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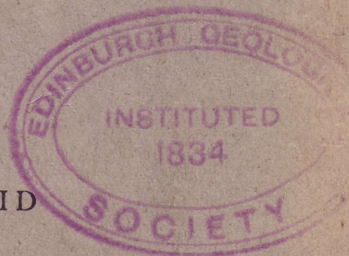
DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY  
NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN  
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS  
AND  
JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS  
1949-50.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XXVIII.

EDITOR  
R. C. REID



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Published by the Council of the Society  
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# CONTENTS.

SESSION 1949-50.

Article	Page
1. The Distribution of Animals and Plants. By Professor Balfour-Browne ... ..	9
2. Excavations at Chapel Finnian, Mochrum. By C. A. Raleigh Radford, M.A., F.S.A. ... ..	28
3. Castle Loch Island, Mochrum. By C. A. Raleigh Radford, M.A., F.S.A. ... ..	41
4. The Dumfries and Maxwelltown Mechanics' Institute. By W. B. de Bear Nicol, M.A. ... ..	64
5. The Bells of Whithorn. By C. A. Raleigh Radford, M.A., F.S.A. ... ..	75
6. Who was Ninian? By Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans, M.A....	79
7. Cruggleton Church. By C. A. Raleigh Radford, M.A., F.S.A. ... ..	92
8. St. Ninian's Cave. By C. A. Raleigh Radford, M.A., F.S.A. ... ..	96
9. Physgill. By R. C. Reid ... ..	99
10. Glencairn Castle and Maxwellton. By Miss Joan Gladstone ... ..	104
11. The Military Road to Portpatrick, 1763. By M. C. Arnott ... ..	120
12. Wilson of Croglin. By R. C. Reid... ..	135
13. Butterflies and Moths of the Solway Area. By David Cunningham, M.A. ... ..	150
14. An Early Cross at Ruthwell. By C. A. Raleigh Radford, M.A., F.S.A. ... ..	158
15. Sanquhar Church in the 19th Century (continued). By Rev. W. M'Millan, Ph.D., D.D. ... ..	161
16. The Goodman's Croft. By George Watson, M.A., F.S.A.Scot. ... ..	179
17. Stone Axe from Duloch. By R. B. K. Stevenson, M.A., F.S.A.Scot. ... ..	186
18. A Roman Fort at Broomholm. By R. Feachem, F.S.A.	188
19. Dating Second Century Pottery. By J. P. Gillam, M.A.	190
20. Excavations at Milton (Tassiesholm), 1950. By John Clarke, M.A., F.S.A.Scot. ... ..	199

[Over



Proceedings	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	222
Field Meetings		...	...	...	...	...	...	223
(1) The House of Park and Castle Kennedy.								
(2) Caerlaverock and Brocklehurst.								
(3) Cruggleton Church, St. Ninian's Cave, and Physgill.								
(4) Portling and Portowarren.								
Presentations	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	225
Exhibits	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	227
List of Exchanges	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	228
Membership List	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	230
Accounts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	242

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

---

Excavations at Chapel Finnian—		<b>Page</b>
Plate I. Views of Chapel Finnian ...	Facing	30
Fig. 1. Plan ...		31
Fig. 2. Sections ...		33
Fig. 3. Interior of South Wall ...		33
Castle Loch Island, Mochrum—		
Fig. 4. Plan of Island...		43
Fig. 5. Plan of Hall ...		44
Fig. 6. Stone Altar Slab ...		48
Plate II. The Oven ...	Facing	48
Fig. 7. Roman Pottery ...		61
Fig. 8. Spindle Whorls and Bead ...		61
Whithorn Bells—		
Fig. 9. Tolbooth Bell...		76
Fig. 10. Section of Inscription ...		76
Cruggleton Church—		
Fig. 11. Plan ...		92
Glencairn Castle and Maxwelton—		
Fig. 12. Plan, Ground Floor...		115
Fig. 13. Plan, Upper Floors...		116
Early Cross at Ruthwell—		
Fig. 14. Drawing from a Rubbing ...		159
Stone Axe from Duloch—		
Fig. 15. Plan and Elevation...		186
Roman Fort at Broomholm—		
Fig. 16. Sketch Plan ...		189
Dating Second Century Pottery—		
Fig. 17. Pottery from Carzield and elsewhere ...		191
Excavations at Milton—		
Plate III. Air Photographs ...	Facing	200
Fig. 18. General Plan of Forts ...		201
Fig. 19. Figured Samian ...		217

## EDITORIAL.

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

The Editor does not hold himself responsible for the accuracy of scientific, historical, or personal information. Each contributor has seen a proof of his own paper.

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## ARTICLE 1.

