

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY  
NATURAL HISTORY  
AND  
ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862

**TRANSACTIONS**

AND

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

1960-61

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XXXIX.

*Editors*

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

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Members working on local Natural History and Antiquarian subjects should communicate with one of the Editors. Papers may be submitted at any time. Preference is always given to original work on local subjects.

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This volume is produced with the aid of a generous grant from the Carnegie Trust for Scottish Universities and the blocks for the article on Raeburnfoot are kindly provided by Glasgow University.

### NOTE

The long delay in the publication of our last volume was due to the change of ownership of our Publishers, now taken over by G. Outram of Glasgow, and by the health of one of the Editors. As a result we have to express our regret not only at the delay in publication but also for a distressing list of Errata. The number of that volume should read XXXVIII instead of XXXVII and an apology is due to Miss Rosemary Cramp for omitting her name in article No. I. as author, on Anglian Crosses, as well as the transposition of the captions of Plates I. and II. facing p. 16 in the same article.



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## ARTICLE 2.

**Excavations At Raeburnfoot, Eskdalemuir,  
1959-1960**

By Miss ANNE ROBERTSON.

The isolated, remote Roman site of Raeburnfoot lies in Eskdalemuir, on a plateau about 14 miles north of Langholm. Dr Horace Fairhurst, Senior Lecturer in Geography in the University of Glasgow, describes the site as follows:

“The Roman site lies at an elevation of some 650 ft. on top of a low hill overlooking the flood plain of the Esk to the south-west, and the much narrower flood plain of the Rae Burn to the south-east, just above the junction of the two. The valleys of these rivers have been cut broadly into the hard Silurian rocks of the uplands around but the lower slopes are mantled thickly with boulder clay in which the flood plains have been developed (1 in. Geol. Survey, Sheet 16 (Drift)). The hill surmounted by the Roman site is part of this mantle and consists of stiff clay intermixed with numerous angular and sub-angular stones and boulders.”

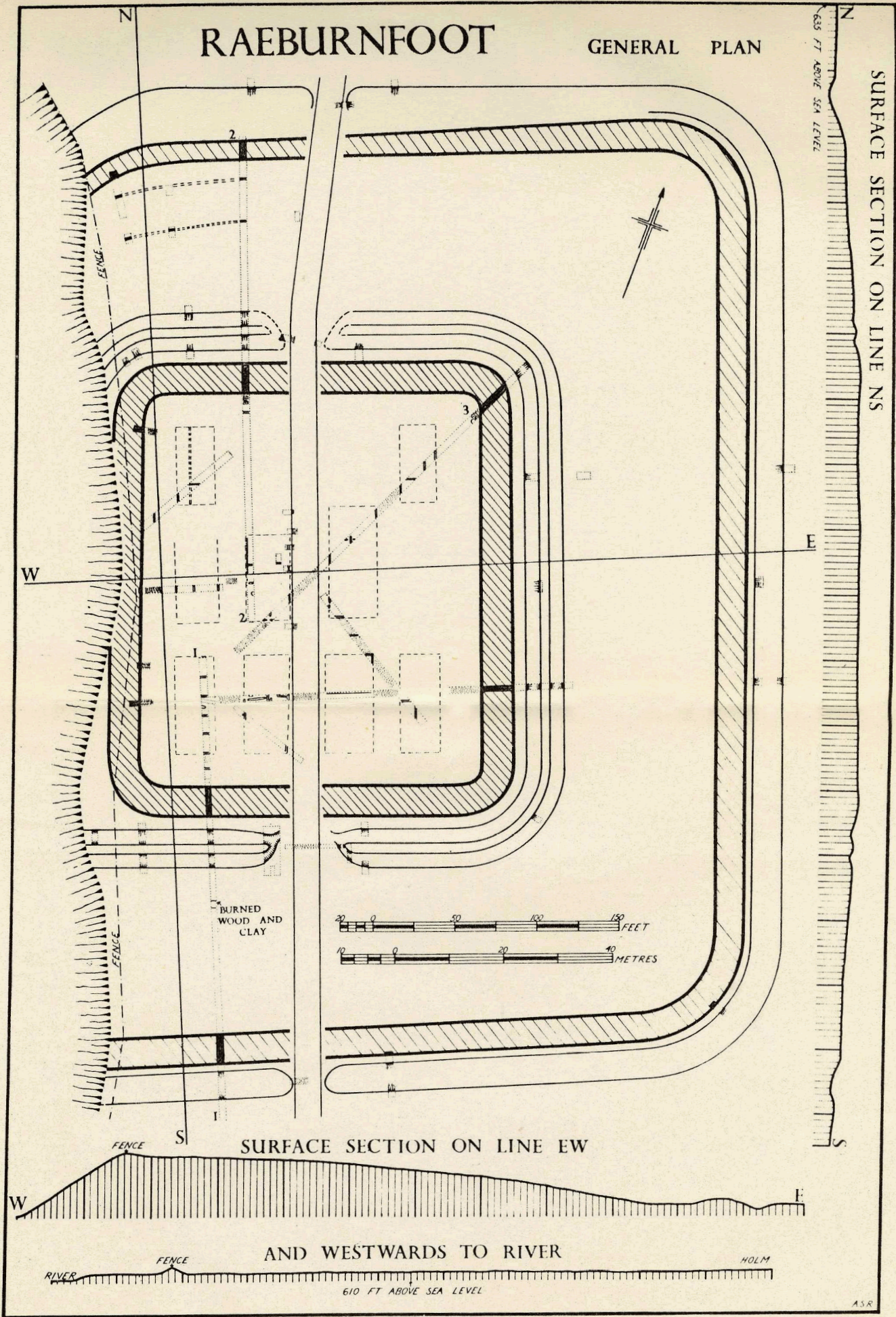
On the west side the site rises sharply about 40 ft. above the level of the “holm” between it and the River Esk, and falls gently to low marshy ground on the east side and to the Rae Burn on the south side. On the north side a natural hollow separates the site from the rising moorland beyond. The view northwards is, in fact, cut off by hills, of which the most prominent and obstructive is Moodlaw Knowe. Southwards, down the valley of the Esk, there is a less interrupted view, but clearer still is the outlook eastwards up the valley of the Rae Burn, and westwards through an opening in the hills on the opposite side of the Esk valley.

The *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Eskdalemuir Parish, 1841, 401 ff., 420) preserves a tradition that there was a Roman road running up the Esk valley as far as Raeburnfoot, and establishes the site itself as probably of Roman origin. Its Roman origin was confirmed by Mr James Barbour in excavations carried out there in 1897



# RAEBURNFOOT

## GENERAL PLAN



*These plans are reproduced experimentally by Xerography.*



(*T.D. and G.N.H. and A.S.*, xiv, 1898, 17 ff.). Mr Barbour's plan shows the now-familiar two enclosures, one inside the other. The inner, smaller enclosure was defended by a rampart and two ditches; the outer, larger enclosure was delimited by a rampart and one ditch. There were no apparent surviving traces of a west rampart to either enclosure. It was assumed that the west sides of both enclosures had been eroded away by the River Esk. The plan shows gates in the north, south and east sides of the inner enclosure, and in the north and south sides of the outer enclosure.

James Barbour's excavations included one long trench cut from north to south across ramparts and ditches of both enclosures, besides shorter sections through the defences. In other trenches cobbling was discovered at the north and south entrances of both enclosures, and at the presumed site of the east entrance of the inner enclosure. The central road linking the north and south entrances was found, with about 60 ft. of covered drain running along its west edge just south of the north entrance of the inner enclosure. The remains of stone pavements or platforms were encountered in the west half of the inner enclosure.

From the Barbour excavations, a few coarse potsherds, mainly amphora fragments, were recovered, besides pieces of charred wood, and scraps of iron and glass. Part of a socketed stone was found near the south entrance of the inner enclosure.

The description of the site in *R.C.A. and H.M., Dumfriesshire Inventory*, 1920, 68 ff., is based on James Barbour's excavations, supplemented by ground survey.

Almost fifty years passed before further excavation took place on the site—in 1946, under the direction of Dr J. K. S. St. Joseph. Trenching in the inner enclosure showed that its rampart was built of turf, and was apparently 27 ft. wide. Sleeper trenches, one of them at



least 48 ft. long, were discovered in the north-west sector of the inner enclosure, along with patches of cobbling. The rampart of the outer enclosure was tested in one trial-hole, and appeared to be of clay and gravel. A scrap of coarse cooking pot was recovered. Drawings of the 1897 potsherds and a discussion of them by Professor Eric Birley established an Antonine occupation of the site (*T.D. and G.N.H. and A.S.* (3), xxiv, 1947, 152 ff.).

At about the same time, Dr St. Joseph, Professor Ian Richmond and Mr Angus Graham discussed the road-connections of the site at Raeburnfoot (*T.D. and G.N.H. and A.S.* (3), xxiv, 1947, 155, *P.S.A.S.*, 1945-7, 103 ff., 1948, 231 ff.). They have traced a Roman road for 10 miles up the Rae Burn, and on north-eastwards past a possible Roman signal station at Craik Cross (*T.D. and G.N.H. and A.S.* (3), xxiv, 151 f.), where it seemed to be making straight for the Eildon Hills. It probably led ultimately to the fort at Newstead on the Tweed. So far no certain remains have been identified of a Roman road running south down the valley of the Esk, however probable the existence of such a road may seem to be, but there is a continuation of the line of the Rae Burn road south-westwards across the Esk to Dryfesdale and on perhaps to the Roman road running up Annandale.

At Raeburnfoot itself, it has generally been accepted that there were two successive forts, the outer being the earlier and the inner being the later (Cp. Prof. Richmond in *P.S.A.S.*, 1945-7, 105). In fact, the site has been regarded as comparable to Castleshaw in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where, too, there were two superimposed forts, the outer of which was apparently of 1st century date (F. A. Bruton, *The Roman Forts at Castleshaw*, First and Second Interim Reports, 1908, 1911, and *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1959, 109. Publication forthcoming).

In 1959 and 1960, two short seasons of excavation, each of a fortnight's duration, were carried out under the

auspices of the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, and with the indispensable co-operation of Mr James Robertson, County Surveyor for Dumfriesshire, and of Dr R. C. Reid, Mr A. E. Truckell, Mr R. Little, and Mr W. F. Cormack of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society; Miss Anne Corrigan (now Mrs Laing), Miss Mary Wood and Mr Thomas A. Hendry, all from the Glasgow Archæological Society, acted as assistants on the excavation, and Miss E. Fullen, of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, rendered yeoman service on the cleaning up of stonework, etc. The Forestry Commission made available on loan labour of a very high quality. Permission to excavate was granted by Mr Antony Masheter, then owner of Raeburnfoot Farm. To Mr Masheter and his wife most grateful thanks are due for their interest and kindness.

In 1959 a long trench was cut from south to north, from the south ditch of the outer enclosure and through the defences of the inner enclosure into the interior of the latter (See General Plan and Section 1, Fig. 1). Another trench, at right angles to the first, was dug eastwards across the inner enclosure and its eastern defences. Shorter trenches (in conjunction with a ground survey) established the exact outline and dimensions of the defences of the two enclosures, and discovered certain structural remains in the inner enclosure.

In 1960 a long trench was cut from the north rampart of the outer enclosure through the north ditches and rampart of the inner enclosure and into its interior (See General Plan and Section 2, Fig. 2). Two long diagonal trenches and other shorter trenches sought for remains of internal buildings in the inner enclosure and sectioned its rampart at the north-east corner (See General Plan and Section 3, Fig. 3).

### THE INNER ENCLOSURE

The inner enclosure was almost an exact rectangle, with rounded corners. It measured internally almost 240 ft. from north to south and 200-210 ft. from east to west. It had therefore an internal area of about an acre.

The north and south sides of the inner enclosure were exactly parallel to one another, but its east and west sides were not. The west rampart in fact seemed to incline slightly to the east as it ran from south to north along the precipitous scarp above the "holm" of the River Esk. This inclination slightly away from the scarp was but one of several hints that the layout of Roman structures at Raeburnfoot was dictated by the proximity of a steep scarp or bluff whose position in Roman times was not very different from what it is now.

The small enclosure or fort was defended by a turf rampart about 20 ft. wide, set, at least in the case of the south side, on about 6 in. of clayey earth (humus in Roman times) above the clay subsoil (Section 1, Fig. 1). The section through the north rampart showed that here the Roman humus seemed to have been stripped from the subsoil before the rampart turves had been laid down (See Section 2, Fig. 2). At the north-east corner there was a slight natural slope in the ground, and here the Roman humus had been removed and the clay subsoil stepped down twice, once by about a foot, and again by a few inches, in order to provide a level bed for the rampart (See Section 3, Fig. 3). From the Roman surface a growth of small trees had apparently been cleared before the rampart was laid down. A few pieces of cut birch were found under the east rampart. (The wood was identified by Mr D. W. Brett, Lecturer in Botany in Glasgow University). In 1946, Dr St. Joseph also found pieces of cut birch in a section cut through the north rampart (*T.D. and G.N.H. and A.S.* (3) xxiv, 1947, 153).

The laid turves of the rampart were found surviving to a height of 2-3 ft. above the Roman surface. The dark

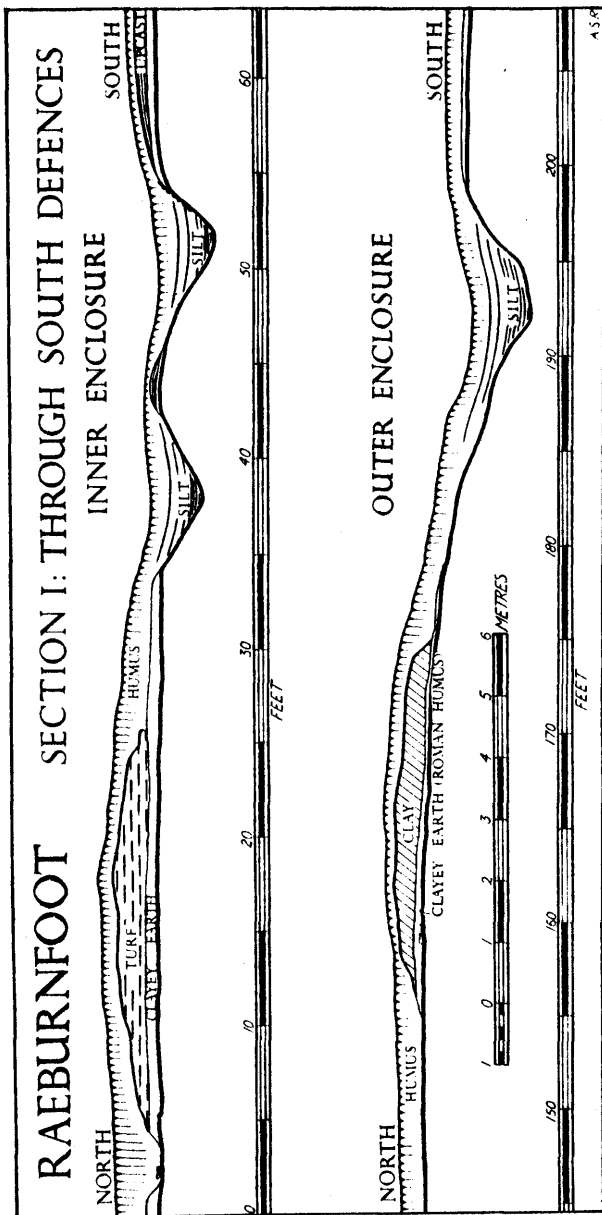


FIG. 1

*These plans are reproduced experimentally by Xerography.*

lines of decayed turf were most strikingly preserved in a section cut through the north rampart (Section 2, Fig. 2) and in another at the north-east corner (Section 3, Fig. 3). The dark lines were noticeably closer to one another near the bottom of the rampart, probably through compression of the lower turves by the weight of those above.

On the west side of the fort, the rampart was not preserved for its whole width, the outer part of it having collapsed down the scarp. At five points, however, the laid turf at the inner side of the west rampart was discovered, thus giving the line shown on the General Plan. On the west side, as at the north-east corner, there had been some levelling of the ground to provide a level bed for the rampart.

Behind the rampart, a platform of large cobbles was found on all four sides of the small enclosure. It was particularly well preserved along the west side (as James Barbour also discovered in 1897), on the north side and at the north-east corner. In the section cut on the south side (Section 1, Fig. 1), the platform had lost most of its cobbled surface, and has apparently been cut through near its south edge by a U-shaped post-Roman trench, possibly dug by James Barbour's workmen.

The cobbled platform was 6-8 ft. wide (or possibly more on the west side), and it had apparently served as a slightly raised walk behind the rampart. It presumably gave access (perhaps by means of ladders) to a walk on top of the rampart. Under the platform behind the north rampart (Section 2, Fig. 2) there was found a tiny scrap of charred wood. Just behind the platform at the north-east corner there was an ash-filled hole resembling part of the stoke-hole of an oven. On the inner side of the cobbled platform and parallel to it, a narrow trench or gutter, about 1 ft. wide and over 6 in. deep, was found, at least on the north, south and west sides of the enclosure. On the inner side of the gutter or trench were slight

remains of a narrow intervallum street or lane, at least 8 ft. wide.

Outside the rampart there was a berm about 7 ft. wide, and then two V-shaped ditches, each not more than 10 ft. wide and 3-4 ft. deep, separated from one another by a bank about 4 ft. wide, which had been heightened a little by a crest of upcast (See Sections 1 and 2, Figs. 1 and 2). Upcast from the outer of the two ditches had been thrown out on the outer side, and the counterscarp of the outer ditch appeared, in some sections at least, to have been hardened with small stones (See Section 1, Fig. 1). There was natural silting in the ditches, very heavy and peaty at the bottom. Here and there in the filling of the inner ditch was a scrap of fallen turf. In the filling of both ditches were scattered stones.

The two ditches of the small enclosure are still clearly visible on the north and south sides, so that a combination of ground survey and selective, economical trenching made it possible to trace their exact course. One slightly unexpected result was the discovery that the two south ditches apparently ran straight to the edge of the western scarp, as it now survives, while the two north ditches curved round southwards, following closely the curve of the rampart. Here seemed to be yet another indication that there was a scarp in Roman times which extended slightly further west at the south end of the inner enclosure than it did at the north end. This not only dictated a line for the west rampart which forced it to diverge from a course parallel to that of the east rampart, but it allowed the south ditches to run further west than the north ditches. There was in fact no sign that the south ditches ever did curve round northwards at the south-west corner of the inner enclosure. They looked as if they had simply run straight on until they reached the edge of the scarp in Roman times.

The 1959-1960 excavations established the existence of only two entrances to the inner enclosure. No entrance

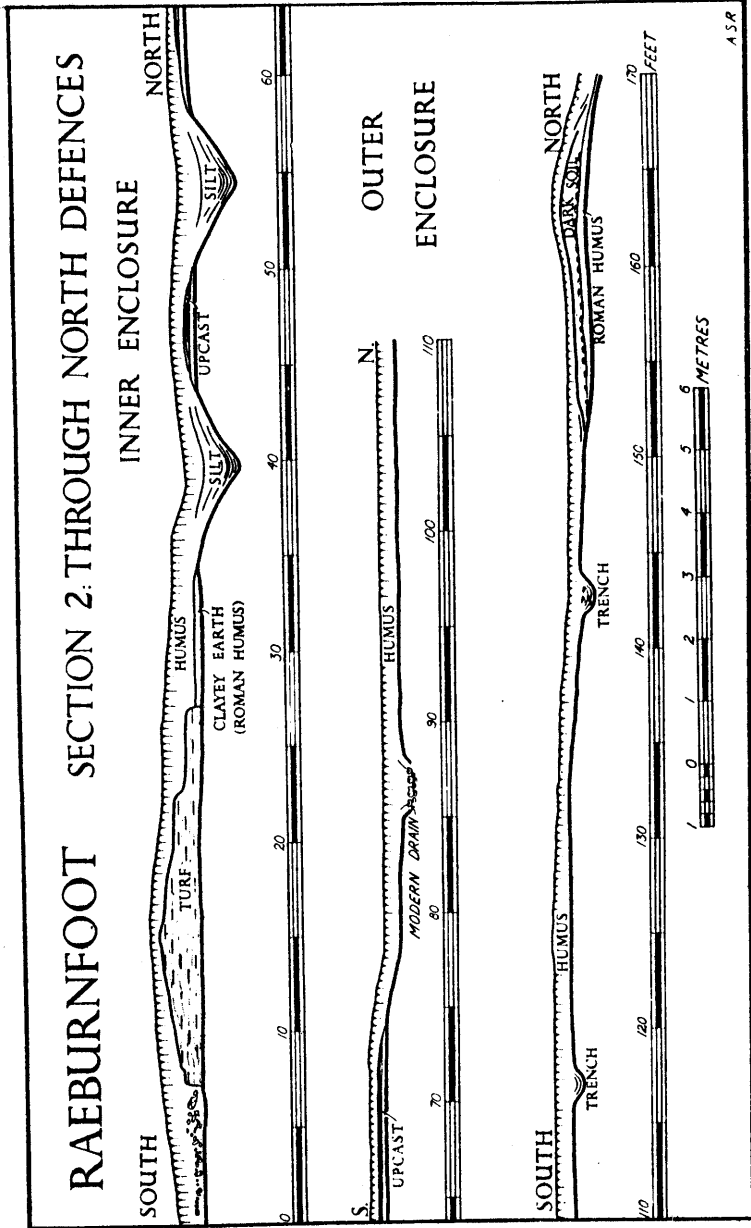


FIG. 2

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was to be looked for on the west side, high on its precipitous scarp, and laid turf was in fact discovered at the mid point of the west side, in the position to be expected for an entrance if one had ever existed. James Barbour's plan (followed by the *R.C.A. and H.M., Dumfriesshire Inventory*, 1920, 69) does, however, show an entrance in the east side, and he apparently found large cobbles and paving at the mid point of the east side which he connected with a gate structure (*T.D. and G.N.H. and A.S.*, xiv, 1898, 23 f.). It came, therefore, as a surprise to find that the inner ditch of the small enclosure was uninterrupted opposite the mid point of the east side. Over 6 ft. of its length was exposed at this point. It may be that in James Barbour's time there was a deceptive hollow at about the mid point of the east side, which was misconstrued as an entrance. The cobbles and paving may have come simply from a platform behind the rampart, and possibly from an intervallum street.

At the north and south entrances of the inner enclosure the rampart-ends were not sought for, but the road connecting the two entrances was traced both at the entrances themselves and at a number of points inside the enclosure (See General Plan). It was 16 ft. wide, with a pronounced camber; presumably the actual entrance passages were a few feet wider.

At the south entrance, it was established that the two ditches combined into one, the outer ditch swinging in to join the inner ditch, and the combined ditch-end then sending off a branch towards the road, as if to drain water from the road, or from a road-gutter. Ground observation and a little trenching indicated that the two ditches combined in the same way at the north entrance also. James Barbour's excavations disclosed a covered drain accompanying the road from the north entrance, on its west side, southwards into the enclosure for a distance of about 60 ft. (*T.D. and G.N.H. and A.S.*, xiv, 1898, 23). The little



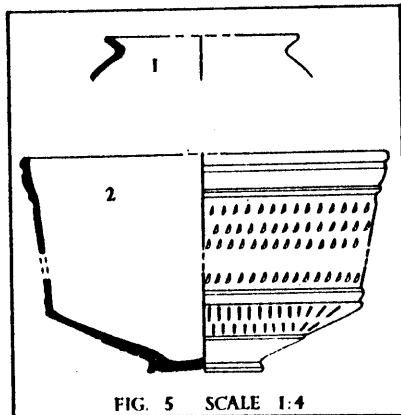
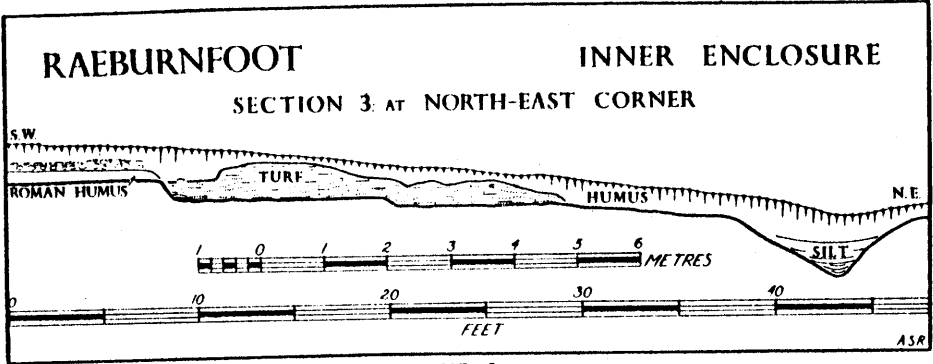
trenching done in 1959 at the north entrance did not re-discover this.

Trenching in the interior of the small enclosure was hampered, especially in the 1960 season, by spells of continuous rain which caused the clay subsoil to become completely waterlogged. Difficulty was encountered too through the presence of a solid layer of cobbles and small stones a few inches under the modern surface, a layer so solid that it was at first treated over-respectfully and left undisturbed in case it might be of Roman origin. The cobble layer proved, however, to be so ubiquitous that it became obvious that unless resolution was screwed up to break through it the General Plan would show an empty enclosure. Finally it was assumed that the cobbles probably represented plough scatter forming a peculiarly substantial deposit. They were removed, and sleeper trenches came to light below.

The lengths of sleeper trench actually uncovered and cleared out are shown on the General Plan. The trenches were all about 1 ft. across and 6-9 in. deep. Lack of time, and no lack of rain, made it impossible to clear one whole building completely, but the trenches appear to indicate an arrangement of parallel wooden buildings, resembling barrack-blocks, in the north and south sectors of the small enclosure, with other wooden buildings in the central third.

In the southern sector enough evidence was recovered to suggest that the wooden buildings were about 60 ft. long and at least 24 ft. wide. There was space for four such buildings in this sector, with each building separated from the next by a road, 16 ft. wide in the case of the central road, and about 14 ft. wide in the case of the other two roads (Fig. 4).

Of the building nearest to the west rampart in the southern sector of the small enclosure, five east-west sleeper trenches were certainly found, about 10-11 ft. apart, with, probably, a sixth trench to the north of these five,



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and at a distance of about 10-11 ft. from the fifth. The six trenches would cover a span of about 60 ft. There may possibly have been a north-south internal partition, dividing the building into ten rooms, each at least 10 ft. square. The third sleeper trench from the south had at least one small hole (a post-hole?) in it, and to the north of it there was a very shallow depression. A slightly curving narrow U-shaped trench took an erratic course eastwards from the area of this building. It was believed to be a "Barbour" trench, dug by workmen accustomed to drainers' tools.

The second building from the west was marked by trenches of an unusually straggly, untidy appearance, such as were not encountered elsewhere on the site. They, too, however, suggested the existence of a building more than 24 ft. across, with at least one north-south partition inside. Within the area of this building there were remains of gravel flooring, and apparently there was, on its west side, a small hole (a post-hole?), 9 in. in diameter and about 1 ft. deep.

Of the next building to the east, the north-east corner was found, and one east-west sleeper trench was uncovered for its whole length of 28 ft. It was exactly in line with one of the sleeper trenches in the most westerly building in the southern sector of the enclosure. The east-west sleeper trench and the two joining trenches at the north-east corner had many packing stones in them.

Of the fourth, most easterly building in the southern sector, there were uncovered only two sleeper trenches, one running east-west and one running north-south, which appeared to be about to make a right-angled junction or crossing. These two trenches seemed to belong to internal partitions of a building which may also have measured at least 24 ft. across, and possibly 60 ft. long. They too were stone-packed.

In loose soil in the southern sector of the inner enclosure there were found a few tiny scraps of charred

wood, slivers of bone (unidentifiable), and badly corroded pieces of iron. There were also several modern potsherds.

In the northern sector of the small enclosure Dr St. Joseph found and followed a north-south sleeper trench, at least 48 ft. in length, on approximately the line indicated on the General Plan (*T.D. and G.N.H. and A.S.* (3), xxiv, 1947, 153). Trenching in 1960 within the presumed area of a 48 ft. long building in the north-west sector of the enclosure revealed slight remains of other trenches, and an iron nail, at least 2 in. long. This building too may have been close on 24 ft. across (Fig. 4).

In the north-east sector of the small enclosure, a diagonal trench cut in 1960 revealed sleeper trenches of another wooden building. It, too, may have been 48 ft. long. It was at least 23 ft. across, and had at least one internal north-south sleeper trench (Fig. 4).

From loose soil within the area of this building came almost all of the meagre harvest of finds. They were as follows: a tiny scrap of unworked flint; one whetstone, broken, now 6 in. by 2 in.; two possible whetstones, 9½ in. by 1½ in. and 4½ in. by 2 in.; tiny scraps of charred wood; two minute pieces of clay which might be daub; fragments of badly corroded iron, including what was probably a nail, about 2 in. long; 84 fragments of the side of a large jar of fairly hard brown clay; seven fragments of the side and heavy flat base of a large jar of hard grey clay; a fragment of the outcurving rim of a small jar of grey-brown clay, resembling fine fumed ware, burned (Fig. 5, 1); two scraps of the side of a small grey-brown jar, perhaps the same as the last; and 16 fragments of a rouletted bowl of grey clay, partly burned red, imitating the Samian form, Drag. 29 or 30 (Fig. 5, 2).

There was not time to look for buildings immediately on either side of the central road in the northern sector of the small enclosure.

Trenching in the central third of the small enclosure, in 1960, although beset by heavy rain, did show that wooden

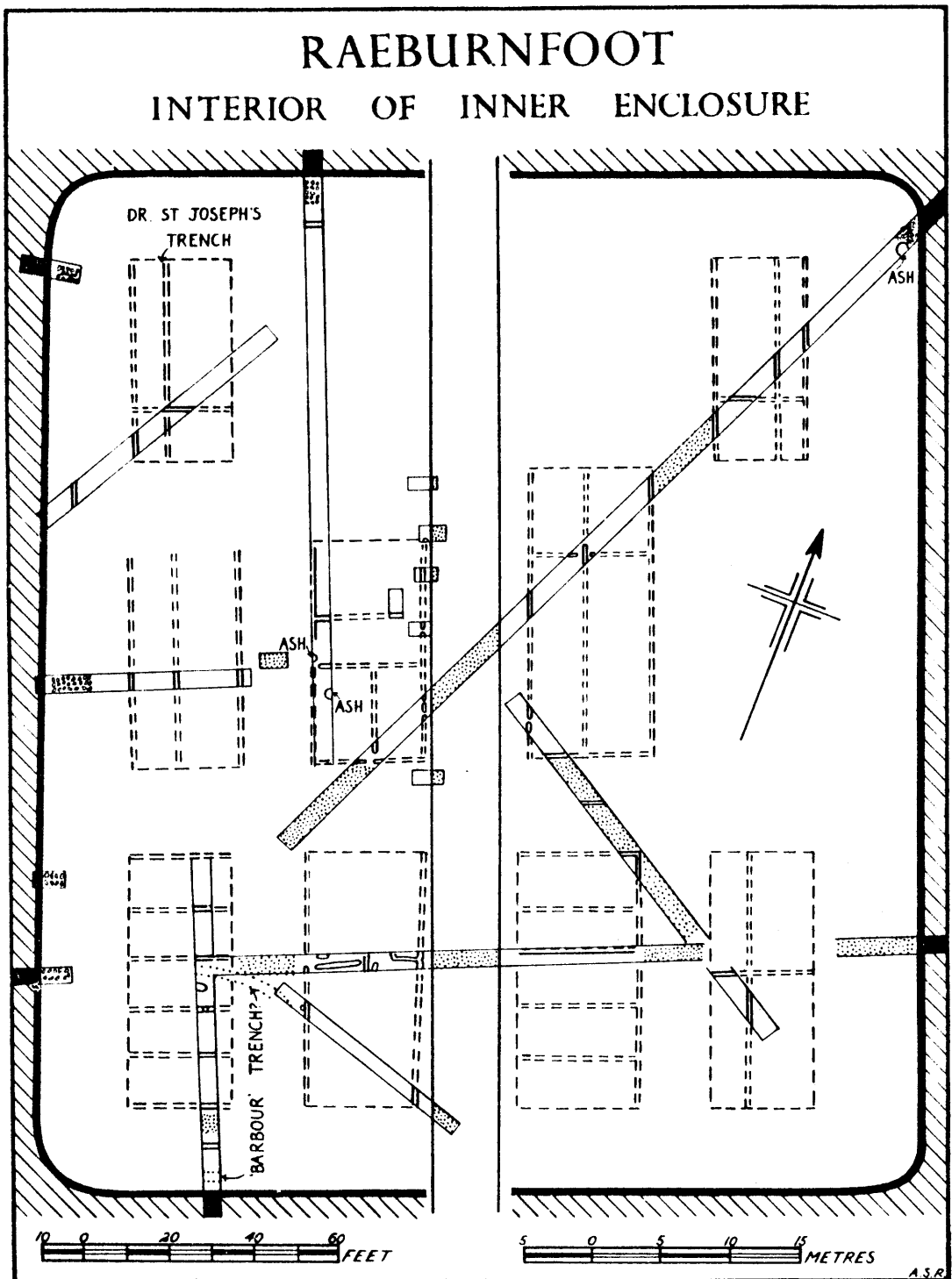


FIG. 4

*These plans are reproduced experimentally by Xerography.*

buildings had stood there, although it could not discover the exact outline, dimensions and character of all of them. There were certainly no stone buildings which would have been recognisable at once as administrative buildings, but wooden buildings may of course have served as unit offices.

One wooden building, at least 50 ft. long by 26 ft. wide, faced east and fronted on the central road. At least two internal east-west sleeper trenches were found near the back (west) wall of the building, and another internal sleeper trench just inside its south wall, but there was not time to trace them farther inwards. The building had a lightly cobbled surface inside, in which were a few ash-filled hollows and a scrap of charred wood (Fig. 4).

To the west of this building, there was a cobbled street, at least 14 ft. across. Between the street and the west rampart, there appears to have stood a long narrow building, about 26 ft. across.

To the east of the 50 ft. by 26 ft. building, and across the central road, there was another wooden building, perhaps more than 60 ft. long by 28 ft. wide, if its back (east) wall has been located exactly (Fig. 4). In that event, an east-west and north-south sleeper trench crossing within the area of the building must mark internal divisions.

The two buildings facing one another across the central road, in the central third of the small enclosure, seemed to differ from the other wooden buildings, in that their sleeper trenches or foundation trenches included some which were not continuous but looked rather like a series of slots, 8-10 in. deep, and sometimes rectangular in section, which were separated by gaps 1 ft. or more across. The west foundation trench of the more easterly of these two buildings still had packing stones in it for part of its length. In loose soil in the south part of this building a scrap of a blue melon-shaped bead was found.

The east-west road running past the south side of this building seemed to have a shallow gutter down the middle. This road or cobbled space was 20 ft. across, as was also

the cobbled space on the west side of the central road south of the 50 ft. by 26 ft. building.

Between the internal buildings of the small enclosure and the back of its rampart there was an intervallum close on 20 ft. wide, and perhaps more at certain points, for example at the north-east corner. About 6-8 ft. of this intervallum was occupied by the cobbled platform at the back of the rampart, and over 1 ft. more by a narrow gutter, at least on the north, south and west sides. Between this gutter and the internal buildings there were slight remains of an intervallum street or lane, at least 8 ft. wide.

### THE OUTER ENCLOSURE

The outer enclosure, as it now survives, measures about 540 ft. internally from north to south, and about 360 ft. from its east rampart to the edge of the western scarp. It had therefore an internal area of at least 4.3 acres.

In a section cut on the south side (See Section 1, Fig. 1), the rampart of the outer enclosure proved to be about 18 ft. wide, and to be made up of clay and small stones, laid directly on Roman humus with a dark turf line on top. The clay bank was still standing to a height of about 2 ft. Outside the rampart, and at a distance of only about 4 ft. from it, there was a ditch about 18 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep, roughly V-shaped, but with a much steeper slope on the outer than on the inner side. The clay bank appeared to have been made up partly of clay dug out of the ditch and partly of material stripped from the Roman surface on the inner side of the bank. It was noticeable that the Roman humus with its dark turf line was not found immediately to the inside of the clay bank, but was present underneath it, on the berm between it and the ditch and on the outer side of the ditch.

The rampart and ditch of the outer enclosure maintained the same dimensions along the south and east sides, but not on the north side. The section cut through the

north rampart (Section 2) revealed a bank of dark soil set on stone pitching, about 12 ft. wide, laid on Roman humus. From the north edge of the stone pitching the ground sloped down immediately into a great hollow, here about 32 ft. across and about 10 ft. deep. A natural hollow had in fact been made use of as the north ditch of the outer enclosure from the western scarp as far as the north entrance. The ditch then decreased gradually in width, as a ground survey showed, until by the time it reached the north-east corner it had been reduced to its usual width of about 18 ft.

Ground observation indicated that the great hollow which served as the north ditch of the outer enclosure, west of the north entrance, curved round southwards at the edge of the western scarp, and in fact merged into the scarp. Excavation showed that the north rampart too curved round southwards at the edge of the scarp. Its stone pitching was well enough preserved for this to be determined beyond a doubt. The north rampart and ditch (or hollow) had not run straight on westwards but had apparently accepted, obediently, a line dictated by a scarp already there. The south rampart and ditch of the outer enclosure, on the other hand, had run straight on for some distance beyond the curve of the north rampart and ditch, as ground survey clearly showed (See General Plan). Here was further proof that there had been a western scarp in Roman times which had extended further west at the southern end of the Roman site than at the northern end.

The outer enclosure had two entrances, one in the north side and one in the south side. The west side of the enclosure was not present, of course, and its east side lay on marshy ground which must have discouraged any attempt to go out that way. That there was in fact no way out, at least at about the mid point of the east side, was proved by the discovery that here the east ditch of the outer enclosure was uninterrupted.



The south entrance of the outer enclosure was exactly opposite the south entrance of the inner enclosure, so that the central road ran straight out through both. Attempts to trace the road after it passed through the south entrance of the outer enclosure were unavailing.

The north entrance of the outer enclosure was not exactly opposite the north entrance of the inner enclosure but lay almost 20 ft. farther east. In order to make quite sure that this had always been the only exit northwards a trench was cut from the ditch-end on the east side of the north entrance of the outer enclosure across part of the road. Under the cobbles of the road there was Roman humus and undisturbed subsoil. If a road had ever gone straight out northwards from the two enclosures, a causeway would have been present to the west of the now surviving causeway, and the north ditch of the outer enclosure on the east side of the entrance should have extended farther west. If the road was later given a more easterly direction, the old causeway, if it ever existed, would have been dug away by an extension eastwards of the north ditch on the west side of the north entrance, and the ditch-end on the east side of the entrance would have been filled in to accommodate the new, more easterly road. That this had never happened was proved by the discovery of undisturbed subsoil, not ditch-filling, under the cobbling of the road in its present position. From the earliest Roman occupation of the site until its evacuation a road from its northern side had inclined slightly to the north-east, apparently to gain the gently rising moorland beyond, on the north side of the Rae Burn.

