbhe, eirbhe*—along the course of the Deil's Dike, but I have not observed it to occur there. In some names " arrow " represents Gaelic *arbha,* the old genitive sg. of *arbhar,* corn; but as *arbhar* is masculine, the article before its genitive sg. takes the form *in, an,* e.g., *Cnoc an Arbha,* Knockinarrow, " corn-hill "; *Aird an Arbha,* Ardinarrow, " cape of the corn." The form of Cornharrow shows that the second noun is feminine.

Craigdasher is *creag deiseir,* " rock of southern aspect "; the northern side of Loch Tay is *an Deisear,* " the Deshur."

Countam Hill is *contom,* " hound hillock," a name probably connected with hunting; compare *Meall nan Conbhairean,* " lump of the dogmen," a great hill on the border of Ross and Inverness. Another term of wide distribution connected with hunting of the deer is Elrick, Gaelic *eileirg,* from Old Irish *erelc,* an ambush (by metathesis). The Elrick was a narrow defile, natural or artificial, more or less V-shaped; into this the deer were driven and shot as they passed through. This term occurs in place-names from Inverness to Solway, though strange to say it does not seem to be found in Ireland.

Dunesslin and Glenesslin are " fort " and " glen of the waterfall pool," *easlinn.* Here we have the noun *eas* prefixed and used adjectivally, a formation of ancient type, another example of which is Conness already noted.

Dalwhat is for *dail chat,* " wildcat dale," like Alwhat, " wildcat rock," in Kirkcudbright.

Fleuchlarg is probably *fliuch learg,* " wet slope," but *fliuch lairig,* " wet pass," is also possible. Learg, a slope, is seen in Largs, Largie.

The name Dumfries is Dunfres in 1189 and 1259 (Bain's *Calendar*); in the Ragman Roll (A.D. 1296) Dunfres occurs often, Dunfrys once, Dumfres once; elsewhere in Bain's *Calendar* Dunfres, Donfres occur *passim,* Dronfres was part of the heritage of Radulf, son of Dunegal (Bain's *Calendar,* Vol. II., p. 421); the sheriffdom of Drunffres appears in 1363 (R.M.S.), and in the same year a charter is granted at Drunfres (R.M.S.). Drunfres appears twice in a charter of 1370 *ib.*; Drumfreis in 1321 and thrice 1324. In R.M.S. from 1424 to 1668 the name occurs very often, and always with Drum- till 1628, when Dunfres appears; thereafter the form is Drum- usually. Wyntoun has Drumfrese, Drwmfres, Dwnfres; Fordun has Dunfrese twice. In Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections,* Doctour Archibald writes Drumfreis, Drumfreiss (Vol. III., p. 185).

Here we have two forms from the beginning of the records—one in Dron-, Drun-, later Drum-; the other in Dun-, later Dum-, and both forms persist. It is likely, therefore, that we have to do with two names containing a common second part, not two names for the same place, but names of places close together, Dunfres and Dronfres or Drunfres. In the latter, Dron is probably Gaelic *dronn,* a hump, as in Dron in Perthshire; in modern Irish *dronn* is pronounced *drun.* Before the labial of the second part, *dron, drun,* became naturally *drum,* indistinguishable from *druim,* a back, ridge. Similarly *dun* became *dum,* as in Dumbarton. The second part is assumed by Skene to indicate early settlement by Frisians, and he would make Dumfries to mean, as he says himself, " the town of the Frisians, as Dumbarton is the town of the Britons." The difficulty here is that there is no independent ground for believing that the Frisians ever settled in this region, or, for that matter, in any other part of Scotland. It is infinitely more likely that the second part

is *preas,* a copse, Welsh *prys,* and that Dumfries is for *dun phris,* " fort of the copse," as Duncow is " Fort of hazels," while Drunfres is for *dron phris,* " hump of the copse."

Of the parish names, Cummertrees probably contains as its first part Welsh *cymer,* confluence, of the same composition as Gaelic *comar,* a confluence; the second part may be Welsh *tres,* toil, trouble; Gaelic *treas,* a combat, seen in Glentress, Peebles.

Dornock may be the same as Dornoch in Sutherland with *ch* hardened into *ck* " more Anglorum," in which case the meaning is " place of handstones," i.e., rounded pebbles, formed from *dorn,* a fist. On the other hand it may be Old Welsh *durnawc,* later *dwrnog,* representing an earlier *Durnacon,* with the same meaning as Dornoch. The difference in form between Welsh and Gaelic is here, as not seldom, very slight.

Dunscore, Dunescor in 1300, is Welsh *din ysgor,* " fort of the bulwark or rampart," probably fixed in form before the period when Welsh began to prefix *y* to such consonant groups.

Durisdeer is Durrysder in 1328. The first part is Gaelic *dubhros,* a dark wood, as in *Duras* for *Dubhras,* anglicised Dores, near Inverness. The second part seems to be Gaelic *doire,* an oak copse, a copse. The meaning would be " dark wood of the oak copse."

Glencairn is Glencarn in 1301 (Bain's *Calendar*), Glenkarne 1315 (R.M.S.), &c., but Glencardine in a Roll of David II. (R.M.S., Vol. I.). This last suggests that the second part is Welsh *cardden,* a thicket, which is found *passim* on the east side of Scotland from the Dornoch Firth to the Forth, and not uncommonly sinks to " carn."

Keir probably stands for Welsh *caer,* as it certainly does in a number of cases in Menteith.

Lochmaben, in 1166 Locmaban, 1298 Loghmaban, and Penpont are noted above.

Sanquhar here as elsewhere means " old fort "; the second part is probably rather Welsh *caer* than Gaelic *cathir.*

Tynron is probably Welsh *din rhôn,* " lance-fort ";

initial *d* is similarly sharpened into *t* in Tintagel, Tintern, and —which is more to the point here—in Tinnis, for Welsh *dinas*, a fortress.

Wamphray is obscure to me.

For the sake of clearness I may state briefly the conclusions suggested by the various lines of argument which I have tried to indicate.

(1) The earliest known language spoken in Dumfries and Galloway was Old British, that is to say Celtic of the type now represented by Welsh and Breton. This language survived long enough to pass into the stage corresponding to Old Welsh, and appears to have been still extant about A.D. 1200.

(2) In the sixth century Dumfries and Galloway formed part of the British province of Reged, which included also Carlisle. During the seventh century the whole region came under Anglic rule.

(3) Gaelic was introduced between A.D. 600 and 800 as the result of settlement from the West of Scotland and from Ireland. The chief period of Gaelic activity was probably the eighth century.

(4) Gaelic was vigorous in Dumfriesshire in A.D. 1300. It probably survived long after that date, but as to how long it lasted we have no adequate data.* In Galloway Gaelic is known to have been spoken in the seventeenth century, and it probably survived in parts of Galloway till well on in the eighteenth century.

* About 1400 there was a charter of confirmation by John Lachlanson of Niddisdale, laird of Durydarach, to Duncan Dalrumpill, of the office of Tothia-daroche in Niddisdale. This is the office discussed by Skene in *Celtic Scotland*, vol. III., pp. 279-281, 300-302. The term is Gaelic, and may be a corrupt form of *tóiseach-díreacht*. In the old Laws *díre* meant the fine or penalty to which a man was entitled for injury to any of his property. *Tóiseach díre* would mean the official whose duty it was to exact this penalty; his office would be *tóiseach-díreacht*. He was considered equivalent to the English Coroner or Crowner.

4th April, 1924.

Chairman—MR G. F. SCOTT ELLIOT.

Some Notes on the Rate of Growth and Increment of Forest Trees in Great Britain.

By Mr J. H. MILNE HOME.

I suppose that most of us—whether town dwellers or country people—when walking in parks or woods, must have looked at trees in their various stages of growth, and speculated as to their age and dimensions. A tree of exceptional proportions must surely attract the attention of even the most casual and unobservant person, even although he or she may not stop to consider in actual figures, what the girth and height of the tree may be.

There are many large trees in our own country, but they are by no means the largest in the vegetable world, and to see the greatest giants we must travel to Western America and Australia where trees reach a size absolutely unknown in this country. I may mention in passing that the Sequoias in California, of which most of you have probably seen photographs, reach a height of over 300 feet, and a girth of stem near the ground of 90 feet. The age of these trees is believed to be about 1200-1400 years, determined from counting the annual rings.

The Douglas Fir or Oregon Fir (*Pseudotsuga Douglasii*) is another of the American giants reaching its greatest development in British Columbia and Vaucouver Island. The size of the logs handled in these countries is such as would defeat the efforts of any ordinary sawmill in Scotland, nor could they be dealt with by our timber merchants' tackle and waggons.

I mention now in passing the Sitka or Menzies Spruce (*Picea sitchensis*), and will refer to this tree in more detail again. It grows in much the same habitat as the Douglas Fir, but scarcely reaches quite the same size. The timber is of

high quality and value, and was largely used in aeroplane construction during the war.

The Eucalyptus or Gum tree of Australia is another genus of trees reaching a great size, a height of 200 feet being not at all uncommon. Although the Eucalyptus yields valuable timber, it is of less interest to us, as it cannot be grown under forestry conditions in this country.

The American conifers do, however, usually grow remarkably well in Great Britain, and more particularly in Scotland. They have, therefore, not only a botanical and scientific interest, but a commercial and sylvicultural value. It is with these species that I am more particularly concerned this evening, and I would add to my list another tree which I have not previously mentioned—the Japanese Larch (*Larix leptolepis*). Although not attaining large size at maturity, it is remarkable for rapid growth in the early stages. In dealing with these three exotic conifers—the Douglas Fir, Sitka Spruce, and Japanese Larch—I will, for the purpose of comparison, take three other conifers which have been long established in this country—the Scots Pine, Norway Spruce, and European Larch. The Scots Pine is indigenous to Great Britain.

Observations relating to growth and size of trees may be based either upon individual specimens or upon crops of timber growing in a forest. The specimen tree is usually grown for ornament in landscape gardening, and the pleasure afforded by the inspection of such trees in all their stages of growth is one that is widely enjoyed both in public parks and private gardens. Numerous measurements of such trees have been collected from time to time, and a most comprehensive list was compiled for the Conifer Conference held about 30 years ago. The most valuable modern information on the subject is to be found in *The Trees of Great Britain and Ireland,* published in 1906 by the late Mr H. J. Elwes and Dr. Augustine Henry. There are several volumes, and the illustrations are remarkably fine. The price unfortunately places this work beyond the means of the ordinary reader,

but it is well worth examination should you ever come across the volumes in a library.

I will now refer as briefly as possible to the measurements given by Mr Elwes and others, illustrating the rate of growth of specimen trees in Great Britain.

SITKA SPRUCE.—In Scotland the largest tree is stated to be growing at Castle Menzies, and it is probably the largest in Great Britain. The date of planting was 1846, and in 1904, when 58 years of age, this tree was 110 feet high and 13 feet 2 inches in girth. The average height growth was thus about two feet per annum. Two other Sitka Spruce, which I have known since my childhood, are growing at Smeaton, East Lothian. They measure 100 feet and 105 feet in height, and 11 feet 8 inches and 9 feet 10 inches in girth respectively. I am not certain of the date of planting, but it would probably be about 1850 or a little earlier. There is a Sitka Spruce at Murraythwaite, in this county, planted in 1855, which now at the age of 68 years has attained a very considerable size.

The Sitka Spruce was first introduced into this country in 1831, but only very few of the original plants are believed to have survived. A considerable quantity of seed was introduced by the Oregon Society in 1850, and it is from this seed that most of the largest Sitka Spruce, including the two which I have mentioned, at Smeaton, have probably been grown. The native habitat of the tree is the Pacific Coast of North America from Alaska to California. It does not apparently extend very far inland at any point, and its maximum development is reached in Southern British Columbia, and in Washington State. 250 feet is stated to be the greatest height which has been measured for this species.

DOUGLAS FIR.—The first seeds were introduced to this country in 1827, and probably several of the largest specimens date from that time. The Douglas Fir has a wider distribution than the Sitka Spruce, and extends much further inland from the Pacific Coast. It attains the largest dimensions in British Columbia, Vancouver Island, and Washington State. A tree felled in the latter State in 1904 is stated to have been

390 feet high and 42 feet in circumference, containing over 8000 cubic feet. Some idea of what this means may be gathered from a comparison with an ordinary crop of timber grown under forest conditions on good land. For Norway Spruce at 60 years of age, a normal crop would be over 200 stems per acre, containing about 8000 cubic feet. Thus the single Douglas Fir referred to just now contained the same amount of measurable timber as one acre of good Spruce timber at 60 years. The age of this remarkable tree is given at "over 300 years." This is probably an understatement. Veitch in his *Manual of the Coniferæ* states that Douglas Fir reach an age of 450 to 750 years. Mr Elwes records a tree at Westholme, Vancouver Island, which he measured and photographed. The original height could only be estimated, as the top had broken off at 175 feet. At the ground line this tree was 63 feet in girth, and at 6½ feet from the ground the girth was 41 feet 5 inches. The largest Douglas Fir in Great Britain is believed to be growing at Eggesford, Devonshire. In 1908, at a probable age of 80 years, this tree was 128 feet high and 18 feet 6 inches in girth, containing over 700 cubic feet of timber. This gives an *average* increment of nearly nine cubic feet per annum, and as in the first ten years the increment could only be small, the growth in subsequent periods must have risen to about 12 cubic feet per annum. Another well-known specimen of Douglas Fir in England is at Dropmore. In 1908 this tree was 12 feet in girth and 110 feet high, but a considerable part of the top had been broken off. This tree is of particular interest, for the reason that periodical height measurements have been taken since it was first raised from seed in 1827, and planted out in its present position in 1829. The measurements were :—

	1837	1843	1851	1860	1867	1871	1891
Total height in feet ..	18	40	62¼	78	93	100	120

In the first forty years this tree had grown 93 feet, or an average of 2 feet 4 inches per year.

There are a great number of Douglas Firs in Scotland over 100 feet high. The finest groups or avenues of Douglas

are to be found at Murthly, Perthshire, and must be seen in order to be fully appreciated. They are said to have been planted in 1847, and at the age of 55 years averaged 90 feet in height and 8 feet in girth. The growth for the first 40 years was phenomenal, but showed some falling off later.

At Drumlanrig, in this county, there is a Douglas Fir grown from seed sent home by David Douglas about 1832 to his brother, who was clerk of works at Drumlanrig at that time. In 1904 this tree, which is growing in the flower garden, was 90 feet high, and 11 ft. 4 inches in girth. The measurements at the present time, for which I am indebted to Mr Menzies, the head forester, are:—Height, 99 feet; girth, 12 feet 9 inches; estimated cubic contents, 334 feet. This tree is interesting from the fact that it is not growing on specially good soil, and is somewhat exposed to wind. A Douglas Fir growing just outside my garden has exactly the same girth, 12 feet 9 inches, but measures 105 feet in height. It is, I believe, not more than 65 years old.

I should mention briefly the famous Douglas Fir plantation at Taymount, on Lord Mansfield's Perthshire estates. The plantation measures eight acres, and was made in 1860. The trees were planted nine feet apart, with European Larch between, the mixture being thus 25 per cent. Douglas Fir and 75 per cent. Larch. The Larch had all been removed by 1880. The wood has been measured by various forestry experts at different times, and their measurements have not by any means agreed. Probably the most accurate estimation was that made by Lord Mansfield's forester in 1908. The wood then contained 1536 Douglas Fir, or 192 trees per acre. The total measurement was 51,456 cubic feet under bark measurement, or 6432 cubic feet per acre. The largest tree was 93 feet high, and contained 118 cubic feet. The average increment since planting (48 years) was 134 cubic feet per acre per annum, without taking into account thinnings or the crop of Larch which had been removed in the first twenty years. This plantation lies on the west side of the Highland line about seven miles north of Perth. I have visited it on two occasions, and it well repays examination. Remarkable

as the crop is, I think it will be admitted that with greater experience since gained, an even heavier stand of timber could now be raised on land of similar character.

THE JAPANESE LARCH is a more recent introduction than the two American trees just referred to. Seed was first brought to this country by Veitch in 1861, but probably not many plants were raised at that time, as there are few specimens in this country 60 years of age. In Japan the tree grows mostly in the mountains at considerable elevations, and attains a height of not more than 100 feet. The largest trees in this country are now about 60 feet high, but there are not, so far as I am aware, any Japanese Larch grown under forest conditions of this size. The rate of growth for the first twenty years or so is most remarkable, but after that age there is a considerable slackening in the increment. The value of the Japanese Larch in this country lies mainly in its immunity from the Larch canker or Larch disease, which has made the cultivation of the European Larch almost impossible in many districts. A plantation of Japanese Larch of four or five acres made at Langholm in 1905 has now an average height of 49 feet, and an average girth at breast high of 26½ inches. The original planting distance was six feet, and the number of stems per acre is now 620. I have not made an exact measurement of the crop for two years, but the present growing stock is approximately 3100 cubic feet per acre. This gives an average annual increment since planting of 172 cubic feet. The European Larch cannot equal this rate of growth, at any rate in the first twenty years, even when free from disease. A very interesting discovery was made some years ago at Dunkeld, where there are several Japanese Larch trees growing beside an avenue. The trees appear to be about 40 or 45 years old, and the seed was obtained from Japan by the late Duke of Atholl. The trees have always borne a considerable quantity of cones. About 12 years or more ago it was observed that the seedlings raised from the seed collected from these trees showed a good deal of variation. Most of the seedling plants appeared to be of an intermediate type between the European and Japanese species,

while others resembled the European and Japanese Larches respectively. From these characteristics it was concluded that a hybrid had been obtained, and subsequent observation showed that the flowers on these Japanese Larch mother trees had been fertilised by the pollen carried by wind from some European Larch growing on an adjoining bank. It is thought that the pollen bearing flowers on the Japanese Larch probably mature rather later. Whatever the explanation may be, these trees have continued to produce hybrid seed for a considerable number of years, and the seed has been carefully harvested and sown. Hybrid Larch have been grown at Dunkeld for a considerable number of years, and they show a vigour and rapidity of growth which is greater than the Japanese Larch. It is thought also that the stems are cleaner and straighter, and that the quality of the timber may approach more nearly to that of our own Larch. These hybrid Larch produce cones containing fertile seed at an early age—8-10 years—and seedlings raised from such seed have been grown and recently planted out under forest conditions. It is rather soon to draw definite conclusions from this second generation, but it appears that the plants are again the hybrid type; that is, they are not a further cross, but hybrid from hybrid. The forester is inclined to think that this second generation is not quite so vigorous as the first cross.

There is at least one other place in Scotland where this hybrid seed has been obtained, and there are a certain number growing in plantations at Langholm. The rate of growth is remarkable, and exceeds that of Japanese Larch. In 1923 a considerable number of seedlings were raised from seed gathered from Japanese Larch cones. I believe that some of these seedlings may turn out to be hybrid, but they are still rather small to enable any definite conclusion to be reached.

There are several other imported conifers which may yet prove to be of economic value in this country, but they have not yet been tried and tested on a large enough scale. The White Pine (*Pinus Strobus*) and another five-needled Pine (*Pinus monticola*), which does not seem to have any

popular name, have both been successfully grown in this country as specimens and under forest conditions. The White Pine has already grown to a height of 100 feet in England. *Pinus monticola* will probably reach a similar size. Both species are found between the fortieth and fiftieth parallels in North America, the White Pine on the Eastern side, and *Pinus monticola* on the Pacific Coast. Unfortunately a very fatal fungus disease has attacked the White Pine both in America and in this country, which meanwhile makes it inadvisable to plant the species to any great extent. *Pinus monticola* is thought to be immune from this disease, but this cannot be alleged with certainty.

Among the Silver Firs the most valuable introduction has been *Abies grandis,* a native of the same districts as the Douglas Fir, and attaining almost as great a height, although the stem is more slender. *Abies grandis* was discovered by David Douglas in the valley of the Columbia River in 1830, but the seed sent home at that time seems to have failed, and the oldest specimens in this country date from about 1852. A specimen at Riccarton, Midlothian, was reported at the Conifer Conference to have grown 53 feet in 12 years. As in the case of the White Pine, there is an extremely fatal disease which has in recent years attacked our own Silver Fir (*Abies pectinata*) and other European species, but so far *Abies grandis* is immune, and its value as a timber tree is greatly increased on that account. I am tempted to mention many other species which have been introduced from all parts of the world, and which thrive well in our climate. I must, however, pass from these to refer in conclusion to another branch of the subject. I have dealt mainly with the measurements and rate of growth of specimen trees rather than of timber crops, and I have done so for the reason that crop measurements, interesting and important as they are to the forester, have not the same interest for the general public.

I would like, however, before closing to give a few examples of timber yields under the best forestry conditions. After all the growing of timber, properly considered, is much the same as the growing of a crop of corn or potatoes. The

difference lies in the fact that the latter are annual crops, reaped at the end of one season, and lost if not then reaped. Timber is a crop which, almost unobserved, continues to accumulate annual increments until maturity after a long period of years. The annual yield of agricultural crops in weight or measure is known with considerable accuracy. In forestry crops it is somewhat different. Many foresters who may be well skilled in growing crops of trees have very little idea of what is the normal growing stock per acre at different ages, or the annual increment which may be expected under the varying conditions of soil and climate. This branch of forestry has been very closely studied on the Continent for a long time past, and elaborate tables—called yield tables—have been prepared, more particularly by German foresters. It is doubtful how far these tables are of practical application in this country. The Forestry Commission have taken up the study of this branch of forestry in recent years, and have published two Bulletins (Nos. 1 and 3), 1920, entitled *Collection of Data as to the Rate of Growth of Timber,* and *Rate of Growth of Conifers in the British Isles.* The statistics collected have been obtained from the measurement of typical standing crops of various species, and also embody results obtained from complete fellings which had been made of mature crops. I need not go into the details of the method by which these results have been worked out, but will give a few examples of the yields of our principal coniferous forest trees.

SITKA SPRUCE.—The following quotation is from the Bulletin No. 3 already referred to :—" There are unfortunately very few plantations of Sitka Spruce in this country which have reached measurable size, consequently it was impossible to prepare a table of production for this species. Four sample plots were obtained at Drumlanrig, Dumfriesshire, one sample plot at Durris, Kincardineshire, and one near Newbury, Hants. A fairly reliable comparison between Sitka and Norway Spruce was possible at Drumlanrig. At 20 years the height of the former was on the average 50 per cent. greater than that of the latter, the actual heights being

about 40 feet and 25 feet respectively." The Durris Wood at the age of 43 years, and growing at 800 elevation, had produced a crop of 5700 cubic feet per acre.

DOUGLAS FIR.—For this tree the Forestry Commission have been able to prepare yield tables, and they estimate that on good soil a height of 110 feet should be reached in 50 years. The actual figures are :—

Age. Years.	Mean height. Feet.	Volume per acre (Cubic feet under bark).
10	24	—
20	53	2840
30	78	5100
40	95	6630
50	110	8000

The average annual increment up to the fiftieth year is thus 160 cubic feet.

JAPANESE LARCH. — Forty-seven sample plots were measured by the Forestry Commission, all with one exception, under 25 years of age. Among these plots was one at Drumlanrig. It has only been possible to construct a yield table up to 25 years so far, and it is thought that under the best conditions the rate of growth is at least 20 per cent. greater than for European Larch :—

Age. Years.	Mean height. Feet.	Volume per acre (Cubic feet under bark).
10	23½	—
15	35	1095
20	44½	1930
25	52	2580

If these figures are compared with those which I have mentioned this evening as relating to a crop of Japanese Larch at Langholm, it will be observed that the latter considerably exceeds the yield table figures, even after allowing for the difference of measurement under and over bark.

From information supplied by the Bureau of Forestry, Tokyo, it appears that in Japan a 50 year crop reaches 84 feet in height, with a yield of 6870 cubic feet, and that at 100 years the height is 104 feet and the yield 9480 cubic feet.

EUROPEAN LARCH. — The Forestry Commission tables show five year periods from 10 to 80 years, but for the purpose of saving space I have restricted the figures to ten year periods from 20 to 80 years, on land of good quality :—

Age (yrs.)	Mean height (ft.)	No. of stems per acre.	Volume per acre (c.f. under bark)
20	40	900	1560
30	38	520	2900
40	71	350	3880
50	80	260	4570
60	87½	205	5130
70	94	170	5630
80	100	150	6070

There would, in addition, be certain periodic yields from thinnings, in the case of Larch and the other species mentioned.