### **The Distribution of Animals and Plants, With Special Reference to Great Britain and Ireland.**

Prof. BALFOUR-BROWNE'S Presidential Address to the  
Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and  
Antiquarian Society. October, 1950.

Everyone knows that animals and plants are limited in their range. Many kinds are only found in the tropics and others only in the arctic regions, while the kinds we know are such as live under conditions between the two extremes. But even in the country round about us we know that the fauna and flora is divided up into forms that live at low levels and those that are found on high ground, those that live in woods and those that occupy open country, those that inhabit dry areas and those that inhabit marsh lands and even these types of locality are of different kinds; for instance, a marsh may be either clear fresh water or brown peaty water or brackish water, and each of these has its own special animals and plants.

But each type of habitat consists of large or small isolated areas. Thus a pond or a lake is obviously such an isolated patch, but river valleys, mountain areas, woodlands, and open country are just "islands." Even the soil, composed of various chemical constituents, varies from place to place, so that animals and plants that favour one type of soil are broken up into groups on each patch of a type. Animals and plants that live on one or other of these types must be passing frequently from one patch to another, and, consequently, are frequently found in intermediate patches, making the real ecology of each species more difficult to discover.

In 1846 Edward Forbes,<sup>6\*</sup> a member of the Geological Survey and a well-known naturalist, gave much time to a study of the fauna and flora of the Britannic area and he laid the foundation of all the work that has been done on the

\* Numbers refer to the bibliography at the end.

origin and distribution of the fauna and flora. There are only three ways by which the existence of an animal or plant in any area can be accounted for: it must either have been created there or it must have been transported there or it must have moved there on its own initiative.

The first way is true of some species which have arisen by modification of others in that area, but one of the fundamentals of biology is that a species only appears once, and if it is found in two separated areas it must either have been transported from one to the other or it must have moved from one to the other on its own initiative.

Now many organisms are transportable, some readily, others with difficulty, while some can only get from one place to another by their own activity, e.g., many quadrupeds and many backboneless animals. Therefore, if any of these untransportables are found on two areas separated by wide ocean, it follows that, at some time there must have been a land-connection between these two areas.

One group of quadrupeds, the Marsupials or Pouched Mammals, occurs in South America, e.g., Opossums, and in Australasia, e.g., Kangaroos and various other forms, and these could not possibly have got from one of these continents to the other except across land. Similarly, the Flightless Birds are represented in South America by the Rheas, in Africa by Ostriches, and in Australasia by the Extinct Moas in New Zealand and by Cassowaries, Emus and Kiwis.

The lost continent seems to have been Antarctica at some period when the climate was very different from what it now is. Similarity between some forms farther north led to the suggestion that there was once an Atlantis connecting America and Europe, the existence of a north to south ridge in the north Atlantic having given some support to this view. But in 1937 Wegener put forward the hypothesis that the continents are moving on the earth's core and that America has broken away from Africa and Europe and is still moving westwards, an hypothesis which was again discussed at the recent meeting of the British Association.

On the basis of the necessity for land-connections to



account for the distribution of untransportable forms, attempts have been made to date the occurrence of the land-connections by the presence or absence of certain forms in the two separated areas, and as most of those who have been interested in the distribution of our animals and plants, have accepted Forbes' view that the majority of our fauna and flora reached these islands before they became separated from the continent, we find certain statements as to when the seas broke in between Ireland and Britain and between England and the continent. As a number of animals found in England are absent from Ireland, e.g., Brown Hare, Roebuck, Polecat, Voles, Snakes, etc., it is supposed that the Irish Sea intervened between Ireland and Britain before England became separated from the continent. It is possible, however, that some or all of these animals may have reached Ireland and died out later, especially as in some cases there are Irish names, e.g., for the roebuck (Earbog) and perhaps for the mole, and as it is agreed by most geologists that the Straits of Dover opened somewhere about the end of the Glacial Period, there have been at least ten thousand years for these animals to have died out in Ireland.

An examination of lists of animals and plants found in our islands shows that, although the majority are spread over the area, some are confined to certain parts, and Forbes<sup>7</sup> recognised this and accounted for these "groups" as being the result of different invasions. He recognised five such groups, of which the first, limited to western Ireland, he described as preglacial, and it is known as the "Lusitanian" group. The two sets of invaders, one from the Channel Islands direction, the "Gallican" occupying south-west England and the other from farther north, the "Kentish," occupying south-east England, may have been either preglacial or interglacial according to Forbes, but the invasion from the north with the oncoming ice-age, the "Scandinavian," pushed the Lusitanians into the west and either threw back or blocked the advance of the other two groups, while the arrival of the postglacial invasion, the "Germanic" group, pushed back the Scandinavians towards

the north and west. These distributional groups still exist, and the view which seems to be accepted by most biologists is that they are, for the most part, composed of the same species, including transportables, as were in them at the periods at which they arrived.