The two long sections cut from the north and south defences of the outer enclosure inwards across the north and south defences of the inner enclosure disclosed practically no signs of occupation in the outer enclosure. The southern section (Section 1) showed that here the ground between the two sets of defences was completely sterile, except for a tiny patch of burned wood and clay. Indeed,

for most of the distance of 100 ft. between the two sets of defences the Roman humus with its dark turf line was quite undisturbed.

The northern section (Section 2) gave the same impression that the area between the two sets of defences, in this case 90 ft. across, had hardly been used at all, and had certainly not been subject to the constant tramping of many feet. The only disturbances of the ground had been caused by the digging of two narrow trenches, each over 1 ft. across and not more than 6 in. deep, at a distance of 10 ft. and 36 ft. respectively from the north rampart of the outer enclosure. In the more northerly of the two trenches an iron nail, about 2 in. long, was found.

These two narrow trenches were traced westwards for 70 ft., the more northerly at least being interrupted at about 40 ft. west of Section 2. In the course of the 70 ft. the two trenches maintained a fairly constant distance from the north rampart of the outer enclosure, even to the extent of following its slight inclination southwards as it approached the western scarp. A trench cut just west of the central road on the presumed line of the more southerly narrow trench or gutter failed to find it, so that it is uncertain how far east from Section 2 this narrow trench extended. That these trenches were contemporary with the outer enclosure is obvious. Their purpose, however, is far from clear. They looked as if they might have held the bed-plates for some kind of light wooden structure, perhaps a hitching rail. The fact that they seemed to follow the curve of the north rampart of the outer enclosure discourages any suggestion that they were sleeper trenches — very slight sleeper trenches — of a wooden building. A wooden building would be expected to have straight sides. They might perhaps be interpreted as road gutters of a road about 24-25 ft. across, but no trace of road-metalling was found between them.

Only one short trench was cut in the eastern sector of the outer enclosure, in the 90 ft. space between the

eastern defences of the two enclosures. This trench disclosed undisturbed subsoil and quickly became waterlogged. Indeed, no more than a superficial survey of the ground is needed to show how uninviting it is for human habitation. From the eastern defences of the inner enclosure the ground slopes down into marshland about 30 ft. below the level of the inner enclosure (See General Plan, Surface Section).

It seemed unbelievable that any Roman army unit would have chosen to include part of this marshland in a military enclosure. Yet, if the view is accepted that there were two successive Roman enclosures or forts at Raeburnfoot, the outer being the earlier, it has to be assumed that the first Roman occupants of the site chose ground which was partly marsh, lying 30 ft. below the level of the central area of their enclosure. Moreover, if the outer enclosure was laid out first, its north-south road would be expected to be axial, running straight through the enclosure, the more easily to accommodate rectilinear buildings fronting on it. In fact, as the 1959-1960 excavations showed, the north-south road never did run straight through the outer enclosure, but inclined to the east as it approached the north entrance. The excavations showed too that there had never been permanent buildings inside the outer enclosure. None were found in the 90-100 ft. space between the defences of the inner and the outer enclosures, nor was there any sign of earlier buildings or even of occupation under the rampart of the inner enclosure or even anywhere within its circuit. In fact the presence of pieces of cut birch under the rampart, and even of a scrap of charred wood under the platform behind the north rampart of the inner enclosure suggests that when that enclosure was laid out, it was a growth of small trees which had to be cleared away, rather than the debris of previous occupation.

The rampart, in any case, of the outer enclosure was not turf-built, as would be expected in a permanent work.

It was simply constructed of material dug out of the accompanying ditch or stripped from the adjacent Roman surface.

Acceptance of the view that the outer enclosure had once been an independent work of some permanence would, in fact, also carry with it the assumption that the enclosure had probably once projected at least as far west beyond the western defences of the inner enclosure as it did eastwards beyond the eastern defences of the inner enclosure, that is for a distance of about 90 ft. The fact, however, established by ground survey and excavation, that the northern rampart and ditch of the outer enclosure curved round southwards at the north-west limit of the site while the southern rampart and ditch ran straight on discourages any assumption that the outer enclosure projected 90 ft. or more beyond the inner enclosure along the whole of its west side.

Such an assumption does, in fact, involve the supposition that since Roman times, 1800 years ago, the River Esk has eroded well over 150 ft. of the west side of the outer enclosure (that is a distance of at least 90 ft. between the defences of the two enclosures, with over 50 ft. more allowed for the western defences of the outer enclosure and a safe space between them and the River Esk). This seemed so unlikely that it was thought advisable to refer the problem to a geographer, Dr H. Fairhurst, Senior Lecturer in Geography in the University of Glasgow. Dr Fairhurst scrutinised the site carefully and reported as follows:

“The flood plain of the Esk is here about 300 yds. wide and is quite flat apart from slight indications of old channels as, in the course of time, the great bends on the river have altered position. At present, the Esk opposite the Roman site is roughly midway in the plain and has dykes 5 ft. high to prevent flooding. This fixation of the channel took place at least a hundred years ago, for no

appreciable change in position is noticeable as compared with the 6 in. O.S. map of 1862 (Dumfries, Sheet XXVI). The actual bed of the river is covered with water-worn boulders and gravel, but the alluvial flat outside the dykes is floored for the most part with grey silt. The gradient on the Esk on this short reach is very slight indeed and presumably downcutting is held up by some rock outcrop downstream. A number of tributaries higher up the river, coming from the impervious rocks of these rainy and treeless uplands, cause considerable spates which enormously increase the erosive power of the Esk. The rivers of the Southern Uplands generally are notorious for destructive floods.

In the past, as the Esk has swung from side to side of the flood plain, the boulder clay on either side has been trimmed to form 'meander scars,' steep slopes concave to the stream. One of the most fully developed scars cuts into the hill on which the Roman site stands, to the west of the site; this slope now rises to 40 ft. above the alluvium and attains an angle of as much as 45 degrees. It is grassed over and pines, perhaps planted to hold the soils, have reached maturity. The foot of the slope lies some 140 yards back from the river bank. Although the position is stabilised now, it is clear that the river has been undercutting this slope in the comparatively recent past. Traces of an old channel not yet reclaimed for cultivation are traceable just downstream at the junction with the Rae Burn. Again, the angle between the steep slope and the alluvial flat is very sharply defined, with no sign of slumping or downwash from above. A little to the north, where the river now commences its swing away from the eastern side, the slope is not yet grassed over and there is another very small patch immediately below the Roman site, which is still bare of vegetation.

Quite obviously, this steep slope west of the Roman site has suffered erosion since Roman times, probably on many occasions, but it is quite impossible to say with any

conviction how much ground has been removed during the last two thousand years. Violent spates can cause rapid local changes and the problem would be less obscure if the approximate period of deforestation were known. Incidentally, the presence in the neighbourhood of very numerous stone circles and of native forts and enclosures of our prolonged 'Iron Age,' are at least suggestive of much open country in the prehistoric period.

On general grounds, it might be assumed that the formation of the Esk flood plain began at the closing stages of the last glaciation, and since that period, the alluvial flats have gradually been widened by intermittent trimming of the boulder clay forming the boundary slopes on either side. The rate of the latter process might be expected to diminish as the slopes retreated further back from the river and became progressively higher, and as a forest mantle became established, holding the soil. Deforestation would increase the run-off and at least temporarily accelerate the erosive process. Under these circumstances it is rather gratuitous to calculate any average rate of slope retreat since the last glaciation, but it is the only time scale available and would be of the order of perhaps 15 yds. to a millenium. Observation does not suggest that in this particular locality, the situation has been further confused by any ultra-rapid destruction of the boulder clay slope beneath the Roman site.

If it be assumed that the small rectangular inner enclosure were once placed symmetrically within a larger rectangle formed by the outer defences, and that the western part of the latter has been washed away as far as the wall of the inner enclosure, then a slope retreat of the order of at least 40 yards in a millenium is involved.

A suspicion that this rate is far too rapid is strengthened by another consideration, for with this presumed extension of the outer defences to the west, the question of the exact siting of the inner enclosure arises

in an acute form. A steep slope down to the alluvium would be involved to the west of the hypothetical extension of the outer defences, and the presence of this dead ground to an observer from the inner enclosure would make nonsense of the tactical position of the latter.

### Summary

The rate of flood plain widening along the Esk has been erratic as the river meanders have varied in the course of time, intermittent in nature in any one place, and the rate of erosion cannot be calculated with any confidence. Clearly, recent erosion is indicated by the fresh form of the slope below the Roman site, though the position is at present stabilised. Hazarding an opinion from personal observation, it is difficult to see how the stiff clay with a high content of stones and boulders, could have been eroded as much as a fifth of the 140 yds. back from the present position of the river, since Roman times."

### CONCLUSIONS

Dr Fairhurst's report strengthens the evidence provided by ground survey and excavation that the large, outer enclosure never extended much beyond the edge of the present scarp. The fact that its north defences curved round southwards at the north-west corner while the southern defences ran on farther westwards shows indeed that there was a scarp in Roman times which extended farther west at the south end of the Roman site than at the north end. Part of this scarp has perhaps been eroded by the River Esk, but it is probable that not much of the Roman site has disappeared through this agency. Indeed, the fact that the west rampart of the *inner* enclosure inclined eastwards as it ran north, and the fact that its north ditches curved round southwards at the north-west corner while the south ditches ran on farther west, without apparently rounding the south-west corner, suggest that the position of the scarp in Roman times was not very

different from what it is now. Only a little of it seems to have been lost, and with it the outer face of the west rampart of the inner enclosure. This enclosure probably never had a west ditch, the scarp providing a strong enough natural defence. The position of the River Esk in Roman times is, of course, uncertain. It may have flowed close to the scarp. It may have been much farther away in its 300 yd. broad flood plain, as Dr Fairhurst's report indicates.

In any event, the site appears to have been selected with a view to its suitability for the small enclosure rather than for the large enclosure. In its eastern 90 ft. the large enclosure included marshland, 30 ft. below the level of the central area. Its clay rampart, the apparent absence of substantial buildings, and the fact that its central road did not run straight out northwards but inclined slightly north-eastwards, all make it unlikely that the outer enclosure was ever intended as an independent work of any permanence. It might perhaps have been a small temporary camp occupied only while the inner enclosure was being built, but in that case the ground in its north and south sectors was remarkably sterile and undisturbed. On the other hand, it may simply have been planned from the first as an annexe, or corral, or wagon lager to the small enclosure, which was clasped symmetrically and securely within it, at least on its north, south and east sides.

It may be concluded then that the site at Raeburnfoot was almost certainly chosen for the construction of the small enclosure, and that the outer enclosure was either a small temporary camp anticipating the construction of the small enclosure, or was simply an outer compound to the small enclosure. It may of course have served both purposes. In any case, the evidence is all against an attribution of the two enclosures to two different Roman periods.

The single period vouched for by the nature of the small enclosure and its associated pottery is Antonine.



In size, in regular outline and internal layout it resembles small Antonine forts or large fortlets, like those excavated at Duntocher on the Antonine Wall ( $\frac{1}{2}$  acre); at Crawford, Lanarkshire (about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres); at Cappuck, Roxburghshire ( $1\frac{1}{4}$ - $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres); and at Chew Green, Northumberland (under 1 acre). Another small fort, or large fortlet, in S. Scotland, at Castle Greg, Midlothian ( $\frac{1}{2}$  acre), still awaits excavation.

The fort at Duntocher at least, tiny though it was, had central stone buildings, which although they were hardly administrative buildings in the usual sense, may have served as unit offices (Anne Robertson, "*An Antonine Fort, Golden Hill, Duntocher*," 1957, 53 ff., 101 ff.). So also had the Antonine fort at Cappuck (G. H. Stevenson and S. N. Miller, in *P.S.A.S.*, 1912, 446 ff.; I. A. Richmond, in *P.S.A.S.*, 1951, 138 ff.). The forts at Crawford (*Roman Occupation of South-West Scotland*, 1952, 113 f.; *Discovery and Excavation, Scotland*, 1961, 37; and Chew Green (I. A. Richmond and G. S. Keeney, in *Arch. Ael.* (4), xiv, 1937, 129 ff.) have not yet been sufficiently explored to warrant a statement about whether they had any central administrative buildings. Chew Green probably had not; Crawford probably had.

At Raeburnfoot, there were no stone buildings, but the exploratory trenches cut into the interior of the small enclosure did indicate that wooden buildings resembling barrack-blocks could be identified in the north and south sectors of the interior, but that at least two of the wooden buildings in the central third did not bear the same resemblance to barrack-blocks but appeared to have had a different character and purpose. These two buildings opened on the central road and may perhaps have been administrative centres, or even workshops, or stores. The inner enclosure may therefore be called a small fort rather than a large fortlet. Fortlets, like the Antonine fortlets at Milton and Durisdeer, Dumfriesshire (*Roman Occupation of South-West Scotland*, 1952, 104 ff., 124 ff.), and at Cardurnock (Period 1 and 11) on the Cumberland coast

(*Trans. Cumb. and West. A.S.*, 1947, 85 ff.) had barrack blocks only.

The pottery found in 1959-1960 at Raeburnfoot is assignable to the Antonine rather than to the Flavian period on grounds of fabric. The flat base of the heavy grey jar is, on grounds of shape, also more likely to be Antonine than Flavian. The outcurving rim of the small grey-brown jar of a ware resembling fine fumed ware (Fig. 5, 1) can be paralleled over and over again on Antonine Wall sites, and especially at Balmuildy (Cp. S. N. Miller, *The Roman Fort at Balmuildy*, 1922, Plate xlv, Nos. 7 ff.). The rouletted grey bowl, partly burned red, apparently imitating the Samian form Drag. 29 or 30 (Fig. 5, 1) is a much less common vessel. In shape, but not in fabric, it resembles a bowl from Carlisle dated by Mr John Gillam to A.D. 70-100 (Gillam, *Types of Roman Coarse Pottery Vessels in Northern Britain*, 1957, No. 193). The fabric is in fact more reminiscent of rouletted ware found on Antonine sites, for example at Balmuildy (*Op. cit.*, 93; cp. J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post: The Fort of Newstead*, 1911, 257, and Gillam, 196). It has to be admitted, however, that its resemblance to the early Samian form Drag. 29 makes the presence of this bowl on an apparently Antonine site surprising in the extreme.

All the pottery found in 1959-1960 at Raeburnfoot came from what was presumably a barrack area in the north-east sector of the small fort. It was found along with one or more whetstones, and scraps of charred wood, clay and corroded iron, close to an ash-filled hole which may be part of the stoke-hole of an oven. Pottery is often found near a fort oven.

The rest of the site yielded no pottery at all (at least during the 1959-1960 excavations), but only a few scraps of charred wood, slivers of bone, and pieces of corroded iron, including a few nails about 2 in. long, and, rather unexpectedly, a scrap of a blue melon-shaped bead.

The pottery found in the previous excavations which is now in the Dumfries Burgh Museum was made available for re-examination by Mr A. E. Truckell. It includes, besides part of a Roman(?) brick, several amphora fragments and four mortaria fragments. There seems to survive now only one of the two mortaria rims dated by Professor Eric Birley to the Antonine period (*T.D. and G.N.H. and A.S.* (3), xxiv, 1947, 154). It is certainly of a type very common on the Antonine Wall (Cp. *Balmuildy*, Plate xli, No. 13). Another broken rim fragment and two pieces of the sides of mortaria also seem likely to be of Antonine date.

The absence of the fumed or burnished ware so abundant on Antonine Wall sites is puzzling, but at Loudoun Hill, in Ayrshire, there was only a handful of fumed potsherds, although the site had at least one Antonine occupation, and has produced a great mass of pottery (*Journal of Roman Studies*, 1949, 98; the pottery has been deposited in the Hunterian Museum, where it has been studied in preparation for future publication). It may be that at Raeburnfoot (if not at Loudoun Hill) there was only a brief occupation early in the Antonine period while S.W. Scotland was being pacified, after which the site was evacuated. Certainly the internal buildings of the fort showed no signs of reconstruction, the finds were extremely scanty and the outer compound gave no hint of long usage.

In any case the fort faced east up the Rae Burn, along the Roman road which issued from its north entrance and inclined north-eastwards to reach the rising ground on the north side of the Rae Burn. For the next 2 miles the remains of the road have not been identified, but after that it has been followed to a point about 10 miles from Raeburnfoot (I. A. Richmond, in *P.S.A.S.*, 1945-7, 106 ff.).

The small fort at Raeburnfoot seems, as Professor Richmond has said (*Ibid.*, 106) to have provided "quarters for patrols, signallers or convoy-guards" on a cross road

linking the fort at Newstead on the eastern route into Scotland with the western road up Annandale, at a point where the cross road had to negotiate the River Esk. It may also have been the terminus of a road running up Eskdale from the fort at Broomholm, near Langholm. In 1959, trenches were cut across two tracks visible on the lower slopes of the hill to the south of Raeburnfoot, on the other side of the Rae Burn, but no trace of road metalling was found. Further investigation of a possible Roman route up Eskdale must be left to the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society. Meanwhile, Raeburnfoot may be regarded as, apparently, an Antonine site where, for a short time at least, a small fort inside a large compound guarded a crossing of the River Esk on a road linking the two main Roman routes into Scotland.

## ARTICLE 3.

**A Dumfries Rental (1548)**

By the Late G. W. SHIRLEY.

Mr James Robertson, O.B.E., our county surveyor, whilst doing research on the development of our county road system found amongst the Shirley MSS. in the Ewart Library the following article already prepared for publication by the author. On Mr Shirley's death his papers were roughly listed by myself and lodged in the library (*D. and G. Trans.*, vol. XXII., p. 140) and then forgotten. It appears that Mr Shirley was gathering up material for another brochure on Burgh History, much of it of importance, and it is now hoped to publish some of it in these Transactions. We are indebted to Mr Robertson for drawing our attention to its existence.—Eds.

The rentell . . . . .	
Anneuell renttis of the b . . . . .	
Ane thowsand vc fowrti a . . . . .	
herbert gledstanis for the landis of the meirburnside . . . . .	
for his landis of the volfgill . . . . .	ijss . .
for ane qrter of the laripottis . . . . .	five ss
for sex rudes of land in the vaitslaks in sundry placeis . . . . .	iijs
for half barne & j portion of barne ther in Kyrkgait . . . . .	vd
John craufurd basterdsonne to vmqll robert craufurd half aker of land . . . . .	xijd
Thomas reid burges of Drumfres for the nathir oxingang . . . . .	ijss
for ane barne in kyrkgait vmqll thomas m'clarin . . . . .	vijjd
Matthew stowip for thre half barnis in kyrkgait . . . . .	xijd
Andro heslope subtenente to Jone craufurd robertis ayr half aker . . . . .	xijd
Andro aczin for thre akeris & half of land in vaitslakis . . . . .	vijss
Johne craufurd sone & ayr to vmqll robert craufurd for ij akeris and $\frac{1}{2}$ . . . . .	vss
for one barne & tua half barnis in kyrkgait . . . . .	xvjd
gilbert harttis airis for thre half barnis in kyrkgait . . . . .	xijd
The relict of Johne newall elder fiwe aikeris of land in vaitslakis . . . . .	xss
for ane barne & half barne in kyrkgait . . . . .	xijd
James haliday for half akar of medow land in vaitslakis . . . . .	xijd
for half ane barne steid in kyrkgait vmqll Shr Jone m'collumis . . . . .	iiijd

Johne craufurd zounger sone to vmqll robert craufurd tua akeris of land .....	iiijss
The relict of vmqll Johne newall zounger tua akeris of land ... for half ane barne & portioun of barne in kyrkgait .....	iiijss vjd
Shr thomas corsane cheplen ayr to vmqll adam corsane .....	vjd
Andro craufurd subtenent to Jone craufurd elder half aker of land .....	xijd
roger of carrutheris for the few landis of the croftheidis ...	ijss
robert merchellis airis for ane barnsteid in kyrkgait .....	vijjd
William steillis tenement in milgait of annuell rent .....	ixd
John pautison half aker of land occupyit be Jone raa in vait- slaickis .....	xijd
Symon crokat half aker of land in vaitslakis .....	xijd
herbert kellok tua aikeris of land & ane half in vaitslakis .....	
. . . . . three rudes of land in vaitslakis .....	xvijjd
Shr ellis vilson chaplen for half aker of land in vaitslakis ...	xijd
Katheryne rig for tua akarris of land & half aker in vaitslakis ..	vss
Katherine neilsone tua akeris & ane half aker of land ther ...	vss
Johne reid thomsone half aker of land in vaitslakis .....	xijd
Robert gluueris airis half aker of land ther nixt that Samin ...	xijd
Analit to Jon schortrik	
Archebald maxwell sex rudis of land in vaitslakis .....	ijss
Roger m'brayr for the milrent the oxingang the mauris doveneis croft & iij beyr akaris in vaitslakis v li of male & .....	vijss
Johne Rigin airis for ane barne & akar of land fewlandis .....	xld
Shr Johne of rig for half lorburne annuell rent .....	vss
for nicholl purdoun tenement of annuell rent .....	vjss vijjd
Adam Kent for iij rudis of land & $\frac{1}{2}$ rud in vaitslakis .....	xxjd
for ane aker of land in braidmyr .....	xijd
Item herbert atzinson land in the tonis hand als in vaitslakis ijss for ane buyth vnder the tolbuytht .....	xss
Mychell bate for ane sellar onder the tolbuytht .....	xxxjd
The airis of vmqll Jone crosby iij aikeris of land in gallowrig ..	ijss
for ane aker of land in braidmyr .....	xijd
for the landis in fosteris cloiss .....	xvd
robert ewartis vyfe for ane aker of land in vaitslakis .....	ijss
Villiam frude for ane qrter of the laripottis wt the pertinentis vss	
David [. . .] ane sellar vnder the tolbuyt vmqll eduert Jon- ston .....	xxxjd
Thomas frude half ane aiker of land in braidmyr .....	vjd
Jonet maxwell the relict of thomas m'brayr ane qrter of the common feyschin zeirly .....	xxvss
Johne haleday for ane pert of the laripottis .....	xijd
for ij akeris of land and ane half .....	iiijss
for ane barne steid in kyrkgait nixt the common sloip ...	vijjd

Johne batesoun zounger half aker of land in braidmyr .....	vjd
for his pert of the laripottis neirest the vicar medow (acht part 8 Oct. 1523) .....	ijss
for his landis of the myldamheid .....	xviijd
Shr Johne bate for sex rudis of land of the vaitslakis .....	iijs
. . . . aker of land nixt the newdyik vnder the zardis .....	xijd
. . . . newell for half of . . . . .	
William laying for half aiker of land in . . . . .	
John mertin for half aker of medow land in braid . . . . .	
for iiij akarris of land in gallow rigside . . . . .	
David cunnyghame for his barne in toneheid .....	xijd
for his half qrter of the landis of kyngholme .....	xxx
Villiam morane for the land of cartor cloiss .....	xviijd
James gluuer for half aker of land in braidmyr .....	vjd
Amer maxwell for half qrter of the landis of kyngholme ...	xxx
for his barne in the toneheid .....	viijd
for the creynlarimoss nixt the landis of cunnynhill .....	viijd
Mariory richartsonis tenement now in the handis of marion charteris .....	xld
Thomas burnis place nixt that samin pertinand Shr Jone lauder .....	xijd
James lauderis tenement in mydraw nixt that samin .....	iijs
Shr James loremeris tenement nixt that samin in mydraw ...	iijs
Mertin blakstok for the tenementis of the rattonraw .....	ijss
George curror for the landis of pundfald burn .....	xviijd
Vill duranis tenement in newton .....	iiijd
Andro lawson new tenement at brigend .....	xijd
richard maxwell new bigin at portcheik .....	vid
cristell lawre airis for ane barne in toneheid .....	iiijd
Johne byrkmyr for ane half barne ther .....	iiijd
for the rud callit the royne nixt the hole aker .....	vjd
for his forge steid in the toneheid .....	iiijd
The gallyr pertinand Shr mark carrutheris in toneheid .....	vjd
The new werk now in his handis .....	ijss
Johne cunnygham for half aker of land .....	xviijd
for his baikhous in chapelhilside .....	vjd
for thre aikeris of land in gallowrig .....	xviijd
vaist Sanct gregoris tenement on chapelhilside .....	xijd
Johne wellis tenement thair on chapelhilside .....	xijd
John mertin M'gilhanceis tenement thair on chapelhilside .....	vjd
vaist neill kellokis tenement thair on chapelhilside .....	vjd
. . . . tenement nixt that samin on the north part .....	vjd
. . . . vale tenement nixt that samin on the est pert .....	vj [d]
. . . smythis tenement on the est gaivell of that samin .....	xxjd
. hell edzaris tenement on the est gaivell of that samin .....	xxjd
Johne clerkis tenement & cristiene m'chynes contigues .....	xxjd

David maxwell tenement nixt that samin vaist .....	xxxijd
Nicholl lorimeris tenement nixt that samin on the vest pert ...	xijd
Valtyr gowlawis tenement at schullhouss gaivill .....	xijd
Nicholl lorimeris tenement nixt schwillhouss zett .....	vjd
Robert lord maxwellis newhowss in toneheid .....	xld
Thomas ranyng for his kill in lochmabengait .....	viijd
for ane akar of commond land in merchhillside .....	vjd
Niniane jarding for half akar of commond land in braidmyr ...	vjd
for ane akar of commond land vmqll nicholl lorimeris ...	vjd
Merk gladstainis for ane buyth vnder tolbuyt .....	xss
for iiij aikarris of land in nather peithill .....	ijss
The wif of vmqll ville blyth barbor ane buyt vnder tolbuyt ...	xss
herbert cunynghame for the landis of moit and lorburnside ...	xss
for the clayhoillis at braidmyrheid .....	vjd
Viliam m'kitrik tenement at the northgawill of newark .....	xxd
Ellis cunnygham for the half of the fless gallowis .....	xxd
for the landis of the braidmyrheid .....	xijd
for the delvynniss vmqll thome velscheis .....	iiijd
John m'cawle for ane akar of braidmyr .....	xijd
for thre aikaris of merchhill .....	xviijd
for the landis vnder the merchhill vmqll thome morton ...	ixd
item for ane akar of land in the vaitslakis .....	ijss
The wif of vmqll Jone vychman half ane akir in vaitslakis ...	xijd
Villiam bell for ane akar of land in vaitslakis .....	ijss
Villiam patersoun for his part of the kyngholme .....	xxxjd
Johne wychmanis ayr $\frac{1}{2}$ akar of medow in vaitslakis .....	xiid
. . . nderson half ane . . . . .	
Thom newallis airis ane akar of land ther . . . . .	
Cudbert rig & Johne amuligane ane akar of land . . . . .	
James diksoun for tua aikaris of land in vaitslak .....	iiijss
for his fewland at lorburn sid .....	iiijss
for ane akar of land on merchhillside .....	[?] vjd
The relict of vmqll James robson callit bakside j akar of land	ijss
John neilson elder half akar of land in vaitslakis .....	xijd
for ane akar of land in braydmyr .....	xijd
item for vij aikaris of land in the langrig gallowrig ...	iiijss vid
for iiij aikaris of land of the aldermanis tak on gallowrig	ijss
robert davidson & herbert davidson $\frac{1}{2}$ aikar in vaitslakis ..	[?] vjss
for tua aikarris of land in gallowcloiss .....	xijd
for iiij aikarris of land in langrig .....	ijss
for ane buyth vnder the tolbuyth vmqll herbert valteris ...	xss
John zair for the land of fosteris cloiss .....	vjd
for his barne and zard wtout lochmabengaitport .....	xviijd
The scheild of lochmabengait done m'kynnell .....	viijd



Thomas paterson for sax aikaris of land in merchhill .....	iijs
for the lochanis amangis the beirlandis .....	vijd
for his wife $\frac{1}{2}$ akar in braidmyr .....	vjd
robert m' . . . for the landis of gallowcloiss .....	xijd
Johne fru . . . alf akar of land in vaitslakis .....	xijd
for ane r . . . of fosteriscloiss vmqll Johne zairis ...	iiijd
John M'ilrewe for the landis of nathyr chapell .....	iiijss
for the buyth vnder tolbuyth stair .....	ixss as roppit
george maxwell for . . . . .	
his wife for ane qrter of laripottis .....	vss
for half of fless gallowis .....	xxd
for iij r . . . of land in vaitslakis .....	xviijd
Johne . . . . urs ij akaris of land in vaitslakis ... [?iiijss] . .	
. . . . . for half akar of land callit the roneis .....	xijd
. . . . . vnder the brayiss nixt the valtar of nyth ...	xijd
. . . . . land of Kyrnyngbog .....	xijd
. . . . . crosby for the landis of Kyrnyngbog .....	xijd
. . . . . dis for iij akaris of the land of volfgill .....	xviijd
Johne anderson of lochyrwod (?) $\frac{1}{2}$ akar of loryerfute .....	xviijd
The vif of vmqll Wille hewcheson ane akar in braidmyr ...	xijd
Johne Schortrig ane akar of land ther .....	xijd
Johne bratton $\frac{1}{2}$ akar of land in braidmyr .....	vjd
for his barne in toneheid .....	viijd
Thomas maxwell three aikaris of land in merchhill .....	xviijd
Johne broune tua aikaris of land in merchhill .....	xijd
The vyf of vmqll valter gorlaw ane akar ther .....	vjd
The tufall on the est syd of tolbutth .....	xviijd
Thomas m'gowin ij aikaris of land in wolfgill .....	xijd
Mungo saidlar tua akaris of land in wolfgill .....	xijd
villiam m'Kowloch ij aikaris ther in wolfgill .....	xijd
The barkhoillis nixt the Stockwell .....	vjd
The kyll of Staicfuyrd vmqll villiam cunynham .....	vyd
The craneberry moss occupyit be thomas paterson .....	xviijd
Patrik walter foirgesteid in toneheid .....	viijd
Gilbert valter forgesteid nixt that samin .....	viijd
The Kyngholme alltogidder .....	twenty ss xxss in the term
The fyschin zeirly .....	libs zeirly

Extract de sine bii curie  
burgalis burgi de Drumfres per me  
herbertus cunynghame scribani dicti curie  
manu propria.

The document, of which the foregoing is a copy, is preserved among the Records of the Burgh in the Burgh Charter Room. It consists of six pages folio, and is written on comparatively poor paper. These six pages are a portion

of 14 leaves on which are written extracts of regulations by the Burgh Court and copies of laws passed by the Convention of Burghs. The whole has suffered severely from damp, and certain portions of the pages, especially the top corners, have in consequence perished. From this cause we are unable to give the exact date of its compilation. The heading concludes with the date "ane thowsand vc fowrtie a . . ." The last may be the initial letter or either "ane" or "aucht." I incline to the latter date, 1548, from two small items of internal evidence. It is stated that the New Wark is "now" in the hands of Sir Mark Carruthers, thus apparently recording a recent change of ownership. Sir Mark we know of as the chaplain of St. Nicholas' altarage in the Parish Church of Dumfries, as a prebendary of Lincluden, and as Rector of Mouswald. In his Protocol Book, extending from 1531 to 1561, preserved at Drumlanrig,\* he records certain of his memoranda at the New Wark. The first of these is of date 31st January, 1546/7. Had Sir Mark occupied the New Wark earlier than that date, it is likely we would have mention of it. It is at any rate a recent enough occurrence to merit the comment "now" in our text.

Furthermore, it is in 1545 that we find the first reference to Lord Maxwell's new house, which is charged 40d in our rental. On 28th November of that year Robert Lord Maxwell himself writes from his new house,\* and Sir Mark Carruthers records a deed of 8th February, 1545/6, as having been executed in the oratory of the Lodging of Lord Maxwell. This house was the precursor of the Castle which for so long usurped in our histories the honour of the Old Mote of William the Lion and the later Edwardian Peel at Castledykes. This original house was not built on the Mote Lands of the Maxwells, as stated by James Barbour, but was on burgh land occupying the site of earlier houses. The Maxwell's house was bounded on the

\* I am indebted to Mr R. C. Reid for these references. He has permitted me to peruse his abstract of the Protocol Book.

\* *The Book of Caerlaverock*, vol. i., pp. 202, 207.

west by the passage to the Staikfurd, now represented by the passage on the west of Greyfriars' Church. (Vide *Trans. D. and G. N. H. and A. Soc.*, 1910-11, p. 12 and plan.) In the Burgh Court Books (4:v:15:5) we have mention of a tenement "of John Welchis lyand in the burgh of Drumfress betuix ane tenement of herbert cunyngame on the est pert on the ta pert & the King's streit extendand to the Staikfurd on the west pert." On 2nd October, 1522, we have mention of the tenements eastwards from Cunningham, "ane west tenement lyand in the burgh of Drumfress of umquhill Cuthbert Maxwell lyand betuix ane tenement of John Schortrig on the east pert on the ta pert & ane tenement of vmquhile herbert of cunyngame on the west pert." On 23rd March, 1562, we find "ane tenement of wmyll James Kirkpatrickis on the eist pairt of John Lord Maxwellis new biggin and . . . ane tenement of Johne Schortrig vpon the eist pert of the foresaid James Kirkpatrick." It would seem, then, that the "new biggin" occupied the site of Welshe's, Cunningham's, and Maxwell's houses. These houses would be in what is now St. Andrew's Street. The 40d charged in the rental is possibly for an extension of the area occupied by the earlier houses and forming an encroachment on the street.

The conjunction of these two details inclines me to 1548 as the date of the document, but the dubiety is of minor importance; it was certainly either in 1541 or 1548 that the list was compiled by Herbert Cunningham, the town clerk.

### CONTENTS OF THE RENTAL

A complete title would probably have told us that it was "The Rentell" of the Common Lands and "Annuell rentis of the" burgh of Dumfries. And some enquiry is necessary before we grasp its significance. This we shall pursue by examining the Burgh Court Books, particularly those of prior date to the Rental.\*

\* These Burgh Court Books are in a sadly dilapidated condition, unbound (except for the 1506-37 period and the Rental) and meriting the immediate attention of a Burgh proud of its history. They commence

[Continued at foot of next page.]

## ACREAGE

But before we enter on this let us see exactly what the Rental contains. The details comprise agricultural land, the fishing, tenements, barns, forges and kilns all paying rents or, in three cases at least, feu duties to the burgh. We cannot sum the totals exactly because of the poor state of the document and much indefinite designation, but there can be counted at least 109 acres. The largest number of these was in the Watslakis, which accounts for 44 acres; the Braidmyre gives us  $9\frac{1}{2}$  acres; Gallowrig, Gallowrigside, and Gallows Close, 17 acres and some indefinite "lands"; Marchhill and Marchhillside, 17 acres; the Langrig Gallowrig, 11 acres; the Wolfgill, 9 acres; the Netherpeithill, 4 acres; the Laripotts and Kingholm are not divided into acres but into quarters and parts.

## MONEY

Of money we can reckon a total of £23 19s 1d, but that also is incomplete, and further it can be shown that the rental generally gives not the total annual rent but the rent payable at one term of the year only. In certain cases, as with the Fishing and the Kingholm, it is clearly stated that the yearly rental is given, but various entries in the Burgh Court Books show that the annual rent of various tacks was double the amount shewn in our document. As one would expect there is no regular rate per acre, in one case eighteen pence is paid for half an acre, but the others vary from sixpence to two shillings an acre. This valuation was undoubtedly due to the varying condition of the land and it will be shown that at times the rent for newly leased land was remitted for one or two terms altogether. Two shillings

with three sheets of date 8th and 23rd October, 1506, and of 20th January, 1506/7; three sheets of 1st December, 1507, and 19th and 20th January, 1507/8, proceed intact from 23rd April, 1516, to 4th February, 1523/4; from 6th April, 1524, to 3rd October, 1527; from 31st January, 1531/2, to 3rd March, 1534/5, and from 7th October, 1535, to 23rd June, 1537. Apart from the Rent there is then a complete break, greatly to be regretted, for the period covers the Reformation until July, 1561, from when the Books continue until October, 1564, then 1569/74, 1575/81, and a fragmentary volume covering the period from then to the 1620's.

per acre on one or two occasions is called the "standard male," and was doubtless the average rental.

The largest individual payments are made by members of the M'Brair family, Roger, Provost of the Burgh and tacksman of the Mill, paying for that property and some land £5 8s, and Jonet Maxwell, relict of Thomas M'Brair, 25s yearly for a quarter of the Fishing. Robert and Herbert Davidson were considerable rentallers at 19s, including 10s for a shop in the Tolbooth; Herbert Gledstaines accounts for some amount over 10s 5d, Herbert Cunningham, our clerk, for 10s 6d; George Maxwell and his wife for 8s 2d, and John Neilson for 7s 6d, but the great majority are very small holders indeed.

### GENERAL CONDITIONS OF HOLDING

We may here interpose some of the general conditions under which these tacks were given:

Probably the action of some burgess sub-letting his tacks at a higher rent than that which he paid to the Burgh gave rise to the following:

19 Jan., 1507-8.—The quhilk daye the alderman and bailzeis and hail comm[onite] hass statuit and ordanit that na burges nor induellar sa[ll] tak ane vtheris freman landis nor takis attour his had[?] excep it be for the common proffett vnder the paine of tynsall of his freedom and neuer to be hard again mer.

Several acts insist upon the residence of the tacksmen within the burgh. The following are from the sheets including the Rental and the dates are awanting:

Item. It is statuit and ordaint be the prewe consale and comonete of [the burgh] of Drumfres that na persoun haiffand tak sett nor assedation of na common la[ndis] wtin the terotory and brught of Drumfres wtout thai be Induelleris wtin the sk[awp] of the said burt and mak residence therintill and that thei keip scot, lott, vach and ward and all portable chargeis. And geif ony outin tovn personis allegeis thaim to haif siklike takis or kyndnes

therto be the tenor heirof and discharge thame therof in tyme cuming be the tenor of thir presents qll thai cum and remane in this burt and fullfill thir premissis as said is wt intimation to thame as efferis, etc.

Another act ordains "all personis fremen duelland to landward to cum and mak reseit wtin the skawp of this burt . . . quhilk failzeand thai do not the samin thair freedom sal not awale thame. And thair petty custom sallbe vplyftit and gaderit to the payment of or souerane ladies chakker males and firmes as vnfre folk is."

Watching and warding was, of course, no sinecure in these days. Each man failing in his service was fined 8d to procure a substitute and was to be imprisoned for twenty-four hours in the Tolbooth.

28 Nov., 1520.—It is statuit and ordanit be the den alderman and balleis and hale commonete of Drumfress that ilk nycbour of the said burt fund thar wache thar nyt abowt quhen it fallis to thaim failzeand theroff thae that dissobeys that the officeris tak of tham viijd and to ramane in the tollbuyt xxiiij howris wytowt faworis and wyt the viijd till the said officaris to fund the said wache.

A further difficulty was the irregular payment of the rents.

Item. It is statute and ordanit be the consale and commonete of this burt that all manyr of personis fremen and vemen of this burt haiffand takkis assedationes and possessionis of ony common landis, howsses, buythtis, fischings or ony wther renttis purtening the comond of this burt Inbring and pay thair malis and rentis wtin twenty dais nixe efter the term and termes of vitsonday and mertynmes in zeris to cum and mak the thesawrars and collectoris of the burt redy payment and ansher and obbey thame and ilk ane of thame in tymes and termes to cum vnder the paine of tinsale of takkis and possessionis. And quha beis fundin vnpait after the tenor of this act thair takkis to be sett to siklik fremen as vill vse thankfull pay-

ment termly [and that] wtout clame of kindness therof in tyme cuming wt intimation as efferis.