SPRUCE.—The following are the corresponding figures for Norway Spruce, and these are of special interest for comparison with the Sitka Spruce :—

Age (yrs.)	Mean height (ft.)	No. of stems per acre.	Volume per acre (c.f. under bark)
20	31	—	—
30	51	710	3500
40	66½	410	5250
50	80	280	6760
60	91	210	8020
70	100	175	8960

If the Forestry Commission's estimate of 50 per cent. greater growth for Sitka Spruce is correct, the yield of the latter species at 50 years would be over 10,000 cubic feet per acre, or 200 cubic feet per acre per annum.

SCOTS PINE.—The statistics for this tree have been very carefully studied, and the results obtained in England and in Scotland have been separately tabulated. I give the figures for Scotland :—

Age (yrs.)	Mean height (ft.)	No. of stems per acre.	Volume per acre (c.f. under bark)
20	26	—	—
30	40	960	1940
40	51	630	3120
50	60	450	4100
60	67	340	4840

Age (yrs.)	Mean height (ft.)	No. of stems per acre.	Volume per acre (c.f. under bark)
70	72½	275	5440
80	77	230	5920
90	81	200	6350
100	84½	183	6720

The general conclusions which may be drawn from the study of these records are that at least three trees introduced into this country during the past century—Sitka Spruce, Douglas Fir, and Japanese Larch—show rates of growth exceeding those of our older timber trees such as the Spruce, Scots Pine, and Larch, and that these new species seem to be congenial to our climate, at any rate in Scotland. That these trees in their native habitats produce valuable timber, and that, therefore, we may assume they will do the same here if cultivated under the right forest conditions. I do not suggest that these newer species should be grown to the exclusion of all others. It is not desirable in forestry any more than in agriculture to put all your eggs in one basket. Insect and fungus pests may appear which will attack these trees without harming the older and well-tried species.

I think we may say, however, that these trees from other lands which are now being more and more extensively grown are likely to be of great value as an addition to our forest wealth, and on that account are deserving of close study and observation. That is my excuse for bringing them more specially to your notice.

Notes on the Arms of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries.

By G. W. SHIRLEY.

Every Dumfriesian is aware of the most prominent display of the arms of the burgh of Dumfries on the south side of the Midsteeple, a position which could not be bettered for prominence. Consider the appearance of the figure of St. Michael. It might be taken for a crude imitation of Assyrian or Babylonian sculpture. It is a squat, square figure with two small wings, clad in a very stone skirt, with a helmet or mitre on his head, clutching in his left hand a weighty looking pole with a crook, intended to represent a crozier, his right hand is pressed flat on the centre of his belt, and he has an expres-

ARMS OF THE BURGH OF DUMFRIES

VARIOUS OLDER REPRESENTATIONS OF ST. MICHAEL.

1. The Midsteeple, 1707.
2. The Provost's Chair, 1726.
3. Provost's Badge, 1822.
4. Provost's Staff. Presented by Matthew Hairstaines of Craigs. Early 18th century.
5. Particular Register of Sasines.
6. Source unknown. Early 19th century

Face page 161.

sion of endurance on his truculent face which is decorated with side curls and a small trimmed beard. Under his feet appears a serpent with a curled and forked tail, the crozier being inserted in the end where we expect its mouth to be. Such is the best known example of the burgh arms created by some unsophisticated artist in the year 1707, and on this has been based every representation of the burgh arms, more or less slavishly, until the year 1910.

Before passing from this consideration let us examine a few of the representations which we have described as based on the Midsteeple design. There is a remarkably fine carved head-piece on the Provost's chair, salved from the older chair burned in the unfortunate fire at the Town Hall on 20th November, 1908. It is dated 1726, and the presentation is altogether on a higher artistic level than that of the Midsteeple. The main differences are that St. Michael holds his crozier in his right hand and that the figure of the serpent is replaced by that of a substantial double-winged, forked-tailed dragon, into whose extended jaws the crozier is thrust. No wings are apparent on St. Michael, who wears, distinctly, a mitre, and whose hair is in flowing curls.

The most wretched example of the design is that which appears on the Register of Sasines and on documents by other public bodies during the earlier years of the 19th century. In this there is no dragon or serpent, and the Archangel is apparently expected to perform miracles of flight, for he has only one wing. It is almost inconceivable that such a design should be tolerated for one moment, yet such an one was submitted to me for approval within the last two months.

Worse still, in the recognised authority on civic and other corporate arms, *The Book of Public Arms*, by A. C. Fox-Davies (1915), the author describes the burgh arms thus :— " Dumfries (Dumfriesshire)—Has not matriculated any armorial bearings. The seal represents the figure of a saint mitred, a wing attached to his dexter shoulder and holding in his sinister hand a crosier with the legend, ' Sigillum burgi de Dumfreis.' " " The following blazon has, however," he continues, " been supplied to the editor as the arms of Dumfries :—Argent, the Archangel Michael proper, vested in long

garments azure, in his dexter hand a crozier, on his head a mitre, below his feet a serpent nowed, both proper." Now comes the sting. "No illustration," he says, "of this has been available, and as the editor is not familiar with St. Michael in this disguise he must be excused from any emblazonment thereof. The 'Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland' simply gives the Seal." And truly Mr Fox-Davies had reason to refrain from an emblazonment and to designate the representation as a disguise.

Now let us turn to the best representation of this type. It is on the window of the staircase of the Public Library, and would be designed in 1902. The artist has been unable to resist drawing the figure gracefully, and the face is that of a young man, beautiful after the manner of Burne-Jones, with long wings reaching almost to his feet, but he has been faithful to tradition, and shows him with mitre and with crozier in the left hand, while the serpent is quite insignificant. His right hand is raised in an attitude of blessing. The figure is seen through a pillared archway, a background of trees and sky being visible. It is certainly the best effort of its class, though there is also a pleasing design, with the crozier crossing the body from the right hand to the serpent at the left foot, on the cover of the "Academy Magazine."

Let us, however, reflect for a moment on St. Michael, or more properly on the Archangel Michael. The literary foundation of almost all the artistic representations of the Archangel is to be found in the twelfth chapter of the Book of Revelation:—"And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, And prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him." During the Middle Ages we find Michael functioning in another manner which has no Scriptural basis but finds its affinity in the activities of Mercury or Hermes. He, the angel who conducts the spirit on its last journey, bears the scales in which the souls

ARMS OF THE BURGH OF DUMFRIES.

From *Arms of the Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland, 1897,* by the Marquis of Bute.

From the Banner painted for the Turin Exhibition by J. M. Glover, 1911, showing the influence of the old seal.

Face page 162.

of the dead are weighed, and is shown balancing their deeds. Still earlier, under Byzantine influence, he is depicted as a stately, pacific figure in rich dress holding a sceptre or banner as might some great court-official.* But the predominating presentation is that of " Michael of celestial armies, Prince " (Milton), the bright angel who smites the dragon with spear or sword as Dürer has shown him in illustration of the Revelation of St. John and Raphael in his two pictures in the Louvre. It is, however, in the character of a great Healer that he figures most prominently during the formative period of the Christian cults. His most important shrines at Chanæ, near Colossæ in Asia Minor, at Michaelion, near Constantinople, at Monte Gargano in Italy, have that association, while his worship at Rome is connected with the staying of the plague in 590. " Michael, indeed," says Mr G. F. Hill, from whom we summarise these notes, " was constantly invoked in connection with plague, and this not merely because as an angel of destruction he was regarded as God's agent in such visitations, but also because he was a great healer. He who sends the calamity can also best protect men from it." Mr Hill then points out the analogies between the pagan concept of Apollo, great healer and god of plague, the god of light who slays the Python and St. Michael and discusses also the possible influence of the Germanic concept of Wotan, the dragon slaying god. Dumfries certainly could not have chosen a more highly exalted patron, Michael being the premier of the Seven Spirits who stand before the Throne of God; and if the dragon be taken to represent the, in old days, ever-present agues, marsh fevers, plagues, and choleras of this marshy, low-lying district, it did well to seek the protection of so powerful a being.

But what is this first of the Archangels doing in a bishop's mitre and holding a bishop's crozier, why is the dragon displaced by a serpent? Such garments are surely derogatory to one of such exalted position, and the dragon is the proper symbol. On the other hand, can we wonder at the ecclesiastic who gazed on the library window and suddenly exclaimed :—" Oh, come. See here a bishop with wings !"

* G. F. Hill, *St. Michael Archangel,* Medici Soc. Mem., cxiv., 1916.

It might, perhaps, be suggested that this point of view was the motive in reducing for a time the wings to one. The whole design, take it as you may, is entirely ridiculous.

I come now to 1910, when a fortunate discovery was made. Among the effects of Dr. Thomas M'Kie was discovered the matrix of a seal which clearly was that of the community of Dumfries. It was handed over to the burgh by Mrs M'Kie. A document which I have here has an impression of this seal (though it is no longer attached), and the date of the document is 1579. The seal in fact is probably of the 15th century, and therefore the earliest that has come to our hand. There are earlier. Bain in his *Calendar of Documents* notes one of date 1357 in a fragmentary condition, and "Perhaps the Virgin and Child standing." I have not yet examined this seal, which may easily be a presentation of St. Michael, nor searched for other early ones.

But what does our 15th century seal show? St. Michael, against a background in which are stars, sun, and moon, stands erect, bare-headed, his hair curled, with widely spread wings extending to his hips, in his right hand an upraised sword, in his left a shield. His robe falls in folds to his feet under which is a winged dragon, vanquished but still with erected head and twisted, upflung, forked tail. Round the seal is the legend,*

✠ S: COMVNITATIS ·n BVRGI: DE DVMfRES:

The design is bold and vigorous, rather than graceful or beautiful, and it follows accurately the legendary character of the patron Archangel and his story. He is, in fact, depicted standing in the heavens, his fight with evil just concluded. The artistic gulf between this design and that of the 18th century on the Midsteeple may indicate the

* There is much difficulty in determining the markings shown as ·n. It looks as if the artist had begun to make a colon, but left out the lower dot. The next marking may be an n, but, if so, it is the only letter not a capital in the inscription. It might be a St. Andrew's Cross lacking the upper right arm. Query: Might it be a contraction for nunc, in which case the inscription would carry us back to the infeftment of the community as a Royal Burgh?

Ancient Seal of Dumfries.

Drawn & Lithographed from the
Original to the same size by

Eben. J. Hoeck

depths to which art had descended in Scotland at the latter period, due to the arid religious controversies of the 17th century. The early seal is an informed, vivid piece of work. The later betrays ignorance in changing the helmet to mitre, the sword to crozier, and the dragon to serpent, and it is as dead as possible. The early seal also is, I understand, heraldically correct with one minor exception—on the shield is shown a cross and in the panels four stars. The stars are erroneous, for metal (stars are silver) cannot be shown heraldically on metal.

The discovery of this seal immediately freed designers from the degraded art they had inherited from the early years of the 18th century. The first change was made under my persuasion by Mr J. M. Glover, who designed the window in the Town Hall in 1910. Still better was his design in 1911 for the banner which was sent to the Turin Exhibition, in which certain minor faults were rectified; the drawing of the dragon being greatly improved. Last year Mr W. J. Smith in his design for the War Memorial in Greyfriars' Church also made a design on these lines, and I understand that, as might be expected of him as one of our most active members, Mr M'Kerrow has followed Mr Smith's design for his official Treasurer's seal. The new Provost's lamp will also, I believe, be designed after Mr Glover's "banner" mode.* It should now be apparent, surely, that there is every reason to abandon the ugly and erroneous 18th century design. Nothing stands in the way now of having the arms matriculated, which the Town Council should do, that the cause of contemptuous remarks about our civic insignia may be eliminated. Many clubs and associations within or related to the burgh indicate their local concern by placing on cards, tickets, menus, programmes, the insignia of the town. It is surely desirable that their designs should be correct and artistic. As for the burgh, why should it not revert to the ancient seal itself? There is none better.

* The figure of St. Michael on the top of the casket presented by the Burgh to Sir James M. Barrie on 11th December, 1924, was also from this design, while the seal attached to the burgess ticket was impressed from the ancient matrix.

Rainfall Records for the South-Western Counties for the Year 1923.

SUPPLIED BY THE METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

DUMFRIESSHIRE.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
Ruthwell, Comlongon Castle ..	1·69	4·54	·88	3·34	1·31	·93	3·32	8·74	3·76	4·82	3·17	3·97	40·47
Dumfries, Crichton Royal Inst. ..	1·91	5·15	1·52	4·10	1·75	·95	3·79	8·42	5·17	5·78	3·96	3·56	46·06
Amisfield, Glenæ	2·56	5·82	1·75	4·91	2·13	1·28	4·55	7·98	4·86	6·29	3·84	1·25	50·22
Moniaive, Glencrosh	4·81	7·70	2·54	4·56	2·29	1·33	4·73	8·13	6·63	7·71	5·95	4·74	61·12
,, Maxwelton House ..	3·52	6·83	2·61	4·56	2·25	1·33	4·38	8·11	5·74	7·11	4·68	5·44	56·56
Durisdeer, Drumlanrig Gdns. ..	3·33	6·25	2·31	4·30	2·71	1·43	5·93	8·43	5·85	6·20	4·90	4·53	56·17
Dalton, Whitecroft	2·70	4·52	1·77	4·76	2·02	1·25	5·12	11·41	4·81	6·98	4·52	4·09	53·95
,, Kirkwood	2·78	6·76	1·90	5·44	2·57	1·32	5·78	13·49	6·29	8·61	4·72	4·89	64·55
Ecclefechan, Burnfoot	2·55	5·48	1·70	4·19	2·07	1·24	4·66	11·43	5·38	6·47	3·87	3·49	52·63
Lockerbie, Castlemilk	2·40	6·10	1·52	5·02	2·18	1·25	4·29	10·40	4·68	6·80	3·51	4·54	52·59
,, Thornbank	3·05	5·70	1·40	4·25	1·80	1·05	3·05	9·41	4·55	6·30	3·35	2·80	46·71
Lochmaben, Esthwaite	2·97	5·96	1·75	4·80	2·10	1·23	3·64	9·40	5·12	6·55	4·03	4·16	51·71
Moffat, Craigielands	5·68	8·55	1·75	4·25	2·20	1·20	5·42	8·62	7·06	8·93	5·75	5·15	64·56
Canonbie, Byreburnfoot	— 13.00 —		1·50	3·75	2·63	·75	3·75	11·75	5·75	7·50	5.25	5·00	60·63
,, Irvine House	3·96	5·17	1·64	3·70	2·63	1·26	5·01	13 28	6·60	7·51	5·70	5·00	61·46
Langholm, Broomholm	4·18	5·64	1·87	4·32	2·73	1·39	5·32	13·05	6·95	7·59	5·65	4·68	63·37
,, Drove Road	4·64	6·48	2·08	4·44	2·86	1·71	5·54	11·80	7·02	8·52	5·82	5·46	66·37
,, Craig	4·50	5·31	2·16	3·85	2·55	1·96	4·20	11·64	6·85	8·88	4·96	4·45	61·31
,, Ewes	4·54	6·91	2·15	4·02	2·21	1·76	5·75	12·10	6·80	8·27	5·88	5·10	65·49
Eskdalemuir Observatory	5·55	6·20	2·38	4·34	3·64	2·11	5·39	10·31	7·16	9·58	6·19	5·86	68·71

WIGTOWN.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
Loch Ryan Lighthouse	3·30	6·19	2·29	2·27	1·63	1·28	3·29	5·28	3·34	4·47	4·59	6·84	44·77
Mull of Galloway	2·17	3·94	·87	2·28	·94	·75	3·04	5·53	2·75	3·14	2·17	5·83	33·81
Logan House	3·09	5·93	1·44	2·86	2·11	1·25	3·40	6·87	3·75	3·79	4·02	7·44	45·95
Killantringan Lighthouse	1·04	7·37	·77	2·34	1·25	·81	1·68	4·55	1·70	1·74	1·97	6·59	31·81
Corsewall	3·37	6·51	1·85	3·01	1·90	1·17	2·76	6·11	4·54	4·85	3·20	4·15	43·42
Port-William (Monreith)	3·57	5·82	1·49	2·68	1·71	1·37	3·51	7·74	4·04	5·00	4·98	6·41	48·32
Stoneykirk (Ardwell House) ..	2·91	5·87	1·45	2·87	1·94	1·29	3·34	7·15	3·95	4·02	4·43	8·00	47·22
Glenluce	4·68	8·03	1·69	2·92	3·05	1·90	4·00	8·34	4·68	4·63	5·02	8·28	57·22
Whithorn (Physgill)	3·00	4·68	1·02	2·21	2·13	1·33	3·50	7·88	3·59	4·37	3·92	5·37	43·00
,, (Glasserton)	3·00	5·37	1·10	2·22	1·90	1·13	3·79	7·99	3·81	4·67	4·25	5·70	44·93
Kirkcowan (Craighlaw)	5·17	7·31	2·30	3·24	2·54	1·79	4·07	9·72	6·01	7·39	6·55	8·09	64·18
KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE.													
Borgue (Senwick House)	3·25	5·42	1·76	2·88	1·58	1·29	3·56	8·77	4·41	5·46	4·80	5·28	48·46
,, (Knockbrex)	3·51	6·14	1·49	2·55	1·83	1·54	3·44	8·57	4·42	5·20	5·12	5·61	49·42
Palnure (Bargaly)	5·15	9·12	2·50	3·80	2·43	2·62	4·85	9·33	6·59	7·50	8·73	7·57	70·19
Little Ross Lighthouse	3·06	5·02	·93	2·12	2·09	·86	2·59	4·89	2·24	3·37	3·61	5·58	36 36
Mossdale (Hensol)	2·34	6·84	2·94	3·59	1·89	1·51	3·68	9·08	7·11	8·04	7·41	5·67	60·10
New-Galloway (Glenlee Park) ..	7·21	11·84	3·38	3·93	2·60	1·57	4·84	10·50	8·77	8·86	9·64	5·58	78·72
Dalry (Glendarroch)	5·22	8·47	2·80	3·79	1·94	1·26	3·99	8·87	7·45	7·60	7·49	6·72	65·60
,, (Garroch)	6·76	8·65	3·33	4·00	2·48	1·70	5·22	10·81	9·04	9·75	7·70	4·09	73·53
,, (Forrest Lodge)	6·79	8·99	3·47	3·96	3·86	1·74	4·85	10·54	8·49	10·16	9·66	8·08	80·59
Carsphairn (Shiel)	8·18	9·11	4·21	3·96	4·78	3·44	6·48	12·63	10·63	11·63	10·12	10·16	95·83
,, (Knockgray)	5·23	6·22	3·30	3·86	3·38	2·04	5·25	9·86	8·29	9·56	7·24	7·65	72·48
Auchencairn (Torr House)	3·72	6·33	2·07	4·45	2·70	1·48	4·11	10·16	5·38	7·79	5·85	6·59	60·63
Dalbeattie (Southwick House) ..	2·34	6·06	1·62	5·25	2·56	1·48	4·92	11·42	5·20	6·63	5·76	5·31	58·55
,, (Kirkennan)	3·34	6·52	2·15	4·10	2·29	1·51	3·77	9·63	5·57	7·02	6·06	6·04	58·00
,, (Drumstinchall)	2·86	6·20	2·00	4·49	2·03	1·72	4·78	10·60	6·08	7·66	5·23	5·87	59·52
,, (Richorn Wood)	2·61	6·80	2·26	3·78	1·61	1·28	3·50	9·47	4·01	6·99	4·92	5·64	52·87
Kirkpatrick-Durham (Glenlair) ..	3·74	6·52	2·49	4·16	1·75	1·46	2·88	8·75	6·32	6·27	5·99	5·55	55·88
Dumfries (Cargen)	2·92	6·56	1·96	5·06	2·33	1·12	4·38	10·35	6·52	7·38	5·55	4·42	58·55
Lochrutton (Dumfries W.W.) ..	2·96	6·45	2·50	4·78	2·61	1·37	4·60	9·87	6·14	7·19	5·78	5·05	59·30
Dumfries (Lincluden House) ..	2·39	6·32	1·96	4·30	2·26	1·19	4·30	8·34	5·38	6·28	4·57	3·96	51·25
,, (Jardington)	2·50	6·40	2·08	4·40	2·21	1·26	4·47	8·18	5·44	6·32	4·85	4·37	52·48

5th June, 1924.

Wamphray and Auchen Castle.

This excursion was attended by about fifty persons, Wamphray Church being reached by 2.30 p.m. There the panel over the church door was inspected, Mr R. C. Reid describing the panel with its dragon design as Norse. In the church Mr Reid read his paper, which follows, and the Secretary contributed some notes on the only known pre-Reformation parson of Wamphray; while Mr Hogg, schoolmaster at Wamphray, commented on the notable contribution of the parish in supplying three moderators to the Kirk of Scotland, and the recent discovery that the church bell was of 16th century date.

The company then visited the sites of the Mote, Castle and Place at the junction of the Leithenhall Burn and Wamphray Water. Auldton Mote, Moffat, was next visited, Mr Reid pointing out that the Moffat of to-day is not upon the site of the original village, which was at Auldton, and has now disappeared except for some foundations. Lochhouse tower was the next stopping place, and there Mr Reid, after pointing out the features of the structure, particularly the external offsets which are peculiar to this tower, animadverted upon the criticisms made by Agnes Marchbank in her *Upper Annandale* on Sir William Younger's restoration of the tower. Mr Reid defended Sir William, who, he said, had restored with care and due conservation of all essential features and made habitable an ancient monument which was steadily going to wreck.

At Auchen Castle the company was entertained to tea by Sir William and Lady Younger, who were thanked on behalf of the visitors by Provost Arnott. The ancient fortress of Auchencass was visited, a structure of great strength, rectangular in shape, with a tower at each corner. Most interesting and puzzling is the underground passage beyond the great ditch. This is strongly built, with a guard-house at the open end, from which it runs for about 100 feet to a curious many-angled chamber, which has been broken into

from above. It is not known whether the passage ends there or continues at right angles to the wall of the castle. Sir William Younger indicated that he might undertake excavations to settle the matter during the ensuing winter.

The Tragedy of Wamphray.

By Mr R. C. REID.

There are only two objects of interest in Wamphray parish which the Society are going to view to-day—the Kirk and the Leithenhall site. Both are closely associated, and around them we can group all of the history of the parish which it is necessary to relate to-day. The church and the castle are the earliest emblems of all historical civilisation, and to these we will confine ourselves.

The church where we are now resting is a comparatively modern building; the site of the former one, which was probably the pre-Reformation church, is not definitely known. But it cannot have been far off, for the early Norman follower of Bruce, who first occupied the site of Leithenhall or Wamphray Tower, is sure to have had that church in close proximity to his mote. He probably provided and endowed it. He certainly dedicated it to St. Cuthbert, and it is from this period that Wamphray as a definite parish first dates. This does not mean that Christianity did not exist before his arrival. We know that it was practised here before the close of the 10th century, for the Norse burial stone which we have seen built into the wall of this kirk clearly indicates that some Norse settler, obviously a man of substance and local position, was given Christian burial near here. It is probable that this slab was brought here from the original church site. That site, wherever it was, must have had a manse close by; and we know that in 1668 the then proprietor of Leithenhall contracted with the minister to build him a new manse, presumably on the site of the present one, retaining the building materials of the old one, which was at a place, unknown to me —named Linox. Close then to Linox we must look for the

original church site. Of the church and its incumbents prior to the Reformation practically nothing is known, but the gift of presentation belonged to the Lord of the Barony, a sure indication that his 12th or 13th century predecessor had founded the original church and given it a parochial status. The last pre-Reformation rector was Schir James Carruthers; of him, alone, is anything known. Prior to the Reformation, the church lands had been extensive. But their annexation to the Crown had been foreseen, and many incumbents had protected themselves by leasing the church lands and teinds to the laity. Schir James Carruthers had leased the Kirklands to James Johnstone of Wamphray, and had continued the lease to his widow, Margaret, for life. For four years she did not pay the duties, which was all he had to maintain service in the kirk and sustain himself. Accordingly, in 1561, he leased the Kirklands to Robert Johnstone, parson of Lochmaben, which was, of course, an infraction of Margaret's lease. Margaret condemned this sharp practice, but the priest, " having immortal God before his eyes, deponed and lamentably expressed that he wanted the profits." Unfortunately the lamentations of the priest were only too well founded. He had fallen on evil days, had to pawn even his clothes, and died in Dumfries two years later.

On the other side of this glen, on a site admirably suited for defence, amidst the most beautiful surroundings, lies the site of Leithenhall. It is of unusual interest, for the remains present us with a continuous history of over five centuries, including three distinct types of civilisation from an architectural point of view. Allusion has been made to the Norman follower of Bruce. We don't know his name, but he has left the unmistakable hallmark of his race and ownership on that site. Previous to the Norman infiltration into this district its inhabitants lived in wattled booths usually surrounded by a stockade. Houses, in the proper sense of the word, castles and towers, did not exist. The Norman brought with him the civilisation of Normandy recently established in England. He introduced the first castle. His practice was to find an easily defensive knoll, which he heightened and steepened if

necessary artificially by excavating a trench round it. Stockades surmounted the top and the outer rim of the trench. On the summit he built a small wooden tower, for himself and family. Outside the stockaded trench was frequently a stockaded court, where his retainers and followers lived. Access to the tower was by means of a wooden drawbridge. To this, the prototype of the mediæval castle, he gave the name of a mote.

Now, the site of Leithenhall provides the unmistakable remains of a mote. In due course came the advent of the stone-mason. Gradually these wooden mote towers were replaced by the stone Border tower so well known to us. But motes were still inhabited till the close of the 14th century, if not later. When the change came at Leithenhall we cannot say; but in the 16th century Wamphray suddenly is referred to in documents as a barony. The date of its erection into a barony is unknown, but it probably coincided with the building of a stone tower. Of that tower only the foundations now remain; yet, if stones could speak, a remarkable story it could tell. To that history I shall return. That stone tower must have stood the vicissitudes, the assaults, and the burnings of two centuries down to the more settled conditions of Queen Anne's reign. Then it was no longer required. Its grim powers of defence, its narrow windows, its cramped confinement, were out of keeping with the securities of more peaceful times, and it gave place to the greater comfort and convenience of a mansion-house. This new house was a very small and humble affair, but there the Scottish landlord of the 18th century, even though a Lord of a Barony, lived in conditions bordering on poverty when compared with the present day. At the close of the 18th century the property was sold, the deserted mansion-house became a ruin, and what once echoed with the laughter of the children of the Lord of the Barony is now a lovely site where silence is only broken by the rushing burn far below. That is all that this site tells us. Of its owners, history tells us quite a lot; and to them I will make brief reference.

If there is an air of tragedy brooding over the mute,

grass-grown foundations of this site, it is not without an ample cause. For the history of its owners is one of mistaken estimates and lost causes. It is a tragedy that seems to haunt the place, irresistibly leading its victims to an inevitable fate. Family gave place to family, but each fell for the same cause and was led away in the same manner. A curse might well have been laid on this beautiful spot. Perhaps it is as well that it should be now uninhabited and forlorn, for never a family owned and dwelt here long before they stood convicted traitors to their country. It is not easy for us to place ourselves in the surroundings of the 16th and 18th centuries. It is easy to-day to denounce men centuries ago of treachery to their country, but far more difficult to know the temptations that assailed them or the pressure that was brought to bear on them. We must be content to call them traitors and not to sit in judgment on them. Let us see what history says of them. The late Mr Paterson in his parish history mentions a number of early owners of Wamphray, none of whom, however, can be definitely proved to have owned the Barony. But it was certainly owned in the 15th century by the family of Boyle, forebears of the present Earl of Glasgow. The Boyles ended in an heiress, Katherine Boyle, who died in 1524 without issue, the estate going to her second husband, Robert Scott. Shortly after Annandale was overrun by the English, for whom Robert Scott, of Wamphray, acted as a spy. This must have been known to his neighbours, and in consequence Robert Scott had to forsake Wamphray. He was lucky to find a buyer in the person of James Johnstone, a son of the Laird of Johnstone. The price was 4000 merks, and the lands, which included the patronage of the church, amounted to a £40 land. The Scotts thereafter disappear from local history but can be traced as burgesses of Edinburgh. A spy in English pay, so closed the history of Scott, of Wamphray.

The new proprietor, James Johnstone, of Wamphray, might have been expected to have taken warning from Robert Scott's fate. But the same malign influences were at work, and James Johnstone was led into the same mistake. In 1547 was fought the battle of Pinkie, where most of the Dumfries-

shire lairds were slain or taken prisoner. Lord Maxwell, the Warden, was already prisoner. The Western March was undefended, and the English, under Sir Thomas Carleton, at once over-ran it. The Laird of Johnstone, the sole bulwark of Annandale, was captured by stratagem. Briefly, Wamphray village was attacked and burnt, and the laird, hastening from Lochwood to the rescue of his brother, was captured and detained in England till 1550. Now James Johnstone of Wamphray is not named as being present at the ambush nor as a subsequent captive. He may have been in his tower, but he was certainly privy to the ambush. Carleton at once captured Lochwood. When in 1550 the Laird of Johnstone was liberated and Lochwood restored to him, he found his tower an empty burnt shell, and his indignation was great when he learnt that his brother James of Wamphray was present at the burning, a passive spectator on the English side. Revenge was to be expected, and Wamphray, unable to face it, submitted. But he was more lucky than Robert Scott. Wamphray was left to him, but he was stripped of all his other lands and possessions. He died a few years later, leaving a widow, Margaret M'Clellane, who spent the following twenty years in a continual struggle for her rights and those of her children. Allusion has already been made to her over the Kirklands. Undaunted, she resisted all comers. She was exposed to the venom of her brother-in-law, the Laird of Johnstone, who burnt her steadings and sacked and burnt the tower of Wamphray. When her barony officer went to collect her rents he was met with obstruction, insult, and violence, and was slain. Such were the pleasures of rent collecting in the 16th century. Even her eldest son turned against her and withheld her terce. Right down to her death (between 1591-3) she continued her litigations. There are few women of her station and her period of whom anything at all is known. Had it not been for her litigations nothing would have been known of Margaret; but what is recorded enables us to form a fairly true estimate of the indomitable character of this old lady.

Of Margaret's grandson, Robert Johnstone of Wam-

phray, one incident may be narrated. Succeeding in 1609 he was so impoverished and insecure in possession that he could only be a party to contracts as long as he was not compelled to leave Wamphray through the violence of thieves and broken men, which gives some insight into the lawlessness of the times. One evening on returning to his tower he was waylaid by some of his own retainers. He received a sword cut on the head and the personal indignity of " mony bla and bludie strykis with grite sipling treis." Fleeing to his tower, he was headed off and chased through the water of Wamphray into a wood called the Bighill Bank. The attack and the chase were seen from the tower, and his wife, though she had just been delivered of a child, most pluckily went to his assistance, only to be wounded in the head and hands. Such was the grit our mothers were made of in the past. Her granddaughter, Janet Johnstone, heiress of Wamphray, married a very remote cousin, William Johnstone of Sheens. Their descendants, flourishing to-day in Canada, have a valid claim to the Annandale peerage if it is open in the female line. Their son, Robert Johnstone of Wamphray, was a Jacobite, probably through the influence of his wife, Isabella, daughter of Lord Rollo, a notorious Jacobite. He joined Forster in the rush south that ended in the debacle at Preston. Taken prisoner there, he does not appear to have been brought to trial, escaping, it is alleged, from Carlisle prison and hiding in the Wamphray woods. His estate was forfeited, but ultimately restored. He died in 1733.

His testament gives us a good insight into the household furnishings of a Scottish Laird of the period. Probably owing to impoverishment most of the furnishings were old and dilapidated—" nine pair of old worn sheets, scarcely of any use, worth 5s "—" five coarse table cloths, very old, and full of holes, worth 10s 6d "—" ane old useless grate and tongs, worth 6d." For the rest, his belongings do not seem to have been overvalued. Boards or flagstones served for floors. The drawing-room was probably the room which boasted the only " old carpet." There seem to have been no curtains or hangings; a few chairs, tables, four looking glasses, one broken

and valued with an old table at 1s; a cabinet and chest of drawers, worth 10 guineas, and a number of feather beds comprised the heavier items of the household plenishings. Gauged by modern standards, the house must have been singularly devoid of comforts. Only articles of bare necessity and utility were to be found. Scotland has ever been a poor nation, but it is difficult in these days to realise how near the poverty line the proprietor of a Border Barony must have lived prior to the Parliamentary Union. Feather beds indeed were the principal furnishings just as they are to-day in every cottar's house. "A sowed old bed" hung with stripped worsted curtains—the only ones in the house—may have served for the principal guests. A "stripped" bed, a resting bed, a blue bed, an orange coloured bed, two other beds and a box bed worth 12s for the three, and three servants' beds at eighteenpence a-piece, completed the equipment. As one of them is valued with a corn chest, it is clear that two domestics were kept in the house and a man in the stable. In the stable were three horses, worth £5 10s. Seven cows, twenty-two sheep, and 40 lambs were the live stock. No poultry was kept, or perhaps no value attached to it. The kitchen was equipped with only the minimum of pots and pans, whilst the hardware for the dinner table must have been severely strained when guests came to Wamphray. Of bedroom hardware, ewers and basins, there is no mention. Sanitation was unknown, and cleanliness a neglected virtue. Such oblations as were called for, may have been performed in the washing tub (value 1s) hard by the house draw well. With silver, the table must have been fairly well provided. Weighing in all 132 ounces, valued at 5s an ounce, it included a tea service. The silver may well have been a patrimony from the comparatively affluent family of Sheens. Even at that period the house could boast of a weather glass. Unfortunately no description of it is given, but its valuation at 1s must make the modern bargain hunter's mouth water.

It is apparent that the laird did some modest farming on lands adjoining Leithenhall, which at his death were set at public roup. Part of this was arable, on which he grew oats

and barley. The rest was meadow and grazing. At his death some hay was stacked by the house, part of which was consumed by the horses of those who attended the funeral. Forty lambs and a score or so of sheep were grazed in the meadows, two being killed to entertain the mourners. The funeral wake must have brought every article of the dinner table into use. If personal clothes were scarce and towels unknown, there were at least table napkins in abundance. Eight dozen napkins seem a striking allowance, for only one dozen knives and ten forks. The number may have been necessitated by the table manners—or lack of table manners—of the period. It may have been during this Jacobite laird's tenure that the tower was forsaken and the mansion built. He had succeeded in 1701, and that year erected in his garden a sun-dial bearing that date, his name, and that of his wife, Isabella Rollo, and their respective coats-of-arms. When Leithenhall became uninhabited this sun-dial was acquired by a clockmaker in Moffat, and removed thence in 1898 to Ericstane, where it still stands. It is pleasant to think of Isabella Rollo from the neighbouring estate of Drumcrieff stepping forth from the newly built, if diminutive, mansion house, and walking through her old-time garden where amidst the rosemary and hollyhocks, surrounded perhaps by a hedge of lavender, stood the sun-dial emblem of her newly married happiness. Perchance her thoughts may have turned to an inscription on another famous sun-dial—

> Let others tell of storms and showers,
> I only count life's sunny hours.

Little could she have foreseen that the shadow of tragedy which clung to that site was to mar her happiness and turn her hours of sunshine into sorrow. Yet the malign fate that haunted the owners of Wamphray was to engulf her husband, and he, too, was to be forfeited as a traitor for rebellion.

The rest of the history of Wamphray can be told in a few words. The estate was sold by the Jacobite Laird's son, Colonel Robert Johnstone, in 1747, to John, Earl of Hopetoun, for £12,466 sterling, being 28 years' purchase of the free rent. The year's rent was £470, and the deductions

were £25 13s 2d for stipend, 7s 9d feu duty to the Crown, and half the schoolmaster's salary—the princely sum of £5 2s 9d. In 1803 Hopetoun's heir sold it to a West Indian planter named Stirling, who in 1810 sold it to William Fettes. Fettes can hardly have lived at Wamphray. He was an Edinburgh merchant and a successful speculator in landed property. The struggle with Napoleon was at its height and the values of everything were rising rapidly. Fettes was not the man to miss an opportunity of taking his profits, and sold it for £90,000 to Dr. John Rogerson, a Wamphray man, who had made a fortune as Imperial Physician at St. Petersburg. Rogerson's descendants sold it in recent years to the present proprietors of Castlemilk.

That in brief is the outline of the story of Wamphray Place, now called Leithenhall. Three civilisations have left their imprint on this site. The mote of the Norman has been partly quarried away, and he himself is as forgotten as his Norse precursor. The Tower where Margaret M'Clellane took refuge from her enemies was probably pulled down and used to build the mansion of Isabella. The mansion itself has disappeared, leaving only two gnarled ashes growing amidst its foundations to mark its site. Of the garden where Isabella blithely sang and moved nothing is to be seen, and where once she tended the lavender and old-time herbs, now only sheep nibble the close cropped turf. Only the sun-dial remains, but far from its original home.

Pereunt et imputantur:—They die and are forgotten, but forgotten only till someone should come to the deserted site and with understanding and insight laboriously reconstruct the story of this home of lost causes.

9th July, 1924.

Mull of Galloway.

Thirty-four persons left Dumfries for Stranraer by the eight o'clock train for this excursion, and were met there by Provost Dyer and other local gentlemen. Proceeding to Sandbed by char-a-banc, they were joined by Mr E. A.

Hornel; Dr. Selby, Portwilliam; and others; and at Kirkmadrine by Sir Edward MacTaggart Stewart; Mr Stair M'Harrie, factor to the Earl of Stair; and Mr Lawton, the factor to Mr M'Douall of Logan.

Mr R. C. Reid at the churchyard read a paper on "The Kirkmadrine Stones,"* and after inspecting these and the church, the whole party proceeded to Logan, where they were hospitably received by the Messrs M'Douall, and permitted to inspect the magnificent gardens and fish ponds, as well as the numerous relics at the house. Mr Reid contributed there an informative paper on the Logan Estate. Mr M. H. M'Kerrow proposed the thanks of the Society to the Messrs Logan. At St. Medan's Cave Mr Reid read notes on the subject. The inclemency of the weather prevented some of the party from completing the excursion to Glenluce Abbey. There the Rev. Mr Hill showed the visitors over the Abbey remains, and Mr Reid gave a short historical account of the establishment.

Logan Estate.

By Mr R. C. REID.

It has been stated that the early charters of Logan have been destroyed by fire, and that in 1504-5 a new Crown charter was obtained in their place (M'Kerlie, i., 40). This new infeftment was obtained, but on account of defects in the earlier charters, and not on account of their destruction by fire. It is therefore quite possible that earlier writs of the time when the Douglases held the Lordship of Galloway may still be in existence; and it is significant that the celebrated charter of the 13th century, known as the Logan Charter, is still in possession of the present proprietor. But it would appear that the M'Dowalls of Garthland owned the lands of Logan in 1295. It may therefore be that the Garthland family are the senior branch of this family, though no definite

* *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald,* 12th July, 1924.

documentary evidence has been produced to prove it. Suffice it to say, that the M'Dowalls are the most ancient family now in Galloway, and that their origin is lost in the misty ages that preceded Dervorgilla. Though their claim to be descended from the ancient native Lords of Galloway cannot be disproved, it cannot be satisfactorily established. Certainly in 1467 a Patrick M'Douall owned the Lordship of Logan (R.M.S., 1424-1513, 916), which may have belonged to his predecessors at a much earlier date, and to-day his direct descendant is still owner of the property and the generous host of this society. Nor has the family been backward in public activities. One laird fell at Flodden Field; others have represented their county in Parliament. With such a long and honourable lineage, one might expect there would be relics of antiquity in abundance in and about Logan House.

Little at any rate is left of previous residences. The mound on which I stand has been described as a mote of the Norman period, but its diminutive dimensions rather militate against such a suggestion. Still, it must be remembered that for many years—centuries, perhaps—it has been in the midst of a highly cultivated garden, and there is no knowing how much of it has been altered or carted away; but around its base there seems to be the remains of a narrow terrace, whilst hollows visible round about may indicate the previous existence of a ditch. At the far side of the garden will be found an ivy-covered fragment of the old Castle of Logan, said to have been burned down about 1500. Sufficient architectural features do not remain to enable one to dogmatise on its age, but it looks of later date, and may well have served the family for a century or more after that date. It must be remembered that there was little save the rafters in a 15th century house that would burn, and the lairds of Logan in 1500 are much more likely to have re-roofed their tower than built another. Inside the hall of the present mansion can be seen a bell, to which tradition supplies a history. The bell formerly was in use at the Parish Church of Kirkmaiden, and is said to have been previously used at the neighbouring castle of Clanyard. Now, Clanyard belonged

to a family named Gordon, descended from the Gordons of Kenmure. Tradition asserts that it had been brought by them from Kenmure, where it was used as a dinner bell. The bell is large and of very heavy weight, and one has some sympathy with the poor butler of Kenmure who had to lift and ring it at every meal! It was probably made and always used for ecclesiastical purposes. It bears a Latin inscription —Nicolas Ramsay, Lord of Dalhousie, hade me made, A.D. 1533—followed by "John Morrison," perhaps the maker's name. The bell has one curious feature. The lettering on it is of Roman type, early 16th century, but the d's, the l's, and the h's are of a much older Lombardic alphabet.

Other features of interest are the sundials and the magnificent door knocker on the garden gate—16th century Italian work. But the glory of Logan is undoubtedly the garden. But that I leave to Provost Arnott to describe.

St. Medan's Cave.

By Mr R. C. REID.

This cave, which for many centuries has been of its present diminutive size, must at one time have been of much larger proportions. When it was first inhabited in prehistoric times it must have extended forward so as to include the space occupied by the present ruined chapel. The action of the sea, of frost on the rock itself, has probably caused parts of the roof of the cave to fall in at different times. Even in St. Medan's time it may have been but little bigger than it is to-day. Though it is called after this fifth century saint, she was not its first inhabitant. Far back in the misty ages of the prehistoric period, some British cave dweller made this cave his habitation, and occupied it certainly for a long period. The cave was excavated in 1885, and the chapel in 1870, and probably everything that the spade can do to tell us its story has been brought to light. The excavation of the cave produced nothing definitely relating to St. Medan, but proved

that it had been inhabited by the same type of prehistoric race as inhabited the caves of England and the continent. Abundant charcoal, bones of the ox, sheep, pig, and red deer were found, as well as human remains. There was evidence, too, of the use of flint implements. But nothing was found to indicate the saint's presence.

Tragic Excavation.

The excavation of the chapel was a more tragic affair. It was found to be full of rubbish, mainly from the roof, which had long since fallen in. This rubbish was honeycombed with pits, the handiwork of treasure hunters. It appears that local tradition has associated some deposit of treasure here, all sorts of persons having tried their hands at it. The soldiers of the Ordnance Survey of 1844 had even tried their luck. It is recorded that a parishioner named Brown, having dreamt on successive nights that he had found the treasure, dug up the place indicated in his dreams, and actually found two silver coins of the 12th century. The excavation of 1870 cleared out this rubbish to the depth of six feet, but as far as treasure went its finds consisted of some William and Mary farthings and some halfpence of George III. and Victoria. It is therefore to be hoped that the fairy tale of treasure has been finally exploded. A few brass objects, perhaps mountings for a Bible, and a number of pieces of freestone, engrained with white glittering mica, were found, which on being pieced together formed an almost complete figure of a draped female with arms crossed on breast, two feet nine inches high, but wanting head and feet. It would be pleasing and not at all fanciful to conjecture that this figure was a representation of St. Medana, which at one time adorned her chapel. Unfortunately this excavation was incomplete on a Saturday night, and the explorers left everything in situ till the following Monday. But on the Sabbath a tragedy occurred. A band of evil-disposed persons, believed to have come from Stranraer, augmented by others from Kirkmaiden, invaded the chapel, smashed up everything they could, and threw all the "finds," including the laboriously reconstructed figure, into the sea. Perhaps the cupidity

of a treasure hunt may have been their motive, for they bailed out the adjoining wells, and may have found coins or objects of greater importance there. But the destruction they left behind them would indicate that malice was as much a motive as cupidity. That is the story of the excavations.

The remains of the chapel denote two different eras of building. The west wall, which covers the entrance to the cave, is of much older date than the rest of the building. Lime has not been used, the stones being bedded in clay. The topmost layers, however, appear to have been set in lime, and it would be of interest to ascertain by means of a ladder just where the join took place. At some much later date the rest of the chapel was built, lime being used in the construction. In 1822 the walls were practically entire. The door facing the sea had a rude Gothic arch, whilst the window was square topped. The height of the inner wall, some 20 feet, is much greater than is necessary or usual for such a structure, and it has been suggested that there was an upper apartment. Some stones protruding from the eastern face of the inner wall support this theory, and may have been the " tails " of a primitive stair which led to the upper chamber.

Holy Wells.

Some thirty yards away are the three holy wells associated with this chapel. They are natural hollows in the rock which have been enlarged by the action of the sea wearing away the softer parts of the rock. Indeed in the case of the largest one the rock has been somewhat like a hollow tooth, a small aperture leading to a large cavity. These so-called wells do not, of course, contain drinking water. They are filled by every tide. Formerly they had a great reputation for curing disease, no doubt derived from pre-Reformation times, but perhaps of far older origin. For they were believed to have been most efficacious on the first Sunday of May, still called Co' Sunday, or Cove (cave) Sunday, and it has been pointed out that the curative powers of the wells having been greatest at the time the sun was rising over the horizon would favour the supposition of their connection with sun worship. If these curative claims are older than

Christianity, it is obvious that the principal manifestation must have taken place on 1st May, a day associated with sun worship. When Christianity converted paganism its policy, wherever possible, was to annex the rites and celebrations of the older cults and adapt them in Christian garb to Christian purposes. It is therefore quite possible that when Christianity established itself in the Rhinns it would take over the wells with their curative powers intact, and ascribe their powers to the miraculous intervention of Christianity. The 1st of May not being convenient, the first Sunday in May would be substituted, and the cult of sun worship would be replaced by the cult of St. Medan. Such may be the story of these wells.

Legend of St. Medan.

Of St. Medan or St. Medana, who has given her name to this site, it is equally difficult to speak with any certitude. She is referred to in the Breviary of Aberdeen as "virgo et martyr." She was an Irish maiden, a devout Christian, who had taken upon herself a vow of perpetual chastity. Her life was to be dedicated to good works and her soul to God. Unfortunately for her vow she must have been a comely maiden, and her person if not her piety had found grace in the sight of a noble youth in Ireland. No doubt she felt that his attentions distracted her from her vow. Perhaps she may have thought that the weakness of the flesh might ultimately prevail on her to yield to his addresses. At anyrate she resolved on flight. Accompanied by only two handmaidens she embarked on a small boat and reached the upper parts of Galloway called the Rhinns, where she led a life of poverty and seclusion. The Breviary does not definitely say that she hid in a cave, but tradition asserts she did. But her lover was not to be thwarted by her flight. He pursued and sought her out. Seeing him approach, she and her two maids took refuge on a rock in the sea—a fact which emphasises the probability that she had been hiding in this cave. In answer to her prayer this rock was miraculously turned into a boat, in which she sailed to the land called Farnes, where her remains are stated now to repose. But her lover still pur-

sued, and Medana, to escape his embraces, climbed a tree, from which perch she asked — "What is it in me which excites your passion?" to which he answered, "Your face and eyes." Thereupon she plucked forth her eyes and threw them at his feet. Shocked and unnerved by such an act, the young man left her, and Medana descended to earth, washed her sightless sockets in a spring which miraculously sprang from the earth, ending her days in sanctity and poverty with the blessed Ninian. This legend contains all the inherent probabilities of truth, save the miracle of the rock turning into a boat. This is a miracle common to the story of several early saints, and may well be an accretion of a later age. Thus Sabina and her son, St. Cuthbert, crossed from Ireland to Portnerrock on a miraculous boulder two centuries later. It is perhaps permissible to conceive that Medana's boulder was a coracle pulled up on the rocks at the entrance to this cave where she lay hid, and that the place she fled to and lost her eyes was the present Kirkmaiden in Farnes, where now a chapel on the sea shore faces this cave on the other side of Glenluce Bay. These are the definite facts relating to this site. Once a cave where dwelt primitive sun worshipping man, later a refuge for a persecuted 5th century saint, it seems to have been turned into a simple chapel of the cell type by walling up the entrance to the cave. At a later date this was extended seawards by the addition of a chapel for worship, with a chamber above for the priest to dwell, the cave itself being in all probability a shrine for relics of the saint. Still later the Reformation terminated the worship and destroyed the shrine, shattering the figure of the saint which was found in fragments in a corner of the cave. Sun worshipper and saint, priest and custodian have long since gone their way, but the ruined chapel standing guard over the entrance to the cave and the holy wells are still here to remind the curious but not irreverent antiquarian of later centuries of their historic past.

The Logan Gardens.

By S. ARNOTT, F.R.H.S.