The authorities dealt heavily with those who wadset their tacks. Lender and borrower alike were to lose their wad and tack if the wadset was not broken within twenty-one days.

15th Nov., 1525.—The samin day It is statuit and ordanit be the alderman, balleis, and hale commonete of the burgh of Drumfress all the weddis tane and for to be tane for the males of common landis vnlowisit wtin xxi days sall be disponit be the ballies frely for euir in tym to cum any tyn the samin weddis and thai that aw thame to tyn thar takis, and It sall be lefell to the toun till dispone apone the saidis takis as thai think expedient for the wele of the toun.

But perhaps the more usual treatment was to arrange a transference to the bondholder, as in the following:

30 July, 1522.—The quhilk day the alderman bailzeis & communite of Drumfress hais fundin and ordainit that John Welch hass ane akyr of the commone landis in the vaitslakis now occupyit be John cristin at mertinmess nixt to cum the said Johne Welch payand betwix this and the said tyme to the said Johne m'cristin four pundis for the quhilk it was laid in wod be the said John Welch to the said John m'cristin and ten schillingis for the manure of his in the grund of the quhilk thar is iiij ss payit of the few [or foir] male to the toun be Johne welch and swa restis vnpayit to the said Johne m'cristin sex schillingis.

Tacks wadset to unfreemen were to fall without recompense to the town.

15 May, 1532.—The inquest deliveris that gif it happy-nis ony fre burges havand common landis or ony vther takkis in assedation of the toun to wodset and anilie the samin till ony vnfreman the said landis or takkis sall be vacand in the tovnis handis and it sall be lesum till ony freman that will bid maist for it to brovk the samin.

The land had to be ditched, and on 17th April, 1520, five Byrlaw men\* were appointed to see it properly done, or do it at their expense; and to choose herds and a poulder.

Tho. M'clarin, Johne Ranying, To. m'Kennane, Ja. M'crystin, W. bryss.

The alderman and balleis has ordanit ilk nycbour to mak vp his dykes and rowmis betuix this and sonedaye nixt to cum failzeand tharof thir byrlaw men abone writtin to tak viijss wort of thar gudis to mak thar dykis of thar expens. And thir byrlaw men to cheiss the hyrdis and causs all vnfre folkis guidis to be put out of the toun for destruction of the corn and gyrss and ordanis the Kingholm to be cruytt west and cheiss ane poulder to keep it and he to haiff iijjd of ilk beist that is gottin vther on the corn or the gyrss and ony housse to be ane sufficient pundffald.

Pundfald Burn and Punderhill remind us of these conditions.

Most of the land was unfenced, and straying cattle were the cause of constant trouble. The following set of a piece of land illustrates this and provides that the holder shall pay for any damage done:

17 May, 1536.—Quo die Richard Maxwell hais tane the piece of muirland lyand on the Gallowrigg betuix the cargait and the truf dik for the space of three zeris and the said richart to hald all the corne land betuix the said cargait and merchill vnettinn for ony gudis that may cum throw the said mwrland and geiff so beis that thair be ony nychboris corn ettin or distrowit throw the said dik he to pay and upset the samin.

Cattle were put to herds each spring and the burgh officers were to be paid 4d for each beast found loose while

\* "Burgh-law men, the arbiters appointed by the community of the township to preserve the laws of good neighbourhood." Similar to the English Reeve, who acted as the representative of the village community, was generally chosen by them, in regard to the overlord. He had more especially to superintend the performance of labour imposed on the peasantry and to attend courts, four men acting as representatives of the village accompanying him.—J. A. Brown, *Transactions, Glasgow Archaeological Society*. vol. v., pt. 11, p. 111.



goats, geese, and swine could be killed by anyone whose property they were damaging, and no recompense could be claimed.

12 April, 1526.—The samin day It is statuit and ordainit that euery nychbour put thar gude till ane hird betuix this and Sunday nixt to cum and gif it happynis till the officheris till apprehend ony gude vnput to hirling the said officheris to haif iiijd of ilk . . . sovm ilk tyme/failzeing he serss not his office dayly he to tyn his office thereof. The samin day It is statuit and ordaind be the Inquest that quhair ony nychbor [finds] gottis geysse or swyn in thar skait It sall be leful and lycent till sla thaim and to mak na recompence to the perty.

The swine became such a nuisance that swine slayers were appointed. Sacrilege bore horrors then undreamed of now. We can hardly guess what superstitious qualms shook the people of the good town when they discovered swine in the charge of innocent children routing up the green graves and the wooden crosses in the churchyard.

15 March, 1535/6.—Quo die the alderman ballies and hail communitie [of Drumfress hais] constituit and ordanit Robin m'brayr and thom kyrk[patrik] to serss and seke all swyne wtin the toun and ter[etory] of the samin and admittis and gevis thaim full polwer that] quhair thai can apprehend ony swine wtin [the] forsaidis lowss and owt of band to sla the samin and [that] becaus it is fundin amangis the nychbors of the tone that swyne ar vnlauchfull gude for zoung innocent barnis was gottin diverss tymes in the kyrkyard wyrtand vp [the] grene gravis and deid croces therintill and ordanis thame to haiff xxss of the common pursse zeirliche thai exercisand ther office lelelie and trewlie and gif thai failze of [the] execution of the said office ther fealis to be escheit.

But perhaps the most curious entry of this class shows an advancement even on the present day. It is from the Rental sheet.

Item it is statute and ordanit be the alderman baillies and the consale of this burt that all persounis hawand doggis kattis loiss wtin this burt [do so] vnder the paine of viijss the first falt xlss the nixt falt fra this furt wt certificatione to thame, etc.

Examination of the entries in the Burgh Court Books relative to our subject reveal various conditions of holding within the territories of the town, comprising occupation by burgage, feu, kindly tenancy, and simple tacks or leases.

### NON-BURGAGE PROPERTIES WITHIN THE BURGH

Burgage holding would exclude all properties so held from our Rental, and in fact it is clear that the great bulk of the land and tenements within the ports does not appear. Certain tenements, booths, forges, barns, and kilns are, however, included, and we must endeavour to discover the reason. We find that these tenements were, with some scattered exceptions, situated within the area surrounded by Chapel Street, Queensberry Street, Queensberry Square, and High Street. Thus four are in the Midraw, ten, St Gregory's House, and a back house are on Chapelhillside, two are at the Schoolhouse gable and gate, and there are also Martin Blackstok's "tenements of the Rattenraw." The New Wark and a tenement at its northern gable, which are also included, are immediately south of this block. The tenements outwith this area are two in Friars' Vennel—i.e., one in Newton and a new one at Portcheik; another new one at Brigend, and one in Millgait or Burns Street. Lord Maxwell's new house was at Townhead, as also was a detail, not a tenement but its pertinent, the "gallry pertenant Shr Mark Carruthers."

13 June, 1537.—"Quo die Shr Mark carrutheris persoun of movswald allegit in Jugement that ane galry and stair vnder his awin gawill on the est sid of the samin pertenis till him as ane pertinent of his said tenement in the meyntyne Johne broun allegit the said galry and stayr

pertenis till him in heretage and protestit xl dayis that he mycht bring his evidentis of the samin to produce and schaw the samin befor the gud toun." Unfortunately we have no further record of this case.

### THE MIDRAW

These are the tenements included in the Rental. They occupy, obviously, quite a different position in the economy of the burgh from the tenements not included which were held burgage and which are to-day represented,\* as formerly contended, by those strips of land separated by closes, running from the High Street east and west to Loreburn Street and Irish Street, from English Street to Shakespeare Street, and from St Michael Street to the river. The inclusion of the Midrow houses is subject to only one, and that a perfectly natural, explanation; that they were not secular possessions like the excluded properties, but the product of some later activity, and that the land they stood on had been set out or leased by the Burgh at a late period. Their occupation would be an encroachment on the common streets and open places of the established town sanctioned only on condition of payment of an annual rent. The bulk of the property in question ran north from the strong vaulted building, the New Wark, and in the same block we have formerly noticed four or five tenements as possessions of the Grey Friars.\* It seems probable that the origin of this portion of the town is conjoined with the erection of the New Wark. If that building was erected as a poor substitute for the Royal Castle at Castledykes, which finally disappears about the year 1357, when David II. as a condition of his release promised the destruction of the castles of Nithsdale, and so threw down Dalswinton, Dumfries, Morton, and Durisdeer, with nine other strengths in Nithsdale,\* and the Midraw sprang up after its erection, we have a reasonable ex-

\* *Transactions*, 1912-15, p. 328-9.

\* *Scotochronicon*, xiv., 18.

planation, but one which the absence of the necessary documents prevents us from verifying. That, however, the Midraw was of later date than the main arteries of the town there need be little doubt. The same explanation of late encroachment applies with considerable certitude to the other scattered properties, of which three are specifically new houses. The only example of the set of a tenement we have come upon is that of William Steel, which he disposed of to Watte Cowin, whose name does not appear in the rental. It may have been next Steel's tenement in the Milgait.

27 April, 1524.—The samyn daye present in Jugement William Stele and thar in pl[ane cort] hes gevin or all rycht and clame of rycht and kyndness that he had, hes [or in] ony maner of waye in tym to cum maye haiff in and to ane how[ss and] zard of the common land wt the pertinentis lyand fornent ane tenement of the said William Steleis in the quhilk his moder duellis, in the quhilk hous and zard duelt wmqll Johne Wellis; in the handis of David Newall and Johne bate balleis in the faworis of Watte cowin and the saidis balleis ressaut the said watte cowin tenant to the said howss and zard of common land wyt the pertinentis, payand tharfor zeirly xvi [? ijd] siklik as it paytt in tymes gane.

The foregoing is a record of the disponing of a kindly tenancy. "Giving over" is the usual term used in such cases to indicate the surrender to a new tenant. The phrase "received . . . tenant" is the conventional one acknowledging on behalf of the burgh the entry of a new tenant.\*

## THE TOLBOOTH

The four booths in the Rental occupied the ground floor of the tolbooth, there was another under the stair, two cellars beneath, and a tofall on the east side. The following

\* The writer's indebtedness to John Arthur Brown's "The Kindly Tenants of the Archbishop of Glasgow" (*Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, vol. x., pt. 2, pp. 105-124) for the explication of legal points will be obvious on comparison with his paper.

entry shows that these booths were let at 20s annually, while our Rental only gives 10s, obviously only one term's rent:

The inquest deliveris quhar george maxwell biddis xxss ilk bucht vnder the tolbucht zeirlie Howbeit thai admitt the ald tennentis to have the saidis buchtis for ane zer payand vse and wont and ordains at the nixt mychelmes cort to causs ane officer to warne the saidis tennentis to flitt at the nixt vitsonday thereafter furt of the saidis buchtis or ellis to geiff to the common purss for ilk bucht xxss in the zeir. And that becaus it was clerly provit afor thaim quhen the tolbucht was thekit wt stra and haddir that the tennentis havand the tak and assedatioune of the saidis buchtis bad and profferit to thek the tolbucht wt sklaitt to geif for ilk bucht twenty schillingis zerlie.

#### A PUBLIC BARBER

It is interesting to notice that our ancestors were sufficiently advanced four centuries ago to pay a public barber, and when they found the common purse but weak and super-expended they gave him a shop free of rent to shave in, and forbade unfree barbers to have a booth in the burgh.

7 April, 1524.—The inquest resaut ane byll gevin be John M'ilrewe common barbor & hes hard his desyres of the samyn and quhar he desires xlss of fee siklik as he had of befor and quhar he sais he may not hald the gude toun to wark upon the said service wytowt he may haif xlss of fee as said is the Inquest forsaidis decernis & sayis the common purss is bot wyke & superexpendit & that it may not beyr samekile for the tovn mere therfor thai ordaine the said Jon M'ilrewe to haif the common buyth to schaf in for to vse vpon the tovnis service & discharge John barbor & all utheris barboris vnfremen that . . . an buth to schaf in.

The arrangement could not have lasted very long, however, for on 2nd May, 1537, William Eluand resigned his

tak of one of these booths in favour of William Blyth, barber, whose wife, he being dead, appears in our Rental charged with ten shillings.

### BARNs, FORGES AND KILNS

The barns appear to have been mostly outwith the ports. Besides indicating the conditions of the streets, various entries of new leases enable us to understand what had taken place when the tenement-lands were leased out. Thirteen of the barns were in Kirkgait, besides one at the "common Sloip" (or Slap, an opening, so that the name Barnslaps need not be strange to us); four were at Townhead, and one and a sheild, or cattle shelter, in Lochmabengate. The three forgesteads were at Townhead, and there were kilns in Lochmabengate and at Stakeford. [The forges must have made a picturesque, child-attracting spot of the Townhead, Sir Mark Carruthers referring to it as the road leading to the forges near the moat of Dumfries.\*]

The following entries show the Burgh authorities giving a lease of land for a barn:

27 April, 1524.—The samyn day the bailze David Newall wt awiss of the communite haiss sett to Shr Johne m'callan chappellane and to Johne Newall twa rudis of commone land to ane barnsted lyand besyd the raffell dub as the laif of the barnis standis payand zerlie for the saidis twa rudis xvjd of annuel to the common purs. . . .

The Raffel Dub, later known as the Goosedubs, was at St. Michael Street, about the north end of the Nithsdale Mills.\* In our Rental James Haliday appears as the owner of "wmqle Shr John m'collumnis" half barn, and the relict of John Newall as owner of a barn and a half in Kirkgait.

The following is another example of the grant of a kindly tenancy:

\* *Protocol Book*, 5, vi., 1545.

\* The name has been transcribed *Rassel dub* (Edgar's *History of Dumfries*, ed. by R. C. Reid, pp. 120, 238), but it is also to be found spelt *Raphell Dub* (*Burgh Court Books*, 24th March, 1552).

12 August, 1527.—The qlk day John Rig bailze haiss rentalit robin craufurd burgess of Drumfress in ane peiss of land for ane barn to be biggit thervpon contenand twa rude of lenthth & ane rude of breid lyand at the tale of sax rude of common land merchand wt the Kyrkyard dyke on the northt part on the taa part and ane half akyr of land of the common land in the hands of adam wallace burgess of the said burgcht in the southt part on the tothir part to be broukit wt the said Robert his ayris and assignais payand therefore zeirlic of annuell the said Robert craufurd his ayres & assignais xvjd vsuale monye of Scotland to the town at twa vsual termys in the zeir witson-day and mertinmess in wynter be equale portionis of the quhilkis xvjd the said robert payis viijd for the half of ane barn quhilkis was wmqhile nicholl m'manendie and vtheris viijd for ane vaist pairt of the common landis lyand contigue therto on the est syde as said is merchand as of before.

Robert Crawford here named appears in our Rental as "wmqll," and his legitimate son John is rentalled in the barn and half acre, while his illegitimate son John holds half an acre.

The operative word of admittance in the above is "rentallit." We shall find it commonly used in admitting a kindly tenant. "Broukit" is an obsolete form meaning to be enjoyed or used, also found in kindly tenancy. It is obvious that a heritable right was granted in this case, and the change to feus which took place a few years later was a very slight one in its effect, because no greater fixity of tenure was implied.

### FEUDAL HOLDINGS

In the following instance it is a feu that is granted:

15 March, 1535/6.—Quo die the Inquest ordanis Herbert carrutheris till haif the foyr front of common land befor the archdene croft als neyr the merche dike of the said croft as it may vnhurting the said merche for hurting

of the streyt & to construct & big thervpon efter the maner off the barnes stedis benewcht the he Kyrk wt none vther boundis nor privelege payand therfor zeirlie four schillingis to the common purss & ordainis herbert cunigham ballie to geiff the said herbert carrutheris seysing of the samin.

In our Rental we find Roger of Carrutheris paying two shillings, clearly the half-year's feu duty, for "the feu landis of the Croftheidis."

The names of those who held various offices in the Church were often conferred on pieces of land, and we have in the Archdene Croft a reminder of the Dean of Nith. In 1551 that office was held by Magister Archibald Menzies. The croft lay on the east side of St. Michael Street, but was not adjacent thereto, some common land intervening, as the following set of land to five churchmen shows:

28 May, 1522.—"The samyn day the alderman balzeis and communite hais set to Shr John lachlieson, Shr Johne Oliuer, Shr harie mersare, Shr James m'brar & Shr Johne m'callane the commone landis liand before the archdene croft fra the entre of the wicar's place to adam corsane howss payand for ilk rude xijd.

The croft was adjacent to the Vicar's place, another ecclesiastical name. Another, and the only survivor, of these names is the Clerkhill, reminiscent of the parish clerk. Glebe Street is a modern but appropriate name, as it is situated on the old glebe lands. Kirkland Firs, too, is indicative, the whole of the land between the two roads as far as Ellangowan being, prior to the Reformation, Church land.

Feudal holdings present the greatest difficulties for our consideration, because burghal lands holding from the Crown were strictly inalienable, except under the specific sanction of the King. The progress towards feuing, which has finally left us with so poor a remnant of our original common heritage, was a gradual one. To conserve the "res universitatis" was one of the functions of the Great



Chamberlain, who was required to make periodical inquests into their administration, but when that office was supplanted in by the Lord High Treasurer, no efficient supervision of burghal revenues seems to have been maintained. Even prior to this, Parliament, in 1491, deemed it necessary to insist that 'the rentis of burrowis, as landis, fishings, fermes, mylles, and utheris yerely revenus be nocht set bot for thrie yeris allenerly.'\* In 1503, however, Parliament passed Acts permitting the King to give permanent tenures of Crown property in lieu of short leases and barons and freeholders to do the same.\* The burghs pressed for similar measures, and in 1508 Edinburgh took the lead in this direction, obtaining from the Crown a general licence for improving and augmenting the burghal revenue by disposing of their common property in feu-farm and heretage. Special grants or licences were soon obtained by other burghs, while the magistrates of others "appear to have acted on the supposition that the former restraints of the common land were relaxed, if not entirely abrogated, and that the alienation in feu-farm of the common property of burghs royal had become a part of their ordinary administration."†

This last appears to have taken place at Dumfries. We do not have many examples of feus at our date. They are, as yet, an innovation. Three are specifically mentioned in our Rental, the above "few landis of the Croftheidis" and "John Rigis airis for ane barne and akar of land few landis, lxd," and James Dicksoun "for his fewland at lorburn sid." A fourth is included in the Rental, "the landis of nethyr chapell," paying four shillings, though it is not entered as a feu. The following extract shows that it was such:

2 May, 1537.—Quo die the inquest ordanis Johne Makilrwe to haif the landis of the nethir chapell in feu to him & his aris wt the pertinentis vnder the commone sele

\* *Acts of Parliament*, vol. ii., p. 227, c. 19

\* *Acts of Parliament*, vol. ii., p. 244, c. 30 and 31; 253, c. 36 and 37.

† General Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Municipal Corporations in Scotland, 1835, p. 13.

for the payment of viijss of male zeirlie to be pait to the gude toun efter the decess of Shr richart maxvell & to pay xxss of entres siluer resseruand in the tounis handis ane cartgaitt contenand sex ellis or thairby in breid.

In our Rental John M'Ilwrewe for the Landis of Nethyr Chapell pays four shillings, again only one term's duty.

The Nether Chapel was the Chapel of the B.V.M. at Castledykes and the names of Wellfield, Ladyfield, and Lady's Well are all that remain to remind us of this early foundation. It is difficult to determine the "cartgaitt." It may be the road to Glencaple or the Kingholm Loaning.

The earliest of these small feus is, however, not mentioned in our Rental. It was the grant of the "walkmyll sted" on the Sandbeds and "the wattergang" on 28th May, 1522, to Thomas Cunygham, the charter being ordered to be given on 4th July, 1526.\*

Long prior to this, however, in 1454 the town had granted a feu-charter of the Lands of Netherwood to Provost Robert M'Brair. The lands of Netherwood and Langholm, the Mains, the Kingholm, and Castledykes, apparently would not be granted to the Burgh as long as the Royal Castle was in occupation.† Only on its dissolution can we expect them to have become Burghal possessions, and it may be that they were not regarded as bearing the same inalienable quality as the older properties. In the "Reports upon the Boundaries of the several Cities, Burghs and Towns in Scotland," it is stated that all the houses and properties included within the Boundary on the Dumfries side of the River . . . are subject to the jurisdiction of the Magistrates and pay tax with the Town, not with the County, except the feus of Netherwood which, though within the jurisdiction of the Magistrates and holding of

\* *Transactions*, 1912-13, p. 308.

† An entry in the English Revenue Accounts of 1335 (p. 93) during the English occupation refers to "the mote of the castle and certain royal lands called Kingholm." Netherwood, with Cūvnathifrigis (Conheathrig), had been granted by David II. to Fergus, son of Matthew, probably in 1345. (Robertson's Index, p. 32.)

the Town, pay land-tax with the County from some cause not known. This unknown cause may be the association of this land with the county until such a late date as indicated above. The problem will not be solved until the discovery of the Crown Charter presenting the Castledykes, Kingholm and Netherwood to the town. The lands of Nether Chapel, we see, were also feued. The granting of these lands, and the building of both the Bridge and the New Wark, may be connected, but the problem is perhaps now hopelessly obscure. We have but the most meagre records of our history from 1300 to 1500.

Another point offers no ready solution. Why do we find included in our Rental such lands as those of Pundfald Burn, Marchhill, Braidmyre, and Gallowrigg, if, as Mr J. C. R. Macdonald contended, the £5 land of Moat was a compact area of 260 Scots acres extending from the Moat to the Annan Road, thence to St. Catherine's and Marchhill and so by the old boundary at Parkfoot to Crindau?\* For these lands were within that perimeter.

### KINDLY TENANCIES

If in the feus we have the latest form of holding, we have in the kindly tenancies the oldest, passing perhaps beyond the Norman system of sheepskin titles to that unwritten native growth of nascent feudalism, as Andrew Lang puts it, upon which the Norman system superimposed itself never wholly supplanting it. Familiar to the Celt was the position of the man, *boaire* or *ceile*, who held a share of his tribe's land in use, not in property, and who might hold in possession, or even acquire in property, by virtue of his kinship with the chief.† Of some such origin is the kindly tenancy—there is kinship in it. It has ever been associated with the *nativus*, who might not “flee from the land on which he was born,” but “was free against everyone but his lord,” and whose serfdom was not so

\* *Transactions*, 1912-13, p. 345.

† *History of Scotland*, vol. i., pp 79-84, 133-5.

servile as to invalidate a pact between him and his lord. In England the Church, as early as the seventh century, tried to make it a matter of Christian duty not to rob a *servus*, the lowest rank in the land, of what he had hoarded. The *nativus* could acquire property. He may often have bought himself out, purchased a "borrowage," or rood of land, in a burgh, and, abiding there unchallenged by his lord for a year, have become a free burgess,\* or from a perpetual occupier on his lord's land have acquired a lease. "It was in the interest of the lord to convert his servile peasantry into a class of rent-paying farmers, henceforth free; or into free labourers, who, by the grant of a cottage and a few acres of land, were bound as freemen to support themselves." So also the King acted when he made a Royal Burgh.

The kindly tenant's sole title was an entry in the Burgh Court Books. The tenancies were heritable and alienable. It "was not a feudal tenure in the strict legal sense: it was a species of copyhold." The "tenants were the progeny," says Mr Walter Ross, "partly of the villeins who had become free and of freemen who farmed the lands. They had no charters, leases, or other rights to their possessions, but attended the courts of their lords and had their names, payments, and possessions entered by the bailiffs or stewards in the rental or lists of tenantry belonging to the manor. These possessions in England, by the neglect of some masters and indulgence of others, grew into a right. The son succeeded his father by entry in the Court. Alienations by surrender came to be admitted." So we may conceive it happening in the burgh, and it continued to be practised.

Like the Church, the burgh "let its lands at a moderate rent, assumed its tacksmen into the state of kindly tenants, and allowed them to possess, as long as they paid their rent, from generation to generation." We have already seen the Burgh creating a kindly tenancy in the

\* *Op. cit. passim.*

case of Robin Craufurd, but generally the entries refer to the admission of a new tenant by the submission of the old of his house and yard, as we saw William Stele making in favour of Watte Cowin and in the following:

5 June, 1521.—The samyn day Johne rig burgess in Drumfress hais tane ane aker of the common landis lyand vnder the zardis quhilk Johne Ramsaye had in tak & assedatione of the toun off before the quhilk assedation is admitted be the alderman baileis & commonete of the burgh of Drumfress & be the ryt & kyndnes of John ramsay Sandeis ramsaye, broder & factor to robin ramsaye in franss & Symon.

The last of these was probably the tenant to whom the assedation was granted. The following is a model entry of its kind:

Last February, 1519/20.—The qlk daye comperit in presens of the saids alderman and balleis in plane cort Jonet how the sister and ayr of wmqll John how burges of the said burgh of Drumfress and resignit & gaiff or in the handis of the said alderman and balleis & commonetie all ryt & kyndnes that sche had haiss or ony manyr of waye mycht haiff as ayr forsaid to the thre akarris of the common landis the quhilk the said Johne hyr broder had befor in assedatione in the favoris of James Andersone burges of the said burgh of Drumfress & his ayris & requirit the saidis alderman balleis and commonete to admytt & resaiff the said James tyll hyr rycht & kyndnes of the saidis thre akarris wyt the pertinentis & grantit hyr thankfullie contentit & payit therfor, the qlk alderman balleis and commonete resavit & admittit the said James anderson & his ayris siclik ryt & kyndnes of the said akarris of land as the said Jonet how mychet & suld haiff as ayr to the said wmqle John how hyr broder.

In the following case, in which a *grassum* has to be paid to the Brigwerk, we have the land left by will. The legatee appears in our Rental.

22 Oct., 1522.—The quhilk day the inquest admittis herbert Kellok to ane akyr of the commone landis lyand in the Waitslakis the quhilk was wmquhile Shr Walter m'geis of the quhilk the said Shr Walter left the said herbert his kyndnes the said herbert payand to the brigwerk twa merkis for entress in the quhilk be this present act he is rentalit.

A widow was generally granted a life-rent. The easy manner in which a tack became a kindly tenancy is shown in the following:

30th April, 1522.—The samin daye Inquest deliueris & ordanis that merzeon amvligane browk the aker of the common landis for hyr livftym Indurand hir wedowhide quhilk John reid hir husband had in tak of the toun & efter the saidis merzeon deceiss that the barnis & ayris of the said vmquhill John reid browk that samyn as vce in burgh is.

12 April, 1526.—The samin day the Inquest deliueris & ordanis Janet newall the relict of wmquhile Robert patriksone to brovk the berkholis lyand betuix ane zard end of cuthbert m'byrne & the myldam & that scho brovk & haiff possession of the samyn siklik as hir husband had of before aye & quhill sch be lachfully callit & ordourly put therfra becauss scho hais previt hir husband in pecable possession of the samin upnacclamit or trublit be ony perty.

It is not clear whether these barkholes are the same as the barkholes next the stockwell in the rental or near Mill-damhead, and which gave the latter land the name Barkerland. The stockwell was near the mill in Burns Street. Tanneries, as we see, have been associated with that place time out of mind.

Disputes with regard to succession were settled at the Burgh Court, but in difficult cases an arbitration was arranged or the Court convened an inquest of burgesses to decide the affair.

On 10th November, 1535, a dispute having arisen between William and Katherine Neleson, heirs of David

Neleson, the Council discharged the parties from "ony intromitting occupying or manuring" of the land "vn to the tyme the Rycht therof be declarit be ane lauchfull inquest nychboris of the toun les suspect" and "quha the said inquest fyndis be ther grait aithis suorn haiffand the ryt be vse of burgh thai ordaine tham to brovk the samin conform to the auld loveable vse and consuetude of burghe."

According to the practice of the day a pursuer who failed to make good his case was fined by the Court.

15 May, 1521.—The quhilk daye Kathern neilsone the spouss of wmquhill John blak hais previt lachfully efter the tenor of ane act maid of befor that the said wmquhill John hir spous bocht ane moss acclamit be mergret broun fra the said mergret broun and the said mergret is in amerciamet of this cort for the wrangwss following of the said moss dovm geiffin be John halydaye.

### SIMPLE TACKS

In May of each year the tacksmen renewed their leases. The entry was of the simplest and baldest character.

7 May, 1516.—The quhilk day the alderman hes tane his takis for ane zer.

The quhilk [day] Wilzeam cunigham vif hais tain her landis & the kyll.

The quhilk day Jhon Ryg hes tane his taks [and the half of] the flech gallows.

The quhilk day vilzeim velche hes tain a aker.

These are typical entries but at times there is a sole inclusive entry.

6 June, 1520.—Inquest admittis all nychboris to thar takis qlk are in possession of the samin for ane zeyr.

A little more information is obtained from records of the setting of new taks. Gradually the poorer and farther land was taken up. We can trace its occupation in a limited manner. Sometimes favourable conditions were

granted such as remission of the first year's rent, others were given conditionally on certain services, such as the building of a ditch or bridge, being performed.

The gallows myre was probably the low ground at Greenbrae.

22 Oct., 1521.—The samin daye Robin nycholsoun hais tain the gallowss myr\* lyand on the west syd of the said gallowss he payand for ilk akar of land as the nychbouris off the gallowrig payis for ane zeir.

The Wolfgill lay along the old Muirburn side between the two roads to the Craigs.

16 Jan., 1521./2.—The inquest ordanis the inhabitants and occupiaris of the volfgill to paye the maill of the akaris of it of all termes excep the first zeir ilk akar xijd.

The following refers to some land near Milldamhead.

16 August, 1526.—The samin day the Inquest hes ordanit the balleis to pas and deliuer till Johne mering ane akar of the greyn sprang lyand and merchand wt the fowll flosche male fre the said Johne makand and vphaldand ane sufficient brig our the said flosche and makand the watter rynd sufficient to the mylldalm dry & geif the said Johne to failis herin the tak of the said aker of land to be in the tovnis hand qlk watter sal be cassin to ryn to the dyk nuk.

Financial pressure was apparently the incentive to set fresh land, and an interesting progression is noticeable in the length of the leases. As noted above, it was illegal to give tacks for a longer period than three years. In our Burgh Court Books all the earlier tacks are for one year, in 1537 we note the first break, one for three, another for five years being given, and by 1562 the usual term is for nineteen years. But first the burgh in 1522, pressed for money to buy guns and powder, resorted to the device of collecting two termes male in advance.

18 June, 1522.—The quhilk daye the alderman & balleiz & consale of the gude toun hais fundin neidfull & expedient

\* *Transactions, D. and G. N. H. and A. Soc.*, 1914-15, p. 197.



that ilk akar off the common landis paye twa termes male beforhand & hais ordanit Thom mcknat till resaiff the samyn to by thair gunnis & powdir & all vtheris thingis that is neidfull for the common proffett quhilkis twa termis male sal be of the mertynmes nixt to cum in the zeir of god Jaj vcxxij zeris & vitsonday term thaireftir in the zeir of god Jaive and xxij thir ar the names that hais pait thair formale [50 names follow with the amount each paid varying from 9d to 33s.]

The King's tax, which is the immediate cause of the three and five years' leases of 1537, was no doubt collected to pay the expenses of James the Fifth's marriage on New Year's Day, 1537, to Madeline, the young daughter of Francis I., who was fated to die in the following July.

18 January, 1536/7.—Quo die the alderman & balleis & commonete ordanis the landis of gallowrig beside the peithill to be set till tham that will geiff maist for ilk akar to fulfyll the rest of the payment of lvj li vss of the kingis taxt.

Herbert cunigham hes iiij akarris of gallowrig for the space  
of thre zeris payand therefor beforehand ..... xsss  
Edward Johnstoun, ij akaris of gallowrig ..... xss  
George Maxwele, ij akaris of gallowrig ..... xss  
Thomas Walshe, ij akaris of gallowrig ..... xss

2 May, 1537.—Quo die the alderman balleis & commonete in jugement admitted all tennentis haiffand beyr akarris to ther takis for the space of five zeris to cum sa mony as payit thair formaill for the saidis five zeris qlkis foirmaill was gevin to the Kingis stent in france.

11 Feb., 1652.—Rental of the gallowrig and wolfgill lett for 14s entres silver & 11s stand-maill during 19 zeris.

Thus the common lands, from the immediate oversight that frequent renewal of leases entailed, slowly slipped into feus and long leases. The depreciation of the Scottish currency contributed to the mischief thus begun. It might be worth while collecting two shillings per annum, but when the two shillings Scots became twopence sterling it was

not, and the payments could not be readjusted to represent the value of the property. Probably the ancient kindly tenancies simply passed into the real possession of the holders, and many of the feu duties also passed by depreciation out of the revenues of the Burgh. During the succeeding centuries pieces of land, mostly pasture and moss, were continually being sold, the 150 acres of Barkerland being roused in 1731, sometimes under the financial stress of extensive improvement schemes, aggravated by the jovial feasting and vicarious hospitality of the Burgh fathers, sometimes under mutually convenient arrangements or direct pressure, both probably equally unscrupulous, but bearing a superficially fair appearance difficult to pierce. This process was completed by the deplorable insolvency of the Burgh in 1817, when the revenues were placed under trustees and the lands of Kingholm and Milldamhead were sold to relieve the situation. The Commissioners appointed in 1833 to inquire into the State of the Municipal Corporations in Scotland reported on Dumfries that "a large part of the heritable property formerly belonging to the town has been sold during the present century. . . . The prices of the property thus disposed of amounted to £15,305 1s 7d. The present property of the town consists principally of mills and granaries, which, in the year ending 15th October, 1833, yielded a rental of £357 19s 8d sterling. The burgh is also possessed of some shops and houses in the suburbs, with small portions of land attached to them, which yielded a rental last year of £179 10s; and it has feu duties, which yield annually £114 4s 5d."

It is curious to notice that the dispersal of common property reached its height when the extreme individualist doctrines of the Manchester School of Political Economy held the field. To-day the process is reversed and the Burgh is reacquiring much of its forfeited patrimony.

**ARTICLE 4.**

## **A Grain Drying Kiln Rue Farm, Dumfriesshire**

By Major-General J. SCOTT ELLIOT

Ref : Map 1 inch., Great Britain. Sheet 74. Dumfries M.R. 908808

1. In April, 1961, Mr Dalziel of the Rue Farm, Dumfriesshire, reported that a cavity, with well laid masonry in it, had been found under a large stone. The field had not been previously ploughed in living memory. This was the beginning of a dig which resulted in the excavation of a grain drying kiln dating from, possibly, the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century.

### 2. Situation

The site is one hundred yards north of Fourmerkland Tower which is 16th century but it is known that there was a 15th century predecessor in the same site.

The kiln is in low ground but makes use of a slight eminence into which it is dug. It lies East/West with the fireplace to the east of the bowl.

### 3. General

(a) The kiln consists of:—

(i) A paved pathway 24 in. wide, with an air duct underneath measuring 8 in. by 8 in.

(ii) A fireplace.

(iii) A tunnel flue 10 ft. long, by 22 in. wide, by 24 in. high.

(iv) The bowl of the kiln. Top inner diameter 70 in.  
Bottom diameter 48 in.

### (b) Method of Working

From the evidence available it would seem likely that the kiln worked as follows:

The fire in the hearth warmed the underside of the hearth stone, thus air was drawn up the duct. Owing to the set of the stone which lies above the west end of the duct, air coming up was given a rotary twist. It was then deflected towards the mouth of the tunnel flue by an overhead stone, thence over a baffle of stones probably placed there to catch the sparks, thence along the flue to the entrance at the bottom of the kiln bowl. Here the small step up and the presence of the six large stones on the floor of the bowl may have served to break up the force of the draught. The air then ascended through the grain which lay on some form of platform in, or on the top of, the bowl.

#### 4. The Pathway and Duct

At the approach to the kiln from the East there is a paved area of smallish stones. Here there were quantities of black ash, thought to be throwout from the fireplace.

The East end of the paved pathway and duct is damaged by a Rumbling Stone drain which has been dug through at some later date. From just west of the rumbling drain the pathway and duct are complete. They consist of flagstones approximately 12 in. by 24 in. by 3 in. cemented together with clay, set on supporting stones approximately 5 in. broad by 10 in. high.

The pathway of flagstones runs up to the hearthstone, rising some 18 in. in the 12 ft. of distance. Each flagstone is set an inch or so above the previous one. To the North of this pathway was a large quantity of black ash.

#### 5. The Hearthstone

This is set 2 in. lower than the large stone east of it and 3 in. lower than the sausage shaped stone to the west. It is near triangular and there is a 9 in. by 4 in. hole through to the duct which may have been a draught hole to assist with the fire.

#### 6. The Duct End

The sausage shaped stone is deliberately set at an angle of 30 degrees to the line of the kiln. West of this stone the duct ends. The end of the duct is faced with five upended cobbles and the gap between the stone and the cobbles varies from 3 in. at the southern end to nil at the northern end.

The large stone set in the south wall at this end of the duct, has a cutaway ledge some 7 in. deep and 12 in. long, set at 15 degrees to the horizontal. There are signs of a similar ledge on the north side, though less well defined. It would appear likely that a deflecting stone lay on this ledge, so placed to deflect the air from the duct towards the tunnel flue. The duct is 10 ft. long to-day and may have been about 13 ft. originally.

#### 7. The Tunnel Flue

This is a well built tunnel 10 ft. long, 22 in. wide and 24 in. high, with walls of three courses mostly whinstone. The construction was drystone with occasional traces of clay "mortar." The roof was of five or six extremely heavy stones, three of which remain in situ.

#### 8. The Bowl of the Kiln

The Bowl is very well built with four courses of stone. The construction is similar to the Flue, but there are less traces of clay "mortar." The diameter at top is 70 in. It is 36 in. deep with sides flaired outwards about 11 in. giving a bottom

diameter of 48 in. The thickness of the wall of the bowl appears to be 28 in. to 30 in. The bottom of smooth clay slopes downwards to the tunnel flue some 4 in. There is a further fall of 4 in. between the edge of the bowl floor and the floor of the tunnel.

The bowl was found to contain the following :

- (a) The lowest 15 in. consisted of a brown/black, very fine grained sticky substance. In this were pieces of vegetable matter, occasional grain husks and small pieces of wood.
- (b) In this 15 in., resting on the floor of the bowl but not dug in, were six large stones apparently purposefully positioned.
- (c) Above the 15 in. level most of the material appeared to have been deposited as fill.

#### 9. Buildings

- (a) Set in the thickness of the top of the bowl were found three post holes of about 5 in. diameter. These may have been for supports for some form of roofing for the bowl.
- (b) West of the bowl of the kiln is a line of stones, apparently a wall foot, with the outer side to the west. This wall lies at an angle of 10° to the axis of the kiln. It has post holes on the inside at 3 ft. 6 in. intervals. No further work was carried out on this wall and its relationship to the kiln was not established.