The gardens at Logan may be said to be unique in Scotland, although Wigtownshire and other western counties possess many which are noted for their mild climates and for the wonderful opportunities they offer for the cultivation of tender plants which cannot be attempted in other parts of Scotland and even in most of the English counties. Favourably as these others may be situated, Logan, with its more southerly situation and its natural advantages, is still more happily placed, and for many years the gardens there have enjoyed the advantage of being in the possession of owners who took a real interest in plant life. Mrs M'Douall for many years sought to beautify them, and in later years her sons, Mr Kenneth M'Douall, the present proprietor, and his brother, have devoted themselves largely to render them more and more beautiful. Much might be said about the artistic features of the gardens and the skilful employment of noble and more modest plants to create these attractions, but in a note such as this it is more fitting to write, although necessarily briefly and imperfectly, of some of the plants of various genera and species to be found at Logan, not generally met with in Scotland, together with some remarks upon others which have reached exceptional size or are more thriving than usual.

On the occasion of the Society's visit the members were greatly impressed by the great tree-like Rhododendrons which line the avenue on either side. Although then out of bloom, the writer, who has seen them in flower, is able to state that these huge trees are extraordinarily beautiful, with their wealth of great trusses of bright crimson flowers. They are understood to be among the earliest hybrids of R. Arboreum introduced into Scotland, and must have been at Logan for many years. They are truly superb. Another feature of Logan which excited the surprise of many was the aspect of the tall plants of Cordyline australis, which the unsophisticated spoke of as "Palms." Quite a number of

plants are grown, and these, twenty or more feet high, with their long bare trunks, terminated by a mass of sword-like leaves, were truly handsome. This Cordyline, which is a plant of the Lily family, is not rare in sheltered West of Scotland sea coast gardens, but at Logan it is of exceptional nobility. It flowers and fruits, and many seedlings have been raised from the Logan seeds.

A remarkable plant, which has been established for some time and is likely to do well, is a specimen of one of the wonderful tree Lobelias from Mount Ruwenzori in Africa. This remarkable plant grows to a height of ten feet or more in its native habitats, and produces a huge bottle-brush-like spike of flowers.

It is seldom also that we meet with good plants of the noble Chatham Island Forget-me-not, Myosotideum nobile, which, although not a true Forget-me-not or Myosotis, is closely allied to it. In the British Isles it is rarely seen to perfection except in some parts of Cornwall and Devonshire, but at Logan it does well with a little protection by means of straw in winter. Its noble glossy leaves and racemes of bright blue or white flowers are very fine.

Commonly grown under glass, a fine plant of one of the Brugmansias or Daturas, probably B. Knightii, was flowering on a wall, and only required a little winter protection. Its large cornucopica-like flowers are very fine.

The members were also greatly impressed by the Parrot's Claw, Clianthus Puniceus, in flower. Its clusters of glowing scarlet claw-like flowers on a handsome plant on a wall were exceedingly brilliant.

A plant of great novelty and rarity is a member of the genus Nemocharis, only recently introduced from China and Tibet by the late Mr Farrer, a few years ago. This rarely succeeds, even in the south of England in the open, but at Logan it not only produces its lovely drooping flowers, but seeds and sows itself. It is a bulbous plant of great beauty.

Perhaps one of the most striking features of Logan is the way in which Primula species have hybridised and produced such hosts of lovely flowers. Primula pulverulenta

has been one of the principal parents, but the progeny are most varied, and woods and borders are peopled by thousands upon thousands of these grand plants, which are increasing in number, variety, and beauty every year. In other parts of the garden are specimens of most of the new rarities of the Primrose race from China and other parts of the globe. Many of these are not to be seen elsewhere except under glass in Botanic Gardens or in special collections.

Reference has been made above to the great Rhododendrons in the avenue. Magnificent as these are, they have not the interest to many possessed by the others of the genus at Logan. The climate and soil seem exceptionally well adapted for their culture, and many of the best of the older hybrids, with some superb new ones, are flourishing. There are also many Himalayan, Chinese, and Thibetan species, ranging in colour from deepest purples, crimsons, bright scarlets, yellows, blushes, and whites, to some of the new lavender and blue species, some of which are only a few inches high. R. Hookeri is a remarkably fine species.

Such are a few of the more notable plants in the gardens at Logan, selected at random, as it were, to show what they embrace, but failing to give any real idea of the floral wealth they contain. It would be improper, however, not to notice the striking success of one of the Tree Ferns, Dicksonia antarctica, in various parts of the gardens and grounds. It is rarely seen so happy in this country except under glass, the only place in which it will stand our seasons in all but exceptionally mild districts in the United Kingdom, such as Cornwall. There are some 23 specimens at Logan, and many of these rival the finest to be seen in the Duchy, the most favoured spot in the British Isles for tender plants. The Fan Palm, Trachycarpus excelsus, also flourishes, but its success here is not so surprising.

Year by year Logan is growing in charm and interest. The Messrs M'Douall are true lovers of plants, and from all quarters procure any likely to establish themselves in this Eden-like Wigtownshire Garden. A little space only remains to give a general idea of these gardens. They are not by

any means conventional, so varied are they in their arrangements. There are broad borders filled with the taller herbaceous plants, such as Delphiniums, Phloxes, Heleniums, Rudbeckias, Lupins, and other well-known subjects, these borders being also stocked with early bulbs for bloom before the later subjects come into flower. There is a high-walled garden, where many good things flourish, among them being the grand Cordylines already mentioned, with the walls clad with rare and most beautiful climbers and shrubs. There is a charming rock garden, beautified by the presence of water, and the happy home of a countless variety of suitable plants, which only to enumerate would read like a nurseryman's catalogue. The soft yellow flowers of Roscoea cautiloides are evidence of its happiness, and it, like numerous other plants, such as Campanulas, Dianthuses, &c., sows itself freely and gives rise to a numerous progeny. A comparatively new feature is a "peat garden," designed to meet the wants of some fastidious plants and to endeavour to ascertain the preferences of others. This consists of a raised bed of peat soil, and many plants are thriving there with a luxuriant growth, which made many visitors wish they could follow out the method. Yet another special "garden" is the "gravel garden," where in a bed composed mainly of gravel and entirely surfaced with it plants which resent the wet winters of the South-west of Scotland have a chance of success—one which many of them appear to appreciate.

Unfortunately the time to spare in the gardens was much too short, as days would be required to enable anyone to form any adequate idea of the treasures and beauties of the place. There was only time for a glance at many features, including the water garden with its lovely Water Lilies, a glimpse of the hardy Fuchsias, Rhododendrons, and other shrubs in the woods. The thanks of the members are due to Mr Kenneth M'Douall and his brother for their courtesy. The gardens owe what they are to their enthusiasm and untiring energy, and they may have the satisfaction of knowing that they have been a great source of interest and pleasure to the members and their friends who were privileged to visit them.

18th July, 1924.

Buittle.

Thirty members attended this excursion, reaching Buittle Old Church about 2.30 p.m. There the Rev. J. M. Haddow acted as guide, and Mr R. C. Reid read a paper on the history of the establishment. The thanks of the company was voiced, and, proceeding to Buittle Old Castle, Mr Reid gave a clear description of the ruins and a historical account of the structure. The members also viewed the 16th century castle adjacent, now a farmhouse, before proceeding to Munches, where Mr W. J. H. Maxwell and his family hospitably entertained them. After tea Mr Maxwell guided the company through the plantation, pointing out various rare trees and shrubs. Among these were De Vidia from a remote part of China, also Japanese maple, pine and plum trees, Japanese larch sown in 1885, and Thuja pine and Sitka spruce. Ex-Provost Turner expressed the thanks of the company to their hosts, and the return journey was commenced. A halt was made at the Mote of Urr, where the company was met by Col. W. D. Young Herries of Spottes and the Rev. Dr. Frew of Urr. Mr Reid read a short paper on the general significance of motes, with particular reference to Urr, and the company was indebted to Dr. Frew for a brief exposition of his views and of the local legends. The Secretary thanked Dr. Frew for his kindness and address, and Mr John M'Burnie expressed the thanks of the company to Mr Reid for the careful and informed leadership he had given not only on this occasion but on all those held in the course of the summer.

Buittle Church.

By Mr R. C. REID.

The now roofless shell of this old Parish Church has a definite history that dates from the early 14th century. Its architectural details and the little that is known of the origin of parishes in the south-west of Scotland indicate a much

earlier date. Two distinct styles of architecture are visible, and it is obvious that the nave or narrower portion is of different date to the chancel. No very definite date can be assigned to the nave, which is the earlier portion, but the chancel can be more definitely dated. When the enlargement took place the east end of the original church was pulled down and a fine single pointed arch was substituted. Its fine simplicity of design and workmanship with chamfered mouldings and moulded caps and bases are characteristic of work belonging to the first half of the 14th century. Authorities tell us that this arch is evidently contemporary with the rest of the chancel. Early, therefore, in the 14th century the chancel was added. Why its particular dimensions were selected we do not know, but a church with a chancel wider than a nave is a most unusual feature. I need only refer to one or two other architectural features. The square headed doorway under the central light of the east end of the chancel is modern. No devout mediæval Catholic would ever have a door opening on to the back of the altar. The belfry at the west end of the nave cannot have belonged to the original church, and is probably of the 16th century. The window and doorway in the same gable show signs of reconstruction. That is all that is material which these walls tell us. In 1911 they could not even have told us that. For the whole fabric was smothered in ivy, and when Mr Curle visited it whilst compiling the inventory of monuments of the Stewartry, the ivy had to be torn back before the details of the windows could be seen. Since then the ivy has been destroyed, and the whole fabric cemented up. In its present condition, with its beautifully kept interior, it is the greatest credit to the heritors and minister.

A few notes on its history may be of interest. Prior to its donation to Sweetheart Abbey, the church was served by a rector. This in itself implies that it was the foundation of a private benefactor, who from the very nature of things must have been a local territorial magnate. Only someone so placed could have provided the necessary endowment. Now if the chancel is early 14th century the nave must be much

older. The chancel is of the Baliol period, the nave must be pre-Baliol. In other words, one of the early native Lords of Galloway must be credited with the foundation. The first known rector was Master Richard de Haveringe, who, like many of his ecclesiastical compeers, was a confirmed pluralist. Not satisfied with his living at Buittle, his precentorship of Dublin, and the rectory of two parishes in Coventry and Winchester, he was to be found in 1305 petitioning the Pope for an additional canonry of Lincoln. He was obviously a Baliol nominee, for he was the son of John de Haveringe, Seneschal of Gascony, where the Baliols originated and owned much property.* Master Richard was not, however, presented by King John Baliol, but by King Edward I., on 3rd January, 1297.† The next incumbent of whom we have note was Simon of Dre, which is believed to be a clerical error for Are (Ayr). Shortly before 1347 he resigned the living, probably by arrangement with the patron Edward Baliol, who is described as King of Scotland and Lord of Galloway. Baliol then proceeded to present the patronage of the living to the Abbot and Convent of Sweetheart. Formal Episcopal provision was required to complete the appropriation. Accordingly, within this edifice on the Feast of St. Luke, 18th October, in the year 1347, there was a great gathering of neighbours and prelates of the Church, for Simon, Bishop of Whithorn, was coming to complete the good work of Edward Baliol by issuing Episcopal letters of provision, whereby the tithes of the parish were to be vested in the Abbey of Sweetheart, while only the altar dues and half the meadow and common pasture of the rectory lands were to be retained for the provision of the vicar to be appointed by the Abbey to minister to the spiritual needs of the parish. The Abbots of Dundrenane, of Glenluce, and Tungland were present; the Abbot of Sweetheart was doubtless there as well, but as being the beneficiary of the donation it could not have been seemly for him to attest the proceedings. William de Kars, prior of Trayle, had also come from St. Mary's Isle; Master Patrick, the Archdeacon,

* *Papal Petitions*, II., 2 and 14.

† Stevenson, II., 161.

and Master Andrew, the Bishop's clerk, were in attendance; so, too, was John M'Cuffot (M'Guffok), rector of Gevilston (Gelston). Amongst the neighbours were two local knights, Sir Dougal M'Dowell and Sir Matthew M'Lolan (M'Lellan). Many other commoners were present, though only two are named, Gilbert, son of Gilbert M'Lellan, and Cuthbert M'Ilgrum. Within these precincts this concourse was gathered, and witnessed the formal issue by the Bishop of the necessary letters. To complete all in due course a Bull was issued by the Pope, confirming the appropriation and provision.*

It is not easy for us standing midst the quiet, peaceful beauty of this ruin to picture in our minds that gathering. The Bishop in all his Episcopal robes, crosier in hand, accompanied by incense-bearers and acolytes, would sit on one side of the altar, on which Master Andrew, the Bishop's clerk, was laboriously penning the Episcopal missive. Round him were gathered the mitred Abbots and the minor dignitaries of the Church, all in their full canonicals. In the body of the church may well have sat Edward Baliol, Lord of Galloway and soi-disant King of Scotland, accompanied by knights in armour, esquires, pages, and neighbours. In the background thronged the humbler sightseers, unrecorded in documented history. It is difficult to believe that this concourse could have found accommodation in the unenlarged church, which was this nave. The gathering was in 1347. The chancel dates from early 14th century. The dates are curiously close and the episode so significant that we may conjecture with every prospect of correctness that it was Edward Baliol who built this chancel and presented the enlarged church when complete to Sweetheart Abbey.

With the advent of the Douglases as Lords of Galloway all was changed. Exception must have been taken to the donation of Edward Baliol. In the eyes of the Douglases and of all patriotic Scots he was no King of Scotland, and even if he had acted as undisputed Lord of Galloway, it was only because Scotland was too exhausted to dispute it, and not

* *Papal Letters*, III., 396.

because Scotland accepted his right. The donation must therefore have been cancelled, which cannot have been pleasing to the Abbot and Convent of Sweetheart. This is the only construction to place on the meagre records we possess. When Baliol presented the church to the Abbey, the rector disappeared, for the Abbey community became *de lege* the rectors. Yet in 1371 reference occurs to the death of a rector of Buittle—one Maurice Macmorine—and to the presentation of Nicolas Irwyne to the rectory, much to the disgust of Matthew de Glendining, another priest who had hoped and litigated for the rectory. The papal Bull giving these details has not been published, and in abstract is as follows :—

1371, April 3.—Mandate from Pope [Gregory XI.] directed to the Prior of Lesmahago, of Glasgow diocese, to hear and decide a petition from the Abbot and Convent of the Monastery of Dalcecorde of the Cistercian Order, and from Mathew of Glendowyn, cleric of that diocese, narrating that the Abbot and Convent were the true patrons of the parish church of Botyl in the diocese of Candida Casa, and were in peaceful possession (*vel quasi*) of the right of presentation of a suitable person to that church; and that within the legal period had presented the aforesaid Mathew to the Bishop of Candida Casa for induction to that church, then vacant by the death of the late Maurice Marmorine, rector thereof: and that the Bishop had deferred admitting the said Mathew for the space of six months for no reasonable cause, and after the lapse of that period had conferred the church on Nicolas de Yruyn (Irving), priest of Glasgow diocese, to the great prejudice of the Abbey.—*M.S. Reg., Aven.*, v. 173, f. 336.

From other sources we learn Macmoryne's incumbency was most irregular. Ten years after his death it was stated that he had never even been ordained, and had only held it for a little more than a year. (*Papal Petitions* I. 556). Unfortunately, the result of the enquiry of the Prior of Lesmahago and his decreet are not recorded, and it is not known whether Nicolas de Irving or Mathew de Glendinning was presented to the church. If the former, then the parish missed having as its priest a remarkable man of his day; for Mathew de Glendinyng, after a distinguished University career at Paris, where he had graduated and been rector of that University, was elevated to the Bishopric of Glasgow in Feb. 1387-8 in succession to Cardinal Wardlaw. He was a brother of Sir

Adam Glendinyng of that ilk. Perhaps the Prior of Lesmahago decided against them both, for by 1381 one Donald Macyndoly, incumbent of Botyl, was reported as dead " so long ago that the living had lapsed to the Apostolic See." That year John Macbrenyn, perpetual chaplain in Dumfries, petitioned the Pope for the living of Botyl, stated to be void " in another way "—probably a reference to Macmoryn's irregularity. (*Papal Petitions* I. 556). But it is unlikely that Macbrenyn ever was inducted, for though the Pope granted his petition, other arrangements were being made by the Earls of Douglas, the new Lords of Galloway. In 1353 Sir Wm. Douglas, with the assistance of his kinsman, Archibald Douglas, conquered Galloway from the Balliols, and in 1357 was created Earl of Douglas. There can be little doubt that it was to the devastation of conquest that we owe this confusion of incumbents in Butill. Earl William must have had a grant of the superiority of Butill from the Scottish crown, for in a lengthy Papal Bull he is described as such. What actually happened to the rights of Sweetheart, to Butill Parish Church, is not clear, but by 1371 the living was once again in private patronage, and Balliol's donation to the Abbey was inoperative. The Abbey must have agitated against this deprivation, and the Earl agreed to put things right. William, Earl of Douglas, accordingly made another grant of the parish church to Sweetheart, in which it is stated that he and his " antecessors " had the right of presentation—clear proof that Balliol's grant was inoperative. The charter which is embodied in the Bull is nowhere else recorded, and runs as follows :—

Omnibus Christi fidelibus præsens scriptum visuris vel audituris. Willelmus comes de Douglas et dominus baronie de Botyll, salutem in Domino. Noverit(is) universitas vestra me dedisse concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et beate Marie de Dulcicorde et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et imperpetuum servituris, pro salute anime mee et anime Marjarete spouse mee et pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et pro anima bone memorie domini Jacobi de Douglas mei avanculi carissimi et pro salute omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum, advocacionem ecclesie de Botill, Candidecase diocesis, et totum jus patronatum cum suis pertinentiis quod habui vel

habere potui in eadem ad quam antecessores mei de jure presentarunt et ego similiter jus habui presentandi; ita quod nec ego nec heredes mei aliquod just vel clameum in advocatione ecclesie predicte ullo tempore exigere poterimus vel vendicare; et ego et heredes mei advocationem prefate ecclesie predictis monachis contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus ac quietabimus et defendemus imperpetuum; et ut ista donac(ion)is concessio et confirmacio robur perpetue firmitatis obtineant, presens scripum sigilli mei munimine roborati (numine roboravi ?), his testibus; venerabili patre domino Willelmo Abbate de Melros, domino Willelmo Abbate de Nobotill, domino Egidio Abbate de Dundraynane, domino Willelmo de Douglas seniore, domino Willelmo Bally, militibus, Johanne filio Willelmi constabulario nostro de Douglas, John M'Myryne cum aliis.—*M.S.*, xlvii., *Reg Aven.*, f. 226, verso 296.

The next step of the Abbey was to secure from Thomas, Bishop of Whithorn, his Episcopal letters of provision and then papal confirmation on 18th October, 1381 (Vatican Transcripts at Register House, I., p. 208). This confirmation from Pope Clement VII. narrates that Bishop Thomas submitted a petition in favour of the Abbey, which stated that the church, hospitium, and all the other buildings of the Abbey had been accidentally destroyed by fire*—elsewhere stated to have been caused by lightning.† Further, Donald Macindoly is definitely described as Rector, and must have been presented by the Earl of Douglas.

Earl William died in 1384, and was succeeded in his Earldom and the barony of Buittle by his kinsman, Archibald Douglas, who in 1367 had been created Lord of Galloway. Indeed from 1367-1384 Earl William must have held the barony from Archibald as his superior.

On the death of William, who seems to have taken little interest in his Galloway barony, the Abbey seems to have considered it necessary to have the gift of the presentation confirmed by Archibald, who spent most of his time in Gallo-

* "*Edificia ipsius feurunt ignis incendio casualiter combusta,*" so says the entry in the papal registers. But the actual Bull is still in existence, and is printed *in extenso* in *Book of Carlaverock*, vol. ii., p. 426. It is substantially the same as the register, save that it states that the Abbey was "*ex fulgure aeris totaliter combusti.*"

† *Book of Carlaverock*, ii., 426.

way, and seems to have restored the Abbey, for he is described as *ejusdem monasterii fundatore ac reformatore.*

Accordingly on 23rd August, 1397, Archibald Douglas gave the Abbey a charter of the right of presentation.* Finally the charter of Earl William, the provision of Bishop Thomas and the confirmation of Pope Clement, along with the charter of Archibald, were confirmed by Pope Benedict XIII. (1413-24) in a lengthy Bull, in which they are all recited at length. Thus was the Abbey endowed with the parish church of Buittle till the Reformation, when Dom. John Parker, vicar pensioner of Buittle, in March, 1577, feued half of the ecclesiastical lands of his vicarage, amounting to a 10s land. (R.M.S., 1580-93, 1286.)

Of the interior of the building when worship was held here we, of course, know nothing. But the Presbytery minutes of March, 1737, tell us how the seating was arranged at that date. Indeed a plan of the seating was made from the records and published in the parish magazine of May, 1916. Such is an outline of the history of this church. Till early in the nineteenth century it has been used for Christian worship. The present kirk was then built, the roof taken off this fabric which was allowed to decay till within the last few years a more enlightened appreciation of its beauty and interest has caused it to be cared for as an object of reverence and regard.

Supplementing Mr Reid's remarks, the Rev. Mr Haddow said the late minister of the parish put the date of the church as 1175, and the questions of why the chancel was wider than the nave and why there was a door in the north wall had been suggested by Dr. Cooper as being due to the church's association with Sweetheart Abbey. Prior to that date it was probably big enough, but when it became vested in Sweetheart Abbey the chancel would probably have to be widened and stalls let in to accommodate the monks at their devotions. Mr Haddow further explained that the church was dedicated to St. Ninian, and just over

* Printed in *Book of Carlaverock,* ii.. 427. Curiously it contains no mention of Earl William's grant.

the churchyard wall was St. Colmonel's Well. The field near the church was still known as the Meikle Kirkholm.

Buittle Castle.

By Mr R. C. REID.

The ruined remains amidst which we stand are all that is left of the once powerful castle of Buittle. In the development of defensive architecture, castles such as this once was occupy the first stage of the evolution of the stone castle in Scotland, its immediate precursor being the wooden residence or tower that surmounted the mote-hill. This evolutionary stage was a very great advance on its forerunner. Like the mote, it was of foreign extraction, and is known to architecture as the Edwardian Castle. In England, where the art of castle building was early developed, there was an intermediate stage which, however, does not seem to have been introduced into Scotland. The main features of the Edwardian Castle consisted of a high surrounding wall, called a curtain wall, usually square or triangular in plan, with large round towers in the corners with an entrance gateway between two such towers. To economise in towers the triangular plan was adopted, two towers being placed in an angle covering the gate as in the case of Caerlaverock, our best-known local example. These towers protruded beyond the curtain walls, so that the defenders within the security of the towers could enfilade an enemy attacking the far weaker curtain wall.

These features—curtain walls with round towers in the corners—are all to be found on this site, though I admit they are not very obvious to a casual glance. It is, for instance, not very clear how many towers there were. The site is not a triangle. It has four corners, and sides of unequal length. In the shortest side, towards the north-east, is the gateway which once was flanked on either side by massive round towers, of which only the foundations remain. The gateway is not in the middle of this short

side, but is built up against one of the corner towers—a design which must have given the castle rather a lop-sided appearance. In this respect it must have been of far less imposing appearance than Caerlaverock or Kirkcudbright, which date from the same period, and both of which have the gateway between two towers in an angle of the triangle. The principal feature of the remaining masonry is the abutment for a drawbridge, with side walls six feet thick. Behind this runs a passage at right angles which connected the two towers on either side of the gateway. The footway of the passage was probably at a much lower level than at present. At a level with the gateway, probably both towers were entered through arches, one of which still remains. It shows us that the towers were nine feet thick. This, the best bit of masonry left, stands now twelve feet above the courtyard, but it is impossible to say how high the towers may have originally stood.

In all, there seem to have been five towers, but from what remains it is difficult to speak with certitude. There is nothing to show that there were any buildings within the courtyard, though probably there were wooden hutments built up against the curtain walls where the rank and file of the garrison lived and the horses were stabled. Such indeed is the natural development from the central idea of the Norman mote, where the Norman lived in his elevated wooden tower, and his retainers dwelt in the stockade forecourt below. But in the case of the stone castle the Norman's descendant lived in the stone double-gate towers, which as at Caerlaverock and elsewhere were the dwelling place in peace and final refuge in attack. So on either side and above this gateway we should look for an example of the earliest form of stone built residence in Scotland. Unfortunately, time and the quarrying hands of man have deprived us of almost all idea of what it must have looked like. The remaining towers—there were probably three—would be of much smaller dimensions, and be used for store houses, the reception of prisoners, and the like. Their main function was one of defence. Near the south-east corner is the

castle well, made of well-built masonry. I am told by the present tenant of the farm that its contents have been thoroughly investigated in the past. As far as can be judged it must have lain only just inside the curtain wall—rather perilously close to external attack. Outside the curtain wall was a deep ditch which must have been filled with water, probably from a spring adjoining the present roadway.

Tradition asserts that Buittle Castle was a most imposing place, with a large open courtyard in front of it. It is possible that on the far side of the drawbridge such a courtyard once existed. There are indications that it has been artificially levelled, and its sides scarped, making a triangle of about 2½ acres. On this piece of land the plough has brought to light large flat paving stones, and harvesting is now taking place where once may have been held tourneys of the Knights of old. From what remains of it, we may definitely say that Buittle is a thirteenth century castle. It is very doubtful if it was inhabited far into the following centuries. Had that been the case, we should have expected some signs of the foundations within it of stone buildings erected up against the curtain walls. History, too, would point to the same conclusion. With less certainty can its builder be named. Barnard Castle in Yorkshire presents some kindred features to Buittle. Not till the date of Barnard Castle has been ascertained can a date or builder be assigned to Buittle. John Baliol, the descendant of Normans settled in Teesdale, was the first to be designed of Barnard Castle. He therefore presumably built it.* He married Dervorgilla, one of the heiresses of Alan, last native Lord of Galloway, and with her received a large share of Galloway, including Buittle. Now, there is no evidence known to me to show that Alan had anything to do with Buittle, or that he ever lived there or built it. It is true that Alan. though a native Lord of Galloway, was thoroughly Normanised. As Constable of Scotland, he was frequently on his Sovereign's business in England, and was present in 1215 at Runnymede at the signing of Magna Charta. It is

* It is usually held, however, that Barnard Castle was the work of Bernard de Baliol.

therefore almost inconceivable that he could have contented himself in his province of Galloway with any type of residence other than a stone castle with curtain walls with which he was familiar in England, and which were beginning to be erected in Scotland. Still, he cannot be directly associated with Buittle. Alan died in 1234, and in the absence of adequate evidence we must date this castle of Buittle in the period succeeding his death. It is natural that John Baliol succeeding, in right of his wife, to Galloway east of the Cree, should erect a castle in a central position of his new domain, and it is significant that the earliest references to it should occur during his and his wife's occupation of the castle. John Baliol died in 1269, and his widow, the Lady Dervorgilla, undoubtedly continued to reside at Buittle Castle. It was probably from there that she signed the original charter of foundation of Sweetheart Abbey in 1273 in memory of her husband, § and she was certainly there when she signed in 1282 the statutes of Baliol College, founded and endowed by her with the same object. She died in 1289, being succeeded by her son, John Baliol, who for three brief years was King of Scotland. Being a man of spirit, he rebelled against the pretensions of over lordship put forward by Edward I., was defeated at Dunbar in April, 1296, and abdicated in July, retiring to the Continent. Edward now had Scotland at his feet.

The castles of Buittle, Wigtown, Cruggelton, and Ayr were at once placed in the keeping of an English Knight—Henry de Percy,* who was succeeded in 1297 by John of Hodelston.† But otherwise Edward does not seem to have granted the lands of Buittle to anyone till after Falkirk (1298). To Sir Alexander Baliol of Cavers, a distant relative of Dervorgilla's son, and a staunch adherent of the English, Edward granted Kirkpatrick-Durham. To Sir John St. John he granted Buittle and other lands. Now Kirkpatrick-Durham was held in chief of Buittle, and St. John claimed it as escheat. Sir Alexander Baliol, who had received a prior

§ *Laing Charters*, 46.

* *Rot. Scot.*, i., 31a.

† *Ibid.*, 46a, 47a.

grant and sasine, resisted and appealed to Edward in 1304. Sir John St. John, in addition to possessing the lands of Buittle, was in charge of the castle,* and in 1310 there is record of one William Moderbenison receiving 4s 6d from the wardrobe for carrying thither King's letters.† But by this time Buittle Castle was in a parlous plight. The "Hammer of the Scots" was dead and the tide of Scottish independence had turned.

In 1308 Edward Bruce invaded Galloway in company with Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Boyd. They are said by Barbour to have captured 13 castles. The remnants of the English forces in Galloway retired to Buittle, the owner and keeper of which, Sir John St. John, hastened to England to raise help. He returned within a few months with "of armed men a great company."§ And well he needed them. By July, 1312, Bruce had rid the north of the English, and news from an English spy in Dumfries reached England to the effect that at a Parliament held at Ayr Bruce had decided to send his brother Edward to raid England, whilst he himself attacked Buittle, Dalswinton, and Caerlaverock. This programme was literally fulfilled, for Fordun tells us that by March, 1313, "Buittle, Dumfries, and Dalswinton, with many other strongholds, were taken with the strong band and levelled to the ground." The results of that levelling you may perhaps see around you here, for I can find no conclusive evidence that the castle was re-built. Like the castles of Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, and Dumfries, and many others, which might be named, though mentioned as sites at later date, yet as edifices for residence or defence, few indeed seem to have survived the deliberate and destructive policy of Robert Bruce.

A few more references to the castle occur, but only one —a doubtful one—can be taken to imply a residence. Reference has been made to the part that Sir James Douglas took in helping Edward Bruce to clear the English out of Gallo-

* In 1309 (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 80a).

† *Bain*, iii 238.

§ *Barbour*, ix., 541.

way. Both received their reward. In 1308 Edward Bruce became Lord of Galloway, and on 3rd February, 1324-25, King Robert granted to Sir James Douglas all the lands of Botle, that is the whole parish except Corbetton and the lands of Gilbert MacGiblechyn. Later in the charter the lands are described as the Barony of Botel.* Through his descendants, the Douglases of Dalkeith, Earls of Mortoun, possession of the barony can be traced. The barony would be held of the immediate superior —the Lords of Galloway. Now Edward Bruce was Lord of Galloway till his death at Dundalk in 1318. He only left illegitimate issue, who did not inherit the Lordship, which must have reverted nominally to the Crown—in reality to the Baliols. In 1332 Edward Baliol, grandson of Dervorgilla, supported by Edward III. of England, was declared King of Scotland, but after a reign of eleven weeks fled ignominiously. He is said to have fled from Annan in such a hurry as to have left most of his clothes behind. He is said to have retired to France, and nothing is known of him. Now, he did nothing of the sort, and these notes if they are of no other merit will be of some use at least if only they establish that till nigh his death he ruled in Galloway as Lord of Galloway and King of Scotland in name if not in reality. He must have taken refuge in Galloway since, for at least a generation, both Dumfriesshire and Galloway were virtually a part of England. Edward Baliol till his death in 1363 maintained the outward assumptions of Kingship. Such of his charters as exist commence :—" Edward, by the grace of God, King of Scots and Lord of Galloway. . . ." Though a puppet King, he seems to have been a real Lord of Galloway, his charters being attested by such well known surnames as M'Dowell, M'Culloch, M'Clellan, Mowbray, Rerik (of Dalbeattie), and the like.† Two of these charters are dated " at his castle of Bottel " (1352), but the others are dated " at the Isle of Estholme " (1348 and 1347).

At the death of Edward Baliol a determined attempt was

* *Reg. Hon. Morton,* ii., 23-4.

† *Bain,* iii., 1578.

made to eject the English influence in Galloway, and in recognition of his successful effort Archibald Douglas, the Grim, was created Lord of Galloway (1369). Now, if Edward Baliol had re-built Buittle, Douglas would not have destroyed it, as it would have formed a useful stronghold, and would have obviated the necessity of his building Threave Castle. We must therefore assume that Edward Baliol had his residence on the Isle of Estholme, which has been identified as Hestan, and that his charters dated at the castle of Botel were granted on or near that site.

Of all the dark pages of Galloway history, the half-century that succeeded Bannockburn is the darkest. Bruce granted much of it to his supporters, but no sooner was he dead than the Baliol and English influences revived. What happened in Galloway whilst Edward Baliol reigned there as Lord of Galloway and nominal King of Scotland we do not know. No historian has ever probed the obscurities of that period. Neither do we know how Archibald Douglas, the Grim, subjugated it. But it must have involved fierce fighting and wanton destruction, for at least three abbeys suffered serious destruction, which at a later date Archibald repaired. Indeed his reputation for munificence to the Church and much of his reputed piety is doubtless derived from his efforts to repair the devastation he had caused to that indispensable factor of mediæval civilisation, the Church. But the period of the Baliol influence in Galloway still awaits its historian.

When the Douglas Lords of Galloway were forfeited, the superiority of Buittle reverted to the Crown. But that made no difference to the Douglases of Dalkeith, who held the barony in property, for payment of a silver penny yearly at the chief place (*capitalem locum*) of the barony. Had the castle been anything but a ruin it would have been described as such, and not as a "locus."

The Douglases of Dalkeith in due course became the Earls of Morton. The third Earl died without issue, leaving three daughters, the second of whom was married to Robert, 6th Lord Maxwell. The 3rd Earl settled his estate and Earldom on his third daughter, wife of the famous Regent, who

was beheaded in 1581, when Lord Maxwell secured the baronies of Preston and Buittle. Buittle Castle has remained ever since in the hands of the Maxwell family, the direct descendant of Robert Lord Maxwell in the person of Mr Herries Maxwell of Munches, being the present proprietor.

Mote of Urr.

By Mr R. C. REID.

This Society within the last two years has visited quite a number of motes, and my reason for bringing you to examine another is because the Mote of Urr is by general consent considered the best and finest example of its kind in this country. Not only is it the largest known to me, but it contains in complete preservation all the features that are characteristic of the true mote. In type, it has been laid out according to the standard ideas of the time—an exceptionally large forecourt surrounded with the usual fosse and mound, and surmounted at one end by a steeply scarped and partially artificial mount, itself cut off from the forecourt by a ditch of formidable proportions and depth. As a defensive site it must be almost unique, for it was originally an island surrounded by the river on all sides. Now that the Society is visiting this important earthwork, it is only fitting that a short statement should be made as to the origin, significance, and uses of these motes. There was a time about a century ago, before archæology became a science, when some speculators used to think this type of earthwork was of Roman origin. Everything of unknown quantity in those days—and still, I regret to say, sometimes in these days—was ascribed to the Romans. But now we know enough about the Romans, their works and methods, to prevent us making such foolish assertions. When the Roman bogey was laid, these motes were promptly ascribed to Celtic or ancient British origins. But the authors of this speculation had omitted to read Cæsar's *De Bello Gallico*, or his account of his invasion of Britain. For Cæsar goes out of his way to describe the forti-

fications of the peoples he conquered in these wars, and nowhere does he describe anything like a mote. But even that did not daunt the idle speculator, for there is nothing more pleasing or unprofitable than guess-work. Imaginative efforts are much easier and vastly more entertaining than honest and laborious research work. So at once the baffled speculator set to work afresh, and ascribed these motes either to the Danes and Scandinavians or to the Anglo-Saxons. But these theories, too, do not survive historical examination. If motes are of Danish or Scandinavian origin, one would expect to find them in profusion in Denmark or other Scandinavian countries. But I am assured by those who know these countries that motes do not exist there. As to the Anglo-Saxon theory, we now know that they set little faith in earthworks, and that not till the ninth century, when the inroads of the Danes commenced, did they turn their attention to fortifications. Such structures are only erected by people on the defensive. In that century the Saxons began to erect "burhs," derived from the old Teutonic word "bergan," "to shelter," whence is our modern word "burgh." Now we know all about these Saxon Burhs, because wherever the construction of one is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* there is no mound mentioned such as we have here. The Saxons, in matters pertaining to war, were not original and were incapable of introducing a new type of fortification of their own design.

Who, then, were the builders of these motes? Speculation has almost exhausted itself. If not the work of Roman or Saxon, why not of the devil? But there is no need to invoke that gentleman's assistance; modern archæology can provide an answer that is convincing and final. Who were the people who erected these earthworks all over England and Wales, in Scotland only in the Lowlands, in Ireland only in the Irish Pale, in Sicily, in Italy a few, and in northern France in abundance? Why are motes not to be found in the lands whence came the Saxons and Danes, or in those parts of Ireland and Scotland to which the Normans never penetrated? Why are motes so distributed in Britain as to be

intended not to defend a frontier but to overawe a locality? They bespeak a people who were mighty workers in earth, few in numbers, and settling in hostile country. There can now be no doubt that they were introduced by the Normans. In many cases in England they can be identified with fortresses of the erection of which documentary evidence exists. Their simplest and probably earliest form was a simple mount with a ditch around it. The sides were made as steep as possible and its summit level. On the summit stood a timber built tower, the archetype of the later keep of stone. It is recorded that William the Conqueror brought over to England with him two such wooden towers, doubtless in portable sections, and a contemporary illustration of the erection of one of these motes is preserved in the famous Bayeux tapestry in Normandy to this day. Round the edge of the platform was a stockade of timber. There are never any signs of egress, which was effected by a narrow wooden bridge let down from the summit and spanning the ditch, where a second earth rampart, also stockaded, encircled the mound. Such a mote is to be seen at Parton. The next development was to supply defended accommodation for the followers, and a base court was provided, also surrounded by ditch and stockaded rampart adjoining the mote, so arranged that the mote was part of the enceinte of the whole. Later again, as in this example, the mote became a separate entity within the enceinte. Entrance through the enceinte was obtained through a defended gateway. In the Mote of Urr this gateway is clearly marked on the western side. It is possible, too, that there was an entrance on the south-east, a mound outside the enceinte perhaps indicating that the trench was bridged there by a wooden bridge. The rampart, however, at this spot has been broken down in modern times for the purposes of husbandry, and it is risky to dogmatise. To the Normans, then, we can safely ascribe this earthwork. Unfortunately we can name no Norman as its builder. But it is known that the last two native Lords of Galloway, Roland (1174-1200) and Alan (1200-1234) were impregnated with Norman education and ideals, and were instrumental in

introducing Norman settlers in Galloway. The Mote of Urr is no residence of a Norman settler. Its size and dimensions rule out such possibility. It is rather the castle of a local princeling imbued with Norman ideas and erected on the Norman model. Perhaps here early in the 12th century may have resided Roland and Alan, Lords of Galloway.

Abstract of Accounts

For Year ending 30th September, 1924.

I.—ON ACCOUNT OF CAPITAL.

Sum Invested at close of last Account ..	£278 17 6	
One Life Member's Subscription	5 0 0	
		£283 17 6

II.—ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

CHARGE.

1. Balance from last Account	£126 0 11	
2. Annual Subscriptions	100 15 0	
3 Interest on Investments	16 2 6	
4. *Transactions* sold and Donations ..	10 1 3	
5. " Notes on Birds of Dumfriesshire "	26 10 5	
		£279 10 1

DISCHARGE.

1. Rent and Insurance	£13 6 0	
2. Books Bought and Cost of *Transactions*	133 17 0	
3. Advertising and Stationery	21 6 6	
4. Miscellaneous	12 4 10	
5. " Notes on Birds of Dumfriesshire "	29 6 0	
6. Transferred to Branch III.	10 1 3	
		220 1 7
		£59 8 6

III.—DONATIONS TOWARDS PUBLICATION OF *TRANSACTIONS.*

1. Sum at close of last Account	£122 15 6	
2. Sum transferred from Revenue ..	10 1 3	
		£132 16 9

Presentations.

14th December, 1923.—Major Keswick of Cowhill—Pottery, glass, etc., found during the excavation of the site of Holywood Abbey, and the architect's plan of the excavations in 1922.

R. C. Hastings, Dumfries—Coin found in the allotments at Portland Place, Maxwelltown. This was a medal commemorating the visit of George IV. to Scotland in 1822, bearing a head of George IV. on the one side, and on the other a thistle with the words, "Visit to Scotland, August, 1822."

Mrs Kennish, Winslow, Berks.—A piece of soapstone obtained at Sweetheart Abbey in 1861 or 1862 by Dr W. E. G. C. Dickson, her father, measuring $2\frac{9}{10}$ by $3\frac{9}{10}$ by ¼ inch thick. On one side, deeply incised, was a hand holding a dagger, round which was twined a serpent, the sleeve of the arm bearing ruffles. A scroll encircles the carving, bearing the words: "there is nothing unpossoble to faith and Curadg."

1st February, 1924.—Mr J. A. M'Callum, Dumfries—Stone axe found on a rubbish heap at Dumfries Railway Station. The axe had suffered considerable damage, being broken at both ends.

List of Members of the Society.

(Revised to September 15th, 1925.)

LIFE MEMBERS.

Bedford, Her Grace the Duchess of, Woburn Abbey, Woburn, Bedfordshire 24/1/19
Brown, William, of Netherlaw, Castle-Douglas 1919
Carruthers, Dr G. J. R., 4 Melville Street, Edinburgh.
Easterbrook, Dr C. C., Crichton Royal Institution 20/3/08
Fraser, Thomas, Maxwell Knowe, Dalbeattie 2/3/88
Gladstone, H. S., of Capenoch, Thornhill 15/7/05
Gladstone, Mrs, of Capenoch, Thornhill 18/6/24
Gladstone, Robert, M.A., B.C.L., The Atheneum, Church Street, Liverpool 12/4/12
Glendyne, Lord, Branch Hill Lodge, Hampstead 25/10/28
Hornel, A. E., Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.
Irving, William, 73 English Street, Dumfries 25/10/18
Keswick, Henry, of Cowhill Tower, Holywood 12/4/12
Lang, John, of Lannhall, Tynron, Thornhill 12/4/12
Maxwell, Wm. J. Herries, of Munches 1/10/86
Muir, James, Appleby, Whithorn 25/6/25
Pickering, R. Y., of Conheath, Dumfries 22/3/18
Pickering, Mrs, Conheath, Dumfries 22/3/18
Younger, Sir Wm., Bart., of Auchencastle 26/4/12

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Arnott, S., F.R.H.S., Fernlea, Dumfries 5/2/93
Baker, J. G., F.R.S., F.L.S., V.M.H., 3 Cumberland Road, Kew 2/5/90
Black, Dr George F., New York Public Library 1883
Carruthers, Wm., F.R.S., 14 Vermont Road, Norwood, S.E.
Collingwood, W. G., Lanehead, Coniston, Lancashire ... 24/10/19
Shirley, G. W., Ewart Public Library, Dumfries 28/10/04
Shirley, Mrs, Lanerick, Kingholm Road, Dumfries 23/11/17
Wilson, Jos., Liverpool 29/6/88

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Bryce, Professor Thomas H., M.A., M.D., F.R.S.E., F.S.A.Scot., 2 The College, Glasgow (Member of Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments).
Borthwick, Dr A. W., B.Sc., Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh.
Curle, James, W.S., F.S.A.Scot., Priorwood, Melrose.
Gregory, Professor J. W., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.R.S.E., F.G.S., M.I.M.M., Professor of Geology, Glasgow University.
Holmes, Professor E. M., F.L.S., F.R.B.S., Edinburgh and London, F.R.H.S., 17 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.
Johnstone, R. B., Hon. Secretary and Editor, Andersonian Naturalists' Society, 17 Cambridge Drive, Glasgow.
Lewis, F. J., F.L.S., Department of Biology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

Macdonald, Dr George, M.A., LL.D., 17 Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh.
Reid, Clement, F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., One Acre, Milford-on-Sea, Hants.
Scott-Keltie, J., LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., Secretary Royal Geographical Society, Hon. Member Royal Scottish Geographical Society, 1 Saville Row, Burlington Gardens, London, W.
Smith, Miss Annie Lorraine, B.Sc., F.L.S., Botanical Department, British Museum, 20 Talgarth Road, West Kensington, London, W.
Watt, Andrew, M.A., F.R.S.E., Edinburgh.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Abercromby, Miss, c/o R. C. Reid, Ruthwell 7/7/24
Adams, Percy, Woore Manor, Crewe 22/2/18
Agnew, Sir A. N., Bart. of Lochnaw, Stranraer 9/1/91
Aitken, Miss M. Carlyle, 2 Dunbar Terrace, Dumfries ... 1/6/83
Andrews, Miss, Education Office, Dumfries 13/6/25
Anderson, John, "The County Times," Welshpool 26/4/12
Arnot, Col., Wyseby, Kirtlebridge, by Lockerbie 16/2/23
Armstrong, Robert, Stanley Villa, Dumfries 31/11/19
Ballantyne, J. D., Council School, Faversham 15/10/20
Baird, John, Schoolmaster, Portpatrick 7/7/24
Barker, John, Uplands, Dumfries 23/9/05
Bartholomew, J., Glenorchard, Torrance, Glasgow 21/10/10
Bedford, His Grace the Duke of, Woburn Abbey 7/2/08
Bell, Arthur, Hillside, Langholm 16/2/12
Bell, Mrs J. H., Seaforth, Annan 12/3/20
Birrell, Adam, Park Crescent, Creetown 25/6/25
Black, Wallace, 62 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries 12/11/20
Black, Wm., Craigs Road, Dumfries 12/11/20
Blacklock, J. E., Broombank, Annan Road, Dumfries ... 8/5/96
Borland, John, Auchencairn, Closeburn 7/9/95
Bowie, J. M., Croft Hill, Dalbeattie Road, Maxwelltown 15/12/05
Brook, Charles, of Kinmount, Annan 12/4/12
Brown, H. J., 4 Trafalgar Square, London 9/6/13
Brown, Joseph, Loreburn Park, Dumfries 15/10/20
Brown, Stephen, Borland, Lockerbie 10/6/99
Brown, T. M., Kirkbrae, New-Galloway 6/8/91
Browne, Sir James Crichton, Crindau, Dumfries 3/9/92
Bryson, Alex., Castramont, Maxwelltown 5/2/91
Buccleuch, His Grace the Duke of, Dalkeith House 12/4/12
Burnett, Dr T. R., Education Office, Dumfries 15/10/20
Campbell, Rev. J. M., D.D., St Michael's Manse, Dumfries 15/12/07
Carruthers, J. B., Annandale, Kingston, Ontario 21/3/19
Carruthers, J. J., Park House, Southwick-on-Weir, Sunderland ..... /10/09
Carruthers, Lieut.-Colonel F. J., Dormont Grange, Lockerbie 29/11/12
Cassillis, The Earl, c/o E. A. & F. Hunter, W.S., 7 York Place, Edinburgh 12/4/12
Coats, W. A., Dalscairth, Dumfries 18/9/96
Collie, Lady, 22 Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, London, W. 2 ..... 25/1/18
Collins, H. A., Mabie 25/6/25

Cormack, David, Solicitor, Lockerbie 21/2/13
Corrie, John, F.S.A.Scot., Burnbank, Moniaive 6/8/87
Corrie, John M., F.S.A.Scot., Ancient Monuments Commission, Edinburgh 4/10/07
Cossar, Thomas, Craignea, Maxwelltown 15/5/14
Cuthbertson, Wm., "Observer" Office, Annan 12/3/20
Cuthbert, John Bell, Schoolhouse, Kirkcowan 7/7/24
Dalrymple, The Hon. Hew, Lochinch, Castle-Kennedy... 12/4/12
Davidson, James, F.S.A.Scot., Summerville, Maxwelltown 3/11/76
Dickson, C. W., Friars' Carse, Auldgirth 12/4/12
Dickson, W. E. G. C., Station Hotel, Dumfries 25/10/18
Dickson, Miss, Victoria Road, Maxwelltown.
Dinwiddie, R., Overton, Moffat Road, Dumfries 9/3/83
Dinwiddie, W., Craigallan, Moffat Road, Dumfries ... 12/11/20
Downie, Miss, Violet Bank, Annan 12/3/20
Drummond, J. G., Bank House, Maxwelltown 17/11/05
Dudgeon, Randolph C., of Cargenholm, Dumfries 19/1/12
Duncan, J. Bryce, of Newlands, Dumfries 20/12/07
Duncan, Mrs, Newlands, Dumfries 20/12/07
Dyer, Henry, Rosebank Lodge, Bankend Road, Dumfries 23/11/17
Dyer, Provost, Stranraer 7/7/24
Elliot, G. F. Scott, F.R.G.S., Drumwhill, Mossdale 4/3/87
Fergusson, D., Solicitor, Dumfries 29/3/12
Fergusson, Mrs, Rotchell Road.
Fisher, Miss U. H. D., Bruce House, Annan 12/3/20
Fleming, D. Hay, LL.D., 4 Chamberlain Road, Edinburgh 13/2/14
Flett, James, Hillhead, Bankend Road, Dumfries 19/1/12
Foster, William, Nunholm, Dumfries 20/10/08
Fraser, G. B., Glenholm, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ... 20/2/20
Fulton, Miss J. W., Rose Cottage, Eaglesfield 21/11/19
Galbraith, Charles E., The Barony, Dumfries 12/4/12
Galbraith, Mrs, The Barony, Dumfries.
Geddes, R., Brooke Street, Dumfries 20/10/09
Gibson, John, Elliceville, Lovers' Walk, Dumfries 23/11/17
Gibson, J. Ewing, Writer, 92 West Regent Street, Glasgow 12/4/12
Gillespie, Wm., Solicitor, Castle-Douglas 14/5/92
Gillespie, Wm., Laurieknowe House, Maxwelltown 7/7/24
Gladstone, Miss Jean, The Lodge, Parkstone, Dorset ... 3/11/11
Glaister, Professor John, M.D., F.R.S.E., D.Ph. (Camb.). Glasgow University 12/4/12
Glover, John, W.S., 1 Hill Street, Edinburgh 23/11/06
Goldie-Scot, Arch., of Craigmuie, Moniaive 12/4/12
Gordon, Miss, Kenmure Terrace, Dumfries 14/9/07
Gordon, J. G., F.E.S., Corsemalzie, Whauphill, Wigtownshire 20/1/11
Gordon, Roger S., F.E.S., Drumblair, Inverness 3/9/11
Gordon, William, Victoria Road, Dumfries 12/4/12
Graham, W. F., Mossknow, Ecclefechan 12/4/12
Graham, James, Westmains 10/9/25
Grierson, R. A., Town Clerk, Dumfries 15/3/07
Grierson, T., Glebe Street, Dumfries.
Halliday, T. A., Parkhurst, Dumfries, ... 26/1/06
Halliday, Mrs, Parkhurst, Dumfries 26/1/06
Halliday, W. J., Esthwaite, Lochmaben 6/4/96
Hall, Charles Johnstone, 211 Bexley Road, Northumberland, Heath, Erith, Kent 24/10/19