#### 10. Finds

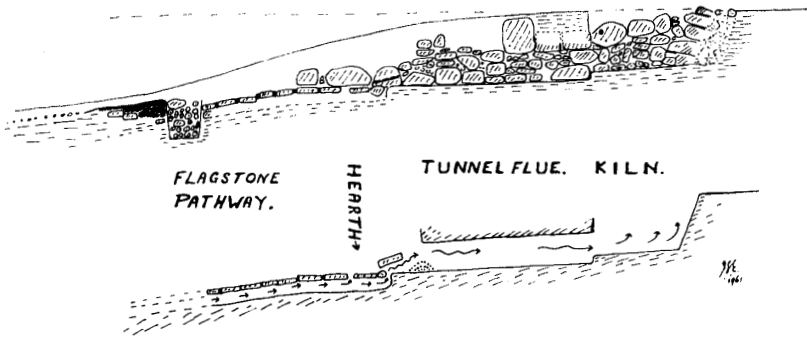
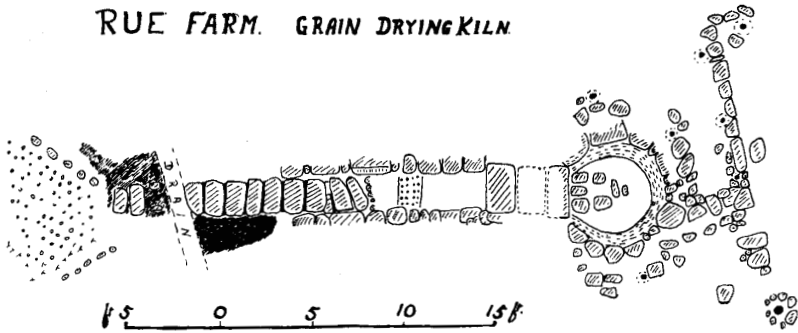
- (a) Two pieces of thick blue glass found in the centre of the bowl 18 in. from the bottom. Probable date 18th/19th century.
- (b) A piece of pottery about one inch square found at the east side of the wall. (9 (b) above). Date circa A.D. 1450.
- (c) In the area of the hearth, some heavy iron nails and a metal object probably a knife handle.

The above datings are by Mr Truckell of the Dumfries Museum.

#### 11. Summary

It is difficult to date the kiln but Mr Truckell feels that from the very good constructed workmanship and the mechanical ability shown, coupled with the piece of pottery mentioned in 10(b) above and the general proximity to Fourmerkland Tower, it would be reasonable to place the date at about the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century.

RUE FARM. GRAIN DRYING KILN.



Plan, Section and Elevation, Rue Kiln.



Floor of Flue showing air space under it.



" Baffle " Stones set on edge.





Bowl showing entrance of Flue.



Bowl viewed from above Flue.

## The Royal Four Towns of Lochmaben A Study in Rural Stability

By ARTHUR GEDDES, Ph.D.

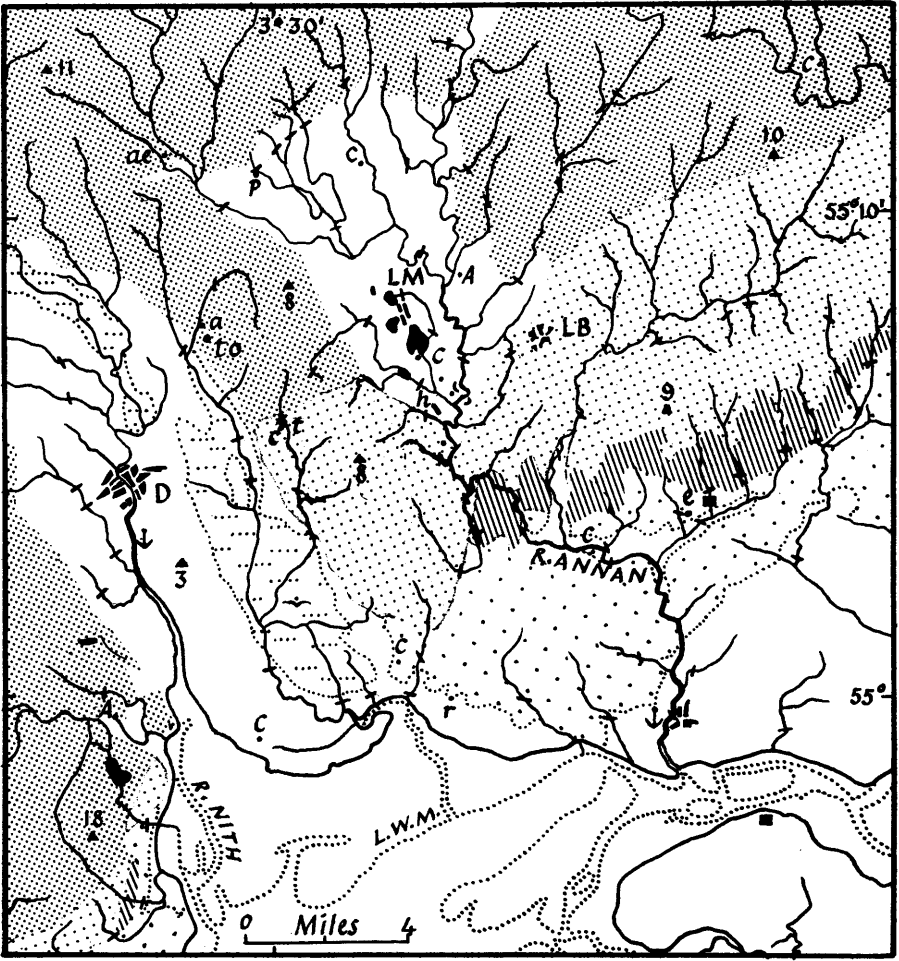
*The Problem.* While the Royal Four Towns, ferm-towns or farm-hamlets, of Lochmaben with their *kindlie tenancy* are well known to Scots historians, two aspects of their life invite fresh study on the spot. The first is the geographic factors, little noticed hitherto, in their foundation, continuance and vitality. The second is the stability of the community, unique in the rural Lowlands, which may throw light on the instability of our rural life and on what Sir J. A. Scott Watson called the "extraordinary" extent of the farm servants' migrations (Watson, 1934). In agricultural system, tenure and community, the ancient hereditary township crofting of the North and West contrasts with the commercial farming of the remainder with its few non-agricultural villages and its tenant farms with their tied cottages, whose farm servants were so frequently on the move. Until the last war half the rural pupils of most Lowland counties came or went in a school year. By their historic stability and continuity the Royal Four Towns offer a unique opportunity for comparing and seeing afresh the instability and discontinuity so prevalent, though so little studied in the Lowland countryside. Contemporary conditions are studied from 1938-9 to 1959.

*Geographic Situation, Site and Military Significance of the Royal Four Towns of Lochmaben:* The environment with its enduring factors of land-form and its changing factors of vegetation and of halting reclamation for agriculture, routes and settlement, must be clearly visualised if the animals of the Royal Towns are to be understood. The twin lowland of lower Annandale and Nithsdale is composed of two fertile vales mainly of New Red (Permian) Sandstone set in the great hill mass of resistant greywacke rock of older (Silurian) age. In shape the lowland is a parallelogram of which the

four sides are a dozen miles in length, measured between the foot of the cultivated hill slopes on either side and between the tidal estuary of the Nith and the smaller mouth of the Annan (Fig. 1). Projecting from the high hills a craggy spur or *fell* of the Silurian rock subdivides the lowland. Heavily glaciated, and with a rainfall of some 35 to 40 inches, much of the low ground is ill-drained. Damp grass moor and wet peat moss with lochs prevailed until the Agricultural Revolution and much remains even now. On the slopes there is lea and hay and in the hollows, damp pasture for the Ayrshire dairy cattle, the Border Leicester sheep, and in winter the Blackface hoggs (lambs) and cross-bred stock. To the eye the landscape is predominantly green, and even among the fields and hedges one hears the haunting cry of the curlew.

Northward by Moffat, Annandale leads over passes by the upper Tweed to Edinburgh and the Forth or nor'nor' westward by Lanark to Clydeside. To northwestward, Nithsdale leads over a lower pass to the Ayr Lowland. The main south to north Roman Road to eastern Annandale was crossed near Lockerbie by the N.E.-S.W. Roman road from Newstead (on Tweed) to Galloway, and passed within a furlong of Lochmaben's earlier castle. The Roman roads continued to be important into medieval times. Dumfries was laid out after 1100 on a fordable loop of the Nith above the shallow head of navigation, with Kingholm Quay a couple of miles below it. The burgh faces west to the bridgehead across the Nith with its red-soiled grassy lowland, to 'Grey Galloway,' last home of the Gaelic-speaking southern Scots. Thus, though the Nith formed a provincial frontier and Dumfries was made the county town, Annandale formed the main corridor from Carlisle and the Vale of Eden to the Mid-Lowland of the Forth and Clyde. Thus Lochmaben was strategically situated.

Tactically, the winding Annan's swampy flood-plain offered an eastern outwork for its defence from invasion. Within this lie seven lochs, linked by boggy streams. On



1 Solway 2 Drift, & Peat 3 Lower Trias Carbonif. 4 Basalt Lavas 5 Less & More Resistant Rock

Fig. 1.

■ Roman Fort; + Bridge over river. C, Castle; A, Abbey; D, Dumfries; LM, Lochmaben; LB, Lockerbie. Villages: h, Hightae; ae, Ae; p, Parkgate; a, Amisfield; to, Torthorwald; t, Tinwald; r, Ruthwell; e, Ecclefechan.

a knoll between two lochs was sited the first Castle of Lochmaben (c. 1130) with the burgh spaciouly planned a bow shot to north. By 1300 the later Castle was built out on a peninsula of the large Castle Loch, a deep fosse making it an artificial island.

Yet in peaceful times Lochmaben lay at a disadvantage. The shortest route from the Solway-crossings up Annandale keeps to the firm slopes along the eastern hillfoot. Where the route branches west to Lochmaben grew up the village of Lockerbie which after the union of 1707 became famous as a Lamb Fair, and by 1900 was the biggest in Scotland (Groome, 1901). After the opening of the main railway line (c. 1845) Lockerbie became a burgh. From it a branch line to Lochmaben and Dumfries was opened in 1863; it was closed in 1955. The changing importance of the three burghs over 200 years may be traced by the growth or decline of their resident populations, while the active age-group and the daytime working and marketing influx add dynamic elements to expanding Dumfries and even Lockerbie which are lacking in Lochmaben. The population of the county increased until 1851, then declined and increased again to 80,000 in 1951, just exceeding its early peak; this increase, plus an addition due to the county town's added area, made the last two census totals 81,000 and 86,000. The *landward* or rural population was the same in 1931 and 1951.

	County (000)	Dumfries		Lochmaben		Lockerbie	
		Burgh, etc.		Parish	Burgh	Parish†	Burgh
*1755	40	P	4520	1400		1100	
1801	55	P	7290	2050		1610	
1841	73	PB	13,090	2810	930	2090	
		RB	10,070		1290		
1851	78	RB	11,110	3130	1500	2410	1570
1901	73	RB	17,080	2390	1330	3130	2360
		MB	13,090		1050		
1931	75 81	MB	22,800	2460	1010	3340	2580
1951	80 86	MB	26,320	2580	1130	3380	2620

P: Parish; PB: Parliamentary Burgh; RB: Royal Burgh; MB: Municipal Burgh; †Dryfesdale; \*statistics for 1755 from Kyd (1952).

South of Lochmaben Castle there extends for over three miles a triangular tract of undulating land, bounded to east by the meandering Annan with its flood-plain, to west by the rocky ridges or mid-fell (800 ft.). These two defensive obstacles converge to a defile nearly four miles south of the Castle. This tract grew produce and gave the home for the Castle's advance garrison, which was thus well-placed to hold the defile or in retreat to withdraw to the Castle and hold it with the craftsmen of the burgh—stout of arm no doubt but slower in the field. An invading army could ill afford to leave upon its flank this strategic triangle, which deserves description.

A decisive geologic factor of form, land and water, differentiates the two vales. Whereas the Nith flows uninterrupted to the Solway except for loose, glacially deposited barriers of moraine, Annandale is traversed and partly blocked by a belt of the resistant rock, mainly Middle Silurian, which is associated with a strip of basalt lavas and diversified by narrow whinstone dikes. This whole transverse belt had acted as a weir, diminishing the Annan's power to incise and drain its vale upstream and forcing the Annan against the mid-fell of the twin lowland to form the Touns' triangle. As the ice-sheet retreated from the Annan lowland, leaving a hummocky ground-moraine strewn with drumlins of boulder clay, the brown floods of melt-water, flowing into eddies and transient lakes, dropped fine gravels, sands and silt. These blanketed and surrounded portions of 'dead,' static ice which, when they were ultimately melted, left Lochmaben's many lochs surrounded by low hummock and ridge of sand or loam. Meantime, drainage, winding its way out through this irregular surface, was forming the flood-plains of Nith and Annan. Successive falls of sea-level lowered the flood-plains of the Nith, and, to a lesser extent the Annan, leaving two successive river terraces above the present flood-plains. Towards the Solway and in Nithsdale chiefly, were left a series of raised beaches with peat-moss accumulating inland. It is the belt or natural weir of hard rock across the Annan

which left the Lochmaben tract so diversified in form, so confused, with its lochs and sluggish waters growing their reed-beds and bogs, their thickets of alder and willow or 'saugh' (*Geological Survey*, 1957, etc.). These obstacles added to the tactical strength of Lochmaben's triangle.

Place-names: modern, Scots, Norse, Goidelic and Cymric—picture the country as it is or was (Fig. 2). Overlooking peat-bog or *moss*, rushy or *rashy* meadow or *corse* and boulder-clay *moor*, from which the sheep were *faulded* as night came on, stood four low ridges, *knowes* or *hills*, 60 to 70 feet above the flood-plain. These provided loamy land sloping down to good green *lea* and ploughed by oxen. Between these stood the sites for the homesteads of the ferm-touns: to north, Greenhill above the holms of Annan, *Heck*, possibly from *heck*, a sluice gate, to west of and Smallholm above a lesser holm to south. As to *Hightae*, the largest, it may have been named from the Castle's high main outwork, prong or possibly toe, manned by this ferm-toun's tenantry (R. Fraser: communicated). But if the name was solely that of the village, *taithe*, a manured field, would make sense and fits the old form of the name (Johnson-Ferguson, 1935). Each toun's hill was laid out in rig and bauk, in ploughed corn-sidge and grassy drain. On alluvial fans just below where a *burn* or *gill* from the moor-fell had cut a *cleuch* in its foot were cut clearings (*thwaite*) among thorn and broom. There were shady *hazel shaws* with ash trees for spears but without yew trees for bows. An ancient camp and a feudal peel tower stand on low spurs of the fell. A gravelly, serpentine, broom-dotted esker, straggling across God's familiar countryside, was the *Deil's Dike*. Upstream across the Annan near the early castle *mote* of Applegarth stood a monastery and ferm-toun: north of Greenhill, *Priest-Dikes* recall monastic initiative to control the Annan floods and to reclaim grassy holm and *inch*, encircled by abandoned river loop or *lake*. The salmon still leap in the Annan and the fishing was and remains the Kindlie Tenants' right.

Within the triangle, the four ferm-touns composed one community, grouped under the name of 'Royal.' In later centuries the Kindlie Tenants had cause to plead for their rights to King and Parliament against successive feudal lords. When upholding the Tenants and while duly paying tribute to the memory of Bruce which they had invoked, Parliament must have been influenced by the stark need for vigorous defence of this triangle; for in those hungry times, men would fight the harder for the kingdom when they held land rights to defend together.

*Developments to Inclosure, 1789:* After the choice of Robert Bruce as King of Scots, Annandale became Crown property, recognised by Act of Parliament in 1357 and by re-enactments in 1487, 1540 and 1593. From the general feudalisation of Crown lands which followed the Act of Parliament of 1587, the Kindlie Tenants of the Royal Four Touns alone escaped, owing "to the special respect paid to the memory of Robert the Bruce . . . and to the special and continuous protection accorded by Royal Successors of Bruce and successively by Parliaments" (Carmont, 1910). Yet during the tenure of office of certain Wardens it fell ill with the Kindlie Tenants.

To King James they complained that they were "extorted" and in 1592 he ordered the Wardens to discontinue further molestation or violence against them and again, on further complaints in 1602, he strictly commanded the Constables and Keepers to desist. Later, grants of the lands were made by the Crown but these led to claims by titled grantees against the Kindlie Tenants which lasted during a couple of centuries. A Sign Manual of Charles II. in 1664 declared "that the Tenants should have been protected" and that "His Majesty renews . . . the leases and authorises the said Tenants and their successors to possess and enjoy their respective lands, they paying and performing yearly the rents and services paid and performed by their ancestors, anno 1602." This, wrote Lord Carmont, "is the Kindlie Tenants' *Magna Carta*." It negatives the idea that



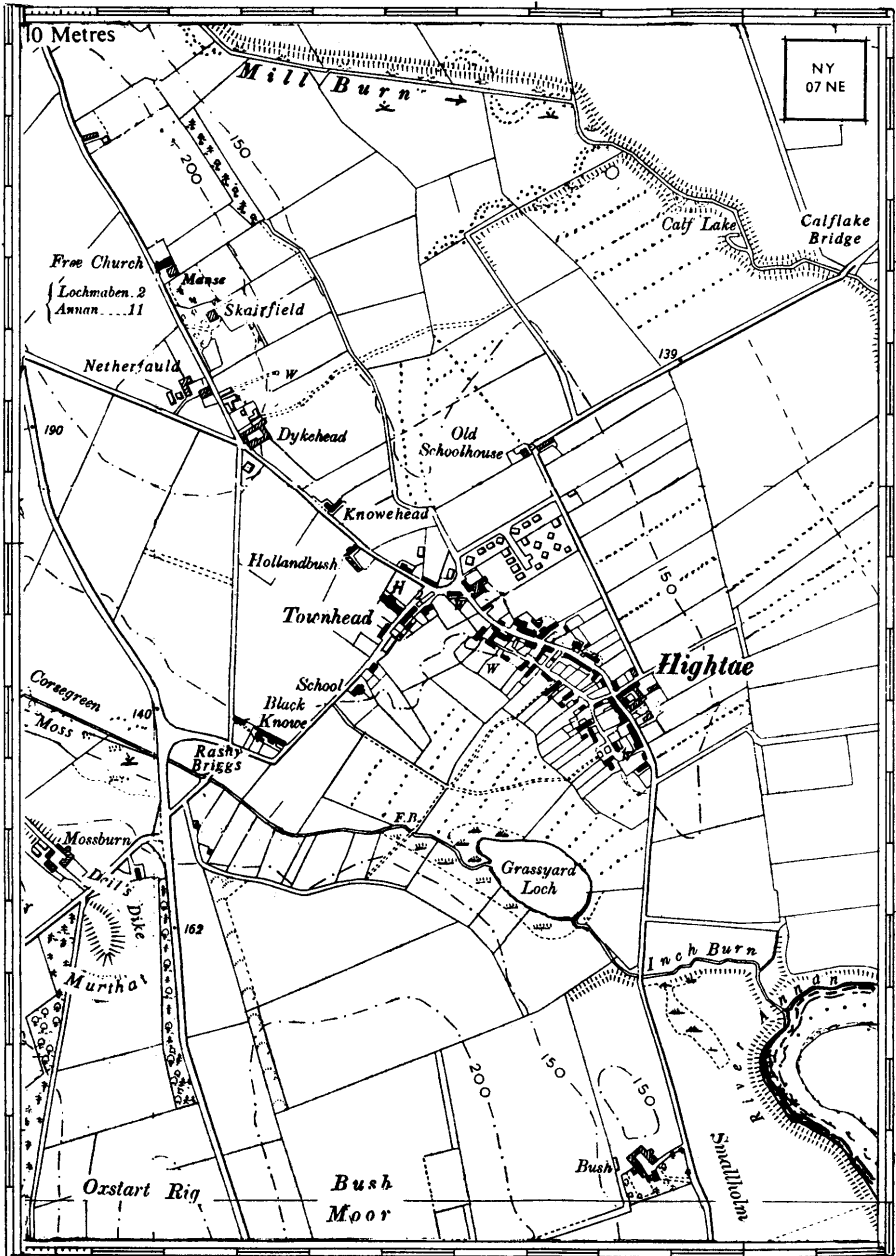


Fig. 2.

“ my Lord Stormont’s feudal grant constituted him superior (owner) of the Kindlie Tenants in place of the Crown.” Twice in the early nineteenth century the Stormont or Mansfield family brought actions against the Kindlie Tenants. In one the Lord Mansfield of the day sought to have the four touns feudalised, but abandoned the proceedings because the Tenants’ objections were deemed insuperable. Again in 1838, the judge declared that the Tenants “ possess on tenures . . . as indefeasible as feus\* . . . In short, they may not only cultivate the surface but dispose of all pertinents *a centro usque ad coelum* as they please.” Thus a cottager is in possession from the earth’s centre to outer space.

Although Carmont was silent concerning rights in common they must have existed for pasture, peats and fishing. An action brought by Lord Mansfield in 1932 was lost as a result of which the Tenants retained their rights to the salmon fishing. Most of the lands had formed a commonty, much of it common pasture, but in 1789 “ it was divided by mutual agreement. Being provided, in its several parcels, with neat substantial farmhouses, it was brought into cultivation and soon became more valuable than the original allotments round the touns. Several farms however were purchased piecemeal by the proprietor of Rammerscales whose nineteenth century mansion overlooks the touns (Groome, 1901). The local Moss was mostly reclaimed by smallholders settling individually. Unfortunately such marginal holdings are sometimes apt to keep ‘ marginal holders.’ The Kindlie Tenants must at one time have been numerous and may have diminished by 1700. In 1710 there appeared to have been about 125 tenancies; in 1738, 100; and in 1837, 56, “ a few of whom, however, held two or more mailings ” or holdings (Graham, 1863).

Sir Walter Scott, in a note written after 1800 to “ The Harper of Lochmaben ” in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*

\* Feu, possession of land held for a stipulated annual service or payment.

concluded that "this diminutive republic must soon share the fate of mightier states; for in consequence of the increase of commerce, lands possessed under this singular tenure being often now brought to sale and purchased by the neighbouring proprietors . . . the right of rentallage will be entirely forgotten." The "proprietors" of Rammerscales, Skairfield (Hightae) and Castlemilk, were and remain, legally, Kindlie Tenants, but on a vastly extended scale! In fact this fate did not wholly ensue, for the rights to certain larger farms were bought by old village families who still remain as do most of the small tenancies of a house, kailyard and perhaps a strip of land. In 1959 there were still 53 small Kindlie Tenants. The Kindlie Tenants were so much of one "kind" or kin that surnames were few. There are still found, Richardson, Kennedy, Carruthers, Rae, Jardine, Johnstone, Irving, Moffat and Wright, and it is said that at one time there were seven 'John Richardsons.' People were known by "by-names," Smith John, or Officer John, of parentage, as Robert's John, of holding, as Tam Inbye or the Buss (Bush), or by comical by-names such as "Gowk, Whitefish, the Doctor, the Elder, the Prince." Healthy laughter does little harm to 'guid neborhood.'

"In order to supersede run-rig by division," that is to consolidate fragmented strips into single blocks and holdings, a plan of the lands was made in 1789, of which the Hightae portion is reproduced (Fig. 2). The term 'run-rig' is loosely used, for run-rig passed through several stages. So before the plan is examined these should be described. Run-rig is still in use in the Outer Hebrides, in two forms. On the open, sandy, coastal tracts, the *machair*, held in common, grass and herbage must be allowed to re-establish itself after ploughing for potatoes and "black oats" as otherwise the sand would be blown away, the seed lost in spring, and dunes formed in winter gales. Hence when ploughing is to be resumed, a tract is agreed upon by the Township Grazing Committee and this is pegged out by the elected Constable or other officer, in equal shares according to the number

of crofters in the township, often a score or more, who then draw lots, each for his share. As a result of this traditional egalitarian, co-operative procedure, no multiplication of one man's rig can take place at the expense of another's, nor can fragmentation occur as a result of division between heirs. This I would call 'movable egalitarian run-rig.' Until about 1800 and in the Isle of Lewis as late as 1830, this movable run-rig also prevailed on the small joint farms worked co-operatively and held in equal shares by four or five joint tenants, or crofters to use the modern term. When division was introduced by the landlord, equality was maintained by making permanent the tenants' rational apportionment of strips on better and poorer, wetter and drier portions of the farm, so that whatever the chances of the season, each reaped his fair share. Informal co-operative working goes on and no change in size is allowed. This equal and permanent division I would call 'fixed egalitarian run-rig.'

But when a prolonged "possession" or holding by a tenant led to division between his heirs or allowed acquisition of another's rigs, fragmentation ensued. This had begun in the Middle Ages (Grant, 1936), but did not at first prevent teamwork on the land. By 1750 fragmentation was widespread and extreme, as in a West Lothian estate where a tenant possessed nineteen strips (Geddes, 1936). The principle of division by interspersed fragments was carried out for quite large portions of land between landlords and, by analogy, was also called possession by 'run-rig.' "Laws anent the abolition of run-rig" between neighbouring estates were passed as in 1695, since the lairds were already practising inclosure round their new mansions. By 1750 in eastern Scotland, and twenty-five or thirty years later in Dumfriesshire, the lairds were abolishing run-rig among their tenantry in order to inclose and improve the land as a result of which the larger holders were given possession of consolidated farms but the smaller holders were deprived of their land and either left the farm or stayed on as landless farm servants.

The attached plan of Hightae (Fig. 2) is based on the Ordnance Survey six-inch to mile plan. Much remains unchanged from 1789, as shown by unbroken lines. Boundaries removed, no doubt soon after, are shown by dotted lines (.....) and boundaries inserted by pecked lines (- · - · - ·); neither should be confused with footpats, nor with the contours at 200 and 150 ft. (· - - - - ·). The houses and gardens or killyards and the strips immediately behind them remain virtually unchanged. Beyond the further fence (and former lane), towards the Annan and Mill Burn, the remaining strips forming the "Holm Lands" already of irregular breadth were consolidated, usually to areas more nearly square, both because a team of two good horses could turn more easily than one of two pairs of poor oxen or ponies, and also to minimise the length of the new inclosing hedges. The Mill Burn was straightened. The main street suggests an original layout to which additional homesteads, perhaps of younger sons, may have been added later towards the Grassyard Loch. Townhead may be a similar addition. Both remind us of the pressure of population on the land before the Agricultural Revolution. The isolated houses beyond were built after 1800. In 1947, twenty prefabricated houses were laid out by the County to north of the village.

Summing up, the process of enlarging farms and reducing "crofts," accelerated in 1789, was partly due to technical progress in farming and in trades to the spirit of "*Laissez aller, laissez faire!*" It was also due to the breakdown and destruction of traditional ways: the sharing of resources and the co-operation organised in varying degree by feudal supervision, monastic initiative, and village council with elected (*mair*) and officer.

Carrying on the observations by the parish minister who wrote the first Statistical Account of the parish, the Rev. William Graham wrote that the reduction in the number of rentallers was no reflection upon them, quite the reverse. Trained to cultivation, some of their sons sought to farm in a bigger way, by consolidation and also by the improve-

ment and inclosure, of the poor Commons. "Others, of enterprising mind, went out into the world as travelling merchants, Lancashire being the principal field of their meritorious exertions. Some of India's most successful merchants, too, have gone from this quarter" while others learned professions and trades or set themselves up in business. "Thus the status of the descendants of the original villeinage has been raised, in many instances . . . to one of wealth and high respectability, a position attained by industry and economical living, or by the sale of their mailings and embarking the price in their first venture, the foundation of their future good fortune."

While to-day a passer-by might not remark any one of the three lesser hamlets, the village of Hightae is unusually closely grouped. It is true that in others in the county, such as Ecclefechan on the main north road, many cottages are aligned gable to gable; but such roadside settlement is a feature of the late 18th century's increase of population. Those who had left the land settled on a turnpike road and took up a short-lived craft, usually weaving—with family help in spinning, reeling and fulling, but with no previous skill either to establish them or to resist the steam-powered spinning-mills and weaving factories of Paisley and Lancashire. The typical single-storeyed cottages with the door and two flanking windows have but one more room than the still earlier cots of two rooms, outer and inner, 'but' and 'ben.' The thatch or reeds from a loch was giving place by 1800 to slates of Dumfriesshire sandstone, usually to be replaced by imported slates. In the past the family cow or two and half a dozen sheep were brought in by the back lane and most cottages were built on the street line. Here and there a ruin makes a gap. Although ageing folk are hard put to maintain a garden, vegetables and flowers are often well grown.

*Developments and Comparisons in Dumfriesshire, 1851-1959:* As the parish minister remarked of the Royal Towns in 1791, the ratio of craftsmen was high, and as late as 1851

there were 25 weavers, 16 carpenters and masons, and other local craftsmen. By 1901 the weaving had disappeared, but other craftsmen were still holding their own. By 1951, mechanisation was increasingly displacing local craftsmanship, as in the putting together in 1947 of the 20 "prefabs" as County Housing. As a result young folk find little local employment and either migrate to the cities or work in adjacent burghs.

Apart from the middle-class residents, of the families dwelling in Hightae in 1945 who formed a population of 132, 44 per cent. were 'Old Residenters' of more than 20 years' standing and even among the 'Incomers' some were of old local stock. Similar ratios prevailed for the other three hamlets. Thus more than half the households were either Old Residenters or had renewed continuity by return after absence. In 1959 just half of the Old Residenter households still lived there.

In the adjacent hillfoot parish to north, Kirkmichael, the population of 640 (1951) are scattered in farms and cottages, with loose groupings near cross roads and one scheme (of 20 houses) built since the war. In its scattering, the parish is typical of the northern belt of Dumfriesshire. In Kirkmichael only 13 per cent. had resided for the 20-year period, 1927-47, and in spite of a considerable decline of population, 87 per cent. were 'Incomebrs' of whom very few if any had an earlier connection. Of the few Old Residenters a number were farmers who had recently bought their farms; it is particularly among the farm servant and other working class folk that migration had prevailed. The contrast of Kirkmichael with the Royal Touns is striking. What of a parish with villages?

The southern belt of Dumfriesshire does include a number of small villages and hamlets (initialled in figure 2), in some of which there must once have been kindlie tenancy.

Thus round Dumfries from the reign of William the Lion, a number of villages including Tinwald were each held in fee by a knight on condition of his serving for forty

days per annum in Dumfries Castle, no doubt with a few retainers (Reid, 19 . Cf. Ballantyne, 1925, 1926). Tor-thorwald and Mouswald were attached to the lordship of Annandale and may possibly have rendered castle ward service to Lochmaben (R. C. Reid, communicated). In the parish of Tinwald the ratio of Old Residenters in 1947, 28 per cent., was higher than in adjacent Kirkmichael yet considerably lower than in the Royal Touns. Those with knowledge of the county consider that these ratios of local migration must be quite typical of the two belts of parishes they represent. The new village of Ae, lying within Kirk-michael's ecclesiastical parish, is an example of the Forestry Commission's post-war attempt at community planning. Its 44 dwellings house a majority of the men employed in the expanding Forest of Ae, but for the women-folk there is virtually no local employment. Situated two miles from a main bus-route, it lacks ready access to Dumfries or lesser centres of employment, shopping or entertainment. Chiefly to this is ascribed the considerable turnover or migration experienced there, which results in a loss of forest experience and skill and an instability and discontinuity of social life.

It is to an educationalist, made sharply aware of the disastrous effects of frequent changes of place on primary pupils, that we owe the first survey of local rural migration of families in Lowland Scotland (Mackintosh, MS., 1942; Geddes, 1949). With the collaboration of County Education Authorities, Dr Stewart Mackintosh indexed pupil migration in "typical rural schools" in the Lowlands by adding the number of incoming to outgoing pupils in the school year 1938-39, and expressing these as a percentage of the average school roll. (Pupils entering school for the time and those leaving on promotion or on reaching the school leaving age were of course excluded.) In Lowland counties, other than those with family farms or many crofts, the Index averaged 45 to 55 per cent.: about half the pupils came or went in the school year. In Dumfriesshire the index for seven typical schools averaged just 50 per cent. For Hightae on the other



hand the index was only 18 per cent.: nearly four-fifths of the pupils stayed on. Thus not only elderly households in the Royal Towns but those with children experienced stability and valued continuity. While Tinwald was not indexed, its neighbour Torthorwald had an index of 89 per cent.: nine-tenths of the children came or went! In Kirkmichael, however, the index was typical of the rest of the county and of most Lowland counties. Too few townfolk in Scotland have been more aware of the semi-migratory life of farm servants and their families, and far too few of their employers cared to make the facts known. Through their Union and its devoted Secretary, Joseph L. Duncan, LL.D., the farm servants struggled to gain better wages, better homes, and particularly the cessation of the "long engagement" of six or twelve months from 'feeing' term to term which led to instability, but they only obtained official backing during and after the war. Although figures for farm servants are still lacking, the position has at last greatly improved (Duncan, 1959). The Pupil Migration Indices for 1958-59 for nine typical rural schools in Dumfriesshire had dropped from the 50 per cent. of the pre-war year to just 20 per cent. A similar drop is found in the other two Border counties of Scotland and in Northumberland, while Cumberland's index remained low (Geddes, MS., 1960).

*Regional Comparisons, and Discussion:* The better to see how Dumfriesshire stands and has stood, let us glance over Scotland as a whole, and across the Borders to the two neighbour counties. In Scotland hereditary tenure of home and homesteads has been best maintained in the North and West. In Orkney hereditary, *udal holding*, attacked by a bastard half-brother of King James VI., was upheld by the Scots Parliament, in this case by recognition of Norse Udal Law. In spite of continued evictions Orcadians clung to their tradition. As a result Orcadian farmers are outstanding in Scotland and perhaps in Britain for continued land reclamation and for individual initiative linked to neighbourly co-operation (*Scot. Agric. Organ. Soc.*, Rept. 1958).

In the Hebrides and N.W. coast, ancient communities, which Childe linked to Neolithic beginnings, had kept alive traditions of Celtic Christianity and oral native culture; but from about 1780 numerous mass evictions defied Gaelic custom and probably also ancient Gaelic Law. Similar conditions prevailed in Zetland. In 1868 the Crofters' Act brought security of tenure together with common rights, for "a fair rent." Soon after, neighbourly duties arranged under elected township Grazing Committees were also recognised by law. Since 1944, through the Crofters' Supply Agency, the Committees have marketed produce of crofts and inshore fishing. Sustained by kindlie tenure, these communities can find continuity helped by organised co-operation (Geddes, 1955).

Across the Solway, in Dumfriesshire, in the Cumberland lowland, are found ancient village communities composed of small farmers, smallholders and labourers with long-continued tenure of homestead, cottage and garden. Having long wished to see settlement and life compared on either side of the Border, the writer suggested to Mr James Houston a study of Solway-side as the subject for a post-graduate thesis (Houston, MS., Oxford, 1947). While Houston has already shown that to "cross the Tweed" reveals little difference in size of farm and labour-team and in migrations, to cross the Solway reveals contrasts which have prevailed since the Agricultural Revolution and its enclosures but which had begun to appear earlier. Rights of village holding were once characteristic of Dumfriesshire. The villages which furnished provisions and men for the defence of the Castle and burgh of Dumfries were held not unlike those of Lochmaben; their tenure has gone to be replaced by instability. In Cumberland, although the village lands have been split up as private property, with village farms composed of inconveniently scattered fields, the cultivators' rights have maintained stability of residence and continuity of economic and social life. Historically this may be due to the greater might of the English armies, able not only to hold Cumberland since its seizure by William II., but to launch massive

devastating invasion, with prolonged occupation of castles and lands. Against these, occasional Scottish raids were incidental, though dangerous enough to make the Cumberland men a defensive force whose rights to their own lands should not be lightly handled by their own lords or king. In England after the Union, an earlier, steadier, less 'revolutionary' movement to enclose, drain, lime and generally improve land, crops and stock, had permitted a gradual evolution denied to Scotland, whereas even in the Royal Towns, improvement involved 'division.'

When Burns was touring Lothian, Roxburgh and the Merse in 1787, noting soils, conditions and culture, he wrote in his diary (still unpublished), "The more elegance and luxury among the farmers . . . (the more) rudeness and stupidity of the peasantry. For this reason, a man will be better pleased with the poverty, but intelligent minds, of the peasantry in Ayrshire . . . than the opulence of a club of Merse farmers, when at the same time he considers the vandalism of their ploughfolks. I carry this idea so far than an uninclosed, half-improved country is to me actually more agreeable . . . than a country cultivated like a garden" (Hecht, 1950). The need for stability in work and home runs like a warp of self-colour through the varied weft of Burns' lyrics and of poems such as "The Twa Dogs." Seeing a "roup" (auction) of an evicted farmer's stock, and remembering his father's ruin, Burns wrote "Rigid economy and decent industry, do you preserve me from being the principal *dramatis persona* in such a scene of horror!" He sang of bairns who had played by brae and burn, of his "wandering mony a weary foot," and of "a cup o' kindness yet." "Auld lang syne" would not unite the English-speaking world and be sung in many tongues from France to Russia and beyond, had it not sprung from the *kindnesse* still rooted in the Royal Towns.

In much of France, Central Europe and Scandinavia where security of tenure has been affirmed, social environment and education accord with the peasant's way of life.

In lowland Britain peasant communities are exceptional and their development is at variance with that of our society, urban or rural. Hence they cannot be expected to flourish; or to produce leaders such as a Grundtvig or a Bjornsen. Yet our community life is still of intrinsic value.

Economically the effects of state taxation and subsidies since 1911-1919 and protection of urban tenants make it difficult to assess the value of a house and garden in relation to the working-class family budget (Cf. Board of Trade, 1908; and note, below).

In 1957-58 the County of Dumfries charged rents based on one-seventh of tenants' income, after which it adopted a modified Rent Rebate Scheme, with a maximum rent charge of £39 for temporary and pre-war houses, £52 for post-war, and £12 for Old Age Pensioners' two-apartment dwellings.

The agricultural tied cottage is officially regarded as equivalent to 4 per cent. of the weekly wage (*Agric. Wages*, 1958). There can be little doubt that progressively since 1912, the cost to a working-class family of a subsidised house and garden of their own has diminished relatively to other items of its budget but both are greatly sought.

On the large mechanised arable farms of East Lothian and lower Tweedside, the existing cottages constitute a hamlet. On small farms the workers can be housed a short distance away without difficulty and with arable farming "flying squads" can be stationed at local centres. But the dairy farms which are dominant in S.W. Scotland are mostly medium or small, and dairy cows and calving cattle call for daily attention. Hence it would bring no integration to group the farm workers at a distance, but simply overwork and isolate the farmer and his wife from Saturday afternoon to Monday morning. In a large hill forest the men travel to their work in squads, and in a distant Highland forest a new community is unaboidably isolated. But on the margin of the Lowlands, the greater integration with the local village or burgh is preferable both economically and socially. In Scotland until after 1840 whole families were

employed underground. From 1608 to 1799 the mine-owner was a serf-owner and he simply "housed" the mining families next to the heap of mining waste at the pithead. Until 1918 most Scots miners continued to be thus housed. The isolated rows of cottages without gardens were remedied between the wars. But it was not until after the war that the economic and social success of communities which could offer a choice of work to both men and women led to the acceptance of the new principle in the re-siting of mining and forest workers.