Hamilton-Grierson, Sir Philip J., 7 Palmerston Place, Edinburgh 12/4/12
Harkness, Edward, Fernlea, Langholm ..... /25
Hastie, D. H., Victoria Terrace, Dumfries 24/2/06
Henderson, Miss E. L., Rosebank, Drummore, Wigtownshire 12/6/09
Henderson, James, Solicitor, Dumfries 9/8/05
Henderson, John, M.A., Shawhead Schoolhouse, Irongray ..... /10/23
Henderson, Thomas, Solicitor, Lockerbie 17/10/02
Heriot, W. Maitland, Whitecroft, Ruthwell 14/9/08
Herries, D. C., St. Julian's, Seven Oaks, Kent 23/4/15
Herries, W. D., Spottes, Dalbeattie.
Hewison, Rev. James King, D.D., Kingsmede, Thornhill 12/4/12
Hill, W., Rosebank, Irongray, Dumfries 12/4/12
Hunter-Arundell, H. W. F., Barjarg, Dumfries 29/11/12
Hunter, David, Cumberland Villa, Dumfries 17/10/13
Hunter, Dr Joseph, Charlotte Street, Dumfries 24/6/05
Hunter, Dr, St Catherine's, Linlithgow 12/4/12
Hunter, Thomas S., Woodford, Dumfries 12/4/12
Irving, J., B.Sc., George Street School, Dumfries 7/11/24
Irving, John, Galloway Street, Maxwelltown 14/5/14
Irving, John A., West Fell, Corbridge-on-Tyne 7/12/06
Irvine, William Ferguson, F.S.A., 56 Park Road S., Birkenhead 7/2/08
Jardine, Provost, Ednam Cottage, Annan 29/11/12
Jardine, Wm., Wauchope, Klipdam, Kimberley 17/6/11
Jardine, Major William, Craigdhu, Tamboors Kloof, Capetown 17/6/11
Jenkins, Ross T., National Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh 12/4/12
Johnson-Ferguson, Sir J. E., Bart., of Springkell, Ecclefechan 30/5/96
Johnson-Ferguson, A., Luckington Court, Chippenham, Wiltshire 9/9/05
Johnston, Dr S. E., Burnbank, Penpont 12/4/12
Johnstone, F. A., 56 Queen's Gate, London, S.W. 11/4/11
Johnston, Dr John, Mount Annan, Bispham, Blackpool... 12/3/20
Johnstone, T. S., Catherine Street, Dumfries 19/2/09
Johnstone, W. S., Victoria Terrace, Dumfries 11/2/98
Johnstone, Col., Liddlesdale, Stranraer 7/7/22
Johnstone, T. Humphreys, Palazzi Contarini del Zaffo, Madonna del'Orto, Venice 24/10/19
Kennedy, Colonel J. Murray, M.V.O., of Milton Park, Dalry 12/4/12
Kennedy, Robert, Bank House, Thornhill 12/4/12
Kidd, Mrs, 38 Buckingham Terrace, Edinburgh 14/11/13
Kirkpatrick, John George, 2 Belford Park, Edinburgh... 12/4/12
Kirkpatrick, Rev. R. S., The Manse, Yarrow 17/2/96
Laurie, Colonel Sir C. E. R., Maxwelton House, Thornhill 20/1/11
Law, Mrs Balfour, Kinver, Moffat Road.
Lepper, R. S., Elsinore, Crawfordburn Co. Down 25/10/18
Little, Murray, Town Clerk, Annan 12/4/12
Little, James, Commercial Bank, Dalbeattie 12/4/12
Lockhart, Miss J. T., Welton, Troqueer Road 10/12/20
Lupton, Thomas, Solicitor, Stirling 12/4/12
Lusk, Hugh D., Larch Villa, Annan 25/4/08
M'Allister, Miss Agnes, 4 Cresswell Avenue 7/7/24
M'Allister, Miss Isa, 4 Cresswell Avenue, Dumfries 7/7/24

M'Burnie, John, The Garth, Dumfries 21/11/08
M'Burnie, Mrs, The Garth, Dumfries 29/11/12
M'Cargo, James, Kirkpatrick-Durham 24/4/96
M'Caskie, Dr, 14 Onslow Square, London, S.W. 7 ..... 24/9/17
M'Connel, Col. F. R., of Blackyett, Kirtlebridge 10/9/25
M'Connel, J. I., of Eliock, Sanquhar 26/4/12
M'Cormick, Andrew, Solicitor, Newton-Stewart 3/11/05
M'Douall, Kenneth, of Logan, Stranraer 12/4/12
M'Dougal, R., Solicitor, Dumfries 10/10/24
M'Dowall, Rev. W., U.F. Manse, Kirkmahoe 20/3/08
M'George, J. C., Nunfield, Dumfries 12/4/12
M'Gowan, B., Solicitor, Dumfries 26/10/00
M'Harrie, Stair, Rephad, Stranraer 7/7/24
Macharg, W. S., 16 Berkley Street, Glasgow, C3 ..... 16/10/14
M'Jerrow, D., Town Clerk, Lockerbie 22/2/06
M'Kay, Miss Mary, The Ben, Newall Terrace, Dumfries.
Mackenzie, Colonel Ed. Philippe, 14 Sussex Square, Brighton 25/8/95
M'Kerlie, Miss E. M., 5 Albany Place, Dumfries 23/11/17
M'Kerrow, M. H., Solicitor, Dumfries 19/1/00
Mackie, Mrs Philip, Ellaslea, Castle-Douglas Road 21/11/19
M'Kinley, Hugh, 1 Queensberry Terrace, Maxwelltown 23/11/17
Mackinnell, W. A., Architect, Kirkcudbright 23/11/17
M'Lean, C. A., Wigtown 26/4/12
M'Millan, Rev. William, St. Leonard's Manse, Dunfermline 16/10/14
M'Queen, James, of Crofts, Dalbeattie 12/4/12
Malcolm, Mrs, Stewart Hall, Dumfries 12/11/20
Maxwell, Col. Archibald Boyd, 6 Montpelier Grove, Cheltenham ..... /25
Maxwell, Benjamin Bell, Springkell, 1 Netherby Road, Edinburgh 16/2/12
Maxwell, Col. Archibald Boyd, 6 Montpelier Grove, Cheltenham 10/9/25
Maxwell, Sir Herbert, Bart., LL.D., D.C.L., of Monreith, Wigtownshire 7/10/92
Maxwell, John, Tarquah, Maxwelltown 20/1/05
Maxwell, Miss Margaret, Craigrathan, Kippford 10/9/25
Maxwell, Robert, Solicitor, 98 Irish Street, Dumfries ... 3/11/11
Maxwell, Wellwood, of Kirkennan, Dalbeattie 5/11/86
Menzies, N. F. D., of Newtonairds 25/10/12
Middleton, Rev. John, LL.B., The Manse, Irongray ... 21/3/19
Millar, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 50 Queen Street, Edinburgh 14/9/08
Miller, F., Cumberland House, Annan 3/9/86
Milligan, J. P., Aldouran, Maxwelltown 17/10/05
Milne-Home, J. H., Irvine House, Canonbie 19/1/12
Milroy, Alexander, Solicitor, Dalry 3/11/11
Molteno, P. A., 10 Palace Court, London, W. 2 ..... 12/4/12
Mond, Miss, Aberdour House, Dumfries 9/9/05
Morton, A. S., Solicitor, Newton-Stewart 23/4/15
Murray, John, Rector, Annan Academy 17/10/13
Murray, Mrs, of Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan 29/7/05
Neilson, J., of Mollance, Castle-Douglas 13/3/96
O'Reilly, Mrs, 47 Powis Square, Bayswater, London, W. 11 ..... 10/10/24
Orr, David, County Asylum, Prestwich, Manchester 12/4/12
Ovens, Thos. T., Glentarras, Newabbey Road 19/12/19
Paterson, D., Solicitor, 52 Eldon Street, Greenock 12/4/12
Paterson, James J., of Brocklehirst, Dumfries 26/4/12

Paton, Rev. Henry, Elmswood, Peebles 21/11/08
Penman, A. C., Mile Ash, Dumfries..... 18/6/01
Penman, Mrs, Mile Ash, Dumfries 17/10/05
Reid, James, Braehead Terrace, Maxwelltown 15/10/20
Reid, Mrs, Braehead Terrace, Maxwelltown 15/10/20
Reid, Robert C., Cleuchbrae, Ruthwell 18/11/07
Ritchie, Dr John, County Buildings, Dumfries 26/4/12
Robson, John, County Buildings, Dumfries 25/9/95
Robson, George H., National Bank House, Dumfries ... 17/11/11
Robertson, Rev. Canon, The Rectory, Dumfries 7/11/24
Robertson, Dr, County Buildings, Dumfries 15/10/20
Ross, Rev. Duncan, B.D., Catherine Street, Dumfries ..... /25
Ross, Dr J. Maxwell, Duntrune, Castle-Douglas Road... 11/7/91
Rusk, J. M., S.S.C., 22 York Place, Edinburgh 13/6/25
Russell, George, of Newton, Dumfries 12/4/12
Rutherford, J., Jardington, Dumfries 3/11/76
Saffley, Dr, Fruids Park, Annan 29/11/12
Salmon, Thomas J., solicitor, Bank of Scotland Buildings, Bo'ness 12/4/12
Scot, Captain Wm., 15 Claremont Crescent, Edinburgh, 23/11/17
Scott, Alexander, Solicitor, Annan 7/11/90
Scott, Harry, Millhouse, Moffat 16/2/12
Scott, W. S., Redcastle, Dalbeattie 14/1/98
Scott, Dr W., Clarencefield, Dumfries 4/7/08
Selby, Dr W. M'D., Portwilliam, Wigtownshire 12/4/12
Semple, Dr, D.Sc., Mile Ash, Dumfries 12/6/01
Sloan, R. J. J., Skivo, Edinburgh Road 21/11/19
Smart, J. T. W., Catherine Street, Dumfries 18/12/08
Smith, A. Cameron, Springfield, Dalmuir, Dumbartonshire 24/1/19
Sommerville, Hugh, George Street School, Dumfries ... 10/10/24
Stewart, Sir Edward O., Bart. of Ardwell, Wigtownshire 12/4/12
Stewart, William, of Shambellie, Newabbey 21/12/06
Stair, The Earl of, Lochinch, Castle-Kennedy 12/4/12
Stark, W. J., Solicitor, Dumfries 17/10/13
Stobie, P., Beechwood Bank, Dumfries 3/11/76
Stevenson, John, Commercial Bank, Dumfries.
Sutherland, Rev. Wm., The Manse, Newabbey 7/11/24
Turner, Alexander, Chemist, Buccleuch Street, Dumfries 17/10/05
Wallace, Sir Matthew G., Bart., Terreglestown, Dumfries 11/3/98
Wallace, Professor Robert, 45 East Claremont Street, Edinburgh 12/4/12
Wallace, W. Williamson, Kelton, Dumfries 26/4/12
Waugh, Wm., Palaceknowe, Beattock 10/10/24
Weatherstone, Andw., Bank of Scotland House, Dumfries 1/12/05
Whitelaw, J. W., Solicitor, Dumfries 6/11/85
Wightman, J., 2 Franklin Place, Troqueer Road, Maxwelltown 18/12/07
Will, James A., W.S., Dumfries 10/10/24
Williamson, Rev. A. Wallace, D.D., 44 Palmerston Place, Edinburgh 26/3/12
Williamson, Mr and Mrs, The Dornels, Castle-Douglas ... 9/12/21
Wilson, Miss A., Alderside, Rotchell Park.
Wilson, Tom, 28 Quarmby Road, Gorton, Manchester ... 25/10/12
Wright, Robert, 9 Victoria Terrace, Dumfries 14/5/14
Young, E. Denholm, W.S., 15 Rutland Street, Edinburgh 12/4/12
Young, J. F., Schoolhouse, Mouswald 11/11/21

INDEX.

Aberdeen 57
Aberdeenshire 104
Aberlosk (name) 142
Abermilk (name) 142
Abernethy, Alex. de 53
Abravannos, river 122
Acadh (field) 140
Acarson (see Carson).
Adam the Miller.. 133
Adamnan, St., Abbot of Iona . 126, 138
Adder beads 118
Adna, Nede, son of 131
Afren, Lewis 35
Afren, Clen, men of the lineage of, 35, 137
Agnew (name) 135
Agricola 119-20
Agriculture: Bracken and Heather Burning (Elliot) 87-95
Ahannay (see Hannay).
Alan, Lord of Galloway, 33-5, 199-200, 206-7
Aldfrid of Northumbria 126
Alexander II. 29, 41
Alexander III. 33, 34, 41
Allfornought (name) 143
Alwhat (name) 146
Amisfield, 12, 13, 20; axe hammer, 107; Gap, 15. 17, 20, 21; Lands of, 51, 61; Tower, ... 17
Amuligane (see Milligan).
Anderson 22, 23
Angles of Northumbria, 123, 124, 125, 131, 140, 148
Angus, son of Fergus, King of the Picts 131
Annan, 59, 202; bronze axes, 108, 109; bronze spearheads, 108; name 122-3. 133; stone axes 103
Annandale, 31, 130; forts, 113; Howe of, 15; Sir John Mowbray, Warden of 52
Annat Hill, Kirkinner 128
Annatland, Newabbey 128
Arms: Notes on the Arms of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries (Shirley), 160-5
Appin (name) 144
Applegarth, bronze axe 108, 109
Arbigland, Kirkbean. 70, 77-83; Ghost, 77, 79
Ardinarrow (name) 145
Archæology: Azilio-Tardenoisian Period, 98; Bronze Age, 98, 103-110; Early Iron Age, 98, 110-118; Neolithic Period, 98-103; Palæolithic Age, 98
Argyll 131-132
ARNOTT, S., 64, 169; Logan Gardens, 185-8; The Romance of Helen Craik of Arbigland 77-83
Arthur, King 126
Askolo, Fergus, of Wigtown 135
Askolog, Gilbert. of Galloway 135
Hectur, of Wigtownshire 135
Askolok (name) 135
Asloan (see Sloan).
Athole, Earl of, Steward of Scotland, d. 1335 ..... 49, 56, 59, 60
Duke of 154
Aubeny, Isabel, wife of Robert de Ross, of Hamelake and Belvoir 41
William de, of Belvoir 41
Auchencairn, 11; Hill, Closeburn, bronze axe 108
Auchencass 168-9
Auchencheyne (name) 144
Auchencrieff (name) 143
Auchengeith (name) 143
Auchengyle (name) 142
Auchenroddan (name) 143
Auchensow (name) 143
Auchenstroan (name) 145
Auchentaggart, Sanquhar, gold lunula, 110
Auchentorlie 91
Auchinsinnoch (name) 144
Auldton Mote, Moffat 168
Auldgirth 12, 13, 14, 20
Avenel, Robert 40
Ayr, 26, 201; Castle 200
Ayrshire 120
Badenoch (name) 143
Baile (homestead) 140
Baithene, St. 137
Balagan, Durisdeer, stone hammer . 107
Balencros, Church of 129
Balgray (name) 143
Baliol. Ada, wife of William de Lindsay 29
Sir Alexander, of Cavers and Kirkpatrick-Durham 200-1
Bernard de, of Barnard Castle .. 199

Baliol—
Edward, King of Scotland, Lord of Galloway, 24, 30, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 191, 192, 202, 203.
John, of Barnard Castle, Lord of Galloway 199-200
King John, Lord of Galloway, 25, 29, 30-1, 33, 34, 35, 36, 43, 49. 50, 51, 55, 200.
Baliol College 200
BALLANTYNE, CAPTAIN J. D., 100; Natural Determinants of Routes in Lower Nithsdale 10-21
Bally, William 195
Balmacaan, Inverness-shire 141
Balmaclellan, New-Galloway .. 118, 141
Balmaghie 31, 141
Balmangan (name) 141
Baltersan (name) 142, 145
Bankend 18, 19, 20
Bannockburn, Battle of .. 27, 48, 53, 58
Barnard Castle, Yorkshire .. 33, 34, 199
Barnbougle, Lands of 50, 53, 60
Barndennoch, Keir, arrowhead, 102, 103; flint knife 102, 103
Barnultoch, Wigtownshire 140-1
Barr's Hill, Tinwald, fort 116
Barrie, Sir James M. 165
Barstibly, Castle-Douglas 32
Bastenthwayt, Lands of 53
Beattock Hill, forts 115
Beaumont, Sir Henry 55, 60
Beaumont Castle, Dundarg 55
Bede, Venerable 122, 125, 133
Bek, Anthony, Bishop of Durham, 33, 43
Belestre, Lands of, Tyndale 43, 46
Belford, Manor of, Northumberland . 61
Bell, Kirkmaiden 180
Bellfield, Holywood, flint scraper .. 101
Belt, Hightownhead, Kirkmahoe, fort, 114
Belvoir Castle, Lincs. 44
Benedict XIII., Pope 196
Bennan Hill 21
Berwick Castle, 24; massacre of .. 38
Bewfurd 22
Birrenswark, bronze axes. 108, 109; bronze bridle-bit 117
Blâân, St. 127, 129, 130
Black Loch, Sanquhar, canoe, 111; crannog 111
Black Parliament 53
Blackshaw 18
BLACKWOOD, CAPTAIN G. G.; Dragon Flies 96
Blackwood Gorge 21
Bog o' Gight (name) 143
Bogle Walls, Westerkirk, fort 116
Bolton in Allerdale, Lands of, 49-51, 53, 55, 56, 57
Bolton, Lands of, Lothian 54
Bonchester Hill, Roxburghshire, fort, 112
Bones: Ox, sheep, pig, and red deer, St. Medan's Cave 181
Borron Point, Kirkbean 79
Botany: Fungus Records for Galloway (Elliot), 84-7; Some Notes on the Rate of Growth and Increment of Forest Trees in Great Britain (Home), 149-159; Abies grandis, 156; Abies pectinata, 156; Bog myrtle, 88; Brugmansias Knightii, 186; Calluna, 94; Charlock, 92; Clianthus Puniceus, 186; Cordyline australis, 185-6; Cryptomyces Pteridis, 89; De Vidia, 189; Dicksonia antarctica, 187; Douglas Fir (Pseudotsuga Douglasii), 149-153, 156, 158, 160; Erica tetralix, 94; Eucalyptus, 150; European Larch, 150, 153, 154, 159; Holcus, 89; Japanese Larch (Larix leptolepis), 150, 154, 158, 160, 189; Japanese Maple, 189; Japanese Plum, 189; Leucobryum, 94; Lobelia, tree, 186; Molinia cacrulea, 94; Myosotideum nobile, 186; Nemocharis, 186; Norway Spruce, 150, 151, 159; Pinus monticola, 155-6; Primula pulverulenta, 186-7; Pteris aquilina, 87-95; Rhapographa filicinum, 89; Rhododendron Arboreum, 185; Rhododendron Hookeri. 187; Roscoea cautiloides, 188; Scirpus, 94; Scots Pine, 87, 88, 89, 150, 159-60; Sequoias, 149; Sitka Spruce (Picea sitchensis), 89, 149-51, 157-8, 160, 189; Sphaerella Pteridis Desm, 89; Thuja pine, 189; Trachycarpus excelsus, 187; Veronica officinalis, 89; White Pine (Pinus Strobus) 155-6
Bothwell 46
Bowhouses, Caerlaverock, bronze spearhead 108
Boyd, Sir Robert 201
Boyle, Katherine, wife of Robert Scott of Wamphray 172
Bracken and Heather Burning (Elliot), 87-95
Bremenion (High Rochester, Redesdale), 121
Bride, St. 128, 130
Brigantes 12
Bristol 28

Bristol Castle 56
Britons 124, 131
Brocklestone, Dunscore, bronze axe, 108
Bronze Implements: Arrow-heads, 103; Axes, flanged, 108; Axes, flat, 107-8; Axes, socketed, 108; Bowl, 117; Bridle-bits, 117-118; Brooches, 117; Cauldrons, 109. 116; Chisel, 108; Daggers, 108; Mirror, 118; Paterae, 117; Rapier blades, 109, 112; Ring, 108; Spear-heads, 108-9; Swords, 108; Torcs 117
Brown, Dr John 65
Browne, Sir James Crichton 92
Bruce (Brus), Edward, King of Ireland, Lord of Galloway .. 58. 201, 202
Lucy, wife of Marmaduke de Twenge, 39
Margaret, of Kendal, wife of Robert de Ross of Werk, 29, 39, 42, 43, 45-46.
Mary de, sister of Robert I. 61
Peter, of Skelton 39, 42
Robert de, of Annandale 40
Brunbert, John, son of William, 32, 138
Brunn, Gilchrist, son of 136
Buchan, John Comyn, Earl of, 28, 38, 63
Buchan, Lands in 55
Buchanan, Colonel Fergusson 91
Buckrig Farm, Beattock, flint arrow-head 102
Buittle (Botille), Barony of, 202-41; Castle, 56, (Reid), 197-204; Church (Old) (Reid), 189-197; Meikle Kirkholm 197
Bures, Robert de 46
Burghhead, Morayshire, fort 112
Burgoyne, General 74
Burns, Robert, 64-76, 83; A Monody on the Fatal 29th December, 1789. 75-6; Glenriddell MS., 66, 69; Verses on a Window at Stirling, 73-4
Bute 133
Caerlaverock Castle, 18, 19, 39, 197, 198, 201; Name, 141; St. Columba's Chapel 128, 129
Cainnech 127
Cairns, Burial, 98-100, 103-5, 110-111; Long 99
Caittil Find 133
Caithness, Earl of 69
CALLANDER, J. GRAHAM: Dumfriesshire in the Stone, Bronze and Early Iron Ages 97-119
Camden, William 71
Canoes 111
Canonbie, bronze axe 108
Capenoch Moor, Keir, Long cairn .. 99
Carbanto-rigon 121-2
Cargen flats 14, 21, 71
Cargen, Lands of 42, 43
Carleton, Sir Thomas 173
Carlinwark Loch, bronze cauldron, 109, 116
Carlisle, 124, 148; Castle, 32, 33, 39; Prison 174
Carlyle (Karliol), Sapientia, wife of William de 42, 43
Thomas 71
Carnwath, Robert, Earl of 70
Caroline, Queen of Denmark 70
Carrick 26, 52, 61
Carruchan Ridge 13, 14
Carruthers, Sir James, Parson of Wamphray 170
Carrutherstown 20
Carsan, Dovenald, son of Thomas de, 32, 138
Laughlan, son of Laughlan de, 32, 138
Thomas 135
Carson (name) 135
Carziel flats 13, 14, 19, 21
Castle Law, Abernethy, fort 112
Castle Law, Forgandenny, fort 112
Castle Menzies, Sitka Spruce 151
Castle O'er, Eskdale, fort 115
Castlecary (Cumbernauld Castle) .. 27
Castlemain, Lochmaben, bronze spear-head 108
Castles, Edwardian 197-8
Catfarch, Welsh Saint 134
Catrawt of Calchfynydd (Kelso) .. 123
Cattan, tutor of St. Blâán 127
Cauldholme, Drumlanrig, bronze sword, 108
Cavens, Kirkbean 70
Celle (Zell), Hanover 70
Celtic Church 125-6, 129
Celts (British and Gael) in Dumfriesshire and Galloway (Watson), 119-148
Cesseworth, Lands of 53, 63
Chanæ, Asia Minor 163
Chartres, Andrew de 26, 51
Cheletun, Church of 129
Church, Celtic, 125-6, 129; Dedications 128-9, 130
Ciaran, Maol 139
Cinaed (name) 136
Clanyard Castle 179-80
Clement VII., Pope 195, 196
Clenafren, Galloway 35, 137
Clifford, Robert de 24, 26, 32
Clochmabon, Gretna 141

Clonfeckle, Kirkmahoe, Long cairn .. 99
Closeburn (Killeosbern), Yvo, son of Stephen de 32, 139
Closeburn, 23; Bronze Age cairns, 105; Name, 127; small cairns, 104; stone arrow-heads 101
Cluden, river 14, 16
Clydno of Eitin (Edinburgh) 123
Cochrane, Rev. J. D., Kirkbean .. 79
Cockburnspath, Berwickshire, bronze cauldron 116
Cockpool (Cokpull) 18, 23
Coel, House of, Ayrshire 123
Cog, Upper and Nether, Crawick .. 142
Coigs of Strathallan and Strathdearn, 142
Coins: Medal of George IV. (1822), 209; St. Medan's Cave 181
Coldstone, Aberdeen 144
Collin 20
Colmonel, Ayrshire, Lands of 134
Colonsay 144
Columba, St. .. 126, 128. 129, 130, 137
Comgall, St., Abbot of Bangor, 127, 137
Comlongon Castle 18
Comyn, Joan, wife of the Earl of Athole, 56, 59
Sir John (1250) 49
Sir John, the Black 49
Sir John, elder, of Badenoch, 23, 27-8, 44. 46
Sir John (the Red), of Badenoch, 27-8, 52, 56, 61
Walter 61
Conall (Convallus), St. .. 127, 137, 138
Connan, Clen 139
Conness (name) 143, 145
Conrick (name) 145
Constable, Lady W. M. 70
Cooper, Rev. Dr 196
Corbelly Hill 13, 14, 16
Corbetton, Lands of, Buittle 202
Corda 121-2
Cormac, King of Ireland 132
Cormilligan (name) 141
Corncockle, Applegarth, log platform, 111
Cornharrow (name) 145
Corrie (Corre), Adam 23
John, Moniaive 100
J. M. 100, 102
Corsincon, Ayrshire (name) 144
Coshogle, stone hammer 107
Coucy, Alice de, wife of Arnold, Count of Guignes 29
Ingelram, Sire de 29
Countam Hill (name) 145
Cowden (name) 143
Cowshaw, South, Tinwald. bronze axe, 107
Craes Hill, Glencairn, small cairns, 104
Craig, Messrs John, & Son 92
Craig's Hill, Westerkirk, fort 115
Craigdasher (name) 145
Craighirst, Dumbarton 144
Craigs ridge, Dumfries, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21
Craik, Adam, son of William of Arbigland 81
Anne, wife of John Hamilton of Ellershaw 82
Anne Elizabeth, of Flimby Lodge, 81
Barbara, of Flimby Lodge 81
Captain Douglas Hamilton, of Ellershaw and Arbigland 71-2, 82
Helen, of Arbigland, 64-76; The Romance of (Arnott) 77-83
James, of Flimby Lodge 81
Margery Neilson, of Flimby Lodge. 81
William, of Arbigland, 67, 72, 77, 79
Crannogs 98, 111
Crawford Muir 23
Crawick Water, Upper and Nether Cog 142
Crechan, Glencairn, flint scraper . 101
Cree, river, 100; Harpoon 98
Cree Valley, cup and ring marks .. 110
"Creenies" (name) 132
Cressingham, Hugh de 25
Crichton (Kreichtone), Elizabeth, of Sanquhar 47
William, of Sanquhar 47-8
Criffel 19, 21, 71
Crochtmaid 23
Cross & Bevan, Messrs 93
Cruggleton Castle 200
Cruithnigh 132
Cumberland, 124; Sheriff of 55
Cumbernauld (Cummyrnauld) Castle, 23, 58, 60; Estate 27
Cumbria 135
Cummertrees, 20; name, 147; stone axes 102
Cumnock 52
Cunedda, British lord 123
Cunningham, John, Poetical Works .. 73
Cunningham 26
Cup and ring marks 110
Curle, Alex. O., F.S.A. Scot. . 99. 190
Cuthbert, St. 169, 184
Cyndeyrn Garthwys, the chief bishop, 126, 135
Dalbate (name) 143
Dalgarnock (name) 144
Dalmacallan (name) 141

Dalmakerran (name) 141
Dalmakethar fort, Applegarth, 116; name 141
Dalmeny (Dummanyn), Lands of, 50, 53
Dal Riata, Kingdom of 125, 131
Dalruscoun, Lands of, on Dee (Æ) .. 54
Dalrymple, Duncan, Tothia-daroche in Niddisdale 148
Dalscone 13
Dalskerth 71
Dalswinton. 12, 23, 49, 56, 63; Battle of, 1297, 22-3; Castle .. 27-8, 201
Dalveen Pass 23
Dalwhat (name) 146
Dalzell, Richard, Lord 70
Damnonii 120
David I. 134, 135
David II. 33, 59, 60
Degsastan, Battle of 125
Deil's Dyke 118-9, 145
Deodric of Northumbria 123
De Peyster, Colonel A. S. 71-2
Dercongal, Holywood 127
Dervorgilla, Dame de Baliol, Lady of Galloway 31, 33, 34, 199
Dickson (Dycson), Tom, of Hisleside, 22, 23-4
Thomas, son of Thomas D., Sanquhar, 24
Dr W. E. G. C. 209
Dinwoodie Green, stone axe 103
Diodorus of Sicily 119
Dods, Captain 75
Domcroy, Lands of 29
Donnan, St. 130
Door Knocker, Logan 180
Dornock (name) 147
Douglas, Archibald, Earl of (the Grim), Lord of Galloway 194-6, 203
David 153, 156
Sir James, the Good .. 24, 194, 201-2
John, son of William, Constable of, 195
Margaret, wife of Sir William, Earl of 194
Scott 66
Sir William, 22, 24-6, 28, 30, 31, 45, 59, 60, 63.
Sir William, Earl of 194-5, 196
William, of Reidcastle 58
Douglas, St. Bride's Church, Dickson's Aisle 23
Dovenald, son of Dunegal de Stranith, 134
Drannandow, Long cairn 99
Dropmore, Douglas Fir 152
Drostrie, Brecon 142
Droving, Irish cattle 20
Drumbarton. Aberdeen 140
Drumbreddan (Drumbretan) 140
Drumcoltran, Kirkgunzeon, bronze rapier blades 109, 112
Drumcrieff 176
Drumlanrig, Douglas Fir, Sitka Spruce, 153, 157-8
Drumsleet 31
Dumbarton Castle 38, 124, 131
Dumfries, 201; Academy Magazine, 162; Arms, Notes on the Arms of the Royal Burgh of (Shirley), 160-5; bronze chisel, 108; bronze spear-heads, 108-9; Castle, 16, 133, 201; Castledykes, 14, 16; Ewart Public Library, 162; Ford, Nith Place, 16, 19; Greystone incense-cup-urn, 110 Greyfriars' Church, 108; Greyfriars' Church War Memorial, 165; Kingholm, 13, 14, 16; Loreburn marsh, 16; Midsteeple, 160, 165; Millburn, 16; name, 146-7; Old Quay, 13; Provost's chair, 161; Register of Sasines, 161; roads, 10-21; seals, 164-5; Stakeford, 16; stone axes, 102; Suspension Bridge, 16; Townhead Mote, 14, 16; Town Hall . 165
Dumfriesshire, Celts (British and Gael) in (Watson), 119-148; In the Stone, Bronze. and Early Iron Ages (Callander) 97-119
Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society Accounts, 208; Annual Meeting, 9; Field Meetings, 168-207; Presentations 209
Dumna, Island of 119
Dumnonians (see Damnonii).
Dun-a-goil, Bute, fort 112
Dunbar, Battle of .. 27, 28, 29, 51, 200
Dunblane Monastery 127
Duncow, 19, 50; name 143, 147
Dundrennan, Abbot of, 191; Egidio, Abbot of 195
Dunegal de Stranit 134
Dunesslin (name) 145
Dunkeld, Japanese Larch 154
Dunn, —., groom at Arbigland .. 78-9
Dun nan Ultach, Kintyre 141
Dunotter 57
Dunpelder (Traprain Law), fort, 113, 116-7, 120
Duntulm in Skye 143
Dunragit, Luce Bay 124
Dunscore (name) 147
Durisdeer (Dursdeer) Castle, 22, 23, 27, 29; name, 147; stone axes 102
Durris, Kincardineshire, Sitka Spruce, 157-8
Dyer, Provost, Stranraer 177

Earth-houses 111
Ecclefechan (name), 128; stone axes, 103
Ecgfrid of Northumbria 125
Echwydd (Solway) 124
Eckford, Lands of, Roxburgh .. 50, 53
Edbert, King of Northumbria 131
Edenham, Lands of 51
Edgar, Dovenald, of Sanquhar 47
Dungal, son of Richard Edgar 48
Edgar, son of Richard Edgar 48
Helena 48
Richard, of Kirkpatrick 48
Richard, of Sanquhar, Sheriff of Dumfries 47-8
Edgars of Wedderlie (Berwick) 48
Edinburgh 12. 123
Edward I., 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 44, 50, 56, 58, 61, 62, 191, 200.
Edward II. 52, 53, 54, 60, 63
Edward III. 202
Eggesford, Devonshire, Douglas Fir . 152
Eigg 133
Eildon Hills 121
ELLIOT. G. F. SCOTT: Bracken and Heather Burning, 87-95; Fungus Records for Galloway 84-7
Elrick (name) 132, 145
Elwes, H. J. and Henry, Dr A., "Trees of Great Britain and Ireland," 150-1, 152
Enoch Castle 22, 29-30
Enterkin, The 65
Enzie (name) 143
Ericstane (name) 143
Ernanity (name), Crossmichael .. 128
Eskdale, forts, 113; hut circles, 104; small cairns 104, 106
Eskdalemuir Observatory, arrow-head 102
Estrahanent (Annan) 123, 133
Ettrick Forest 24
Evans, Dr Gwenogvryn 124
Ewesdale forts 113
Ewing, J. C. 74, 75
Fairholm, Lockerbie, bronze dagger, 108, 109
Fairyknowe, Carronbridge, cinerary urn, 109
Faldoni and Theresa 69
Falkirk, Battle of 22, 38, 200
Faolan, St. 130
Farnes, Land of 183
Farthingland (name) 132
Feabait, Ross 143
Fechin, St., of Fabhar 128
Fenimore, Umfrey, The Borron, Kirkbean 79
Fergus of Galloway 134
Angus, son of, King of the Picts, 131
Ferrars, Lady, widow of Sir William Ferrars, wife of Sir William Douglas 25, 31
William 26
Fettes, William, of Wamphray 177
Findbarr, St., of Magh Bhile (Moyville), 126, 134
"Fingals" 133
Fingland (name) 144
Finnen (Findbar) 128, 134, 137
Fionnghall (Norse) 133
Firth of Forth 26, 120
Fitz Can (Fitz-Kan), Sir Dovenald, 25, 31
Gibon 26
Fitz Glay, William 27
Fitzpiers, Lucy, wife of William Ross of Hamelake 41
Reginald 41
Fleuchlarg, Glencairn, long cairn, 99; name 146
Flimby Churchyard 81
Flimby Lodge, Cumberland 81
Flint Implements 100-102
Flodden, Battle of 179
Fordun, John of 127, 201
Forster, Thomas 174
Forts 98, 109, 111-117
Fotudain (see Votadini).
Fox-Davis, A. C., "Book of Public Arms" 161-2
Fraser, Sir Bernard, of Fortun and Linton 50
Christiana, wife of Sir Roger Mowbray 50
Frew, Rev. Dr, of Urr 189
Friars' Carse, Dunscore, crannog .. 111
Frisians 146
Frissel, Elizabeth, wife of Richard F., yr. 28
Simon 28
Gaelic Language in Galloway, 130-148
Gall Ghaidheil 133, 136
Galloway, 12-13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 52, 103; Celts (British and Gael) in (Watson), 119-148; Extent of, 130; Lands held of the Fee of St. Cuthbert, Durham, 33; Lordship of, 179, 192, 193-203, 207; name, 130; stone axe-hammers 107
Gaps Mill, Glencairn, flint scrapers . 101
Gardyne, Alexander 68
Garrick, David 73
Garviau, James de la 51

Gascony 26
Gawin Moor, beaker urn, 105; Bronze Age cairns, 105; flint implement, 105
Gelston (Gevilston), John M'Guffok, rector of 192
George III. 70
Georgetown Road 18
Gesemue, Adam de 49
Gettington 27
Ghost, Arbigland 77, 79
Gilchirst, son of Brunn 136
Gilendonrut Betnach 136
Gilfillan (name) 139
Gillecatfar, foster-brother of Uchtred of Galloway 134
Gille Faolain 139
Gilroth (Gilruth, Gil Rory) 34
Gilsland, Orchard House, Northumberland 83
Girharrow, Glencairn, flint knife, 101; small cairns 104
Girdle Stones, Cot, Eskdale 106
Girthon, Lands of 31
Gladstone, Hugh S. 74
Glasgow, 126; Church of, 135; Matthew de Glendinning, Bishop of 193
Gleann Sasunn, Perthshire 140
Glencairn (name) 147
Glencorse (name) 144
Glendinying, Sir Adam, of that Ilk . 194
Matthew de, Bishop of Glasgow, 193-4
Glendocher, Lands of 51, 52
Glenesslin (name) 145
Glenglass, Ross-shire 143
Glenluce Abbey, 178; Abbot of .. 191
Glenluce Sands, pit dwellings 98
Glen Noc, Lorne 122
Glensax, Peeblesshire 140
Glensaxon 140
Glentrool 61
Glover, J. M., Dumfries 165
Godaddin (see Votadini).
Goethe, J. W., "Sorrows of Werter," 68
Gold lunula, Auchentaggart, Sanquhar 110
Goldielea 71-2
Gordons of Clanyard, 180; of Kenmure, 180
"Gossocks" (name) 132
Gospatrick (name) 132
Gower, Sir Robert 58, 60
Grainhead, Gretna Green, flint arrow-head 102
Graines, Glencairn, flint knife, core, and flake 101
Green, J. R. 124, 131
Gregory XI., Pope 193
Gretna Green, flint spear-heads 102
Gretna, bronze dagger, 108, 109; flint arrow-heads 102
Gribbel, John 66
Guallauc, King 123
Gufhill Rig, Knockenshang, Bronze Age cairn 105
Guines, Pas-de-Calais 59
Gurthmwl Guledic, the chief elder . 126
Gwynedd, Kingdom of 123
Gynes (Guignes), Arnold, Count of .. 29
Sir Ingelram de 26, 29
Guotadini (see Votadini).
Guyse, Anselm de 58, 59-60
Hackman, James, murderer 69
Haddington 40
Haddow, Rev. J. M., Buittle .. 189, 196
Halyday, —. 23
Hamelake Castle 40
Hamilton, Rev. G., of Gladsmuir ... 73
John, of Ellershaw 82
Hannay (name) 135
Harkars (Herkiles), Robert, of Keillor, 53
Thomas, of Preston 60, 63
Harpoon, River Cree 98
Harry, Blind 21-3, 26, 30, 45
Hastings, R. C., Dumfries 209
Haveringe, John de, Seneschal of Gascony 191
Mr Richard de, Rector of Buittle, 191
Hazelrig, Slain by Wallace 25
Heather Burning, Bracken and (Elliot), 87-95
Hebrides, Inner 133
Helsington, Lands of 42
Hell's Hole fort, Kirkpatrick-Juxta . 115
Hemingburgh, Walter de, "Chronicle," 24, 25, 26, 33, 37, 38, 39, 44
Henderson, R. J., Craigleur, Penicuik, 68
Henry III. of England 41
Herries, Colonel W. D. Young, of Spottes, 189
Heston (Estholme), Isle of 202-3
Hill, Rev. A. Taylor, Glenluce 178
G. F., "St. Michael Archangel" 163
Hisleside, Lands of, near Douglas .. 23
High Rochester, Redesdale, Northumberland 121
Hoddam (Holdelm) 126-7
Hoen, King of the Britons 138
Hogg, Mr, schoolmaster, Wamphray, 168
Hollinshed 55
Hollows Tower, Canonbie, cup and ring marks 110
Holmains, Dalton, jet button 110
Holywood, stone axes, 102; Stone Circle, 105-6

Holywood (Dercongal) Abbey, 127; pottery, glass, and plan of excavations, 209; Kirkyard, bronze dagger 108
Holyrood Abbey 129
HOME, J. H. MILNE: Some Notes on the Rate of Growth and Increment of Forest Trees in Great Britain, 149-159
Hopetoun, John, Earl of 176
Horndene, Eufemia, widow of William de 36
Hornel, E. A. 9, 178
Household plenishing (1733) 174-6
Howgill, Elizabeth, wife of William de Ross (II.b) and John of 42
Thomas, of 42
Huk, William de 33
Huntingdon, David, Earl of 34
Hussa of Northumbria.. 123
Hut-circles 103-4, 112
Hyndford, Lanark, torc 117
Iceland 131
Ida of Northumbria 123
Inchinnan, Renfrewshire 127
Inis Medcaut (Lindisfarne) 123
Insects: Dragon flies (Blackwood), 96; Ixodes ricinus 87
Invercaboch, Lands of, Banff 54
Inverkeithing, Lands of ... 50, 53, 60
Iona 125-6, 129
Ireland 125, 131, 132-3
Iron Age implements, 116-7; brooch, 112; pins 112
Ironhirst (name) 144
Ironmacannie (name) 141
Irishhauche 140
Irishfauld 140
Irsebank 140
Irvine House, Canonbie, Douglas fir . 153
Irvine, town of 24, 25, 26, 30, 32
Irving (Yruyn), Nicolas de, rector of Buittle 193
Isabella, Queen, wife of Robert the Bruce 48
Daughter of William the Lion, wife of Robert de Brus and Robert de Ross, 40
Jet beads, 110; button 110
Johnston, —., in Housdaill (Ewesdaile, or Æ'sdale) 23
Elizabeth, wife of Richard, Lord 70
James, of Wamphray 170, 172-3
Janet, of Wamphray, wife of William Johnstone of Sheens 174
John (1524-67), Laird of 172-3
R. B. 84
Johnston—
Robert, Parson of Lochmaben .. 170
Robert, of Wamphray 173-5
Colonel Robert, of Wamphray ... 176
William, of Sheens and Wamphray, 174
Johnstone-Maxwell feuds 19
Jones, Sir J. Morris 124
Julius Cæsar 112, 119
Kars, William de, Prior of Trayl, St. Mary's Isle 191
Keillor, Lands of, Foulis, Perthshire, 52-3
Keir (name), 147; stone axes 102
Kelloside, Kirkconnel, Stockade .. 111
Kelso, 123; Museum 102
Kelton (Cheletun), Church of, 129; village 31
Kelwood Road 18
Kemp's Castle, Sanquhar, fort 116
Kenneth (name) 136
Kennish, Mrs, Winslow, Berks. 209
Kentigern, St. (Cyndeyrn Garthwys), . 126, 135
Kentwell, Barony of, Suffolk 60
Keswick, Major, of Cowhill 209
Kilblain, Caerlaverock 127
Kilblane, Kirkmahoe 127
Kilblain, Moray, Battle of 49
Kildrummie 62
Killiemingan, Kirkgunzeon 128
Kilmahoe, Kintyre 127
Kilsyth (Kinsith) Castle 22
Kilwinning 134, 137
Kingarth in Bute 127, 129
Kinghorn, Fife 59
Kinpont, Lothian 142
Kintyre 130, 131
Kirkby in Kendal 42
Kirkconnel, Thomas de 36
Kirkconnel, stone axes 102
Kirkcormack (Kirchecormach) Kirk, 129
Kirkcudbright, 31; Castle, 198, 201; Church 135
Kirkgunzeon (name) ... 128, 134, 137
Kirkhill, Wamphray, stone circle .. 106
Kirkintilloch Castle 27-8
Kirkless, Durisdeer, bronze axe ... 108
Kirkmadrine Church and Stones .. 178
Kirkmahoe (name), 127-8, 129; stone axes 102
Kirkmaiden in Farnes, 184; Kirk bell, 179
Kirkmichael Barony, 53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 62-3; flint arrow-head, 102; Lands of, 49; small cairns 104
Kirkpatrick, —. 23
Eufemia de 63
Roger 26

Kirkpatrick-Durham, Lands of ... 200
Kirkpatrick-Juxta, Bronze Age cairns, 105; forts, 115; small cairns, 104; stone axes 102
Knoches, John de 45, 46
Knockinarrow (name) 145
Knocktimpen (name) 144
Knok, John, of that Ilk 46
Knokkes, Peter de, esquire 46
Knox of Fanfurly 46
Kyle 26
Kyrkecovende, Thomas de 36
Lachlanson, John, of Niddesdale, Laird of Durydarach 148
Lamberton Moor, Berwickshire, bronze torc, brooches, bowls, and pateræ, 117-8
Lanark, 25; name 141
Lancaster, Helwise de, wife of Peter Brus of Skelton 42
Langholm, Japanese Larch, 154, 155; stone axes 102
Language, Early, of Dumfries and Galloway 130-148
Lapraik, John 64
La Tene, Switzerland 117
Laurence, St. 138
Laurieknowe 13
Lawton, Mr, factor to M'Douall of Logan 178
Leon, Sir Bartholomew de 60
Leithenhall, Wamphray, 169, 170-1, 173-6; Burn 168
Lesmahago, Prior of 193
Lickein, Lands of, Banff 54
Lincluden, 14; Mote 17
Lindisfarne (Inis Medcaut) 123
Lindsay, Sir Alexander 24, 26, 30
Christian, wife of Sir Ingelram de Gynes 29
Sir James 63
William, of Kirkmichael, channon of Glasgow 62-3
William de 29
Linox, Wamphray 169
Lochar Moss, 12, 13, 15, 17, 23; beaded bronze torc, 117; bronze bowl, 117; flint arrow-heads, 102; flint saw, 102; flint spear-heads 102
Lochar Water 18
Locharwoods 18
Loch Ettrick Pass 23
Lochhouse Tower 168
Loch Katrine (name) 141
Lochmaben, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 26; bronze sword, 108; Castle, 22, 23, 27; Castle Loch, canoe, 111; Castle Loch, crannog, 111; Loch, bronze spear-heads, 108; name .. 141, 147
Loch Urr, Rough Island, crannog . 111
Lochwood Tower 173
Logan, Walter 26
Logan Castle, 179; Estate (Reid), 178-80; Gardens (Arnott), 185-8; House, door knocker 180
London, Tower 24, 27, 28, 51
Loreburn, Earl 9
Lothian 103-4, 125
Loupin Stanes, Hartmanor, Eskdale 106
Love, W. Tyndale 93
Lovel, Hugh, of Enoch 29
Richard, of Enoch 29
Mabie Moss 14, 21
Mabon (name) 141
M'Blane, John, burgess of Wigtown, 137
Macbrenyn, John, perpetual chaplain of Dumfries 194
M'Burnie, John, Sheriff-Clerk, Dumfries, 9, 189
M'Callum, J. A., Dumfries 209
MacCanai, chieftain in Armagh ... 141
MacCinaetha, Suibne, King of the Gall Ghaidheil 136
M'Clellane, Margaret, wife of James Johnstone of Wamphray, 170, 173, 177
Mac-con, Lughaidh, Irish prince ... 131
Macdonald, Dr George 114, 121
M'Dowall (M'Douall), Sir Dougal .. 192
Duncan (Donkan) 26, 31
Patrick, of Logan 179
Messrs, of Logan .. 178, 185, 187, 188
of Garthland 178
M'Ethe (MacGethe), Cuthbert .. 35, 138
Gillcryst 35
Gille Michel 25, 31
Hoen 35, 138
Michael 138
Neel 35, 138
M'Euri, Cuthbert 35
Gillespie 35, 138
MacGabrain, Aedan, King of Dal Riata, 125
M'Ghie (MacKay), name, 138; see also M'Ethe.
MacGiblechyn, Gilbert, of Buittle Parish, 202
MacGilblaan, Gilcomgal 137
M'Gilbochyn, Patrick, in Botill ... 137
MacGilguyn, Cudbert 137
M'Gilherf, Gillenef 35, 137
M'Gillauenan, Duncan 35, 138
M'Gilleconil, Adam 35, 138