To conclude, the principle of stability of kindlie tenure of home and garden in community, combined with freedom to move when there is need and a wish to do so, are interestingly shown by comparison of the unique survival in the Royal Four Towns with the excessive migration elsewhere in the rural lowlands of Scotland and northern Northumberland. There is need for widening, intensive surveys to illuminate conditions up to the last war and their effects, in order to appreciate the growing stability since, and its significance in rural life, economic and social, educational and spiritual.

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\*In Scottish towns before the first world war, families averaging 3.5 children, with a weekly income of up to 25s, spent for food nearly 15s, and for a one, two, or three-roomed house, 2s 3d, 4s, or 4s 9d. A sixth to a seventh of the weekly income — assuming employment and a wage — might have to be spent on housing, often of the poorest (Board of Trade, 1908). In the country, rents were lower, while a farm servant, though his wages might be only 21s or so would receive milk, meal and other payment in kind, and a cottage. To mining families in Dumfriesshire where the husband earned about £10 a week, the Special Housing Association charged, for a four-apartment house, a rent of only 2.5 per cent of the income until January, 1959, when it was raised to 7 per cent.

\*\*Earliest spellings for Hightae noted by Dr Williamson are:

Heghetache, 1304 C.O.S.

Hauttesche, 1309 L.S.M.M. (French).

Haghtache, 1360 C.O.S.

Heytache, 1366 C.O.S.

Heghetaghe, 1366 C.O.S.

## ARTICLE 6.

## The Physiographic Development Of Caerlaverock Merse

By Dr JOAN MARSHALL

As various writers have pointed out before, in the consideration and explanation of the development of any salt marsh, it is necessary to take into account both the physiographical and ecological factors, as in coastal areas of such a nature these factors are so interdependent as to be of little value if studied in isolation. The mechanism by which a salt marsh grows, both in area and height, is a result of the interaction of the sea, which carries the sediment, and the plants, which stabilise the deposits, preventing them from being washed away again by the next ebb tide. Measurements in various parts of Britain have shown that the rate of vertical growth of a sand or mud-bank is appreciably greater once a vegetational cover has been established, than it is on a bare, more mobile bank. Similarly, on any given marsh, it has been found that the rate of vertical accretion may be related to the height above O.D., accretion being slower at higher levels, and hence also to the seral stage reached by the vegetational succession. The chief limiting factor affecting the species comprising the vegetational cover is of course the frequency of inundation, which in turn is determined by the height of the marsh in relation to high tide levels. These complex inter-relationships are well seen in Caerlaverock Merse, some 1500 acres of salt marsh lying on the Dumfries shore of the Solway Firth, between the estuaries of the Nith and Lochar Water: an area whose history has by no means been straightforward.

The marshes of the Solway may be generally grouped as "estuarine marshes" inasmuch as they have developed on both shores of the Upper Solway, but the situation of Caerlaverock Merse is in fact more exposed than most other areas, being sheltered from the prevalent south-westerlies only by the Carboniferous Limestone outcrop of Souther-

ness Point, some seven miles distant. More than half a mile wide in parts, the Merse fringes the old raised beach deposits, which form the lowland of Caerlaverock Parish, and on top of which the "vast morass" of Lochar Moss has developed. The existence of this old beach is indicative of the change in sea level in geologically recent (i.e., post-glacial) times. Here this change actually appears to have occurred in two phases, for the main beach terrace, best seen between Lantonside and Bowhouse, and lying below the road B725 near Shearington (see Fig.) is separated from a lower, narrower strip of raised beach by a fairly steep 4-5 ft. bank, which is particularly well defined near Lands and Hollands. The level of the upper beach, about 23 ft. O.D., is quite appropriate for this area, and ties in with the postulated increase in height of the raised beach northwards from Lancashire, where Gresswell finds a level of 15 ft. in the south<sup>1</sup> and of 17 ft. in Morecambe Bay.<sup>2</sup> In Argyllshire the comparable feature lies at about 25 ft. O.D.<sup>3</sup>

It seems probable that these two old beaches were also formerly salt marsh features, the upper having developed at a time, some 5-6000 years ago, when sea level was about 8 ft. higher than it is today. On the ground it is noticeable that the raised beach surface is not absolutely level, and air photographs show the irregularities to have the formation of old meandering creeks, with cut-off pans, similar to the pattern displayed on the modern marsh. Also, the material composing the raised beach warps has been found to be of a similar calibre to that forming the modern marshes, more than 90% in each case being fine sand (i.e., grains having a diameter of 0.2-0.02mm.) with a very small percentage of finer silts and clays.<sup>4</sup> Indeed it is possible that in certain places on the Solway—e.g. Redkirk (but not at Caerlaverock)—the newly formed marsh-

<sup>1</sup> Gresswell: *Sandy Shores in South Lancashire*, 1952, p. 19 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Gresswell: *Raised Beach in Furness and Lyth T.I.B.G.*, 1958, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Donner: *Ann. Acad. Sc. Fenn.*, 1959, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> When compared with marshes elsewhere in Britain, this is seen to be an exceptionally coarse deposit: e.g., in Norfolk the deposits are 40 per cent. clay; in Essex, 60 per cent. clay; and in the Humber estuary, 40 per cent. silt.



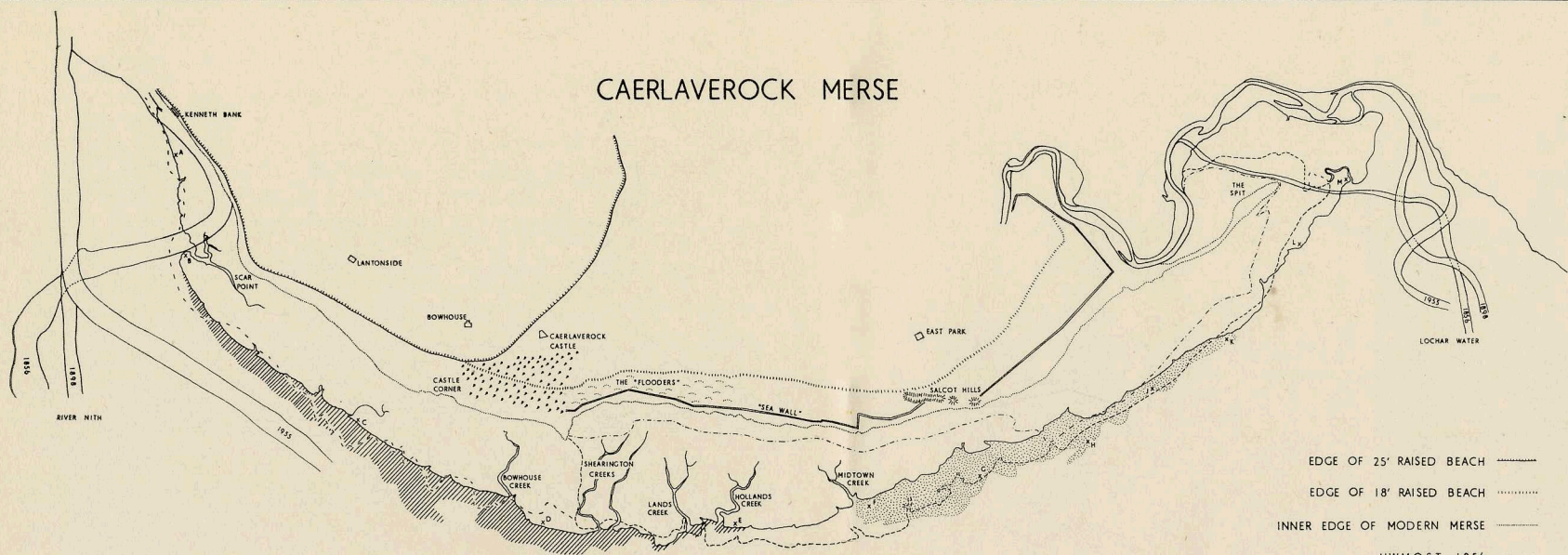
land is in fact composed of material eroded from exposed headlands of the raised beach, and redeposited in sheltered situations.

The 23 ft. raised beach at Caerlaverock is now flooded only at extremely high spring tides, although the 18 ft. level is more vulnerable. With the present sea level and protective fringe of marsh, there is no doubt that the old beach as a whole is unlikely to suffer serious erosion, but were the marsh completely removed—as it may well be if present rates of erosion near Lantonside and Bowhouse continue—then it would be open to wave attack, although the eastern parts would still be protected to some extent by the “scars” of red sandstone which outcrop at Scar Point and Bowhouse, and help to break the force of the incoming waves. It is unlikely that the form of the raised beach has changed significantly within historic times, before the modern merse accumulated, but it is almost certain that any changes would have been towards a decrease in area. Although the castle moat was undoubtedly filled by the sea in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a period (see below) when there may have been little salt marsh fringing the raised beach, which may then have been slightly wider than it is now, the castle was still protected from strong wave attack by the presence of the solid scars, particularly that at Bowhouse. These would also prevent shipping from having access to the castle, except in really exceptional cases when a high spring tide, driven by a southwesterly wind, could pile up the water well above the predicted height, as in similar circumstances today.

One of the most characteristic features of the modern merse is the terraced formation,<sup>5</sup> each of the three terraces being separated from the next by a small step, in most cases 12-24 ins. high (see profiles on Fig.). Generally speaking, the “steps” near the marsh edge are fresher, more sharply defined, than those towards the landward boundary—an obvious reflection of their relative youth. The superficial

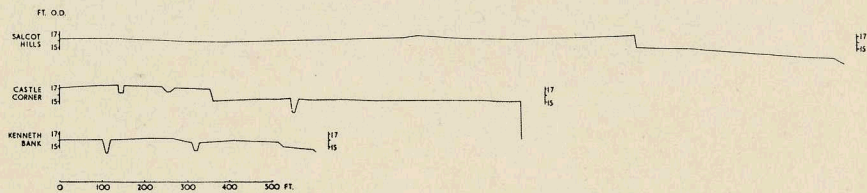
<sup>5</sup> Similar terraces occur on other Solway marshes and in Morecambe Bay.

# CAERLAVEROCK MERSE



- EDGE OF 25' RAISED BEACH ————
- EDGE OF 18' RAISED BEACH ······
- INNER EDGE OF MODERN MERSE ————
- H.W.M.O.S.T. 1856 - - - - -
- H.W.M.O.S.T. 1898 - - - - -
- EDGE OF LOW MERSE 1898 - - - - -
- H.W.M.O.S.T. 1955 ————
- EROSION 1946-55 //
- ACCRETION 1946-55 \*
- STAKES REFERRED TO IN TEXT \*

## PROFILES ACROSS THE MERSE :



resemblance of these features to the raised beaches, has led the Geological Survey<sup>6</sup> to attribute similar features on the southern shore of the estuary to a direct uplift of the land relative to the sea. However, it is extremely unlikely that this has been the sole cause of the terracing, for the lifetime of Caerlaverock Merse at least has certainly not been long enough to allow isostatic change of such appreciable magnitude to occur. An alternative explanation is that the terraces have resulted from the natural, often haphazard, changes in the channels in the estuary, which have led to various periods of erosion and accretion at intervals throughout the time of development. It is well known that the channels of the Upper Solway as a whole, can change rapidly, usually unpredictably, often as a result of the coincidental occurrence of a heavy fresh and a strong ebb, particularly when the velocity of the ebb is increased by an easterly wind—a not unusual combination in the early part of the year. In other cases, however, changes of channels and their resultant effects on the coast can be related to man-made sea defences—as for instance the controlling of the Nith during the latter half of the last century, which was the direct cause of the development of Kirkconnell Merse (a comparison of the 1st and 2nd Edition Ordnance Survey 6 in. maps shows this admirably). Hence, apart from very recent changes at the extreme edge, the merse at Kirkconnell is composed of only one terrace level—the embanking of the river having prevented lateral movements so that there has been no alternation of process, such as has occurred elsewhere. Finally, in the consideration of these “steps,” so obviously relict erosion edges (see Photo. 1) the possibility of a combination of both land/sea level changes and an alternation of erosion and accretion must not be ignored. It appears that the level of a lower terrace never quite “catches up” with that of a higher one, in spite of continual vertical accretion, and it may be that a fractional increase in the land level actually prohibits

<sup>6</sup> *Memoirs of the Geological Survey: Carlisle, Longtown and Silloth*, 1926, p. 80.

this. Rates of vertical accretion are necessarily slow at the upper levels of any marsh, inundations per annum being few, so that a small change could be significant here. However, there is no doubt that the prime factor in the development of these "steps" is the alternation of erosion and accretion, resulting from the changes in the flow of the channels.

As is implicit in the above, salt marsh extent and topography in this area can alter very rapidly. A local change in the channel, or a minor change in the banks of the outer estuary, can lead to the pile-up of a sandbank, which is then quite quickly colonised by plants, a process which has been occurring at Caerlaverock since about 1824. At that time, both the Lochar and the Nith were close inshore,<sup>7</sup> the Lochar meandering round "The Spit" at the eastern end of the merse, and no doubt undercutting its margins; the Nith hugging its left bank to the south of Glencaple. With the exception of The Spit itself, actually the seaward margin of the lower raised beach level, virtually the whole Merse has developed since this time—i.e., in something less than 140 years, large parts of it in much less.

In 1841, the Admiralty Chart shows the Nith to be well out in the centre of the estuary to the south of Glencaple, and the Lochar to be flowing close to its eastern bank. Presumably by this time, accretion had begun, and by 1856, when the first O.S. map was surveyed, nearly 500 acres had been stabilised (see Fig. ). Indicated on the Admiralty Chart of 1867 as "Blackshaw New Merse," most of this accumulation was to the east of East Park Farm, in the lee of the Salcot Hills,<sup>8</sup> and by 1881 this initial area had accumulated to a level above H.W.M.O.S.T. The O.S. 6 in. map of 1898 shows a further westward extension to have accompanied this increase in height, and a considerable area was by then lying above H.W.M. between the

<sup>7</sup> Lantonside Estate Plan: in the care of the Factor to the Duke of Norfolk, Dumfries.

<sup>8</sup> Small blown sand dunes of uncertain age (now fixed by a close cover of non-maritime vegetation).

Salcot Hills and Bowhouse Scar. At the same time, the shift of the Lochar over to its eastern bank had allowed the colonisation of substantial areas around the old "Spit." The growth of the saltings below high water level to the west of Bowhouse Scar was subsequent to the confining of the River Nith between rubble banks, constructed, on the advice of David Stevenson, during the early 1860s. This prevented the river from cutting into the eastern shore, and there is little doubt that the rapid extension in area occurring at this time was largely as a result of these works, which continued to affect the course of the channel long after they had lost their navigational value. It appears that the growth of Lantonside Merse (the northwestern strip of Caerlaverock Merse) began about 1880, and it was still accreting in 1923.<sup>9</sup> At this time it was also stated<sup>10</sup> that there was no distinct terracing in this area, so we may conclude that the process of accretion had been uninterrupted, the "quarter mile stretch" of merse having grown in some 40 years. It is unfortunate that there is no more exact record of the marsh width at this time, for it appears then to have been at its maximum extent—Morss<sup>11</sup> records that by 1927, when his work, carried out four years earlier, was published, the Merse had begun to erode.

Thus there have been three main phases in the general development of the Merse. Prior to 1856, accretion occurred in the lee of the Salcot Hills; from then until 1898, most of the accretion was in the lee of Bowhouse Scar, the course of Bowhouse Creek to-day possibly preserving the course of one of the channels of the Nith when deflected southwards by the Scar; and finally the most recent growth, up to 1927, to the west of Bowhouse Scar. The oldest area of marsh is then, at the east end, this part consequently being higher, and bearing a rather different vegetational association.

<sup>9</sup> Morss: *Plant Colonisation in the Nith Estuary*. *Jour. Ecol.*, 1927. vol. 15, p. 313.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*: p. 321.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*: footnote, p. 324.

From the point of view of process occurring to-day, the Merse may again be treated in three major zones, not however corresponding to the phases of development. Zone 1, an area where severe erosion is taking place at present, extends from Midtown Creek, westwards to Kenneth Bank. Zone 2, where features characteristic of accretion are apparent, stretches east of Midtown Creek, for about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Zone 3, to the east of this, is subject to the vagaries of the Lochar Water.

The change in trend in the first zone began about 1927, probably as a result of the complete breakdown of the rubble wall, but how much erosion occurred between then and 1946, is uncertain. By 1946 however, the outline of this area of merse was somewhat similar to that of 1898, particularly near Scar Point, except that the height was naturally, rather greater,<sup>12</sup> and the line of the merse edge was much smoother, less irregular—a characteristic of erosion rather than accretion.<sup>13</sup> Even within these 20 years however, there must at some time have been another short period of accretion, for there are, between Kenneth Bank and Scar Point, the remnants of a lower terrace (at 15 ft. O.D.), now being rapidly eroded. The rates of present day erosion of course vary from place to place, generally being greatest on the south-west facing stretch between Scar Point and Bowhouse, where the fetch of waves, driven by a south-westerly wind, is longest. A comparison of aerial photographs of 1946 and 1955, indicates losses of up to 1000 ft. in this area between those two dates—i.e., an average of up to 100 ft. per annum. This rate was not of course reached in many places, and a more representative figure would be about 50 ft. per annum. Measurements taken along the merse edge from July, 1959, to March, 1961, however, show smaller losses of only up to 50 ft. in that time, the stretch of merse due south of the Castle Wood suffering most.

<sup>12</sup> Now at 16 ft. O.D.—i.e., above mean H.W.M.

<sup>13</sup> In the latter case, pioneer plants extend spasmodically, and tend to give an irregular edge to the merse—as was the case in 1898.

- Losses at, e.g., A. Kenneth Bank—13 ft.  
 B. Scar Point—23 ft.  
 C. Castle Corner—56 ft.  
 D. Bowhouse—52 ft.  
 E. Hollands—43 ft.  
 F. Midtown—16 ft.

(letters refer to points marked on fig. ).

Erosion in this area occurs as a direct result of wave attack during the flood tide, whereas in many other parts of the Upper Solway it is caused primarily by fluvial undercutting, as at e.g., Burgh-by-Sands.

In the central part of the Merse today there is a change over from general erosion to slow, spasmodic accretion. It is apparent though, from the physiography of the Merse, as well as from the O.S. maps, that there has been a period of erosion relatively recently—in fact between 1898 and 1946, about which time the new growth began. From this time until 1955, there occurred a considerable extension in area, east of Midtown Creek. In places, as much as 600 ft. (i.e., 66 ft. p.a.) of what is locally known as “low merse” was added, the total amounting to some 80 acres. Since at latest 1959, however, this zone has extended only very slowly, in places actually suffering erosion—much less spectacular than on Lantonside, but none the less a trend to be noticed. Southeast of the Salcot Hills, there have been losses of almost 10 ft. in two years, although elsewhere little change in area has been recorded.

- Losses at, e.g., G. —5 ft.  
 H. —8  
 J. —3  
 K. —1

However, throughout this area of “low merse,” there has been a steady increase in height during the same two years—at 15 ft. O.D. the rate of deposition is 1.25 ins. p.a. at present—very much higher than in most salt marsh zones.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> In a similar situation in Norfolk, where the material contains a much greater percentage of silt and clay (total 60 per cent.), the rate of vertical accretion is only 0.57 cm. p.a.

This of course will lead to a decreasing frequency of inundation, so that the vegetational succession will develop, as detailed below, even though the area of the marsh may in fact decline.

In the extreme east, the spit of marsh stretching out into the Lochar estuary has accumulated partly as a result of the longshore drift of material, and (see Fig. ) now extends across what was formerly the channel of the Lochar. Because of this, there arises the anomalous situation, that the tip of the marsh is technically part of the parish of Ruthwell, whereas the bulk of the area is of course in Caerlaverock Parish. To the east of the new accretion area (stippled on Fig. ), which apparently began to develop post-1946, the marsh is again composed of only one terrace, implying uninterrupted accretion from some time soon after 1824 until relatively recently. It was only in May 1960 that a westward swing of the Lochar began to undercut the sandbank where colonisation was in progress, and within a year up to 60 ft. had been lost along much of the eastern shore.

	Jul 59	Nov. 59	Jul. 60	Mar. 61
e.g., L.	38 ft.	59	41	29
M.	86	105	76	16

(measurements from a fixed point to the marsh edge.)

The Lochar has now (Nov., 1961) moved still further to the west, so that a situation akin to that of 1824 could possibly be developing.

It is very noticeable that both erosion and accretion are seasonal processes, most of the extension of the vegetation occurring during the summer months, whereas most of the erosion in any one year has been recorded between November and March. The latter period is, generally speaking, the most stormy, and it is during storms that the bulk of the erosion occurs. Conversely, the gradual piling up of material to form banks is usually the result of more regular, less spectacular wave action over a longer period of time.



Having dealt with the general development of the marsh at Caerlaverock, and the present trends, it is now appropriate to consider the mechanisms and processes whereby erosion and accretion occur in this area. As the latter is partly dependent upon ecological factors, whereas the former is entirely mechanical, the two will be considered separately.

From the general form of the Merse, it is apparent that the beach drift is in an easterly direction, the original diversion of the Lochar Water having been caused by the build up of a shingle spit (in raised beach times), near the Castle Corner, in the shelter of which the warps of the old beach accumulated. The sandy easterly extension of this spit now forms the raised beach core of the modern merse at the Lochar end. The same, present day drift is apparent in the continued diversion of the river, and also in the fact that the merse level is greater at the eastern end—17 ft. as opposed to 15 ft., on the same terrace. There is little doubt that much of the eroded material from Castle Corner has been carried eastwards and deposited in the “accretion area,” where it may also have been augmented by sand from the estuary floor. The material carried down and deposited here by the Lochar and Nith is negligible, for both have such gentle gradients for several miles before actually entering the Solway, that sandy particles are deposited higher up their courses, only fine clays reaching the main estuary and these being carried away almost immediately by the ebb tide.

Erosion on Caerlaverock is of two different types — at the east end, the Lochar is close inshore, causing fluvial erosion, whereas at the west end, erosion is a result of wave action, and is purely marine. In most parts of the Solway, erosion can be ascribed to both of these means, but in certain areas, one is markedly dominant, as is the case here. The south-western “corner” of Caerlaverock is exposed to the onshore south-westerly winds, which frequently cause the build up of destructive storm waves, so that most of the

erosion here occurs on the flow tide, largely as a result of the downcombing of the fine sand by the storm waves. Marsh edges such as that at Castle Corner, where there is a cliff of some 8 ft., are especially vulnerable, for here there is no protective sandbank to break the erosive force of the incoming waves. On the other hand, at the Lochard end, slow erosion is continual, the river always carrying a certain amount of material away, although most is of course removed on the ebb tide, particularly when an easterly wind is blowing. The material at this eastern end is again disturbed by the waves (now much refracted), but the rapid currents developed when the ebb is driven by a strong wind are sufficient to carry the fine sandy material out of the estuary. In both the wearing away and the building up of salt marshes such as Caerlaverock, it must be emphasised that it is wave action — not tides or currents — which is the effective force in disturbing material, although strong current action may contribute to the transport of it.

In each of these two cases, erosion occurs as a result of the undercutting of the marsh edge, which causes the toppling of what are often substantially sized blocks. The actual mechanism of this is uncertain, but as well as the purely gravitational effect causing the undercut blocks to fall, there are two other possible contributory factors. One is the fact that the marginal deposits are saturated more quickly and remain saturated for a longer time than do the deposits behind, so that in effect the falling blocks are heavier, per unit volume, than the drier material to the landward. The other is that in areas of marine erosion, the breaking of waves over the marsh edge leads to increased deposition there, so that a small levée is built up (see profiles on Fig. ). It is thus probable that the extra height and weight accelerate the falling away of these marginal blocks, which are then broken up by wave action and removed by the ebb currents. So a new surface is exposed to heightening, saturation and undercutting, and the cycle

begins again. During a period of quiet weather, there can be a considerable accumulation of fallen blocks, which may subsequently be dispersed very rapidly by the action of storm waves and a strong ebb. Similarly, wide creek estuaries suffer from undercutting, and in these sheltered situations the blocks usually remain for some time, those to the landward protecting the creek sides from further attack. The wide estuaries (up to 100 yards across), characteristic of the creeks of western Caerlaverock, are unique in the Solway, and appear to be a direct result of the much greater incidence of marine erosion here than in other parts. In zones of fluvial erosion, the creeks are simply shortened as the seaward parts are worn away, there being virtually no alteration in their widths, as there is when wave attack is the dominant force.

Another feature found only at Caerlaverock is the process of "turf-stripping" which frequently occurs at the edges of eroding areas. Like the levée formation, this is limited to areas of marine erosion, and may in fact be a consequence of the levée development, in that the sand deposited on top of the grass buries it, kills it, and thus makes it less efficient in binding the sand beneath. The dead turves are then "stripped" from the surface, leaving a zone of bare wrap, which is washed away much more easily once the stabilising effect of the vegetation is lost. Occasionally, stripping occurs in the form of small bays rather than as a marginal zone. In such cases the water leaving the marsh surface after a high tide is channelled over the edge and has in places worn back the bay in a manner similar to normal waterfall recession, to initiate a new creek, the mouth of which is then subject to marginal undercutting, as described above.

The basic difference in rate between the two types of erosion (fluvial and marine) is that whilst the fluvially eroded areas tend to retreat slowly but fairly consistently, areas where there is dominantly marine erosion suffer much more intensive losses during times of storm, when the wave

action is more destructive, reducing the general level of the sand flats and breaking up and removing the fallen blocks very rapidly. At such times, it is not unusual to actually hear the undermined blocks falling into the water, with surprising frequency. Although accretion occurs during normal conditions, the optimum for erosion is undoubtedly during stormy weather, particularly with a wind from the south-west, which causes the build-up of large, destructive waves; or from the east in early spring, when the rivers are full and can move considerably larger quantities of material than usual.

Accretion is a much less spectacular process, both vertical and horizontal changes occurring at a barely perceptible, but easily measurable, rate. As noted above, the central stretch of Caerlaverock has recently been a zone of accretion, but with an exceptional south-westerly storm, such as occurred on June 15th, 1960, when a 10-ton motor launch was washed up on Lantonside Merse, erosion can occur here too—e.g., 3-4 ft. were lost in parts of East Park Merse between March and July, 1960. Erosion here is never as severe as on Lantonside, for the waves have been considerably refracted before they reach East Park, and consequently their eroding power is not so great. Also, here there is no great cliff (8-10 ft. at Lantonside) to undercut, the beach profile being much more stable, more typical of the prograding shoreline which it is. Measurements of vertical accretion over two years<sup>15</sup> show that accumulation on the accretion tussocks of East Park is proceeding at the rate of 1.25 ins. p.a. This is at a level of 15 ft. O.D., and as the merse rises in height, landwards, so the rate of accretion declines: at 16 ft. O.D., 0.5 ins. p.a. were recorded, whilst at 17 ft. O.D. the coal dust was barely covered after the two years.

<sup>15</sup> This was measured by laying a layer of coal dust on the marsh surface, and allowing it to silt over. The vegetation holds the dust, preventing it from being immediately removed by the flood tide, and cores can then be taken at regular intervals to check the rate of accumulation.

These two types of accretion rarely occur in isolation—horizontal accretion must always be accompanied by upward growth, for the plants which stabilise the sands cause an increased rate of deposition at the lower level. Thus the vegetational succession is an integral part of salt marsh development, for as the ground becomes higher, so the vegetation changes. As a result of this, it is noticeable that both the spatial and chronological development of marsh vegetation take the same course, the oldest vegetation also being the highest above sea level.

On Caerlaverock Merse, as in most places on the Solway shore, the pioneer plant is *Puccinellia maritima* (sea meadow grass), a stoloniferous species, which spreads radially, rooting at the nodes, so that each plant gives rise to a small tussock (see Photo 2). The tussocks gradually coalesce to form a continuous, though initially rather thin sward. This pioneer stage, however, is only found over the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile stretch to the east of Midtown Creek, having been completely eroded elsewhere. It is interesting to note that in this area, *Salicornia* (glasswort), pioneer in many of the more muddy marshes of the east and south-west of Britain, comes into the damp hollows between the *Puccinellia* tussocks, but is not a primary colonist—an obvious reflection of its tolerance of wet, saline situations, and its inability to compete elsewhere. Other plants found on this restricted area of "low merse" (i.e., accreting merse below H.W.M.O.S.T.) include thrift (*Armeria maritima*), plantains (especially *Plantago maritima*), and aster (*Aster tripolium*), but these do not invade until after the *Puccinellia* is well established.

A salt marsh where accretion had been continuous would show a gradual transition to what Chapman<sup>16</sup> has called the General Salt Marsh Community (G.S.M.), with the appearance of such non-halophytic grasses as *Festuca rubra*, *Agrostis stolonifera*, and various herbs, including *Glaux maritima*, *Spergularia marginata* and *Triglochin maritimum*. The result of the alternate periods of erosion

<sup>16</sup> Chapman: *Salt Marshes and Salt Deserts of the World*, 1960, p. 121.

and accretion on Caerlaverock however, has been to separate these earlier and later seral stages by an abrupt step, so that there is a marked change in vegetation, differentiating the younger merse (i.e., post-1940) from the older (post-1820). The flora is much more varied on the older zone, a greater number of species being able to tolerate the fewer inundations which it suffers, but even so, certain seral stages are poorly developed in places. The G.S.M. for instance in most places develops directly through the *Festucetum*<sup>17</sup> (where the graminoid species are dominant), to the *Juncetum maritimum*, but near the Lochar end of the Merse, there is, after the *Festucetum*, a quite extensive development of the intermediate *Juncetum gerardii*, where a typical quadrat would be:

<i>Juncus gerardii</i> .....	50%
<i>Glaux maritima</i> .....	20
<i>Agrostis stolonifera</i> .....	10
<i>Festuca rubra</i> .....	10
<i>Aster tripolium</i> .....	5
<i>Triglochin maritimum</i> .....	5

In this latter zone, the Merse must have been growing for 120-130 years—about the same length of time as was found to be necessary for the succession to reach *Juncetum gerardii* in the Frisian Islands, off the Dutch coast,<sup>18</sup> where the substratum is again sandy. The periods necessary for the development of most of the other communities are uncertain, with the exception of the very mixed G.S.M. found on Lantonside Merse.

To the north-west of Castle Corner, in this zone, which has accumulated in the last 80 years or so,<sup>19</sup> there is a marked contrast in vegetation—even when compared with G.S.M. associations as near as Midtown—in that the proportion of graminoid species is much lower.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> i.e., an association dominated by *Festuca rubra*.

<sup>18</sup> Chapman: op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>19</sup> Kirkconnell reached a similar stage in 50 years—it is probable that the earlier development here was faster.

<sup>20</sup> 30 per cent. as compared with 40 per cent. at Hollands and East Park.

e.g., <i>Glaux maritima</i> .....	20%	
<i>Juncus gerardii</i> .....	20	
<i>Armeria maritima</i> .....	15	
<i>Agrostis stolonifera</i> .....	15	} 30
<i>Festuca rubra</i> .....	15	
<i>Triglochin maritimum</i> .....	10	
<i>Plantago maritima</i> .....	5	

Morss<sup>21</sup> records that in 1923 the sward was not lawn-like as it is in other parts, and that the vegetation cover was not dense. Although the former situation still obtains, the plant cover is now quite as dense as elsewhere in the G.S.M., and the main change in the 40 years interim period has undoubtedly been the thickening of the sward, the vertical growth having been insufficient to allow the replacement of halophytic species by non-halophytic. Thus there is a contrast between the eastern and western zones of what is in effect the same terrace of marsh, there having been no period of erosion interrupting its gradual development. However, as the growth of the sandbank extended in a westerly direction, starting near the end of the Spit, the merse decreases in height towards the west, being, as previously pointed out, some 2 ft. lower at Lantonside, the younger part, than at East Park.<sup>22</sup> This difference in height is reflected in the difference in vegetation, and with the rapid erosion occurring at Lantonside to-day, there is little possibility of the succession there ever developing to the edaphic climax (see below).

Succeeding the G.S.M., in the area to the east of Scar Point, is the Festucetum, characteristic of all west coast marshes—a graminoid dominated association, with various non-halophytic herbs such as silverweed (*Potentilla anserina*) and hawkweed (*Leontodon autumnalis*). A typical quadrat in this association is:

<sup>21</sup> Morss: op. cit., p. 321.

<sup>22</sup> The difference is also contributed to by beach drift. (See above).

<i>Festuca rubra</i> .....	25%
<i>Agrostis stolonifera</i> .....	15
<i>Glaux maritima</i> .....	15
<i>Triglochin maritimum</i> .....	10
<i>Juncus gerardii</i> .....	10
<i>Leontodon autumnalis</i> ....	10
<i>Plantago maritima</i> .....	5
<i>Carex distans</i> .....	5
<i>Potentilla anserina</i> .....	5

Usually this is succeeded by a compressed *Juncetum gerardii*, and then *Juncetum maritimum*:

e.g., <i>Juncus maritimus</i> .....	} 30
<i>Juncus acutifloris</i> .....	
<i>Holcus lanatus</i> .....	15
<i>Agrostis stolonifera</i> .....	10
<i>Galium palustre</i> .....	10
<i>Festuca rubra</i> .....	5
<i>Atriplex hastata</i> .....	5
<i>Lotus uliginosus</i> .....	5
<i>Potentilla anserina</i> .....	5
<i>Ranunculus flammula</i> .....	5
<i>Carex nigra</i> .....	5
<i>Rumex acetosa</i> .....	5

as intermediate stages between the *Festucetum* and the neutral grassland/scrub association which is found on the higher parts of the merse, and extends onto the seaward margin of the lower raised warp terrace. But for the grazing of domestic animals on the merse, it is probable that this latter zone, where the soil is loamy, as opposed to the pure sand to the seaward, would develop to a dense scrub land, with a dominance of gorse, and bramble, but as it is, woody plants are few, although the grass and herb cover is very close.

Hepburn<sup>23</sup> has suggested that the climax to this succession would be represented by the oakwood at Caerlaverock Castle, but it is very doubtful whether this is in

<sup>23</sup> Hepburn: *Flowers of the Sea Coast*, 1952, p. 82.



fact a natural development. Although the edge of the lower raised warp terrace is difficult to trace through the wood, largely because of the generally irregular nature of the ground, which has in places been tampered with by Man, there is little doubt from the surrounding topography that the woodland is growing on these deposits and not on the more modern salt marsh material. It is more probable that the neutral grass scrub, the edaphic climax, is in fact the end of the salt marsh succession: except in such places as Kirkconnell Lee, where fresh water debouching onto the marsh has given rise to swampy vegetation dominated by the reed, *Phragmites communis*. The length of time necessary for the development of stages beyond the *Juncetum gerardii* cannot be determined on the evidence available for this area.

The economic value of Caerlaverock Merse to man is almost entirely dependent upon its physiography. The relatively (when compared with east or south coast marshes) coarse nature of the material means that unlike such areas as the Wash, the land is of little value for crop growing, even if embanked to prevent inundation by the sea, although there are records of grain having been grown on most of the Solway Marshes prior to the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1848. On many marshes, old embankments testify to efforts to prevent flooding at this time. However, as has already been shown, prior to 1846 or thereabouts, the present merselands at Caerlaverock had not developed, and it is probable that there was then very little salt marsh between the Nith and the Lochar. At this time "corn" (oats) was grown in the fields on the edge of the lower raised beach, on the area now known as "the flooders"—an obvious reflection of the nature of the ground. The "sea wall" (a breached embankment on the margin of the old beach) was almost certainly constructed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, along with similar structures on Priestside Merse, French prisoners from Sanquhar providing the necessary cheap labour. At this period, too, the

drains across these fields would be dug,<sup>24</sup> so that up to a century or so ago, they would be much drier and more cultivable than they are today. The recent deepening of the outflow into the Lochar, across the estuary from Powhillon, has been an attempt to improve drainage, as yet with little success. The result of the inadequate draining in this area has been the development of a very wet Juncetum, characterised by the non-halophytic *Juncus effesus* and *Juncus acutifloris*, as opposed to the *Juncus maritimus* outside the sea wall, on the merse itself.

Since 1846 — indeed throughout the lifetime of the present merse — Caerlaverock has been used solely as pasturage. The cost of embankment construction,<sup>25</sup> and the return to be gained from land so enclosed has rendered the reclamation of the Solway marshes an uneconomic proposition. The composition of the substratum is essentially similar to that of Morecambe Bay, and there, as a result of the infertility, 500 out of 1000 acres reclaimed about 1900 were abandoned in 1911.<sup>26</sup> The firmness of the sandy material is, however, advantageous for grazing, as is the predominance of grasses, although grazing in turn does increase the proportion of graminoid species, for whereas the vegetative growth of grasses is stimulated, the seed heads of herbs are often eaten, so preventing their regeneration. It is probably largely as a result of grazing that species such as *Halimione portulacoides* (sea purslane) and *Limonium vulgare* (sea lavender) are almost completely absent. Other herbs such as *Cochlearia officinalis* (scurvy grass) and *Aster tripolium* (sea aster) are, in heavily grazed areas, practically confined to the slumped sides of creeks, where beasts cannot stand to graze. It is noticeable too that on Lantonside, where the grazing density is very low,

<sup>24</sup> Two different types of drain, probably late 18th-early 19th century, are exposed near the Castle Wood (dated by M'Ivor, Ministry of Works, Edinburgh).

<sup>25</sup> The construction of some 900 yards for navigational purposes near Annan (1819-1820) cost £3000 (N.S.A., 1837, Dumfries, p. 530).

<sup>26</sup> Royal Commission on Coastal Erosion, Final Report, 1911, pp. 67, 130.

the G.S.M. includes a much greater variety of species than it does on the more densely grazed areas of Midtown and East Park.

Both cattle and sheep graze Caerlaverock, although prior to about 1932, there were no sheep on the Merse, and cattle were out in summer only. Now, although there is an increasing tendency to outwinter cattle, 27 Shorthorn and Galloway bullocks outwintered 1960-61 on Lantonside having been found to thrive better than similar beasts when stall-fed, in the main, it is sheep which graze the Merse in winter. Near the Lochar end, cattle rarely graze, the dominance of sheep grazing being reflected in the much closer cropping of the sward, and there is no doubt that the vegetation of the marshes as a whole would be much more luxuriant were they not grazed.<sup>27</sup> Hence it is important that a balance be struck between the number of beasts and the area available—on the Solway the generally accepted figure is 1 beast to 2-2½ acres, so that in fact Caerlaverock is slightly undergrazed by domestic animals (some 400 cattle and 200 sheep to 1500 acres), although in all probability the heavy grazing density of wildfowl in winter<sup>28</sup> more than makes up for this.

Of all the Solway marshes, Caerlaverock is undoubtedly the most interesting and varied. A walk along its six mile shoreline<sup>29</sup> illustrates the processes of development admirably, as both fluvial and marine erosion are going on to-day, as well as accretion in the central area, whilst the small "steps" provide evidence of past occurrences. The last 150 years have seen many changes at Caerlaverock, the most striking fact being the brief time necessary for the growth of such a large area of reasonably good grazing ground. The reasons for some of these changes in process can very broadly be ascribed to the

<sup>27</sup> In fenced-off areas, the plants are very much taller—e.g., *Juncus gerardi*: 9 in. as against 4 in. (Priestside Merse.)

<sup>28</sup> The Nature Reserve Sanctuary is frequented by large numbers of geese.