MacGillefin, Gillebert 137
MacGillegunnin 134
MacGille Reue, Andrew, son of John, 32, 139
M'Gilleuras, Duncan 35, 138
MacGillewinnin, Gilchrist 134
M'Gillolane, Gilbert 139
M'Gilmotha (M'Gilmocha), Auchmacath, 35, 138
Michael 35, 138
M'Gorth, Michael, chief of Kenelman, 139
MacGorty (name) 139
MacGowan, Clan 48
M'Guffok (M'Guffot), John, Rector of Gevilston 192
M'Harrie, Mr Stair 178
M'Herarde, Nigellus, Kirkandrews . 139
Machou (Makehou), John, son of Duncan, 32, 139
M'Ilgrum, Patrick 192
MacIndolie (Macyndoly), Donald, Rector of Botyl 194, 195
MacKay (M'Ghie), name 138
M'Kean (M'Kan, fitzKane, Can, Cain, M'Gachan) Clan 48
M'Kelli, Kalman and Michael .. 35, 138
M'Kelvie (name) 139
M'Kerrow, M. H. 165, 178
M'Kie, Dr Thomas and Mrs, Dumfries, 164
M'Lellan (M'Lolan), Gilbert, son of Gilbert 192
Sir Matthew 192
name 139
MacMaster (name), sept, in Ardgour 139
Macmonhathe, Gilbert 138
Macmorine, Maurice, Rector of Buittle, 193
Macnab (name) 135
MacRori (Make Rori), Gillepatrick, son of Brice, son of 32, 139
Ninian, son of Thomas 32
MacSalvi, Matthew, son of Maurice, 32, 139
"Maid of Enterkin" (Neilson), 64-76
Maine, Cenel (Maine's Sept) 139
Maisterson, Robert, called 32, 139
Malcolm IV. 12
Malcolm, Earl 23
Mammals: Pigs, 90; Roedeer, 89; Sheep 87
Manau of the Guotodin 123
Mansfield, Lord 153
Mar, Isabella, widow of Donald, Earl of, wife of Sir Geoffrey Mowbray, 57
Marchbank, Agnes, "Upper Annandale," 168
Mareschal, David 58, 60-1
Margaret, Queen of Alexander III. .. 41
Daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, wife of Alan of Galloway .. 34
Markland (name) 132
Marshall, Sir John 57
Martin, St., of Tours 129
Martinton Ford 14
Maryholm 14
Maryport 79
Massilia 119
Matthews, Mrs 9
Mauhinton, Wigtownshire 36
Maxwell, —., of Caerlaverock 23
—., of Carruchan 71
Eustace de, Sheriff of Dumfries, 23, 25
Herbert 26
James, of Kirkconnel 71
James, "Animadversions" 73
John 26
Robert, 5th Lord 173
Robert, 6th Lord 203-4
W. J. H., of Munches 189, 204
Dr William 71
Maxwell-Johnstone feuds 19
Maxwelltown, Goldie Park, cinerary urn 109
Medan, St. 183-4
Melrose, William, Abbot of, 195; monks of 49
Menzies, Mr, head forester, Drumlanrig, 153
Meschin, Randulf 134
Meteorology: Rainfall Records for the South-Western Counties, 1923, 166-7
Methven, Battle of, 51, 58; Lands of, 52, 53
Michael, St., Archangel 160-5
Michaelion, near Constantinople 163
Middlebie, bronze hoard, 117-8; stone axes 103
Miller, Frank 9
Milligan (Ap Molegan, Amuligane). Christopher, Kirkcudbright ... 135
George, Dumfries 135
James 135
John 135
Macrath 36, 134
Thomas, Wigtown 135
Mochoe, Saints 128, 129
Mochua, St. 127-8
Moffat, Auldton 168
Montrose 27
Moray, Sir Andrew 55
Morberbenison, William 201
Morcant, King 123
Morrison, John 180

Morton, the Regent 203-4
Douglases of Dalkeith, Earls of, 202, 203
Morton Castle, 23, 30; canoe 111
Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Bronze Age cairn 105
Motehills 16, 197, 198, 204-7
Mouswald, 18; stone axes 102
Mouswald Place, bronze axe 108
Mowbray, Sir Alexander, son of Sir Roger 49, 54-7, 58
David (de Leon), of Barnbogle and Inverkeithing 60
Eva, of Reidcastle, wife of Sir Philip de Mowbray 58
Cecilia, wife of Sir Nigel Mowbray, 52
Christian de 37, 44, 45, 49-50
Sir Geoffrey de, son of Sir Nigel, 49-50, 52, 63
Master Geoffrey (Godefrey), son of Sir Geoffrey 51, 61
Sir Geoffrey, son of Sir Roger . 56, 57
John de (1299) 38
John (d. 1308), of Methven, son of Sir Geoffrey 50, 51-2, 55
John (d. 1320), son of Roger .. 54
Sir John (d. 1332), son of Sir Philip, Lord of Tours in Vymeu, 58-9, 62, 63
John (d. 1354), son of Geoffrey, chivaler 57
Sir John (1375), of Boulton in Allerdale 56, 57
Margaret, wife of Sir Robert Gower, 58, 60
Nigel de 51
Sir Philip, son of Sir Geoffrey, 51, 52, 54, 58-62, 63
Philippa, wife of Anselm de Guyse and Bartholomew de Leon .. 58, 59-60
Sir Roger (d. 1263) 49-50, 51
Sir Roger, of Methven, son of Sir Geoffrey 51, 52-7, 62, 63
Roger, son of Sir Alexander 56
Richard, son of Sir Geoffrey, 51, 61-2
William, son of Sir Geoffrey 51
Sir William, son of Sir Roger . 56, 57
Mugint of Whithorn 126
Mullach, Kirkmahoe, fort 115
Munches 189
Mundeville, Henry de 26
Murraythwaite, Sitka Spruce 151
Murthly, Perthshire, Douglas Firs . 153
Nable, John 57
Names: Personal, 134-140; Place, Dumfries and Galloway .. 130-2, 140-8
Nechtansmere, Battle of 125
Nede, son of Adna 131
NEILSON, GEORGE, 9, 77-8; The Maid of Enterkin 64-76
Nennius 123
Neville's Cross, Battle of 57
Newbattle (Nobotill), William, Abbot of, 195
Newburn (Nithbren), Fife 122
Newbury, Hants, Sitka Spruce .. 157-8
Newcastle-on-Tyne 36, 37
Newstead, Roman Station 117, 121
Newton Rigg, Holywood, cinerary urn, 109
Niduari 122
Ninian, St. 129, 184, 196
Nith, name, 122, 133; River, 12, 13-16, 21
Nithsdale, 25, 26, 134; forts, 113; Lower, Natural Determinants of Routes in (Ballantyne), 10-21; Sheriffship of 48
Nodha river, Lorne 122
Norham 33
Northampton, Treaty of 54
Northumbria 123, 124, 125, 131
Norse 133
Novantae 120, 126
Novios, river 122
Nudd the Dumnonian 120
Oan, superior of Eigg 138
Ochiltree, Ayrshire 122
Oendruim (Noendruim), Magee Island, Ireland 128, 129
Olaf, King of Man 34
Orcas, Cape 119
Orlygr, a Norseman 129
Ormsby, the justiciary 25
Osbern, St. 127
Osbran, St. 127
Oswald, King 125
Mrs, of Auchencruive 70
Richard, of Auchencruive 70
Oswestry, Shropshire 124
Otadini (see Votadini).
Owein, son of Urien of Reged .. 123-4
Palgrave, Sir Francis 124
Paris 28
Park of Closeburn, bronze axe 108
Parker, Dom. John, vicar-pensioner of Buittle 196
Parton Mote 206
Paterson, J., History of Wamphray, 172
Patrick, St. 128
Pembroke, Aymer de Valence, Earl of, 59
Pembroke College, Cambridge 59
Pen of Ettrick 142
Pennersaughs, Annandale 140
Pennyland (name) 132
Penpont (name) 142, 147

Penrionyd (Rhinns of Galloway) .. 126
Penyngton, Sir Alex. de 50
Percy, Henry de 24, 25-6
Perth 25
Philip of France 30
Picts 123, 125, 131, 132-3
Pinhannet, Ayrshire 128
Pinkie, Battle of 172
Pit dwellings, Glenluce 98
Place Names (see Names, place).
Playnmelore, Lands of, Tyndale ... 43
Pliny 119
Polmaloche, William de 36
Polskeoch, Penpont, flint arrow-head, 102
Portnerrock 184
Portree (Port Rig), Portpatrick .. 131
Presfen, Michael de, of Belford 61
Pressen (Prestefen) 37
Preston, Barony of, Kirkbean, 60, 63, 71, 204
Ptolemy 120, 121, 122, 126
Pumpla (name) 142
Pytheas 119
Querns 112, 118
Radulf, son of Dunegal de Stranith, 134, 136, 146
Raeburn Bog, Eskdalemuir, bronze axe, 108
Ragman Roll 35, 36, 52, 134, 146
Ramsay, Nicolas, Lord of Dalhousie, 180
Randolph, Thomas 30
Range Castle, Dalton, fort 116
Raskelf, Yorks, Lands of 50
Rawnsdale (Rawynsdaill), —., keeper of Kilsyth Castle 23
Ray, Miss 69
Reged, Province of 124, 148
Reginald of Durham 135
REID, R. C., 9, 121, 168, 178; Buittle Castle, 197-204; Buittle Church, 189-197; Logan Estate, 178-180; St. Medan's Cave, 180-4; The Tragedy of Wamphray ... 169-177
Re-rigonion 126
Rerik of Dalbeattie 202
Rhinns of Galloway (Penrionyd), 126, 131, 183
Riccarton, Midlothian, Abies grandis, 156
Richard, son of Robert 133
Riddell, Maria, of Woodley Park . 71-2
Robert, of Glenriddle, 66-7, 69, 72, 74, 82
Walter, of Woodley Park 68, 72
Riderch Hael, King of Strathclyde, 123, 124
Rigmoor, Gretna, flint arrow-heads . 102
Roads: Natural Determinants of Routes in Lower Nithsdale (Ballantyne), 10-21; Annan, 20; Bankend, 18; Castle-Douglas, 20; Cockpool-Locharwoods, 18; Dalbeattie, 20; Georgetown, 18; Kelwood, 18; Glencaple, 18; Glasgow, 19; Moffat-Edinburgh, 15; Roucan-Brownrigg 18
Robert I. (The Bruce, Earl of Carrick), 26, 29, 30, 47-8, 53, 54, 58, 61, 62, 201-2, 203.
Robert II. (Earl of Strathearn), 53, 63
Robgill, Ruthwell, flint knife and arrow-head, 102; flint scraper 101
Rogerson, Dr John, of Wamphray . 177
Roland, Lord of Galloway 206-7
Rollo, Isabella, wife of Robert Johnstone of Wamphray .. 174, 176, 177
Lord 174
Roman Camps, 204-5; forts, 114; roads, 11; wall, Hadrian's 123
Roslin, Sir Thomas 57
Ross, Christiana, wife of Robert de (II.) 40, 42
Isabel, (III.b), wife of John de Knoches 44, 45-8
Isabel, wife of Marmaduke de Twenge 39
Margaret (III.a), wife of John Salveyn 44, 45-7, 48
Robert de (I.), "Furfan," of Hamelak and Werk 40
Robert de (II.), of Hamelake and Werk 40, 41, 42, 43
Robert (IV.), of Hamelake and Belvoir 41, 43, 44
Robert (I.a), of Werk and Kendal, 41-3
Sir Robert de (II.a), of Werk, 36-38, 40, 42-5, 46, 49-50
William de, of Ingmanthorpe, Yorks, 39
William (III.), of Hamelake and Trusbutt 41, 42, 43, 46
William (V.), of Werk 41, 44
William de (II.b), 27, 38-9, 42-4, 46
Roucan-Brownrigg causeway 18
Roxburgh Castle, 24, 37; Fair, 40 41
Ruthwell 17, 18, 21
Rutland, Duke of 44
Ryemuir Gap 17
Ryehill, Sanquhar, arrow-head 102
St. Colmonell's Well, Buittle 196
St. John, Sir John, of Buittle, 29, 200-1
St. Kilda 144
St. Medan's Cave (Reid) 180-4
St. Medan's Chapel 180-2, 184

St. Mungo parish 127
St. Pol, Mary de, wife of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke 59
St. Pol, Pas-de-Calais 59
Sabina, St. 184
Salveyn, Gerard, of North Duffield and Harsewell 45-6
John 44, 45
Sanquhar (Senewar), Bronze Age cairns, 105; Lands and Castle, 24, 26, 36, 41, 43, 45, 47-8; name, 147; small cairns. 104; stone axes, 102; Wallace's Capture of (Smith) .. 21-63
Saunforde, Thomas de 25, 32
Saxon burhs 205
Scots 124-5
Scott, Robert, of Wamphray 172
Selby, Dr, Portwilliam 178
Selgovae 11, 120-1
Semple, Dr William 9
Senwick, Lands of 31
Serf, St. 137
Seven Brethren, Whiteholm Rig, Tundergarth 106
Sheep, Bracken and 87
Sheriffship of Nithsdale 48
SHIRLEY, G. W., 78, 79, 100; "Growth of a Scottish Burgh." 13, 16; Notes on the Arms of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries 160-5
Shuttlefield, Lockerbie, bronze blade, 109; cinerary urn 109
Sillar, David 64
Simon of Dre (Ayr), rector of Buittle, 191
Siward, John 28
Mary, widow of Simon Frissel, wife of Sir Richard 28, 29
Sir Richard, elder and younger of Tibbers 26, 28-9
Skene, W. F., 122, 124, 133, 146, 148
Slacks Farm, Tinwald, stone hammer, 107
Slethan, Martin, son of Ivo de . 32, 138
Sloan (name) 135
Sluys 28
Smeaton, East Lothian, Sitka Spruce, 151
SMITH, A. CAMERON: Wallace's Capture of Sanquhar and the Rising in the South-West, with accounts of the Rosses of Wark and Sanquhar and of the Mowbrays of Kirkmichael 21-63
W. J., architect, Dumfries 165
Prof. Wright 84
Solway (name) 121, 124, 126
Solway Firth 120
Soulis, Sir John 29-30
Soulis conspiracy 52, 53, 54
Spaldington, Osbert de 44
Springfield, Dunscore, bronze spear-head, 108
Springfieldfoot, Dunscore, bronze axe, 108
Staig, Anna, Dumfries 82
Standard Brae, Farding, Keir, flint arrow-head 102
Stephen, Rev. William, "History of Inverkeithing and Rosyth" 49
Stewart, Sir Edward M'Taggart 178
Sir James the 30
John 26, 30
Stiddrig, Kirkpatrick-Juxta, long cairn, 99
Stirling, —., West Indian planter, of Wamphray 177
Stirling (Stryvelin), Alexander, son of John de 44
Stirling Bridge, 22, 32, 38, 39, 42, 46; Castle 38, 58
Stock enclosures 111-2
Stockade, Kelloside, Kirkconnel 111
Stone-circles 103, 105-6
Stone implements, 100-3, 105; arrowheads, 101, 102; axe-hammers, 107; axes, 102-3; axe, Dumfries, 209; flints (Azilian), Stranraer, 98; hammers, 107; knives, 101, 102; saw, Lochar Moss, 102; scrapers, 101; spear-heads 102
Stranith (name) 122, 134
Stranraer, flints (Azilian) 98
Strathbroke (Uphall), Lands of, Linlithgow 57
Strathclyde 120, 131
Strathearn, Countess of 52
Malise, 5th Earl of 52
Strathoune, Barony, Banff 54
Strath Irvine, Ayrshire 130
Strathmilligan (name) 141
Stubhille, Maurice de 25, 31-2
Suffolk Hill 13
Suibne mac Cinaetha, King of the Gall Ghaidheil 136
Sun-dial from Leithenhall, Ericstance, 176
Sweetheart Abbey, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194-6, 200; carved soapstone from, 209
Sypland (Cyplaunde), Kirkcudbright, 31
Tacitus 119
Talbot, Sir Richard 57
Tara, Ireland 122
Taymount, Douglas Firs 153
Terregles (name) 128
Threave Castle 203
Thomas of Galloway 33-5

Thornhill 19
Thornton, Northumberland 27
Three Mullach Hill, Dryfe Water .. 121
Tibbers (Tybris) Castle ... 22, 27, 28-9
Timohoe, Ireland 127
Timpan Head, Lewis 144
Tinwald, 13; bronze spear-head, 108; stone axes 102
Toiseach-direacht, office of 148
Tonnebrigge, Lands of 55
Tothia-daroch, office of, in Nithsdale, 148
Torrkatrine (name) 141
Torthorwald, Thomas de 26
Torthorwald 15, 18, 21
Townfoot Loch, Closeburn, bronze axe, 108
Townhead, Closeburn, flint arrow-head, 102
Trabeattie (name) 142
Tracht Romra (Solway) 126
Trailflat (name) 142
Trailtrow (name) 142
Traprain Law (Dunpelder), fort, 113, 116-17, 120; name 143
Trayl, William de Kars, prior of .. 191
Trees: Some Notes on the Rate of Growth and Increment of Forest Trees in Great Britain (Home) 149-159
Tref (W.), homestead 140, 142
Tregallon (name) 142
Trevercarcou (name) 142
Trimontium 121
Troqueer Mote, 13, 16; parish .. 31, 65
Troston, Glencairn 142
Trostrie (name) 142
Trotter, Dr Robert 132
Tungland, Abbot of 191
Turin Exhibition 165
Turner, Ex-Provost 189
Tweed, river 36
Twelve Apostles, Holywood 105-6
Twenge, Marmaduke de, of Kilton Castle, Yorks 39, 42, 50
Sir Marmaduke de, yr. 38-9
Twynham, Sir Walter, son of Richard de, 36
Tyllol, Geoffrey de 43
Tyndale 61
Tyne 123
Tynron, Bronze Age cairns, 105; Doon fort, 113, 115; name, 147-8; stone axes 102
Tyrsete, Northumberland 27
Uchtred of Galloway 134, 137
Umfraville, Ingelram de 26
Uphall (Strathbroke), Linlithgow .. 57
Urbgen or Urien, King 123
Urien of Reged 123-5
Urns 105, 109-10
Urr, Mote of, 189; (Reid) 204-7
Uxellum 121-2
Valence, Joan de, wife of John Comyn (the Red) of Badenoch 59
Veitch, "Manual of the Coniferæ," 152, 154
Vipont, William, of Bolton, Lothian, 54
Votadini (Otadini, Guotodin, Gododdin, Fotudain) 120, 123
Vymeu, Somme 59
Wald Ridge 15, 17, 18
Waldeve, son of Gilchrist 137
Wales, North 123
Wallace, William, Capture of Sanquhar (Smith), 21-3, 25, 26, 29, 30, 32, 37, 38.
Wallace Hall, Closeburn, arrow-heads, 102, 110; cinerary urns 110
Wamphray, Bighill Bank, 174; Castle, 168, 171, 173-7; Church, 168, 169-70 Kirklands of, 170; The Linox 169; Manse, 169; Mote, 168, 170-1, 177; name, 148; Norse burial stone 168, 169; Place, 168, 169, 171, 173-7; stone axes, 102; The Tragedy of (Reid), 169-177; Water 168, 174
Wardlaw, Cardinal, Bishop of Glasgow, 193
Wardlaw Hill, Caerlaverock, fort .. 116
Wark Castle (on Tweed), 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46; Lands of 40, 41, 43
Warren, Earl of, Custodian of Scotland, 25, 31, 38
Sir William Fitz 38
Watch Hill, Loch Skene, jet bead .. 110
WATSON, W. J.: The Celts (British and Gael) in Dumfriesshire and Galloway 119-148
Wells, Holy, St. Colmonell's Well, Buittle, 197; St. Medan's Cave 182-3
Werk Castle (Tynedale), 37, 42-3, 44
West of Scotland Agricultural College 91
Westerkirk (Westerker), Lands of . 29
Westholme, Vancouver 152
Westmoreland, Sheriff of 33
Weston, Thomas de 60
White, Dr Buchanan 96
Whitecastles, Hutton and Corrie, stone circle 106
Whitehills Moss, Lochmaben, bronze cauldron 109
Whiteholm Rig, Tundergarth, stone circle 106

Whitestanes Moor, Kirkmahoe, hut circle 104
Whithorn (Candida Casa), 19, 129; Anglic Bishopric, 125-6; Master Andrew, Clerk to Bishop of, 192; Master Patrick, Archdeacon of, 192; Thomas, Bishop of, 195, 196; Simon, Bishop of, 191; Bishop of 193
Wigtown, 35, 137; Castle 200, 201
Wigtownshire 124
William the Conqueror 206
William the Lion 12, 40
William of Malmsbury 125
Windyedge, Canonbie, long cairns, 99, 104
Wishart, Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, 24, 30, 61
Wood, Adam, Skeldon, Dalrymple, Ayrshire 68
Woodley Park 72
Wyllie's Wood, Kirkbean, urn 105
Wyntoun, Andrew of 61
Yarrow Kirk 120
Young, Miss, of Youngfield (Lincluden), 82
Younger, Sir William, of Auchen Castle, 168-9
Zouche Family, Lands in Nithsdale and Galloway 31, 36

Thos. Hunter, Watson & Co., Ltd., Dumfries.

Publications of the Society.

Transactions and Journal of Proceedings:—(a) 1862-3, *7s 6d;* (b) 1863-4, *out of print;* (c) 1864-5, *out of print;* (d) 1865-6, *out of print;* (e) 1866-7, *out of print;* (f) 1867-8, *out of print;* New Series (1) 1876-8, *out of print;* (2) 1878-80, *out of print;* (3) 1880-3, *out of print;* (4) 1883-6, *5s;* (5) 1886-7, *5s;* (6) 1887-90, *7s 6d;* (7) 1890-1, *3s;* (8) 1891-2, *out of print;* (9) 1892-3, *7s 6d;* (10) 1893-4, *7s 6d;* (11) 1894-5, *out of print;* (12) 1895-6, *5s;* (13) 1896-7, *5s;* (14) 1897-8, *5s;* (15) 1898-9, *5s;* (16) 1899-1900, *5s;* (17, pts. 1 and 2) 1900-2, *3s 6d;* (17, pt. 3), 1902-3, *2s 6d;* (17, pt. 4), 1903-4, *2s 6d;* (17, pt. 5), 1904-5, *5s;* (18) 1905-6, *7s 6d;* (19) 1906-7, *5s;* (20) 1907-8, *5s;* (21) 1908-9, *5s;* (22) 1909-10, *5s;* (23) 1910-11, *7s 6d;* (24) 1911-12, *10s 6d;* Third Series (i.) 1912-13, *10s 6d;* (ii.) 1913-14, *7s 6d;* (iii.) 1914-15, *7s 6d;* (iv.) 1915-16, *5s;* (v.) 1916-18, *out of print;* (vi.) 1918-19, *7s 6d;* (vii.) 1919-20, *10s 6d;* (viii.) 1920-21, *10s 6d;* (ix.) 1921-22, *10s 6d;* (x.) 1922-23, *10s 6d;* (xi.) 1923-24, *10s 6d.*

A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, by James M'Andrew, 1882, *out of print.*

Birrens and its Antiquities, with an Account of Recent Excavations and their Results, by Dr James Macdonald and Mr James Barbour, 1897, *3s 6d.*

Communion Tokens, with a Catalogue of those of Dumfriesshire, by the Rev. H. A. Whitelaw, 1911, *7s 6d.*

History of the Dumfries Post Office, by J. M. Corrie, 1912, *5s.*

The History of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, by H. S. Gladstone, 1913, *3s 6d*

The Ruthwell Cross, by W. G. Collingwood, profusely illustrated, 1917, *3s 6d.*

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. I., "Edgar's History of Dumfries, 1746," edited with illustrations and ten pedigree charts, by R. C. Reid, 1916, *12s 6d.*

Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire, by Hugh S. Gladstone, 1923, *10s.*

A Bibliography of the Parish of Annan, by Frank Miller, F.S.A. Scot., *5s.*

Mr M. H. M'Kerrow, 43 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries, will answer enquiries regarding the above, and may be able to supply numbers out of print.