<sup>29</sup> i.e., the edge of the marsh.

activities of the Nith Navigation Commission and its efforts to straighten and confine the meandering channel of the river during the 1850's and 1860's. It was subsequent to the completion (or near completion) of the long retaining wall (c. 1864) that the slow westerly extension of the merse began and it is very probable that one of the factors contributing to the current erosion in the Lantonside area has been the complete breakdown of this wall in the lower part of the estuary.<sup>30</sup> The present trend is towards the re-exposure of the solid Scars at Bowhouse and Scar Point, as in the 1850's, prior to the attempt to control the channel. Changes at the central and eastern parts of the Merse, however, appear not to be related to man's works, but rather to be the result of random coincidence of natural factors causing the river to shift its course. Once the breakwaters on the eastern (Powhillon) shore had been swept away (1856-60) the river flowed close inshore to that bank for best part of a century, allowing the accretion of the merse on the other side, but there was no easily definable reason for its sudden westward swing in 1960. Similarly the reason for the rapid extension of the central area of merse between 1946 and 1955 is obscure, as is the reason for the erosion of this area at some time between 1898 and 1946. It is unfortunate that the dates for which maps are available are so widely separated, for it may be that significant changes in the channels, which could shed light on the reasons for the various alternations of erosion and accretion, are in fact lost between surveys.

However, the processes of erosion are apparently well established at either end of Caerlaverock today, and indeed seem to be incipient in the central, most recently developed area. The relatively unstable nature of the channels, however, means that these trends may in fact change quite

<sup>30</sup> Enough of it still remains to protect the merse at Kirkconnell, although here, too, it is slowly being undermined, the storms of Oct. 21st, 1961, having caused considerable removal of material from behind the wall

suddenly at the eastern end, although the dominant trend of marine erosion at the western end is much more likely to persist.

January, 1962.

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## ARTICLE 7.

**The Crusader Stone At Bonshaw**

By A. M. T. MAXWELL-IRVING, B.Sc.

In the Society's Transactions for 1935-6, Vol. XX., R. C. Reid, in an article on *Bonshaw*, touches on the subject of the "Crusader Stone" and makes various observations. I should now like to go into the subject more deeply and try to clear it up.

The tradition of the Irvings is that an Irving on the first Crusade (1096-1100) brought a stone back from the walls of the old temple at Jerusalem, had it blessed by the Pope at Rome, and fixed it where it now rests in the tower at Bonshaw.

From an antiquarian point of view, Dr Reid is an over-cautious man, who is prepared to accept any documentary proof but to discard every tradition "as a pleasant myth"—until proven. Safe as this policy may be, much that is known of history to-day would never have been known if our greatest scholars had not accepted—with *caution*—genuinely old traditions, and then dissected and investigated them from every angle; and many of these scholars held the view that there is almost always at least a grain of truth in the *old* traditions.

It can fairly safely be said that no Irving was on the first Crusade—there was not even official English representation on that occasion—but could not the stone have come into the family by marriage, or could it not have been acquired on a later Crusade—or even later than the Crusades? These possibilities have all been investigated in great detail, but the answer to all of them is, No.

Firstly, was any stone from the old temple at Jerusalem—the Temple of Herod—ever blessed by any Pope? In 1958, the Vatican Archives were searched for any evidence of this, but none was found. Secondly, of what stone was the old temple built? R. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum, kindly supplied the following information, "The wall of the

as far as can be judged from the surviving remains such as temple of Herod at Jerusalem appears to have been built, the 'Wailing Wall,' of hard limestone varying in colour from grey to pinkish, presumably quarried in areas immediately surrounding Jerusalem." Certainly the colour could describe the Crusader Stone; but the Crusader Stone is exactly the same stone as that of which Bonshaw Tower is built, and, although my knowledge of geology is small, I am quite certain that that stone is not limestone. Thirdly, there is no evidence whatever that the "tradition" about the stone is old; in fact, as far as is known, it was never mentioned before the time of Col. Irving himself.

Having rejected any connection between the stone and the Crusades, Jerusalem, or the Pope, and being convinced that the stone is of local origin, the remaining questions are: How old is the stone, and what was its purpose? An expert told Mr Reid that the carved monogram appeared to be late 15th or 16th century work, and this would correspond with the date of the present tower. It is not known exactly when the tower was built, but it was sometime in the 16th century: it may have been built in 1535 when the Estates passed a statute commanding all Borderers "having there an hundred pound land of new extent" to build a sufficient barnkin of stone and lime, "containing three score feet of the square, an ell thick and six ells high . . . with a tower in the same for himself if he thinks it expedient, and that all other landed men of smaller rent and revenue build peels and great strengths as they please for saving of themselves, men, tenants and goods"; it may have been built c. 1550, after the warfare of the 1540's, as some experts think; or it may have been built just after the Earl of Sussex destroyed Bonshaw with gunpowder in 1570, the latest possible date—though references to the English burning and blowing-up Border strongholds are often very misleading, and by no means indicate that they were of wood and stone respectively, nor was the damage always anything like as bad as one is led to believe.

The purpose of the stone can be explained, but it is not so easy to understand how such a work of art came to be at Bonshaw. The stone with its decorative pendant boss is the keystone of the vestibule's vault. The inscription "I.H.S." on it shows the religious zeal of the Irvings at the time, which, apart from the motto "Soli Deo Honor et Gloria" over the entrance door, was well known and often referred to. Bonshaw, the earliest of the stone Irving towers, has simpler mouldings on the whole than the later towers, but nevertheless some of its features (e.g., the fireplace and the buffet in the Great Hall and the mantelpiece on the second floor) are exceptionally fine for a Border stronghold of that period. Even allowing for this, the carving on the face of the Crusader Stone is exquisite and must be the work of a master mason. Apart from copies of this stone that existed in the other Irving towers in Kirtledale, there is one more keystone in Scotland that is very similar and identically inscribed, and it dates from the early 1570's—the same period; this is at Towie Barclay Castle in Aberdeenshire, an area where pendant bosses are not uncommon. It is quite probable that the masons concerned in each case were either one and the same, or else at some time associated; though it is quite remarkable that these unique stones should appear at opposite ends of the country at such a turbulent time, especially in the Western Marches.

Whether the first laird of the present tower ever asked for God's blessing on all Irvings who devoutly stood beneath the Crusader Stone, we do not know—presumably his intention was that the stone should be a holy talisman, blessing friends and protecting against foes—but for many generations the Chiefs of the Clan Irving of Bonshaw, right down to the last Chief to reside there, the late Sir Robert Irving, K.B., have done so; and may every Irving who stands devoutly beneath this fine stone in the future continue to receive God's blessing. Who knows?—perhaps this stone accounts for Bonshaw's near-uniqueness in *not* having a ghost!



## The Picts in Galloway

By JOHN MACQUEEN, M.A.

The Galloway Picts make only an indirect entry to the history of the Dark Ages. So far as I know, no one refers to them before the twelfth century, and most of the references are to events and people of that century. But although the problem of the Galloway Picts originates in these references, the urgency of the problem results from something much earlier—the report by Bede and others of Nynia's mission to the Picts from Whithorn.<sup>1</sup> The written source for this antedates the eighth century. Everyone, I think, will grant that Bede himself does not intend or understand by Picts anything other than the inhabitants of Pictavia, Scotland north of the Forth Clyde line including Argyll. Even so, two possibilities remain open. Bede's knowledge may have been accurate, in which case either there were no Galloway Picts, or they were subsequent to Bede. He may have misunderstood his source, either mistaking Galloway Picts for those of Pictavia, or failing to realise that Nynia's mission was local as well as to Pictavia. The 12th century authors thus may have been accurate in their references, or they may have been mistaken, perhaps because they failed to understand Bede or the later Ailred. This last does not seem particularly likely. Richard of Hexham<sup>2</sup> mentions, as I shall show, in considerable detail, *Picti, qui vulgo Galleweienses dicuntur* in his account of the Battle of the Standard, which he may have written as early as 1140, almost twenty years before the fame of Nynia was revived by Ailred's biography, written probably some-

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III., iv., together with the anonymous *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*, edited W. W. MacQueen, *T.D.G.N.H.A.S.*, XXXVII., 21-57, and the twelfth century *Vita Niniani* of Ailred, edited A. P. Forbes in the *Historians of Scotland*, V. (Edinburgh, 1874). I have discussed some aspects of the problem in *St Nynia* (Edinburgh, 1961).

<sup>2</sup> J. Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* (Surtees Society, 44, Durham, 1864), I., 79. Translations of Richard and John of Hexham will be found in J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England* (London, 1856), IV., i.

where between 1154 and 1160.<sup>3</sup> Nor does the fact that the writers who mention the Galloway Picts were English mean that they were necessarily ignorant of the boundaries of the historical Pictavia. These were known at least to some Englishmen in the 12th century and later. In 1164, for example, the tract *De Situ Albanie*<sup>4</sup> was compiled, perhaps by an Englishman; it is preserved in Paris in the Colbertine MS., and was apparently known to the English writer, Ranulph Higden, who lived in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Lazamon,<sup>5</sup> the late 12th century alliterative poet, whose home was in Worcestershire, associated the Picts with Caithness. Skene, it is true, understood a passage from Giraldus Cambrensis<sup>6</sup> (? 1150-1223) to be an account of the occupation of Galloway by Picts, apparently in the late 4th century, but to me at least the passage seems to describe an occupation by the Irish at the invitation of the Picts. This narrative is extremely interesting, and not a little puzzling, but I for one would hesitate to base on it any historical conclusions.

What is required for the Galloway Picts, it would seem, is an investigation which, beginning from the twelfth century documents, would only afterwards relate them to earlier conditions. The ideal investigator, that is to say, would be much more versed in 12th century sources and affairs than I can claim to be. So far as I know, however, most mediævalists take the documents at face value—the Galloway Picts are left to be exclusively the problem of the Dark Age specialist. I hope that my paper will at least show the existence of a genuine problem, which is more complicated than has often been assumed, and that it may encourage someone better qualified to make a more penetrating analysis.

<sup>3</sup> F. M. Powicke, *Life of Ailred by Walter Daniel* (London, 1950), xcvi.

<sup>4</sup> W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts* (Edinburgh, 1867), xlix., 135.

<sup>5</sup> Skene, p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> Skene, p. 164. There is surely a possibility that *Galweidia* is a corruption of *Ergadia*, "Argyll"?

One point should be emphasised from the beginning. The Galloway Picts are only mentioned by English writers, and it has sometimes been assumed that this fact, at least to some extent, immediately discredits their evidence.<sup>7</sup> This, I think, is to misunderstand the period, one when nationalism, whether English or Scottish, as yet scarcely existed. F. M. Powicke rightly observes:<sup>8</sup> "There was no difference in culture, race or nationality between [sic] the people who inhabited the old Northumbria: when a Scottish king invaded the lands of the king of England he was engaging in a domestic quarrel, about the rights of which even men who lived south of the Tweed might freely differ." The English, that is to say, were not yet regarded as, nor felt themselves to be, foreigners. Powicke, it is true, goes on to observe, "What the subjects and vassals of the English king did resent and fiercely resist was the presence of barbarians, of Picts and Galloway men, side by side with the feudal host of Scotland." This is true, but the presence of these last was almost as much resented by the feudal host of Scotland itself. In some ways, too, the English were in a better position than the Scots to gain knowledge of Galloway. Throughout the 12th century Whithorn was a suffragan see of York, and it is clear that the province was at least as often visited by English as by Scottish ecclesiastics.

I have indicated elsewhere<sup>9</sup> that one at least of the references to Galloway Picts is best regarded as the result of a misunderstanding. In his *Life of Kentigern*,<sup>10</sup> probably written between 1181 and 1199, Jocelin of Furness refers to Galloway as *Pictorum patriam*, "the country of the Picts." There is, I believe, enough evidence to show that here Jocelin has misunderstood his source, which referred, not to Galloway, but to Pictavia proper, north of Clyde-

<sup>7</sup> eg. by W. J. Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), 178.

<sup>8</sup> *Life of Ailred*, xlii.

<sup>9</sup> *St Nynia*, 43-4.

<sup>10</sup> Forbes, *op. cit.* The reference is to chapter 34; Forbes, p. 220.

Forth line. So far, therefore, as his statement refers to the 6th century, Jocelin is in error. But, as I have already indicated, it does not seem to have been difficult, certainly not impossible, for an Englishman of Jocelin's time to have some geographical knowledge of Pictavia. The fact that Jocelin made a mistake shows that at the time an educated North of England churchman assumed that *Picti* meant "inhabitants of Galloway" unless the context, or his knowledge, forced a different interpretation upon him.

A rather different approach is necessary with a second set of references, those in Reginald of Durham's *Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*, chapters 84 and 85.<sup>11</sup> These deal with a visit to Kirkcudbright (*Cuthbrihtis Kkirche*) made in 1164 by St Ailred of Rievaulx. Kirkcudbright is said to be *in terra Pictorum* and its position is accurately described in terms of the River Dee, which "flows through its suburbs with a smooth sweetness."<sup>12</sup> During Ailred's stay, the power of Cuthbert showed itself in two miracles. In one, a penitent was released from an iron belt which he wore. In the second, certain clerics, *qui Pictorum lingua Scollothes cognominantur*, proposed that on Cuthbert's patronal day they should use his churchyard to bait a bull donated to the saint. They were forbidden, but persisted, one in particular blaspheming outrageously against Cuthbert. "There is no proof of this Cuthbert's presence among us, nor that he has such power in this place, although the little rocky church built of stone belongs to him."<sup>13</sup> When the bull-baiting was about to start, the bull leapt straight at the blasphemer and gored him to death.

In considering this evidence, one must remember certain outside factors. Reginald admittedly is an uncritical and unreliable authority. Against this, one should set the

<sup>11</sup> Surtees Society, I., 1835, pp. 177-79.

<sup>12</sup> *per ejus suburbana decurrente blanda dulcedine.*

<sup>13</sup> *Nec Cuthberti hujus adesse presentia, nec huic loco talis ei probatur inesse potentia, licet hujus ipsius sit petrosa et de lapidibus compacta ecclesiola.*

fact that he knew Ailred personally; it is to him that he dedicates his book, and he may have heard about the visit from the saint's own lips. On the other hand, Ailred himself nowhere describes the inhabitants of Galloway as Picts. We may certainly assume that Ailred visited Galloway on a number of occasions, one of which (probably in 1159) Walter Daniel describes in his *Life of Ailred*.<sup>14</sup> But Walter Daniel too avoids the use of the word *Picti* to describe the Gallovidians. His account of them, nevertheless, and particularly the description which he gives of their sex-life ("There chastity founders as often as lust wills, and the pure is only so far removed from a harlot that the more chaste will change their husbands every month and a man will sell his wife for a heifer")<sup>15</sup> sounds as if it might conceivably be an orthodox churchman's angry distortion of marriage customs (for instance, temporary marriage or polyandry) such as are sometimes attributed to the Picts of Pictavia, and to the king of the Hebrides as he is described by the Irish interpolator of Solinus.<sup>16</sup> Even though Walter Daniel, that is to say, does not use the word *Pict*, his description may indicate the presence in Galloway of at least some Picts.

It is possible simply to dismiss Reginald's evidence, and this at one time I was inclined to do. The possibility still remains that it is by mere accident that *Picti* for Gallovidians does not occur in Ailred or Walter Daniel (after all neither says that there were no Picts in Galloway). Walter in particular, although he mentions Galloway as *Galwadiam*, nowhere gives any name to the people of the province; he does not even name, though he refers to him, Fergus the king of Galloway, or his sons. Even if he thought of the Gallovidians, or some Gallovidians, as Picts, he was

<sup>14</sup> Powicke, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-6.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibi castitas t. ciens patitur naufragium quociens libido volvit, nec est inter castam et scortum ulla distancia nisi quod castiores inibi per menses viros alternent et vir pro una bucula vendat uxorem.*

<sup>16</sup> Mommsen's edition, p. 234f. The reference may be to conditions in the 6th or 9th century. Cf. H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949), p. 92.

scarcely in a position to call Galloway *Pictavia* or *Albania* without hopelessly confusing his narrative.

Ailred probably knew Galloway better than did any of the other writers discussed in this article. But even his silence may be explained in more ways than one. He may not mention Picts in Galloway, because there were none. Alternatively, he may not use the term because Picts were not the only inhabitants of Galloway, and he wished to use the name with the widest possible reference. Compare the treatment of a different nationality—from place-name evidence the presence of Norsemen in Galloway is undoubted, but so far as I know, no English or Scottish author ever directly refers to them.

One might have expected to make something of the allegedly Pictish word *Scollofthes*, but this unfortunately has proved impossible. The word may be a corruption—Professor Jackson suggests<sup>17</sup>—of Latin *scolastes*. If this is so, the corruption had already occurred in Reginald's immediate source, which must therefore have been written; otherwise he would scarcely have described a Latin word as Pictish. Professor Dickins<sup>18</sup> suggested a connection with O.I. *scolóc*, "student."

The most interesting references to Galloway Picts are undoubtedly those in the works of Richard and John of Hexham.<sup>19</sup> Both men were priors of the Augustinian monastery at Hexham on the Tyne, twenty miles west of Newcastle; Richard from 1141 until about 1160, when he was succeeded by John. John in turn was dead before 1209. Probably before 1140 Richard wrote a *History of the Acts of King Stephen and of the Battle of the Standard*; at a later date he composed his *History of the Church of Hexham*. John wrote a *Chronicle* of the twenty-five years from 1130-1154, parts of which are based on Richard's work, but with additions which show that he had other

<sup>17</sup> In F. T. Wainwright (ed.), *The Problem of the Picts* (Edinburgh, 1955), p. 41, footnote 5.

<sup>18</sup> *Yorkshire Celtic Studies*, II., p. 45.

<sup>19</sup> See footnote 2 above.

sources of information.<sup>20</sup> The references to Galloway Picts in these authors occur under the year 1138, many of them in descriptions of incidents at Hexham itself. They are thus of particular importance—Richard was perhaps in the position of an eyewitness to some of the events he records.

I plan to base my account primarily on Richard's *Acts of King Stephen*, when appropriate comparing this narrative with that of John.

Richard describes the army of King David which invaded Northern England in January, 1138, as made up of Normans, Germans, Angles, Northumbrians, Cumbrians, men of Teviotdale and of Lothian, Picts "who are called Gallovidians in the vernacular,"<sup>21</sup> and Scots. By "Scots" he must have intended Gaelic speakers, and it is interesting that he appears to draw a distinction between these Scots and the Galloway Picts. When John, on the other hand, refers to "Picts and Scots," as in his account of the battle of Clitheroe, not named by Richard, and the Battle of the Standard, he appears to mean Gallovidians.

During David's invasion, Hexham itself remained undisturbed. On one occasion, the Picts reached the Tyne nearby, but two of them were killed, and the rest withdrew. At much the same time, apparently, two of them broke into the Oratory of St. Michael the Archangel<sup>22</sup> on the north bank of the Tyne, about a mile from Hexham, and robbed the church. As a consequence of their sacrilege, both became mad and rushed aimlessly about the

<sup>20</sup> Raine. *op. cit.*, pp. cxlv.-clviii.

<sup>21</sup> *qui vulgo Galleweianses dicuntur.*

<sup>22</sup> Compare the references below to the violation of churches by the Gallovidians. This behaviour was also characteristic of the *Gall-ghaidhil* of the 9th century in Ireland. Cf. Skene *op. cit.*, p. 404: "They were a people who had renounced their baptism, and they were usually called Northmen, for they had the customs of the Northmen, and had been fostered by them, and though the original Northmen were bad to the churches, these were by far worse in whatever part of Erin they used to be." The reference is to the year 358. Is it as a consequence of Gallovidian sacrilege, that the Host, as well as the banners of SS. Peter, John and Wilfrid, was hung by the Normans from their standard?

countryside. One eventually battered his own face with stones, and died when someone cut off his legs; the other was drowned in the Tyne. Hexham was afterwards regarded as sacrosanct, and became in fact a kind of refugee centre.

John narrates what is basically the same series of events, with the major difference that when Richard says Picts, he says Scots. John in fact gives no indication that the Scots he mentions belonged to Galloway. He differs in that he makes the men of Hexham kill not two Picts, but one Scot, who was rich and powerful in his own land, and he adds that King David established five Scots in Hexham whose duty it was to preserve the peace against any invaders. John also makes it at this period that the Scots carried off many English women to slavery in Scotland, something which Richard more convincingly relates as a consequence of Pictish success during a later campaign the same year.

After Easter, David invaded England for a second time, and while he was in the neighbourhood of Durham, trouble broke out, apparently among the Picts, *propter quamdam feminam*. Richard gives no more details, but the Picts threatened to kill the king and his bodyguard (*cum suis*). In John there is nothing to correspond.

While David was besieging Norham on the Tweed, his nephew, William son of Duncan,<sup>23</sup> with the Picts and a part of his army, made an expedition into Yorkshire. (It is worth mentioning here that until 1541 Lancashire north of the Ribble belonged to the diocese of York.) They won a victory, and destroyed the possessions of a monastery in Furness as well as the province of Craven in the West Riding of Yorkshire. They slaughtered the men of the province, and drove away the women, naked and bound together. Richard adds that they had behaved in the same

<sup>23</sup> William's father, Duncan II. (died 1094), was the only son of Malcolm Canmore by his first wife, Ingibjorg. See the genealogical table in W. Croft Dickinson, *Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603* (Edinburgh, 1961), p. 53.



way in other wars, but never before on so large a scale. Some were released at Carlisle, but the Picts took their captives home, and when they had wearied of them, made them servants, or sold them to other barbarians in exchange for cattle.

John does not mention Yorkshire, Furness or Craven. He does say that the battle was fought at Clitheroe in Lancashire, and that the combatants were Angles, Picts and Scots. This is his first mention of Picts. He adds that many captives were taken, but does not say that they were women. (In his description of David's first campaign, it will be remembered, he has already described how English women were driven into slavery.)

Although Richard does not mention the name Clitheroe, it is clear that his is the better and more detailed account. Anyone particularly interested in the Galloway Picts will notice the similarity between his description of the fate of the captive women, and Galloway marriage customs, as described by Walter Daniel. The correspondence admittedly is not exact. In Richard there is no indication of polyandry. But when the women were brought to Galloway, they do not, even in Richard's angry rhetoric, appear to have been treated simply as slaves; it is only after the Picts tired of them that they became servants or were sold. There is at least something odd about this; one might, I think, guess that Richard is describing customs of which he thoroughly disapproves, but which he does not fully understand. Some form of temporary marriage, perhaps combined with marriage by capture, is at least conceivably indicated. Is it possible that native Gallovidians, men or women, entered temporary marriage partnerships without endangering their personal status, but that the treatment of captured women was different—that they might be accepted into some kind of partnership, but when this was ended, their rights lapsed, and they became servants or slaves? In attempting an answer, it is not, I think, sufficient to accept Richard's description on Richard's

terms—that is, to dismiss the Gallovidians as bestial and nothing more.

When David reached Durham, he was joined by the Picts, the Cumbrians, and the men of Carlisle. This is Richard's narrative, to which nothing in John corresponds.

Richard describes the *Picti* as forming the vanguard of the Scottish army at the Battle of the Standard. Many of them were killed at the first assault; the remainder threw away their arms and fled, soon followed by the entire Scottish army. During the retreat, Angles, Scots and Picts of David's army fought among themselves. For this the king afterwards exacted heavy fines.

John's account differs in that he makes the Scots (not the Picts) claim the vanguard as the place of honour, and charge the Normans naked and almost unarmed (*nudi ipsi et pæne inermes*). The Scots and the Picts, he adds, sustained the conflict with difficulty from prime to terce (6 to 9 a.m.) although they were riddled with arrows. When they finally broke, they abandoned their baggage on the spot, which accordingly is contemptuously known as Bag Moor (*Baggamor*). (The etymology he gives may well be popular.)

Richard's final reference to Picts comes in his account of the visit of the Papal legate Alberic. Alberic persuaded the Picts to bring the captured English women to Carlisle and set them free. He also made them swear that they would never again violate churches, that they would spare women, children, the aged and the infirm, and that they would kill only those who were actively resisting them.

John has an entry to the same effect, save that where Richard says Picts, he has Picts and Scots.

It is clear, I think, that whenever Richard refers to Picts, he means Gallovidians. John's references are much less certain. One cannot however say that he does no more than replace Richard's *Picts* with *Scots*; it is not, that is to say, as if he gave the impression of deliberately correcting Richard. The fact that the phrase *Scots and Picts* occurs five times, apparently at random, must, I think, lead one to

the opposite conclusion, that John has not taken the trouble to define his terms, even to himself, and that Richard, on this as on other matters, is the better authority. This one would, in any case, expect, both because Richard is the earlier writer, and because he may well be recording, at least to some extent, his own observation and immediate knowledge.

It is sometimes urged against Richard that in his second work, the *History of the Church of Hexham*, I. vi., he describes St Wilfrid as having the Picts under his episcopal jurisdiction "because Candida Casa had not yet a bishop of its own." This is a mistaken expansion of Bede's statement about Wilfrid in his *Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 3. The late F. T. Wainwright commented,<sup>24</sup> "Bede was undoubtedly referring to the Picts of Pictland proper who later received Trumwine for their bishop. Richard apparently thought Trumwine's see was at Whithorn. Since he held such a view, however mistaken, it is not surprising that he equated Galwegians and Picts when he wrote up his account of the troubles of 1138." The reference in Bede and Richard is to the year 669. Trumwine became bishop for the Picts, probably at Abercorn near Edinburgh, in 678 (*Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 12), and retained his see until 685. Bede does not mention Abercorn until he describes the expulsion of Trumwine; before Richard's time, and probably as a consequence of the omission, the historian Florence of Worcester (died 1118) assumed that Trumwine's see had been at Whithorn. Plummer, Bede's editor,<sup>25</sup> as well as Wainwright, assumes that Richard made the same mistake. But all the evidence contradicts them. Relations between Hexham and Candida Casa had been close. In 789, for instance, Ethelbert gave up the bishopric of Whithorn to become Bishop of Hexham. Moreover, despite Plummer and Wainwright, the passage indicates,

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>25</sup> C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica* (Oxford, 1896, 1946), II., 224.

not that Richard thought Trumwine's see was at Whithorn, but that in Richard's opinion the bishop of Candida Casa had Picts under his jurisdiction. Trumwine does not enter the argument; indeed one can almost prove that Richard had Pecthelm, or perhaps Acca, bishop of Hexham, in mind. In his *History of the Church of Hexham*, I. xv., Richard mentions that in 732 A.D. Acca was driven from the see of Hexham, and he records a tradition that during his exile Acca "founded and prepared the Episcopal see in Candida Casa."<sup>26</sup> This may mean either that in one erroneous tradition Acca was first Anglian bishop of Whithorn, or merely that Acca's labours led to or helped in, the establishment of the see under Pecthelm. Whatever conclusions one draws about Acca, the passage certainly shows Richard's knowledge that the Anglian bishopric was a creation of the eighth rather than the seventh century.

One subordinate point should be added. The *History of the Church of Hexham* is later, even much later, than the *History of the Acts of King Stephen and of the Battle of the Standard*. Despite Wainwright, it is more probable that the earlier influenced the later than that the later influenced the earlier. Richard probably assumed that Wilfrid's Picts lived in Galloway because he knew, or thought he knew, from personal experience that in his own day Picts still lived in Galloway. If he was mistaken, it was against a background of knowledge quite different from that which Wainwright assumes.

The last twelfth century work which need be discussed is St. Ailred's *De Bello Standardii*,<sup>27</sup> written probably between 1155 and 1157. Ailred was born in 1109, and until 1133, when he entered the Cistercian abbey at Rievaulx in

<sup>26</sup> *episcopalem sedem in Candida (Casa) inceperit et praeparaverit.*

<sup>27</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*. CXCv., pp. 702-11. I have accepted the date suggested by Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. xcix. Ailred's dates are taken from F. L. Cross (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London, 1957), s.v. Ailred. I am indebted to my friend and colleague, Mr Hermann Pálsson, who has pointed out to me the similarity between Viking and Gallovidian treatment of enemy children. See *Landnámabók*, chapter 41, and the discussion by Hermannson in *Arbók hins íslenska fornleifafélags*, 1920, pp. 3-5.

Yorkshire, most of his life was spent at the Scottish court. He was thus well acquainted with Scotland and King David. Rievaulx was not far from Northallerton, near which the Battle of the Standard was fought, and the abbey had been founded on land donated by Walter Espec, afterwards himself a monk of Rievaulx, who is perhaps the central figure in Ailred's account of the battle. Indeed the work is almost an extended panegyric of Espec, and he, very probably, was one of Ailred's main sources. Ailred himself is as much a contemporary witness as Prior Richard—with the major difference that he wrote almost twenty years after the battle, and with the intention of composing as much a panegyric as a history.

Ailred does not use the term Pict, and first mentions the Gallovidians in a long speech which he puts in the mouth of Walter Espec. During the campaign, he makes Espec say, the Gallovidians have amused themselves by throwing children in the air and catching them on their spear-points, and by ripping unborn infants from their mothers' wombs, and dashing them on the rocks. They have eaten their meat with the knives which had killed children; they have drunk water mixed with human blood, saying how fortunate they were to be able to drink the blood of Gauls (*Gallorum sanguinem*). A Gallovidian who found a house-full of children, swung them by the heels against the doorpost, boasting afterwards to a companion, "Look how many Gauls I have killed by myself to-day." They have violated churches and the sacrament. It is not men but beasts that they are fighting; the earth has not swallowed them up only so that the Normans with their own hands may slaughter them.

Before the beginning of the battle, King David wished to place his knights and bowmen in the vanguard. The Gallovidians claimed that they had a right to this position. When others said that it was dangerous to oppose unarmoured men to knights, they reminded the king of the battle of Clitheroe.

“Why are you afraid, o king, and why are you so terrified by these coats of mail which you see from a distance. Our sides are made of iron, our hearts of bronze, our minds are devoid of fear, and our feet have never known flight, nor our backs a wound. What use were breast-plates to the Gauls at Clitheroe? Surely it is not those who lacked armour, as is being said, who compelled their opponents to throw away their breast-plates, to neglect their helmets, and to leave behind their shields? May your wisdom, o king, see what it is to trust to these, which in time of need are more a burden than a consolation. At Clitheroe we won a victory from men in armour; to-day with spears we shall overthrow these men too, using courage of spirit in place of a shield.”

Even after this speech (a last echo, surely, of the heroic age as discussed by Chadwick?) David still wished to entrust the vanguard to his knights, but eventually the Gallovidians prevailed. Before they charged, they uttered a triple war-cry, and their impetus broke the first rank of the enemy. Nevertheless, they were repelled, their spears proving no match for the English weapons. When they drew their swords, and tried hand-to-hand fighting, the English archers kept them at a distance. They were saved from retreat by the advance of the second division of the Scottish army, led by the king's son Henry, an advance so successful that it had almost turned the battle, when someone on the English side raised a severed head and shouted that King David had been killed. At this the Gallovidians broke and fled. Two of their leaders, Ulgric and Duvenald (*Dunenald* is clearly a misreading) had previously been killed. Ailred later notes that great numbers of Scots and Gallovidians were killed during the retreat.

It will be noticed that Ailred gives more details of the actual battle than either of the other chroniclers. This may partly be because he had obtained information from Walter Espec and other Normans and Englishmen. But it is surely

worth comment that his account of the conduct of the Gallovidians in the battle is not only more favourable than that given by Richard or John, it is also considerably more favourable than that given before the battle by Walter Espec. Ailred, as I have several times mentioned, knew Galloway as did none of the other writers discussed, and I cannot but feel that in this work he relies not only on Espec and his English contemporaries, but also on Galloway records of some kind—perhaps even oral saga. The speech of the Gallovidians to King David seems especially likely to be based on such a source.

If this is so, in what language were the Galloway records preserved? Here too there is some evidence. Whenever the Gallovidians refer to the Normans, the term used by them is "Gauls" (*Galli*). Ailred may, or may not, have understood this, but I do not think that any reference to France is primarily intended. *Galli* is a Latin rendering of Gaelic *gall*, "foreigners,"<sup>28</sup> applied, as Dineen's *Irish-English Dictionary* points out, in succession to Gauls, Franks, Danes, Normans and English (in modern times even to Protestants). It is the first element of the very word Galloway derived from *Gall-ghaidhil*, "foreign Gael," a term applied to the people of mixed Scandinavian and Celtic origin, who became the dominant element in the Galloway population. But if this is the origin of the name, and Ailred is basing his work on authentic Galloway tradition, it is clear that by 1138 the Gallovidians did not think of themselves as being in any way *gall*—the term was reserved for the Normans and English. The term too is proof, if any were needed, that in the 12th century Gaelic was the language of Galloway.

This, so far as I know, concludes the evidence for and against the existence of Picts in Galloway during the 12th century. What is one to make of it? In the first place I should say quite certainly that the people who in the

<sup>28</sup> Cf. A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers* (London, 1908), p. 180, footnote 4

12th century were sometimes called Picts do not represent an aboriginal population of Galloway. Clearly, from Ailred's account, they thought of themselves as Gaels, and this, I think, of itself precludes any such possibility.<sup>29</sup> Nor is there anything in the records of Galloway during the Anglian period to suggest customs such as are attributed to the Gallovidians in the twelfth century. All the available early evidence suggests that Nynia's Picts were not Galloway Picts, and from the 12th century there is nothing to make us question that conclusion.

Must we then assume that in the 12th century likewise there were no Picts in Galloway? At the beginning of this paper, I expressed the possibilities in a series of alternatives. One of those—that Bede's knowledge of Galloway in the 8th century was inaccurate, either because he mistook Galloway Picts for Picts of Pictavia, or else because he failed to realise that Nynia's mission was local as well as to Pictavia—may now, I think, safely be dismissed. This leaves only the second. As there were no Galloway Picts in Bede's time, either their arrival was subsequent to the eighth century, or else the 12th century authors were simply mistaken. Any proposal here must obviously be advanced with the greatest caution. The three main factors, however, which argue for the existence during the 12th century of Picts in Galloway are these: (1) the consistency with which Richard uses the term in describing events to some of which he probably stood in the position of an eye-witness; (2) the apparently widely accepted assumption underlying other references that Pict means Gallovidian; (3) the various hints that Galloway possessed marriage customs and a social organisation different from that of other parts of Britain, but in some measure resembling those which appear to have been current in the historical Pictavia. Against these we may set the fact that the language of 12th century Galloway was Gaelic.

<sup>29</sup> *St Nynia*, pp. 48 ff.



If there were Picts in 12th century Galloway, it follows that they must have entered the country with the Gall-ghaidhil. The Gall-ghaidhil themselves spoke Gaelic, and it was probably from those parts of Scotland most open to Norse incursion that they took their origin.<sup>30</sup> The range is wide, but it includes the Orkneys, Caithness and Sutherland, and the inner and outer Hebrides. The Gall-ghaidhil are first mentioned in the 9th century when a considerable part of Pictavia was probably already Gaelic speaking, the result partly of settlement, partly of the missionary and pastoral work of the church which centred on Iona.<sup>31</sup> The language of some at least of the areas I have indicated was thus very possibly Gaelic; politically, nevertheless, they belonged not to Gaelic Dalriada but to Pictavia. The simplest solution of the problem is to assume that some at any rate of the Gall-ghaidhil of Galloway were conscious of an ancestry in Pictavia, and still retained for themselves the name of Picts. Essentially, that is to say, the Picts of Galloway and the Gall-ghaidhil were the same.

<sup>30</sup> The fragments of Irish Annals, printed by Skene, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-7. deal almost entirely with *Gall-ghaidhil*, Norse, Picts and Strathclyde Britons. Watson (*op. cit.*, p. 14; 174 n. 1) points out the existence of "foreign Britons" as well as "foreign Gaels."

<sup>31</sup> Cf. particularly Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 ff; Wainwright, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

## ARTICLE 9.

**The Lead Mines at Wanlockhead**

T. C. SMOUT, M.A., Ph.D.

## I.

Just who discovered the lead-mines at Wanlockhead, Dumfriesshire, and when this took place, is and must remain a mystery. Tradition ascribes the feat to "Cornelius Hardskins," a Dutch gold prospector more properly called Cornelius de Vois, who was active in Scotland at the end of the 1560's:<sup>2</sup> in fact there are documentary references to mines at Wanlock for half a century prior to that, and medieval records for the rather ill-defined area of Crawford Muir which go back to the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Of all minerals lead-ore presents the fewest problems for working up into metal, and it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that local people knew and worked the surface veins at Wanlockhead many centuries before outside capitalists began to take an interest in them.

Such an interest was first supplied in the sixteenth century when the Crown, which claimed all mines in which gold was found, or in which three halfpennies of silver could be refined from a pound of lead, began to encourage both Scottish and foreign prospectors to go out into the hills and discover El Dorado. The story of the various partnerships that put up money and obtained licenses from the Government, only to have them revoked after a few years and reissued to a different partnership, reflects little credit on any of the parties: it has been admirably told by R. W. Cochrane-Patrick in his *Early Records Relating to Mining in Scotland*, and there is no need to reiterate the details

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Duke of Buccleuch for his kindness in placing the lead mining papers at Drumlanrig Castle and Dalkeith House, which form the central sources for this paper, at my disposal.

<sup>2</sup> The first reference to this tradition dates from 1743—Scottish Record Office: Clerk of Penicuik Muniments (henceforth S.R.O. Penicuik MSS), 2679. See also R. W. Cochrane-Patrick, *Early Records Relating to Mining in Scotland* (1878).

<sup>3</sup> Cochrane-Patrick, xxxiv.f.; J. M. Porteous, "God's Treasure-House in Scotland" (1876), p. 76.

here. From 1560 to 1604 the search for gold was the main spur to mining activity at Wanlock, and though lead-mining was carried on more extensively than it had ever been before—in 1584, for example, Eustacius Roche mined 600 stones of ore and carried them to Leith<sup>4</sup>—the failure of the attempt to find a gold seam led in 1604 to the desertion of the area. The lead mines were not entirely forgotten: in 1647 Sir James Hope of Leadhills obtained permission to “cause oppin the drifts which by heirsay of the countrie people was informed to have bene wrought of old by Dutch men in Wanlockhead”: though he explored thirty fathoms of ruined and dangerous tunnel with a view to running them in conjunction with his own mine in the next parish, nothing was in fact done until 1675.<sup>5</sup>

It is not difficult to see why the sixteenth century was unable to make a real success of the mines at Wanlockhead. For one thing, the allure of gold was too strong to be resisted in that age of Drake and Mexico, and enough was found in the burns and cleughs around Crawford Muir to tempt the capitalist to dissipate his resources looking for more. Secondly, the conditions of law and order, and the general difficulties of sustaining life for a posse of foreign miners in one of the least hospitable valleys in Dumfriesshire proved too much for the incipient industrialists. An act of 1597 spoke of “the disordourit and brokin men of the bordouris” who habitually attacked and robbed lead carriers on their way from Leadhills to Leith,<sup>6</sup> and at Wanlockhead lead mines two years later a merchant of Dumfries was relieved of £400 ready cash, and thus brought to the verge of bankruptcy.<sup>7</sup> The letters of George Bowes, who was managing mineral exploration there when operations were abandoned in 1604, give a vivid impression of the intolerable difficulties encountered in “this miserable place.” He employed twenty-eight Englishmen and twenty-

<sup>4</sup> Cochrane-Patrick, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> Hopetoun House Muniments, Lead I., 9/1. I am indebted to the Marquis of Linlithgow and the Trustees of the Hopetoun House Muniments for permission to use these papers.

<sup>6</sup> Cochrane-Patrick.

<sup>7</sup> *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*. First Series, VI., 16.

six Scots, but sixteen of the Englishmen were forced to leave "by want of health"—they were troubled by scurvy—and half the Scots deserted in July in order to help with the harvest: the remainder threatened to leave for better pay, and were hastened on their way by an outbreak of plague among them. His own cottage was perpetually sodden, inside and out, and his prospecting tent had been torn to pieces by the incessant gales. All his instruments were spoiled by wet, and his only skilled timberer had been enticed away to Leadhills. Short of money and ruined in health, on bad terms with the local laird and the rival prospectors on Crawford Muir, he was only too thankful to get out and stay away.<sup>8</sup>

## II.

The mines remained in a deserted state until 1675, when William Blackett of Newcastle-on-Tyne viewed them with the object of obtaining a mineral lease from the Duke of Queensberry. He was acting for a partnership of three Englishmen—himself, John Lindsay of London, and Sir James Stansfield who was domiciled as a merchant in Edinburgh. Blackett was the only one with any practical experience of mining, having already investigated two Highland veins at Glen Esk and Glen Lyon: Stansfield was the only one able or willing to provide much capital, his industrial interests also comprehending a glass works and brewery at Leith and the Newmills Cloth Manufactory. The three obtained a lease for nine years, and set to work with a will on the lead deposits, ignoring any rumour of gold.<sup>9</sup>

By 1680 they had between thirty and forty men working at the mines under a paid manager; they discovered the four main veins and christened them the "Beltan," the "Straitstep," the "Glencrief" and the "Cove"; they built smelting mills, and contracted with professional

<sup>8</sup> Cochrane-Patrick, pp. 106-115.

<sup>9</sup> For this partnership's operations, see Scottish Record Office, Miscellaneous Papers, Bundle 279: Stansfield MSS concerning lead-mining.

smelters to use them, buying charcoal wood and timber from nearby Enoch; they sold bar-lead within Scotland, some for the roof of Drumlanrig Castle, some to places as far apart as Dumfries and Linlithgow, and they signed an agreement with Cornelius Thomson and Co. of Rotterdam to ship their "potter's ore" from Leith to Holland; they expended £4000 sterling on working the mines, apart from the rent to Queensberry, before expiry of the lease. Nevertheless they reaped little but trouble. The Hopes at Leadhills did their best to obstruct and hinder the newcomers who threatened their virtual monopoly of lead production. The workmen themselves proved refractory and "mutinous," despite instructions to the manager not to "hector the men, neather to countenance one more then another . . . and who doth amis to reprove them civilly." The manager himself was accused of pocketing the wages of those who ran away. Then there was the technical problem of drainage: the only equipment, water tubs and "the common ship's pump wrought with man's power"<sup>10</sup> proved quite inadequate for the floods of a Scottish winter. Stansfield eventually found that neither of his partners would pay a penny of expenses before he took them to law, and consequently when the lease expired in 1684, he resigned it with relief and made no attempt to prolong it.

Despite this relative failure, it was not long before another small partnership appeared to try its hand. In 1691, two other Englishmen, Mathew Wilson and Andrew Well, took a lease for nineteen years. They made two innovations: before 1695 they introduced smelting with peat, which greatly lessened the cost of making bar-lead, and then, to help solve the drainage problem, they drove a "level" or adit "quite through the hill" to unwater the rich Straitstep Vein. Unfortunately, like their predecessors, they were badly handicapped by lack of capital. Mathew Wilson took a job as manager of the Leadhills mine for the Hopes in 1695, and during the years of dearth between

<sup>10</sup> Edinburgh University Library: John Walker MSS, "State and History of the Duke of Queensberry's Lead Mines," 1762 (henceforth, E. U. L. Walker MSS).

then and the end of the century he was obliged to borrow money from his employers to save his men at Wanlockhead from starvation: as part of the price for this arrangement he agreed to sell the bar-lead output of his own mines to the Hopes at less than market price, which effectually restored the monopoly of sales to that family.<sup>11</sup> In fact, though Wilson and Well would gladly have taken a new lease in 1710 had they been given the opportunity, their administration like that of Stansfield was more remarkable for its demonstration of the potentialities of the mine than for any great profits actually achieved. To bring these hopes to fruition, it was obviously necessary to invest considerably larger sums in fixed capital than anyone had hitherto been prepared to afford.

### III.

Two years after the Union of Parliaments, just as the lease to Wilson and Well was running out, an English joint-stock company known officially as "The Governor and Company for smelting down lead with pit-coal," but more informally as the "Smelting Company" or "Quaker Company" or "London Company," began to express an interest in the Scottish mine.<sup>12</sup> They approached the Duke of Queensberry, who was now well aware of the value of the minerals underlying his lands, with a very favourable offer, and in 1710 a deed of co-partnership was signed between them giving the Duke a quarter share in the profits and expenses of the mine: in addition the lease was to give him one sixth of the total lead raised. The new company had great technical experience in mining matters, acquired in their extensive concerns in the north of England, and considerably more capital at their disposal than any of their predecessors. £15,000 was spent on the mines in nine

<sup>11</sup> Hopetoun Muniments, Lead II., 24/6, 25/6, III., 43/2.

<sup>12</sup> *Drumlanrig MSS*; *S.R.O. Penicuik MSS*; E. U. L. Walker *MSS*. For the English activities of the Quaker Company, see A. Raistrick, *Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare: the London (Quaker) Lead Company, 1652-1905*, 1938 (the information given there on p. 82 anent Wanlockhead is misleading).

years: a new adit level was driven "at great expense" below Mathew Wilson's and new drainage machinery in the form of endless chains with buckets attached was installed to facilitate still deeper working; new veins were discovered—notably the New Glencrief—and for the first time the lead was smelted in the Company's own mills and refined to extract the silver by the litharge process which the Company had pioneered. The sale of "potter's ore" to Holland was abandoned, and all lead was henceforth sold as bar.

Nevertheless, due to low lead prices after 1709, the profits still failed to answer expectations, and the Quakers began to restrict their spending. The Duke therefore withdrew from the co-partnership and offered part of the mineral field to another company in 1721.<sup>13</sup> This company—the Friendly Mining Society—had eleven partners predominantly drawn from Edinburgh headed by Robert Wightman, Dean of Gild, and a subscribed capital of £10,000 sterl.: it promptly signed another deed of co-partnership with the Quakers, and ran the whole field in partnership with them until 1727. In that year the whole mines were again partitioned between the two groups, the Quakers continuing in their field until 1755 (though with relatively little activity in the 1730's) and the Friendly Mining Society in theirs until 1734, when it was dissolved after having made no profit in twelve years. Wightman, however, enjoyed a small concession from 1741 to 1755 on the grounds that his earlier work with the Society, especially in introducing expensive pumping engines run off a water wheel, had "rendered the mines more predictable to the Duke."<sup>14</sup>

The concession of the Friendly Mining Society was taken over in 1734 by Alexander Telfer, an interesting, pugnacious and enterprising character, the son of a simple lead-miner and nearly as proud of that as of the liberal education he had given his three sons. The steps of his

<sup>13</sup> Drumlanrig MSS gives full details of this society.

<sup>14</sup> S.R.O. Penicuik MSS, 2631.

progress into the capitalist class are unrecorded, but by 1743 he was certainly employing 240 men, or about two-thirds of the total labour force at Wanlockhead. He was evidently fortunate in the moment he took over his lease, coming upon valuable deposits after his predecessors had spent so much on fixed capital without remuneration; at the same time he invested liberally in drainage engines, using by 1747 a series of five water wheels with pumps attached placed one above another in the main shaft, which enabled him to go down 300 feet below the deepest adit level; "a method which must certainly answer the end, tho' with abundance of charge."<sup>15</sup>

The upshot of this rather complicated story, therefore, was that by the middle of the eighteenth century the mines at Wanlockhead had become a steadily profitable industrial undertaking, after more than half a century in which money had been spent on them with little return. The output of bar-lead rose from about 10,000 stone a year around 1700 to about 80,000 around 1750, and the labour force from around 50 to around 350. The Wanlock mines rose towards a position of equality with those at Leadhills, which they were to sustain as long as the Scottish lead industry lasted, the two concerns together producing at least 80% of the bar smelted in Scotland. Lead from the two mines competed on the same markets, with the edge often in favour of Wanlockhead: "in Holland the Wanlockhead lead from being refined sells always  $\frac{1}{2}$ d per stone, at least 5s per ton dearer than the Leadhills lead."<sup>16</sup> The most regular outlet was Holland, the lead being carted in the first instance to Biggar, where it was collected by Leith carriers and then forwarded by Leith and Edinburgh merchants to Amsterdam and Rotterdam. A certain amount also went south to the Dumfries merchants for export—sometimes to places as far away as Leghorn in Italy—but the badness of the roads in this part of Scotland cancelled out the advantage of a shorter haul to the sea.<sup>17</sup> Small quantities were also

<sup>15</sup> Drumlanrig MSS; S.R.O. Penicuik MSS, 2656.

<sup>16</sup> Drumlanrig MSS, 1754.

<sup>17</sup> Drumlanrig MSS. 1752-4.



sold within Scotland, as in 1729 when the Earl of Tweeddale's great new house at Yester was roofed with Queensberry lead.<sup>18</sup> Regularly throughout this period the Duke received the sixth bar as rent, and marketed it independently.

Of the workers' conditions we know rather little: the Quakers rebuilt the whole village for the miners between 1710 and 1720,<sup>19</sup> but when the Duke's agent was found quarters in a worker's house in 1740 he described it in terms reminiscent of George Bowes early in the seventeenth century—"I have nothing but a poor little thing like a closet to a room, and so badly thatched that no sooner rain falls but it comes down and runs out at the door, and what makes it still more comfortless is want of fire: I can get no peats to buy at all, and for coalls I pay tenpence for as many as I can carry over my arm . . . God knows what a sorry winter I have had in this nasty hole."<sup>20</sup> Life in the hills was harsh, and the difficulties of provisioning the settlement—which was undertaken by the companies who bought meal from the local lairds—led to serious malnutrition. The inhabitants of the lead villages purchased five times as many antiscorbutic preparations per head to ward off scurvy as the other customers of the Sanquhar chemist's shop in 1742-3, and the risks of lead poisoning also led them to take twice as many purgatives as the general community.<sup>21</sup> Telfer allowed his employees to take smallholdings from the moor which must have enabled them to add variety to their diet, and this practice was continued until Victorian times.<sup>22</sup>

#### IV.

In 1755 a new chapter was opened in the history of Wanlockhead mine when the Duke refused renewals of

<sup>18</sup> S.R.O. Penicuik MSS, 2624.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 2673.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 2670.

<sup>21</sup> Burgh Museum, Dumfries; Sanquhar chemists' accounts, 1742-3. I am indebted to Mr Roger Bucket for analysing these accounts, and to Mr A. E. Truckell for making them available.

<sup>22</sup> Drumlanrig MSS.

lease to the Quakers and to Telfer, and admitted the new partnership of Ronald Crauford and Company:<sup>23</sup> in the previous eighty years, six different companies or partnerships had occupied the field, often with little profit to themselves, and generally with a good deal of friction between one another and the landowner; in the succeeding eighty-seven years following 1755 only the one partnership operated: it occupied the whole field and the Dukes twice went to the trouble and expense of procuring a private Act of Parliament to enable them to break the entail and prolong the lease. Though the partnerships had their ups and downs of fortune, and though they had the great advantage of stepping into a field which had been developed by others at great expense, they well deserved the garland of praise conferred by the *New Statistical Account* as an "enterprising and eminently successful company."<sup>24</sup>

The first three members of the partnership were Ronald Crauford, an Edinburgh lawyer (with a half share), his brother John, an emigré merchant in Rotterdam, and the eldest son of Alexander Telfer: the two Craufords had previously been engaged in the business of buying up Scottish lead and shipping it to Holland for sale. Telfer dropped out after a few years, and his share was sold to Gilbert Meason, whose family was to provide several managers for the mine. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Marquis of Bute obtained an interest, and around 1834 he bought the other partners out and thus remained in sole command until the lease finally fell into the Duke's hands again in 1842.

The years between 1760 and 1815 were an era of mounting prosperity at Wanlockhead, both prices and output rising in response to a growing demand engendered by the American and French wars, and by a construction boom at home: this prosperity reached its peak around 1809, when lead prices reached the fantastic sum of £32 per ton—"half that price was reckoned high a few years

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid* for full details of this Company.

<sup>24</sup> *New Statistical Account*, IV., 229ff.

ago"<sup>25</sup>—and in 1811 the output of smelted bar at Wanlockhead reached 190,000 stone. The landlord—as was now customary all over Scotland—again received every sixth bar as rent. It was against this background that Crauford and company became the patrons of certain technical experiments that were to bear fruit far beyond the narrow confines of an upland parish in Dumfriesshire.

We have already seen how one of the main obstacles facing the mining companies had been inadequate drainage: adit-levels, hand-pumps, chain gins and water-pressure-pumps had all been utilized, but the older mines became and the deeper they were sunk the more expensive and intricate became the drainage problem. Had Wanlockhead been a coal mine, a Newcomen steam pump would probably have been introduced—but the cost of carting fuel from Sanquhar for such a wasteful engine made this solution impracticable. In 1778, however, the company purchased one of the new and much more efficient engines made by Boulton and Watt at their Soho works in Birmingham—a “sucking water blast” of great power and relative economy in the use of coal.<sup>26</sup> A few years later their young engineer Andrew Symington of Leadhills, began to consider how he could improve its performance: in 1785 he was granted a patent for a “new invented steam engine on principles entirely new,” and in 1789 Carron Iron Company constructed a pump to his specifications that “did at least one fifth more work than Mr Watt’s upon the same consumption of fuels.”<sup>27</sup> “It gives us great satisfaction to hear such favourable accounts of the engine which Mr Symington has erected at Wanlockhead,” wrote the directors of Carron to Gilbert Meason, “we would be glad with your permission to see her when working under full burthen.”<sup>28</sup> It was from these experiments that Syming-

<sup>25</sup> Scottish Record Office: Breadalbane Muniments.

<sup>26</sup> *New Statistical Account*, IV., 301.

<sup>27</sup> Bennet Woodcroft, *A Sketch of the Origins and Progress of Steam Navigation* (1847), pp. 18-19.

<sup>28</sup> Scottish Record Office: Carron Company Muniments, letter book, July, 1789, to January, 1791, p. 402.

ton's ideas for steam navigation took shape, with revolutionary consequences that hardly need stressing.

The era of steam pumping at Wanlockhead lasted only from 1778 to 1834. Immediately after the end of the Napoleonic wars a slump in lead prices led to an immediate fall in profits and output.<sup>29</sup> Recovery to moderate prosperity followed, but in 1827 the removal of import dues on foreign lead, together with a sudden expansion of Spanish production, brought prices for Scottish lead down to £12 a ton; output at Wanlockhead, 90,000 stone in 1827, fell to 60,000 in 1831, and the Duke agreed to be content with a royalty of one bar in twelve. "If the ministry will not make a firm stand against Mr Huskisson's extremes," wrote Meason to the Marquis of Bute, "I shall entirely despair of the mines and agree to abandon the lease."<sup>30</sup> He was as good as his word, and when he finally sold out to his noble partner, one of the first economies Bute made was to scrap the three steam engines on account of their high running costs, and install water pressure engines instead. The price of lead was never again high enough to bear the luxury of steam.

In their relations with the miners, Crauford and Company followed and extended the traditions of industrial paternalism began at Wanlockhead by Wilson, Telfer and the Quakers. Several features of their system, borrowed from the Scotch Mines Company at Leadhills, were inspired by the belief that the devil would find work for the idle hands of those whose labouring day was only six hours—no miner normally worked a longer shift, for reasons of health. Thus the miners were allowed and encouraged to take in as much land from the waste as they required for small holdings, to keep a cow on the common pastures, and to build, own and sell their own cottages. In the first year of their entry, the Company established the Miners' Library which still exists in Wanlockhead, only fifteen years younger than the one at Leadhills: it was a great

<sup>29</sup> For all this, see Dalkeith MSS.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Letter from G. Meason to the Marquis of Bute, 1830.

success, and the miners of both villages soon gained a reputation for literacy and intelligence that astounded visitors coming unawares on their isolated communities. Later, Bute presented the miners with the instruments for "a very respectable band of music" which also became one of the precious institutions of the village. By the same token, the company helped to support the schoolmaster, the minister, and a surgeon whose expenses were partly met by the miners themselves.<sup>31</sup>

From quite early in the eighteenth century the miners had been accustomed to administer their own poor fund separately from that of the parish, and this gradually became institutionalized into a Miners' Benefit Society through which an annual contribution of £20 from the owners plus one per cent. of the miners' pay went into a fund to provide sick pay and widows' benefits.<sup>32</sup>

The miners themselves experienced the same fluctuations of fortune as their employers in the eighty-seven years between 1756 and 1842. Nevertheless, it is difficult to estimate how prosperous the miners really were even at the height of the Napoleonic boom. On the employers' own admission their wages were always low—"at best of times [they] have not exceeded nine or ten shillings per week"<sup>33</sup> and out of this they had to pay for the candle, gunpowder and steel needed for their work and bought at the company's store. Obviously they were far from affluent, though they were certainly better off—as well as better educated and more intelligent—than the surrounding farm workers.

The post-war depression, on the other hand, produced obvious hardship. The Company began to lay off workmen in 1816, though they tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Duke to find employment for them on his estates: by 1822 the workforce had declined to 250, by 1835 to 204, and by 1842 to 150. At the same time there was some reduction in wage-rates, and during the depths of the depression the

<sup>31</sup> Drumlanrig MSS, Dalkeith MSS.

<sup>32</sup> Dalkeith MSS; J. M. Porteous, pp. 113, 119-20, 202-3.

<sup>33</sup> Dalkeith MSS, Copy Memorial to the . . . Treasury, 15 June, 1830. It seems likely this is something of an underestimate, however, in comparison with what is known of rates at Leadhills.

men were driven to dividing up the capital of the Miners' Benefit Society among themselves—a move that was immediately countered by Bute, who took the administration of the fund away from the miners and entrusted it to the mine manager, the minister and the schoolmaster.<sup>34</sup>

## V.

In 1842 the final lease to Crauford and Company came to an end, and the Duke, who already had considerable industrial interests in coalmines, railways and Granton harbour, decided to undertake the operation of the mine at his own expense.<sup>35</sup> Although this was the first time the landowner had done such a thing at Wanlockhead, and although the future of the industry in Scotland appeared very uncertain in the 1840's, the mines were still in excellent running order and very rich. By careful administration, he made a success of the venture. The former manager was retained at a higher salary, new draining and refining equipment was installed, and a novel design for flues (to recover a percentage of the lead that had formerly escaped from the smelting mill as poisonous fumes) won a prize at the Great Exhibition of 1851. After 1850 lead prices recovered and the output of the mine rose steadily until the mid 1880's.

One factor that did much to support this mid-Victorian recovery was the arrival of the Caledonian Railway in 1848, and the Glasgow and South Western Railway in 1850, connecting the villages of Elvanfoot and Mennock (both about six miles away) with the Edinburgh, Glasgow and Liverpool markets for lead. This revolution in transport gave the Duke the option of alternative outlets, and delivered him from thralldom to the Leith merchants who had hitherto taken almost all the produce of Wanlockhead and Leadhills: at the same time the cost of railway transport was very much less and the speed and regularity of delivery very much more than in the old days of country

<sup>34</sup> Dalkeith MSS, especially "Report on the lead-mines, Aug., 1842."

<sup>35</sup> Dalkeith MSS.

carts. A branch line from Abingdon to Leadhills and Wanlockhead was not constructed until 1901.<sup>36</sup>

The Duke, like his predecessors, retained a firm belief in industrial benevolence combined with strict discipline: "you are aware of the interest his Grace takes in [the miners'] welfare, and his wish to promote their comfort, while at the same time he will not allow either insubordination or misconduct of any kind which may be brought to his notice to escape unpunished."<sup>37</sup> He continued the traditions of the library and presented new instruments to the band, supported and added to the Benefit Society, and eventually (but only after investigation by the Truck Commission) helped to transform the mine manager's private store into a co-operative society shop for the miners. On the other hand, the workers lost their rights to own their houses and plots and became simple tenants.<sup>38</sup> Any attempts at combination among the workers—and there were one or two suspected in the 1840's—were severely dealt with by the manager, and the President of the Miners' National Association told the Truck Commission in 1871 that "these men . . . live under the constant impression that to offend the manager would be to commit a very great wrong."<sup>39</sup>

By 1875, when there were again 274 people on the pay-roll, the lead miners had attained to a higher standard of living than at any time in their past history. The average money wage of the miners had apparently doubled since the 1840's—rising from ten shillings to a guinea a week.<sup>40</sup> Their regular diet, previously "porridge, potatoes and peameal bannocks," now included tea, bread, cheese, mutton and beef: the recent rise in the consumption of

<sup>36</sup> Hamilton Ellis, *British Railway History, 1830-1876* (1954), pp. 171-2. 249. E. Carter, *An Historical Geography of the Railways of the British Isles* (1959), p. 493.

<sup>37</sup> Dalkeith MSS, Letter from John Gibson to James Stewart, 22 Dec., 1845.

<sup>38</sup> Dalkeith MSS, J. M. Porteous, pp. 121-2.

<sup>39</sup> *Report from Commissioners on the Truck System, 1871*: P.P.c.327, XXXVI., p. 168.

<sup>40</sup> Dalkeith MSS, "Mr Gibson's Report," 5 June; J. M. Porteous, p. 114. For the curious method of reckoning and paying wages at Wanlockhead see *Report . . . on the Truck System*, P.P.c.327.

tobacco horrified the minister—"not less than the sum of *seven hundred and twenty pounds* sterling was spent upon tobacco in the villages of Wanlockhead and Leadhills in the year 1875, whilst in the three churches not much above *thirty pounds* were contributed to promote the evangelisation of the world."<sup>41</sup> At the same time the appearance of the village changed as the landowner built rather more substantial houses, and thatched roofs gave place to slate. No doubt the credit for these advances belongs less to benevolence than to economic factors: it was an age of rising wages for most of the working class, and in particular the lead workers found an easy and well-paid source of alternative employment in the iron-ore mines of the West of Scotland which forced the employer at Wanlockhead to be a trifle more generous.

It is not the intention of this paper to carry the story of the mines in any detail past 1875, principally because the documentary sources are not available. A short post-script must suffice to finish our saga. The high level of production of the 1870's and 1880's was followed by severe depression in the later 1890's and early 1900's, and in 1906 the Duke permitted a new company—known as the Wanlockhead Lead-Mining Company—to take the concern over. This company was very active during the First World War, raising what was almost certainly a record quantity of 2578 tons of ore in 1918. This was the last spectacular flash of prosperity, for the post-war world slump in lead prices made it uneconomical to continue production at Wanlockhead. The mines thus went out of action, and though an attempt was made to reopen them by the Lowland Lead Company in 1948, this has not proved a success. The ancient industry of lead-mining is now extinct in Scotland, and Wanlockhead, which played no small part in its history, retains only the Miners' Library: it is to be hoped the community will take steps to ensure the preservation of this fascinating eighteenth century memorial of the workers and entrepreneurs who created it.

<sup>41</sup> J. M. Porteous, p. 263. See also *ibid.*, p. 114, and *Report . . . on the Truck System*, P.P.c.326, p. 133.



## Addenda Antiquaria.

### Two Coins from Glenluce Sand Dunes and one from Dryfesdale

By WILLIAM F. CORMACK, F.S.A. Scot.

#### I.

During the autumn of 1961, while reconnoitring along the edge of the sand dunes at the head of Luce Bay, Wigtownshire, the writer of this note chanced on a silver penny of William the Lion, King of Scotland, 1165 to 1214. The coin was lying by itself on the ground surface in the lee of a dune some 100 yards west of the ruined farmhouse of Low Torrs, map ref. NX149554. The obverse of the coin is rather corroded but the reverse is in good condition for what is in general a rather barbarous series of coins.

Miss Anne S. Robertson of the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, has kindly confirmed that it falls into Class VI. and is a variant of No. 30 described and illustrated by Burns in his *Coinage of Scotland*. She notes the weight at 1.127 gms. which is somewhat below standard. The coin may be described as follows:

**Obverse**—Head of King left, crowned, with sceptre before. Inscription illegible (but should be WILLELMVS REX or variant).

**Reverse**—Short double cross, with 4 stars of 6 points each in angles of the cross.

Inscription **V.V. NV.TA R** [ . . ] i.e., "Walter." The retrograde "R" is not certain, and after it is room for part at least of the name of his co-moneyer Hue.

This coin is therefore a specimen of the large issue with no mint name under the joint signature of these two moneyers. Stewart in his "Scottish Coinage" favours the theory that the 6 pointed stars on the reverse indicate Berwick on Tweed as the place of origin—he points out furthermore that this issue, although with the name of William may well have continued far into the reign of his son Alexander II., indeed perhaps until 1245. The coin has been given by the finder to the Burgh Museum, Dumfries.

#### II.

On another occasion, this time about 150 yards south of Mid Torrs the writer came on a small copper coin, 13 mm. in diameter, known as a "sceat," of the Northumbrian King Eanred (806 to c. 841), minted by Fordred.

**Obverse**—A cross surrounded by a (blundered) inscription all within a beaded circle.

EANDED RE+

**Reverse**—Similar but with inscription

+FORDRED

The coin which is in good condition has also been given to the Burgh Museum, Dumfries.

### III.

In March, 1962, Neil Sutherland of Hillview Street, Lockerbie, showed to the writer a long double cross sterling of Henry III. of England which he and some other boys found between two stones on the Bank of the River Dryfe, near Dam farm, Parish of Dryfesdale, Dumfriesshire. On the obverse is the king's head facing, without sceptre, and inscription

HENRICVS REX TERCII

The reverse inscription is

NICOLE ON LVND

It therefore falls into Group II. of Brooke and may be dated to the year 1248.

## Notes from Monreith

By ALAN FERGUSON AIREY

Concerning item 14 in "Inventory of Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, volume one, County of Wigtown, published 1912," this is a ring mark of five concentric circles about ten inches diameter over all on a flat rock 4 ft. x 3 ft. This rock is in the pasture field on the north-west side of Kirkmaiden Bay Lane, Monreith, near Portwilliam. It is a native rock about one foot above level of ground and adjoins the boundary wall of Clarksburn Wood, Monreith. This rock is about 150 yards south of the main A747 road, which is the main road from Monreith to Whithorn. This field was in crops when "Inventory of R.C.A.H. Monuments" was made and so no details are given in the inventory.

A new find is a ring mark of five concentric circles, nine inches diameter over all, on flat rock 5 ft. x 3 ft., which is about five feet below the actual top of Craigenlour sea cliff on the east side. This rock is about 50 yards west of gate on Kirkmaiden Bay Lane, Monreith, near where road descends steeply downhill. It is about quarter of a mile south of item 14 in "R.C.A.H.M. Inventory."

Sunny weather is necessary to view these ring marks clearly, as they are badly denuded with weather.

On the north wall of St. Ninian's Cave, on the sea shore at Glasserton near Whithorn, are over fourteen seventeenth and eighteenth century initials and dates and also one thirteenth century initials and date of old pilgrims to this cave.

## FINDS AND SITES, 1961-62

The major excavations of the period will in due course be fully reported on in these "Transactions," so a brief mention here will suffice: a season at Camp Hill in Summer 1961, another season there in early Spring, and an emergency excavation at the same site in early Summer 1962, all under the supervision of Major-General Scott-Elliot, added greatly to our knowledge of the defences and interior structures of the Iron Age occupations and to the number of graves relating to the site's secondary use as a cemetery—it has clearly been a major cemetery, and indications suggest that the beginnings of the cemetery overlapped with the last of the huts on the site. A cut near the probable entrance suggested that this was indeed the entrance and that there had been several alterations to the entrance during what appeared to be a lengthy period of use.

Three periods of excavation at McCulloch's Castle, atop the raised-beach cliff near Arbigland, again under the supervision of General Scott-Elliot—November-December 1961, Spring 1962, and August 1962, have revealed this site to have a broad flat-bottomed partly rock-cut ditch within which is an earthen rampart internally revetted with timber. Within these defences the internal structures include the post-holes of a timber hall. The likely period is 10th-11th century, falling within the Scoto-Norse occupation of Galloway: a drystone wall, clearly secondary, on top of the rampart may represent temporary re-use during the Edwardian wars—the McCullochs were strong supporters of the Balliol cause.

In the Roman period the Scottish Field School in Archæology made a good start at Birrens with a month's work in June-July, revealing much detail of the Antonine defences and some traces of the demolished first-century site: much pottery, particularly Antonine, was found: the weather was excellent and the students derived much benefit from the combination of excavation and lectures. Mr Daniels of Newcastle and a small and devoted team of helpers battled with wet and windy weather during their three weeks at Broomholmshiel: they found, in this their second season, evidence of native occupation immediately before and immediately after the Roman period, as well as later, mediæval, structures: the

Roman structure revealed by the season's work suggested that the forts were on the whole smaller, more of road-post size, than at first thought.

Road works on Lockerbie By-Pass disclosed two palisaded enclosures on the farms of Beckton and Broomhouses: preliminary examination of pottery from the former seems to suggest a date at the start of the Early Iron Age: this investigation was in the able hands of Messrs Cormack and Little.

A brief investigation in a field on Horseclose, Ruthwell, by General Scott-Elliot revealed cottage floors and a small industrial site relating to a crofting settlement preceding the present farmhouse at Horseclose. General Scott-Elliot has provisionally identified on an aerial survey photograph two sites near Powfoot, one of Iron Age type and the other resembling a small Roman temporary camp: both await further investigation. Dr J. K. St. Joseph has photographed from the air a small Roman temporary camp on Annan Hill, Annan, and two others by the Old Water near Shawhead, both on his aerial photographs.

Finds during the season include a large blue glass melon bead from Glass Rig in the foot-hills of Queensberry, a horseshoe of about 1160 from Capel Rig nearby (just over a small stream from the spot where a 10th-century domestic axe was found the other year): a large melon-bead in vitreous paste from the North Field at Milton Roman Fort: a large group of mediæval pottery from the beach at Redkirk Point, mainly of a hard red gritty fabric with bold applied decoration, probably imported from S.W. England: lead rivets: a small leaden cross, probably from a pilgrim cap-badge: several flint flakes and chips including an end-scraper, all from the same beach: mediæval pottery including a painted piece, from Kirkpatrick-Fleming—the Redkirk Point and Kirkpatrick material collected mainly by Mr Cormack. Master James Kirkpatrick found and presented a very fine barbed tanged flint arrowhead from Cowcorse Farm: another boy brought in a large boldly-tooled scraper in grey flint from Lochside, Dumfries, while another scraper came from the bank of the Cairn at the North end of Newbridge some two miles North of Dumfries. Bloomery waste has been brought in from Solway Bank and from the bank of the Dee near Livingstone House.

The major group of archæological finds, however, come from Wigtownshire: a large scraper found on Ravenstone by Mrs Kirk, and, from Mr Cormack, a whole series of finds: groups of white crackled flint cores, flakes and tools of decidedly Larnian appearance from Blairbuy (some distance inland from the Raised Beach), from Isle (head of the raised beach), Shaddock (top of the cliff) and Auchenmalg (head of the raised beach): a large collection of Arran pitchstone cores, flakes, and implements from Luce

Sands: a group of jasper ditto: flint implements in great variety: a large group of fragments of Primary Neolithic pottery (Mr Mason of Hartlepool presented the first Primary Neolithic fragments in July 1961: the pieces of wall were retained by the Museum and the rims went to the National Museum: but Mr Cormack's much larger group includes a variety of rims), and a great deal of Secondary Neolithic and Beaker material, the latter richly ornamented—all this, of course, from the Sands.

The picture of settlements of people of late Larnian culture frequenting our Western coastline and of folk using microlithic techniques on the Eskdalemuir uplands is amplified by a find made in the Mote of Mark drawers at the National Museum of Antiquities, where the flints mentioned casually by Curle in his report as strike-a-lights turn out to be a box-full of typical mesolithic flints—high pyramidal cores and scrapers, many with hollow bases—thus bringing this culture some thirty miles further up the Solway. Scattered flakes have been found along the head of the Raised Beach at McCulloch's Castle, indeed, but not yet in sufficient quantity to identify the period.

Dr Bishop of Glasgow University (now of the Uganda Museum) has been securing a number of Radiocarbon datings for the peat beds and Carse clays of the Solway shore and Lochar Moss—they range between 9000-odd and 6000-odd years ago—and in Spring, 1962, Dr Bishop was taken over to a fine exposure of peat between estuarine clays adjoining Gatehouse School, where foundations for a new school were being sunk. A peat layer has now been found at Redkirk Point earlier than the others and yielding a sub-Arctic fauna; radiocarbon dates for this and the Gatehouse site are awaited.

Returning to site discoveries, recent demolitions in Dumfries on the Maxwelltown side of the river have revealed an apparent large earthwork of motte type just at the Western end of the Old Bridge in the angle made by the road across the Bridge (or the ford which preceded it) and Howgate Street—the How Gate or Hollow Way—commanding effectively the Western end of the ford over the river; and adding yet another to the abnormal concentration of mottes or motte-type sites in Dumfries and its immediate vicinity—a concentration which clearly reflects the unsettled conditions in Eastern Galloway in the 12th century.

Mr McCracken has continued to bring in fine Geological collections from the Esk, Byre Burn, Tarras, and Ewes valleys: and there has been a heavy flow of folk-material covering the last couple of hundred years and of Victoriana, including dress: but space does not permit detailing this large bulk of local material.

Yet another archæological discovery comes to mind: in the last volume the mounds of charcoal and fragmented burnt stone beside small streams at Cormaddie and Rue were mentioned: since then Miss Nisbet has found others near Dalry, and one turned up in Spring, 1962, on the upland part of Spittal farm West of Creetown with a six-foot wooden trough, again by a tiny stream. It is clear now that all these fall into the class of the Irish and north Scottish (and Manx) "deer-roasts" or outdoor cooking-places: thus the Dumfries and Galloway group gives a useful extension to the known range of these.

Finally, a fine collection of seven Roman querns or fragments has come in from Dr St. Joseph's 1961 excavation at Gatehouse Roman fort, where they had formed the base of an oven.

## PROCEEDINGS, 1960-61

**14th October, 1960.**—The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Ewart Library at 7.30 p.m., with the President, Mrs M. D. McLean, in the chair. The accounts of the Hon. Treasurer were adopted and the list of Office-bearers recommended by the Council was confirmed. There were elected thirteen new members and three Juniors. A vote of thanks to the retiring Treasurer, Mr Rae, was moved. The President then introduced Professor R. D. Lockhart, Professor of Anatomy and Dean of the Medical Faculty of Aberdeen University, who then delivered his lecture on "Apes and Ivory, Skulls and Peacocks" (printed in the "Standard," 26th October, 1960).

**28th October, 1960.**—Dr William Beattie, Librarian of the National Library of Scotland, addressed the Society on "The National Library of Scotland—its History and Functions," tracing the development of the Library from its origins in 1680, mentioning some of its eminent librarians and showing coloured slides both of the Library itself and of some of its collection of manuscripts and printed books (printed in the "Standard," 5th November, 1960).

**11th November, 1960.**—The lecture by Mr E. L. Roberts, Warden of the Nature Conservancy Reserve at Caerlaverock and a member of the Society, was on "The Conservation of Wild-fowl," and was followed by a series of coloured slides illustrating his experiences of wild-fowl conservation in various parts of the world (printed in the "Standard," 16th November, 1960).

**25th November, 1960.**—Mr A. C. Thomas, Lecturer in Pre-historic Archæology in the University of Edinburgh, gave a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Pictish Symbols—a tentative explanation" (full report in Minute Book: brief summary in "Standard," 30th November, 1960).

**9th December, 1960.**—"The Natural History and Antiquities of North Rona" was the title of an address delivered by Mr Donald E. Baird, B.Sc., of the Edward Grey Institute of Field Ornithology, Oxford: many questions and comments followed, those matters specially dealing with antiquities being dealt with by Miss Helen Nisbet, a member of the expedition who was also present (see "Standard," 17th December, 1960).

**27th January, 1961.**—Mr T. C. Smout, of the Department of Economic History of the University of Edinburgh, gave an interesting lecture on "The Foreign Trade of Kirkcudbright and Dumfries, 1660-1700." A lively discussion followed (see "Standard," 1st February, 1961).

**10th February, 1961.**—Dr Gordon Craig, of the Grant Institute of Geology, Edinburgh, gave a lecture on "The Grand Canyon," illustrated by remarkably fine slides (see "Standard," 15th February, 1961).

**24th February, 1961.**—Mr James Taylor, M.A., B.Sc., a member of the Society, gave another of his fine lantern-lectures, this time on "Moorland Vegetation," delighting his audience with magnificent Galloway scenery (see "Standard," 15th March, 1961).

**10th March, 1961.**—"Native Sites of the Roman Period in Northumberland" was the subject covered by Mr George Jobey, D.S.C., M.A., of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at King's College, and Secretary of the Society of Antiquarians of Newcastle (see "Standard," 18th March, 1961).

**24th March, 1961.**—Mr Eric R. Cregeen, M.A., Resident Tutor in Argyll of the Extra-Mural Department of the University of Glasgow, gave a lecture on "Droving in the West Highlands," with colour-transparencies and tape-recorded reminiscences of Dougal MacDougall, an old Loch Fyne-side drover. The lively discussion which followed covered the nature of the drove-roads and the relations between rearers of cattle in Galloway and Argyll (see "Standard," 29th March, 1961).

## FIELD MEETINGS, 1960-61

**6th May, 1961.**—The excursion planned to Lochaber, Loch Arthur and the Solway Fishery trout-hatchery at New Abbey, under the leadership of Mr Austin, had to be abandoned at the last minute because of very bad weather.

**20th May, 1961.**—The afternoon excursion to Raeburnfoot, planned to take place under the leadership of Mr Angus McLean, was given up because of bad weather and lack of support.

**3rd June, 1961.**—A most successful afternoon excursion to the Devil's Beef-Tub and Erickstane Brae during which Mr R. J. A. Eckford gave a geological survey of the history of the Beef-Tub and Major W. J. A. Prevost and Mr J. Robertson then conducted the party on foot round Erickstane Hill, pointing out how four roads of different periods converge in the area—the Roman road from Beattock to Crawford, with its signal station; a mediæval unmetalled trackway; the metalled stage-coach road of 1768, leading from Moffat to branch into two here, towards Edinburgh and towards Glasgow; and the modern highway opened in 1822.



17th June, 1961.—The afternoon excursion to Hermitage Castle and Unthank Manor began in sunshine, but rain fell on the journey Eastwards: Hermitage Castle was visited in heavy rain, which thereafter grew still heavier, so that the party had to view Unthank Manor across the Ewes Water, and its run-rigg cultivation strips beside the Ewes from the bus. Leader: Mr Truckell.

**Dumfriesshire and Galloway  
Natural History and Antiquarian Society.**

Membership List, 1st March, 1962

Fellows of the Society under Rule 10 are indicated thus \*

LIFE MEMBERS.

*Balfour-Browne, Professor W. A. F., M.A., F.R.S.E., Brocklehurst, Dumfries (President, 1949-50) ... ..	1941
Bell, Robin M., M.B.E., Roundaway, Waipawa, Hawkes Bay, N.Z. ... ..	1950
Birley, Eric, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Observa- tory House, Durham City ... ..	1935
Blackwell, Philip, F.B., Lt.-Commander, R.N. (Ret.), The Ark, Warblington Road, Emsworth, Hants. ... ..	1946
Borthwick, Major W. S., T.D., 54 Darrick Wood Road, Orpington, Kent ... ..	1943
Breay, Rev. J., The Vicarage, Shepreth, Cambridge ... ..	1950
Brown, J. Douglas, O.B.E., M.A., F.Z.S., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright ... ..	1946
Buccleuch and Queensberry, His Grace the Duke of; K.T., P.C., G.C.V.O., Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill, Dumfries	—
Burnand, Miss K. E., F.Z.S.Scot., Brocklehurst, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1941) ... ..	1943
Carruthers, Dr. G. J. R., 4A Melville Street, Edinburgh, 3 (Ordinary Member, 1909) ... ..	1914
*Cunningham, David, M.A., 42 Rae Street, Dumfries (Presi- dent, 1953-56) ... ..	1945
Cunningham-Jardine, Mrs, Jardine Hall, Lockerbie (Ordinary Member, 1926) ... ..	1943
Ferguson, James A., Over Courance, by Lockerbie ... ..	1929
Ferguson, Mrs J. A., Over Courance, by Lockerbie ... ..	1929
Gladstone, Miss I. O. J., c/o National Provincial Bank, Ltd., 61 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1 (Ordinary Member, 1938) ... ..	1943
Gladstone, John, Capenoch, Penpont, Dumfries ... ..	1935
Geddes, Nathan, Boghall, Buittle, Castle-Douglas ... ..	1955
Kennedy, Alexander, Ardvoulin, South Park Road, Ayr (Ordinary Member, 1934) ... ..	1943
Kennedy, Thomas H., Blackwood, Auldgirth, Dumfries ... ..	1946
M'Call, Major W., D.L., Caitloch, Moniaive, Dumfries ... ..	1929

M'Culloch, Walter, W.S., Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
*MacLean, A., B.Sc., Wayside, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries (President, 1950-53) (Ordinary Member, 1944) ...	1953
Mansfield, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.Z.S., M.B.O.U., J.P., Comlongon Castle, Ruthwell, Dumfries ...	1939
Paterson, E. A., Lavender Bank, Curlew Green, Saxmund- ham, Suffolk ... ..	1945
Perkins, F. Russell, Duntisbourne House, Cirencester, Glos.	1946
Phinn, Mrs E. M., Imrie Bell, Castle-Douglas (Ordinary Member, 1938) ... ..	1943
Porteous, Miss M., 125 Broom's Road, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1953) ... ..	1954
Skinner, James S., M.A., The Corner House, Closeburn ...	1950
Sprague, Commander H. E., Pincod, Eaglesfield, Dumfries- shire (Ordinary Member, 1931) ... ..	1947
Stuart, Lord David, M.B.O.U., F.S.A.Scot., Old Place of Mochrum, Portwilliam, Wigtownshire ... ..	1948
Thomas, C. H., O.B.E., Southwick House, Southwick, by Dumfries ... ..	1950
Thomas, Mrs C. H., Southwick House, Southwick, by Dum- fries ... ..	1950

## ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Adamson, D., Doonholm, Castle-Douglas Road, Dumfries ...	1958
Adamson, Mrs D., Doonholm, Castle-Douglas Road, Dum- fries ... ..	1958
Airey, Alan Ferguson, Inchbroom, Monreith Bay, Port William, via Newton-Stewart ... ..	1961
Anderson, Mrs E., 14 Oaklands, Chapelcross, Annan ...	1960
Anderson, Miss Mosa, Charlton Cottage, Peaslake, Guild- ford, Surrey ... ..	1953
Angus, Rev. J. A. K., Manse of Hoddam ... ..	1956
Angus, Mrs, J. A. K., Manse of Hoddam ... ..	1956
Armstrong, Col. Robert A., Brieryhill, Langholm ... ..	1946
Armstrong, Mrs R. A. Brieryhill, Langholm ... ..	1946
Armstrong, William, Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries ... ..	1946
Armstrong, Mrs W., Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries ... ..	1946
Austin, W., Glaston, Albert Road, Dumfries ... ..	1948
Baker, Mrs Margaret E., Well Cottage, Moffat ... ..	1961
Balfour-Browne, Miss E. M. C., Goldielea, Dumfries ...	1944
Balfour-Browne, V. R., J.P., Dalskairth, Dumfries ...	1944
Banks, James, "Scarknowe," St. Anne's Road, Dumfries	1960
Barr, J. Glen, F.S.M.C., F.B.O.A., F.I.O., 9 Irving Street, Dumfries ... ..	1946

Barr, Mrs J. Glen, 9 Irving Street, Dumfries	1951
Bartholomew, George, A.R.I.B.A., Drumclair, Johnstone Park, Dumfries	1945
Beattie, Miss Isobel H. K., A.R.I.B.A., Thrush Wood, Mouswald, Dumfries	1947
Beattie, James, Mains of Westerkirk, Langholm	1960
Begg, Miss R. E., Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1952
Bell-Macdonald, A., Rammerscales, Lockerbie	1958
Biggar, Miss, Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Biggar, Miss E. I., Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Birkinshaw, Dr E., Cairnyard, Lochfoot, Dumfries	1958
Black, Miss Amy G., Burton Old Hall, Burton, Westmore- land	1946
Blackett, Major C. W. S., Arbigland, Kirkbean	1960
Blake, Brian, 97 Scotby Road, Carlisle	1953
Bone, Miss E., Stable Court, Castle-Douglas	1937
Boyes, Miss M., 34 Cardoness Street, Dumfries	1957
Bradley, Miss Moira P., Rotchell House, Rotchell Road, Dumfries	1960
Brewis, Mrs F. D. D. M., Ardwell, Stranraer	—
Brown, Miss E., Glencotho, Broughton, Biggar	1960
Brown, Mrs M. G., Caerlochlan, Dumfries Road, Castle- Douglas	1946
Bunyan, David, c/o Moffat Academy, Moffat	1955
Buchanan, John, Sunnysdene, Mainsriddle	1957
Bullan, R., 46 Vancouver Road, Eastriggs	1958
Byers, R., Munches Kennels, Dalbeattie	1951
Campbell, Alexander, Spindrift, Carsethorn, by Dumfries	1956
Campbell, Eoin, St. Nicolas, Ballplay Road, Moffat	1960
Campbell, Mrs E., St. Nicolas, Ballplay Road, Moffat	1960
Campbell, Mrs Margaret, Spindrift, Carsethorn, by Dum- fries	1956
Campbell, J. Keith, Low Arkland, Castle-Douglas	1959
Campbell, Mrs Keith, Low Arkland, Castle-Douglas	1953
Campbell, J. A., The Laurels, Victoria Road, Dumfries	1959
Cannon, D. V., 3 Kenwood Gardens, Ilford, Essex	1949
Carlyle, Miss E. M. L., Templehill, Waterbeck, Lockerbie	1946
Carmichael, Rev. J. A., The Manse, Lochmaben	1956
Carr, J. J., Lanka, St. Annes Road, Dumfries	1961
Carroll, Miss K. M., A.R.I.B.A., Meadowsides, 14 Summer- gate Road, Annan	1961
Carruthers, A. Stanley, 9 Beechwood Road, Sanderstead, Surrey	1954
Carruthers, Mrs L., 43 Castle Street, Dumfries	1946
Carruthers, Dr Wm., Catherine Street, Dumfries	1957
Cessford, G. A., Oaklands, Kippford, and Chapmanton, Castle-Douglas	1956

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

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Chamberlain, John, Dumfries High School, Marchmount ...	1961
Charteris, Mrs N., Kirkland Bridge, Tinwald ...	1955
Clark, Dr J. A., 4 Ladyfield Cottages, Glencaple Road, Dumfries ... ..	1960
Clarke, John, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 95 Hyndland Road, Glasgow, W.I. ... ..	1947
Clavering, Miss M., Clover Cottage, Moffat ... ..	1948
Cluckie, James, Lochanlee, Ardwall Road, Dumfries ...	1955
Cochrane, Miss M., Glensone, Glencaple, Dumfries ...	1946
Coles, Francis E., Glebe House, Dumfries ... ..	1957
Cormack, David, LL.B., W.S., Royal Bank Buildings, Lockerbie ... ..	1913
Cormack, Wm., Starney, Lockerbie ... ..	1951
Corsan, John Charles, M.C., F.R.S.A., 110 College Road, Dulwich, London, S.E.21 ... ..	1961
Coulthard, William, Wellholme, Scotby, by Carlisle ...	1959
Cowan, Mrs H., Chapel Hill, Glencaple ... ..	1958
Cowie, Dr Iain D. S., Glenmarge, New Abbey Road, Dum- fries ... ..	1959
Crabbe, Lady, Duncow, Dumfries ... ..	1962
Crosthwaite, H. M., Crichton Hall, Crichton Royal Insti- tution, Dumfries ... ..	1943
Cumming, Ian, Moniak, Grantown-on-Spey ... ..	1956
Cunningham, Mrs David, 42 Rae Street, Dumfries ... ..	1948
Cunningham, John, 20 Queen Street, Lochmaben ... ..	1958
Cunningham-Jardine, Mrs D. A. J., Fourmerkland, Loch- maben ... ..	1960
Cunnington, T. M., Glensone, New Abbey ... ..	1957
Dalziel, Miss Agnes, L.D.S., Glenlea, Georgetown Road, Dumfries ... ..	1945
Daniels, Charles, M.A., F.S.A., The University, Durham ...	1961
Davidson, Dr. James, F.R.C.P.Ed., F.S.A.Scot., Linton Muir, West Linton, Peebles... ..	1938
Davidson, J. M., O.B.E., F.C.I.S., F.S.A.Scot., Griffin Lodge, Gartcosh, Glasgow ... ..	1934
Deans, W. D., White Lodge, Carsethorn ... ..	1962
Deans, Mrs W. D., White Lodge, Carsethorn ... ..	1962
Dickie, J. Wallace, Glenlee, 17 Palmerston Drive, Dumfries	1954
Dickie, Rev. J. W. T., 6 Hannay Street, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1951
Dickson, Alex. Bruce, Solwayside, Auchencairn, Castle- Douglas ... ..	1955
Dickson, Miss A. M., Woodhouse, Dunscore, Dumfries ...	1930
Dinwiddie, N. A. W., M.A., B.Com., Newall Terrace, Dum- fries ... ..	1937
Dinwiddie, W., Craigelvin, 39 Moffat Road, Dumfries ...	1920
Dobie, Mrs J. Edenbank, Laurieknowe, Dumfries ... ..	1959
Dobie, K. L., Stormont, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries...	1950

Dobie, Percy, B.Eng., 122 Vicars Cross, Chester ... ..	1943
Dobie, W. G. M., LL.B., Conheath, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Dobie, Mrs W. G. M., Conheath, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Drew, Dr R. L., 32 Hospital Road, Annan ... ..	1959
*Duncan, Arthur B., B.A., Gilchristland, Closeburn, Dumfries (President, 1944-1946) ... ..	1930
Duncan, Walter, Newlands, Dumfries ... ..	1926
Duncan, Mrs W., Newlands, Dumfries ... ..	1926
Dunlop, Mrs, C.B.E., D.Litt., 73 London Road, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire ... ..	1952
Eckford, R. J. A., Summerhill, Grange Road, Moffat ... ..	1956
Edwards, Frederick J., M.A., 113 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries	1953
Fairbairn, Miss M. L., Benedictine Convent, Dumfries ... ..	1952
Farries, T. C., 1 Irving Street, Dumfries ... ..	1948
Ferguson, Ronald, Woodlea House, High Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire ... ..	1953
Fleming, Mrs N., Bonshaw, Charnwood Road, Dumfries ... ..	1960
Flett, David, A.I.A.A., A.R.I.A.S., Craigrowan, Carluith. Creetown, by Newton-Stewart ... ..	1947
Ford, D., C.A. Radio Station, Lowther Hill, Wanlockhead, Abington, Lanarkshire ... ..	1957
Forman, Rev. Adam, Dumcrieff, Moffat ... ..	1929
Forrest, J. H., Ashmount, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries ... ..	1953
Forrest, Mrs J. H., Ashmount, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1953
Francis, Major S. F. B., 12 de Marley Road, Morpeth ... ..	1957
Fraser, Brigadier S., M.C., 20 Abercromby Road, Castle-Douglas ... ..	1947
Fullen, Miss Anne E., 81 Sydney Place, Lockerbie ... ..	1961
Gair, James C., Delvine, Amisfield ... ..	1946
Gair, Mrs J. C., Delvine, Amisfield ... ..	1960
Gair, John, 2 Greenside, Westerkirk, Langholm ... ..	1945
Galbraith, Mrs, Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan ... ..	1949
Gallan, W. C., Inverlorne, Robison Drive, Dumfries ... ..	1960
Galloway, The Countess of, Cumloden, Newton-Stewart ... ..	1955
Gibson, Mrs R. M., Lochenlee, Ardwall Road, Dumfries ... ..	1957
Gillam, J. P., M.A., F.S.A., Bank House, Middle Street, Corbridge, Northumberland ... ..	1953
Gillan, Lt.-Col. Sir George V. B., K.C.I.E., Blackford, Haugh-of-Urr, Castle-Douglas ... ..	1946
Gillan, Lady, Blackford, Haugh-of-Urr, Castle-Douglas ... ..	1946
Glendinning, Mrs Mary, Glenburn, Rotchell Park, Dumfries	1957
Graham-Barnett, N., Blackhills Farm, Annan ... ..	1948
Graham, Mrs Fergus, Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Lockerbie ... ..	1947
Grant, G. D., Kelvin, St. Annes Road, Dumfries ... ..	1962
Greeves, Lt.-Col. J. R., B.Sc., A.M.I.E.E., Altona, Strandtown, Belfast, 4 ... ..	1947

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

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Haggas, Miss, Terraughtie, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Haggas, Miss E. M., Terraughtie, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Hannay, Miss E. Jean, Lochend, Stranraer ... ..	1951
*Harper, Dr J., M.B.E., Crichton House, Crichton Royal, Dumfries (President, 1956-1959) ... ..	1947
Harper, Mrs M., Crichton House, Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1952
Harris, Bernard F. D., Benmore, Pleasance Avenue, Dum- fries ... ..	1955
Haslam, Oliver, Cairngill, Colvend, Dalbeattie ... ..	1927
Hawley, H. M., Tumbly Lawn, Mareham-le-Fen, Boston, Lincs. ... ..	1962
Hay, Miss Margaret, Strathisla, Glasgow Road, Dumfries	1961
Henderson, I. G., Beechwood, Lockerbie ... ..	1951
Henderson, Miss J. G., 6 Nellieville Terrace, Dumfries ...	1945
Henderson, Miss J. M., M.A., Ardgowan, 5 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries ... ..	1945
Hendry, Miss H. W., Kildonan, Montague Street, Dumfries	1956
Henry, Mrs Janet, 153 Kingstown Road, Moorville, Car- lisle ... ..	1953
Hewat, Rev. Pat., Grantchester Parsonage, Cambridge ...	1960
Hopkin, P. W., Sunnyside, Noblehill, Dumfries ... ..	1948
Hunter, Miss Annie M., 50 Queen Street, Lochmaben ...	1961
Inglis, John A., Achadh nan Darach, Invergarry, Inverness- shire ... ..	1951
Irvine, Mrs James, 4a Johnstone Park, Dumfries ... ..	1952
Irving, E. J. B., A.I.E.E., Balgownie, Bellevue Road, Kirkintilloch, Dunbartonshire ... ..	1959
Irving, J. W., Milnhead, Kirkmahoe ... ..	1957
Jameson, Mrs A. M., Ardmor, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... ..	1946
Jenkins, Miss Agnes, 2 Langholm Place, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Jobbins, J. K., Greysouthern, 24 Turnberry Road, Newing- ton, Annan ... ..	1960
Johnston, F. A., 11 Rutland Court, Knightsbridge, London, S.W.1 ... ..	1911
Johnston, Major F. J., 61 Chester Square, London, S W.1.	1957
Johnston, Lt.-Col. Patrick, Bury Hall, Therfield, Royston, Herts. ... ..	1956
Johnstone, Miss E. R., Cluden Bank, Moffat ... ..	—
Johnstone, J. E., Albany Bank, Dumfries. ... ..	1955
Johnstone, Major J. L., Amisfield Tower, Dumfries ...	1945
Keillor, Rev. J., The Manse, Mouswald ... ..	1960
Kellett, Dr. J. R., Ferndene, Crossmichael Road, Castle- Douglas ... ..	1955
Keppie, J. Fraser, Balcary, Hardgate, Castle-Douglas ...	1961
Keppie, Mrs J. F., Knockwalloch, Kirkpatrick-Durham ...	1961
Kerr, C. A., Rubislaw, Hill Street, Dumfries ... ..	1961

Kinloch, Rev. R. C. H., M.A., B.D., The Manse, Leadhills, Abington, Lanarkshire ... ..	1961
Laidlaw, Miss Margaret, 84 High Street, Lockerbie ... ..	1953
Laidlaw, W., Hecklegirth, Annan ... ..	1958
Lamont, Mrs J., Lochpark, Kirkpatrick-Durham ... ..	1958
Landale, David, Dalswinton, Dumfries ... ..	1955
Lauder, Miss A., Craigiebank, Moffat Road, Dumfries ... ..	1932
Laurence, D. W., St. Albans, New Abbey Road, Dumfries...	1939
Leslie, Alan, B.Sc., 33 Canberra Road, Gretna ... ..	1949
Little, Robert J., East Hayrigg, Lockerbie ... ..	1961
Lord, Brian L., Castlehill, Kirkmahoe ... ..	1960
McAdam, Dr. William, Maryfield, Bankend Road, Dum- fries ... ..	1952
McAdam, Mrs, Maryfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries ... ..	1953
McCaig, Miss, 26 Royal Avenue, Stranraer ... ..	1953
MacCartney, Dr A., M.B., Ch.B., F.S.A.Scot., 23 Crawford Road, Burnside, Rutherglen ... ..	1957
McClure, Miss J., Wellwood, New Galloway ... ..	1955
McConnel, F. W., Lettrick, Dunscore ... ..	1958
McConnel, J. C. I., Church House, Stour Provost, Gilling- ham, Dorset ... ..	1961
McCracken, Alex., 10 West Street, Langholm ... ..	1961
McCracken, Kenneth M., M.B., Ch.B., F.S.A.Scot., Ingle- stone, Kelso ... ..	1955
McCulloch, Lady, 37 Fleet Street, Gatehouse, Castle- Douglas ... ..	—
MacDonald, Rev. Fraser Ian, Manse of Tinwald ... ..	1956
MacDonald, J. A. B., 7 Langlands, Dumfries ... ..	1952
MacDonald, I. A., H.M.I.S., Clairmont, Dumfries Road, Lockerbie ... ..	1952
MacDonald, M. M., Oakdale, Glencaple Road, Dumfries ... ..	1960
Macdonald, N. H., Hazelwood, Laurieknowe, Dumfries ... ..	1952
Macdonald, Mrs N. H., Hazelwood, Laurieknowe, Dumfries	1952
McDowall, Miss P., Meadowpark, Kirkmahoe ... ..	1957
McElroy, James, 7 Carlingwark Street, Castle-Douglas ... ..	1957
McGhie, Miss Mary, Fairleigh, Dummuir Road, Castle- Douglas ... ..	1957
McKerrow, Henry George, Whiteorne, Albert Road, Dumfries	1953
McKie, Joseph, 44 Terregles Street, Dumfries ... ..	1954
McKinna, Miss Mary T., 10 Bank Street, Wigtown ... ..	1960
McKnight, Ian, 3 Langlands, Dumfries ... ..	1948
McKnight, Mrs I., 3 Langlands, Dumfries ... ..	1948
McLean, Mrs M. D., Ewart Library, Dumfries ... ..	1946
McMicken, W. D., 79 Brodie Avenue, Troqueer ... ..	1961
MacMillan-Fox, Mrs M. M. G., Glencrosh, Moniaive ... ..	1950
MacMillan-Fox, Miss J. M. G., Glencrosh, Moniaive ... ..	1950
McQueen, Miss Flora, Ford View, Kippford, Dalbeattie ... ..	1954



MacQueen, John, M.A., The University, Edinburgh ...	1952
McRobert, Mrs F., 2 Stewartry Court, Lincluden ...	1948
Maitland, Mrs C. L., Cumstoun, Twynholm ...	1952
Mangles, Rev. J. L., B.Sc., Manse of Troqueer, Dumfries ...	1952
Marshall, Dr. Andrew, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries	1947
Marshall, Miss Joan, M.A., Department of Geography, Glasgow University ...	1961
Martin, J. D. Stuart, Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Loch- maben ...	1946
Martin, Mrs J. D. S., Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Loch- maben ...	1946
Martin, W. J., Kirklynn, Corsock ...	1961
Martin, Mrs W. J., Kirklynn, Corsock ...	1961
Matthew, Mrs C. M., c/o National Commercial Bank, Queen's Park Branch, Glasgow ...	—
Matthews, Niven S., Mabie House, New Abbey Road, Dum- fries ...	1961
Maxwell, Major-General, Sir Aymer, C.B.E., M.C., R.A., Kirkennan, Dalbeattie ...	1946
Maxwell, G. A., Abbots Meadow, Wykeham, Scarborough ...	1937
Maxwell, Mrs Sheena, 15 Gordon Road, Edinburgh, 12 ...	1954
Maxwell-Irving, A. M. T., B.Sc., 22 Brunswick Square, Hove, Sussex ...	1957
Menzies, Mr, Elderslie, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1952
Menzies, Mrs, Elderslie, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1952
Millar, James, M.A., B.Sc., The Rectory, Closeburn ...	1949
Millar, Mrs J., The Rectory, Closeburn ...	1949
Miller, Miss Jean, 9 Dumfries Road, Castle-Douglas ...	1951
Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 13 Heriot Row, Edinburgh, 3 ...	1908
Mills, A. W. F., Milton Park Hotel, Dalry, Castle-Douglas	1957
Mills, Dr Edward, Lyndhurst, Kelton, Dumfries ...	1958
Mills, Miss S., Garfield, Glencaple ...	1959
Mitchell, Mrs E. J., 79 Great King Street, Edinburgh ...	1953
Moore, C. H., 6 Lonsdale Terrace, Edinburgh, 3 ...	1958
Morris, F. R. A., B.Sc., A.M.I.E.E., The Principal, The Technical College, Dumfries ...	1961
Morrison, John, Crofthill, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries ...	1961
Morton, Miss T. D., 35 George Street, Dumfries ...	1947
Mucha, Dr. Muriel, Crichton Royal ...	1955
Murphy, Father, St. Andrew's Pro-Cathedral, Dumfries ...	1961
Murray, A., M.A., 33 Inverleith Gardens, Edinburgh, 4 ...	1957
Murray, Col. G., Waterside House, Keir, Thornhill ...	1953
Murray, Captain Keith R., Parton House, Castle-Douglas	1950
Murray-Brown, G. A., Kinnelhook, Lockerbie ...	1953
Murray-Brown, Mrs, Kinnelhook, Lockerbie ...	1953
Murray-Usher, Mrs E. E., J.P., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946

Mushet, Andrew, M.A., Schoolhouse, Amisfield ... ..	1955
Newman, F. H., Auchenhay, Corsock ... ..	1959
Nielson, W. W., 33 Spen Road, West Park, Leeds, 16 ...	1957
Nimmo, Mr Ian, M.R.C.V.S., 3 Moffat Road, Dumfries ...	1960
Nimmo, Mrs I., 3 Moffat Road, Dumfries ... ..	—
Nodwell, Mrs, 66 King Street, Castle-Douglas ... ..	1957
Park, Miss Dora, M.A., Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Park, Miss Mary, F.S.M.C., Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Paulin, Mrs N. G., Holmlea, New-Galloway ... ..	1950
Payne, Mrs, Milnhead, Kirkmahoe ... ..	1953
Pearson, Gordon, Blencathro, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1960
Philip, Rev. D. Stuart, The Manse, Kirkmahoe ... ..	1962
Pigott, Lady, Closeburn Castle, Dumfries ... ..	1945
Prentice, Miss Barbara, Moray House, Edinburgh ... ..	1959
Prevost, W. A. J., 26 Coates Gardens, Edinburgh, 12 ...	1946
Pullen, O. J., B.Sc., Highfield, Motherby, by Penrith ...	1934
Rae, Mrs J. O., Quaintways, Arnamnoch Road, Lochrutton, Dumfries ... ..	1958
Readman, James, at Dunesslin, Dunscore ... ..	1946
*Reid, Dr R. C., F.S.A.Scot., Cleughbrae, Mouswald, Dumfries (President, 1933-1944) ... ..	1917
Roberts, E. L., Tadorna, Caerlaverock ... ..	1960
Roberts, Mrs E. L., Tadorna, Caerlaverock ... ..	1960
Robertson, Alex., M.A., Kenyon, Albert Road, Dumfries ...	1957
Robertson, Mrs M. A. K., Albany, Dumfries ... ..	1933
Robertson, James, O.B.E., Laneshaw, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ... ..	1936
Robertson, Mrs, Woodhouse, Dunscore ... ..	1961
Rodgers, Dr James, Mountainhall, Bankend Road, Dumfries ... ..	1952
Rodgers, Mrs Joyce, Mountainhall, Bankend Road, Dumfries ... ..	1952
Rogers, D., Elanoy, Victoria Avenue, Dumfries ... ..	1954
Rogers, Mrs, Elanoy, Victoria Avenue, Dumfries ... ..	1954
Russell, Mrs E. W., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... ..	1946
Russell, H. M., Nara, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries ... ..	1953
Russell, Mrs H. M., Nara, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries ...	1954
Russell, I. R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., Park House, Dumfries ...	1944
Russell, James A., M.A., Ph.D., J.P., F.S.A.Scot., F.E.I.S., The Schoolhouse, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... ..	1960
Russell, Miss W. E., Woodland View, Glencaple ... ..	1961
Sainty, D. L., M.A., LL.B., Waterside, Ringford ... ..	1956
Scott-Elliot, Maj.-Gen. J., Kirkconnel Lea, Glencaple ...	1957
Scott-Elliot, Mrs J., Kirkconnel Lea, Glencaple ... ..	1962
Scruton, R., Dryfesdale House Hotel, Lockerbie ... ..	1959

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

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Shaw, R. Cunliffe, M.Sc., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Overleigh House, East Cliff, Preston ... ..	1960
Shiels, Miss, Balfraggan, Holywood Road, by Dumfries ...	1951
Simpson, A. J., The Academy, Lockerbie ... ..	1945
Smail, Miss Isabel, 11 Erlington Avenue, Old Trafford, Manchester ... ..	1952
Smith, C. D., Laight, Bowling Green Road, Stranraer ...	1944
Smith, H. J., 4 Lovers' Walk, Dumfries ... ..	1962
Smith, Mrs H. J., 4 Lovers' Walk, Dumfries ... ..	1962
Southern, Norman, Merse End, Rockcliffe ... ..	1953
Southern, Mrs, Merse End, Rockcliffe ... ..	1953
Stewart, James, Rigghead, Collin ... ..	1953
Stirling, A. McG., 6 Kilndale Terrace, Kirkcudbright ...	1959
Stone, J. C., Trelill House, Trelill, Bodmin, Cornwall ...	1958
Straton-Ferrier, Mrs E. I., Bonshaw Tower, Kirtlebridge, by Lockerbie ... ..	1959
Sydserrf, Peter, The Grove, Dumfries ... ..	1950
Tait, Dr A. C., Netherlea, Bankend Road, Dumfries ...	1960
Tallerman, Mrs, Myholm, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1953
Taylor, James, M.A., B.Sc., Drumskeoch, Colvend, by Dal- beattie ... ..	1933
Taylor, Mrs J., Drumskeoch, Colvend, by Dalbeattie ...	1961
Taylor, Robert, St. Maura, Gartcows Crescent, Falkirk ...	1950
Thomas, Charles, M.A., F.S.A., Dept. of Prehistoric Archae- ology, The University, Edinburgh ... ..	1961
Thomson, Miss Mary, 7 Carlingwark St., Castle-Douglas ...	1959
Tinning, J., Albany House, Dumfries ... ..	1958
Todrick, Dr A., Windrush, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1958
Truckell, A. E., F.S.A.Scot., 12 Summerville Avenue, Dum- fries ... ..	1947
Truckell, Mrs A. E., 12 Summerville Avenue, Dumfries ...	1958
Urquhart, James, M.A., 5 Braehead Terrace, Rosemount Street, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Walker, Dr Mary, Croft-an-Righ, Wigtown ... ..	1960
Walker, Miss, Dryfeview, Lockerbie ... ..	1960
Walker, Lieut.-Col. George G., D.L., Morrington, Dumfries	1926
Walker, R., Cairnvale, Morrinton, by Dumfries ... ..	1957
Walker, W. M., 17 India Street, Edinburgh, 3 ... ..	1960
Walls, Canon R. C., 393 Fulwood Road, Sheffield, 10 ...	1957
Walmsley, Miss A. G. P., 4 Albany, Dumfries ... ..	1951
Walmsley, T. H., 16 St John's Road, Annan ... ..	1954
Watson, Miss Jessie, 57 Esplanade, Greenock ... ..	1956
Watson, Dr W. H., Carziold House, by Kirkton ... ..	1961
Waugh, W., March House, Beattock ... ..	1924
Weeks, Mr D. J., Querdon, Moss Road, Mabie, Dumfries ...	1960
Weeks, Mrs S. M., Querdon, Moss Road, Mabie, Dumfries	1960

Welsh, Adam, Greensleeves, Watery Lane, Weymouth, Dorset ... ..	1959
Williamson, Miss M., Burnside of Culshan, Kirkpatrick- Durham ... ..	1961
Wilson, Allan, M.A., 22 South Beach, Troon, Ayrshire ...	1961
<b>Wilson, John, M.A., Kilcoole, Rae Street, Dumfries ...</b>	<b>1947</b>
Wilson, Mrs J., Kilcoole, Rae Street, Dumfries ... ..	1957
Wilson, Paul A., Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.	1961
Wilson, Dr Wm. Douglas, 2 Ladyfield Cottages, Glencaple Road, Dumfries ... ..	1962
Wishart, Eric, 3 Catherine Street, Dumfries ... ..	1959
Wishart, Mrs Jean, 3 Catherine Street, Dumfries ... ..	1959
Wolffe, A., 31 Fleet Street, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... ..	1959
Younie, Mrs A., Well View, Moffat ... ..	1953
Young, Mrs A., Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries...	1946

## JUNIOR MEMBERS.

Baker, Christopher, Well Cottage, Moffat ... ..	1961
Lamont, John, Lochpark, Kirkpatrick-Durham ... ..	1958
McAdam, Miss Alison, "Maryfield," Bankend Road, Dum- fries ... ..	1960
McAdam, Miss Ellen, "Maryfield," Bankend Road, Dum- fries ... ..	1962
Miller, Jean, St. Ninians, Cassalands, Dumfries ... ..	1956
Robinson, Miss Felicity, Balvaig, St Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries ... ..	1960
Ross, Colin, Clifton, Rosemount Street, Dumfries ... ..	1955
Scott, John, Glenkiln, 16 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries ...	1955
Watson, Miss Veronica, Carzield House, by Kirkton ...	1961
Whyte, Christopher, Granary Cottage, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1959

## SUBSCRIBERS.

Aberdeen University Library, Aberdeen	1938
Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, per Lieut.-Col. J. Greeves, Linen Hall Library, Belfast	1954
Birmingham University Library, Edmund Street, Birmingham	1953
Cleveland Public Library, 325 Superior Avenue, N.E., Cleveland, U.S.A. (per W. Heffner & Sons, Ltd., 3-4 Petty Cury, Cambridge)	1950
Dumfriesshire Education Committee, County Buildings, Dumfries	1944
Edinburgh Public Libraries, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh	1953
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries (per Registrar)	1955
Glasgow University Library, per Jackson & Co. (Book- sellers), 73 West George Street, Glasgow, C.2	1947
H.M. Ordnance Survey (Archaeological Office, 43 Rose Street, Edinburgh, 2	1958
Institute of Archaeology, University of London, Inner Circle, 31-34 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1	1953
Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, London, W.C.1	1961
Kentucky University Library, Lexington, Kentucky, U.S.A. (per James Thin & Co., 55 South Bridge, Edinburgh)	1961
Kirkcudbrightshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Castle-Douglas	1944
Kumgl Vetenskapsakademiens Bibliotek, Stockholm, Sweden	1961
Mitchell Library, Hope Street, Glasgow	1925
New York Public Library, 5th Avenue and 42nd Street, New York City (B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd.), 77-79 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W.1	1938
Niedersächsische Staats- und Universtats Bibliothek, Prinzen- strasse 1, Gottingen, Germany	1953
Scottish Record Office, per H.M. Stationery Office, Edin- burgh	1955
Sheffield University Library, Sheffield, 10	1962
St. Andrews University Library, St Andrews	1950
Society of Antiquaries, Black Gate, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	1962
Society of Writers to H.M. Signet, The Signet Library, Edinburgh	1953
The Librarian, University Library, Queen Victoria Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1953

The Librarian, University Library, South Bridge, Edinburgh (per Jas. Thin & Co., 55 South Bridge, Edinburgh, 1) ... ..	1955
The Library, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, 3 ... ..	1954
The Librarian, University of S. Wales, Cathays Park, Cardiff	
Trinity College Library, Lyndoch Place, Glasgow, C.3 ... ..	1953
Wigtownshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Stranraer ... ..	1943

## List of Exchanges, 1962

- Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Science House, 157-161 Gloucester Street, Sydney.
- Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Ayrshire Archæological and Natural History Society, Carnegie Public Library, Ayr.
- Belfast: Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, The Museum College.  
The Library of the Queen's University.  
Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society.
- Berwick-on-Tweed: Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 12 Castle Terrace, Berwick-on-Tweed.
- Caermarthen: The Caermarthen Antiquary.
- Cambridge: University Library.
- Cardiff: Cardiff Naturalists' Society, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
- Carlisle: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, Tullie House, Carlisle.
- The Council for Nature: Intelligence Unit, 41 Queen's Gate, London, S.W.7.
- Durham: Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archæological Society, Prebends Gate, Durham.
- Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1.  
Botanical Society of Edinburgh, Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh, 4.  
Edinburgh Geological Society, India Buildings, Victoria Street.  
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street.
- Essex: "The Essex Naturalist," c/o 14 Theydon Park Road, Theydon Bois, Essex.
- Glasgow: Andersonian Naturalists' Society, Technical College, George Street.  
Archæological Society, 2 Ailsa Drive, Langside, Glasgow, S.2.  
Geological Society, 207 Bath Street.
- Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotian Institute of Science.
- Hawick: The Hawick Archæological Society, Wilton Lodge, Hawick.
- Isle of Man: Natural History and Antiquarian Society, c/o Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man.
- London: British Association for the Advancement of Science, Burlington House.  
Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House.  
British Museum, Bloomsbury Square.  
British Museum (Natural History), South Kensington.
- Lund, Sweden: The University of Lund.
- Oxford. Bodleian Library.
- School of Scottish Studies, 27 George Square, Edinburgh.
- Florida State Museum, Florida.

Stockholm ö, Sweden: Biblioteket K. Vitterhetsakademien, Storgatan 41.

Toronto: The Royal Canadian Institute, 198 College Street, Toronto.

Torquay: Torquay Natural History Society, The Museum.

Ulster: Journal of Archaeology.

Upsala, Sweden: Universitets Biblioteket, Upsala.

U.S.A.—

American Museum of Natural History, Central Park West at 79th Street, N.Y., 24.

Chapplehill, N.C.: Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society.

Cambridge, 38 Mass.: Harvard College of Comparative Zoology.

Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.

Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters.

New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Philadelphia: Academy of Natural Sciences.

Rochester, N.Y.: Rochester Academy of Sciences.

Washington: Smithsonian Institute, U.S. National Museum.

United States Bureau of Ethnology.

United States Department of Agriculture Library.

United States Geological Survey—Librarian: Room 1033.

General Services Administration Building, Washington 25, D.C., U.S.A

Yorkshire: Archæological Society, 10 Park Place, Leeds.

Cardiff: National Library of Wales, Aberystwith.

Dumfries: "Dumfries and Galloway Standard."

Glasgow: "The Glasgow Herald."

Edinburgh: "The Scotsman."



# DUMFRIESHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

Abstract of Accounts for year ended 31st March, 1962

## REVENUE CASH ACCOUNT

1961	1961	EXPENDITURE
	<b>INCOME</b>	
1961		
£232	Subscriptions ... ..	Publication of Transactions—
213	Grants (and Arrear) Carnegie Trust ... ..	Printing ... ..
7	Donations ... ..	Engraving of Blocks ... ..
21	Excursions ... ..	Issue Expenses ... ..
12	Sale of Transactions ... ..	
30	Income Tax Covenant Refund ... ..	£351 3 11
		45 11 0
		22 5 3
		6 3 9
		0 19 0
		1 1 0
		13 5 0
		50 0 0
		0 0 0
		0 0 0
		£490 8 11
		192 0 3
		36 9 1
		£718 18 3
		Operating Surplus ... ..
		Investment Income as opposite ... ..
		£718 18 3

## RECONCILIATION OF ASSETS

	31/3/61	31/3/62
Position at		
Cash in hand	£7 3 1	£14 0 0
Cash in Current A/C (Bank of Scotland)	77 17 8	43 8 0
Cash in Savings A/C (Bank of Scotland)	301 9 9	554 19 10
Cash in Dumfries Savings Bank	396 13 3	411 11 3
Cash in Excavation A/C (Bank of Scotland)	0 0 0	79 12 10
War Stock (Value at 31/3/61)	138 0 0	138 0 0
	£921 3 9	£1229 5 11
Increase in Assets	...	921 3 9
	...	£308 2 2

NOTES: (1) The Increase in Assets is represented by Operating Surplus £192 0s 3d plus Investment Income £36 9s 1d plus Excavation A/C £72 12s 10d.  
 (2) The £100 previously held in Suspense has been applied to the purpose for which granted.  
 (3) The surplus is chiefly explained by the payment of a grant of £100 which was in arrear and the sale of copies of Transactions.

AUDITORS' CERTIFICATE.—We have examined the Books and Vouchers of the Society for the year ended 31/3/62 and certify that the foregoing Statement exhibits a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Society as at 31st March, 1962. The War Stock certificate has been exhibited.

JOHN KENNEDY, Auditor, 10/5/62.  
 S. G. TROUT, Auditor, 10/5/62.

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