There are certain factors upon which the existence of a fauna and flora depend, and the first of these is climate, and this is a point of first importance. Changes of climate, such as the epochs, preglacial, glacial and post-placial, and small changes, variations in temperature, amount of sunshine, and amount of moisture, all affect the fauna and flora. Changes in soil affect the fauna and flora, although at first sight this looks absurd because the rocks upon which the soil forms by weathering are more or less permanent, but, as a fact, there are constant changes in soil taking place. On most mountains there are more or less bare patches of broken rock at the top and on steep places where screes form. On these places the rocks are weathering into soil, and the first plants to arrive are usually mosses, especially the "Woolly Hair Moss" (*Racomitrium*), which endeavours to get a hold on this moving surface. Once established it will produce humus by the breaking down of its own substance, and on this humus other and higher plants may succeed in establishing themselves. Once there is a flora the fauna follows.

But climate affects the result. If the rainfall exceeds the evaporation and the water consequently runs down the slopes it leaches the soil and the basic salts and lime, upon which the higher plants depend, disappear and the soil becomes acid and peat-bog results. An altitude map of Britain shows that the mountains are in Scotland, northern England, Wales, and south-west England, and a rainfall map shows that most of the rain falls in those districts, while a map of the moors and peat-bogs also appears much the same as the other two. There is therefore in the soil conditions as produced by climate a suggestion that the northern, western and south-western faunas and floras may be connected with the climate and soil rather than with past invasions.

So far as the water beetles (*Hydradeephaga*) are concerned, there are about 120 in these islands, and it is possible to recognise five "groups" according to the range of the species:

1. A Northern or Scottish Group, including about 16 species.
2. A Southern and Western Group, including 6 species.
3. A British Group of about 60 species.
4. An English Group of about 36 species.
5. A South-Eastern Group of about 16 species.

But these are really only three Groups, the Northern, Southern and Western and the British, the English and South-Eastern Groups being stages in the development of the British, and among all these there may be a few species which arrived in preglacial and glacial times, and, in my opinion, the same could be said of all animals and groups that are transportable. Because of the continual changes in climatic and edaphic conditions there has been a perpetual movement of species in post-glacial times, and this, and especially the less restricted movements of transportable forms, has produced the recognisable Groups which, therefore, do not represent successive invasions.

We have only to look around us to see some evidence of the changes that are taking place. There are many flat areas, now either dry or marshy, which have been lakes, and many of us have known ponds which, during our lifetime, have gradually become overgrown and changed into dry land. Woods have been cut down, peat-bogs have been drained, and other changes made in conditions, and all these have meant changes in the fauna and flora which, either in search of food or more favourable surroundings or for some other cause, are always moving from place to place.

In Lewis, Outer Hebrides, where I was collecting just before the first war, the roads are made up with glacial drift material and repairs are made by digging up this along the sides and filling worn hollows in the roads, so that a number of ponds are continually being formed. At first these are

bare water-holes, but they soon acquire some vegetation, the first obvious plant usually being the water-grass (*Glyceria*), the water being mainly rain water; but gradually *Sphagnum* moss appears at the edges and the water becomes acid so that, in the course of some months, the character of the pools changes. I examined a number of these pools in all stages of change, and of the 52 different kinds of water beetles recorded for the island, 32 occurred in these ballast holes, and although the dominant water beetles on the island were peat-moss species, these pools in the earlier stages were largely occupied by the loch species as distinct from the peat-water species, and the nature of the community changed with the increasing acidity and the changing vegetation.

When I was in Cambridge I had two tubs in my garden which I filled with tap water and every three days for about three months in the summer I emptied out the water and noted the insects that had arrived. It was very seldom that I found no beetles or water bugs, and on more than one occasion the large *Dytiscus marginalis* turned up. The nearest water was at least half a mile from my garden. In June, 1939, Prof. Grensted<sup>8</sup> put in his garden in Oxford a canvas bath 5½ feet across and about a foot deep for his children to play in, and on the morning after the day on which he set it up there were more than 100 water beetles in it, mostly of one species (*Helophorus brevipalpis*), and from June 30th to July 6th he found 8 kinds of water beetles, with a total number of specimens of 117, and, in addition, one kind of water bug. He mentioned that his garden was at least half a mile from water.

Everyone has observed the flight of insects during warm and still days in spring and summer, and the activities of the swallows, martins, and swifts indicate how these insects vary their height according to weather conditions. But these activities of the insects are much greater than is observed casually. At Wicken Fen, Cambridge, during 6 hours on 4 days in July, 1929, Mr Omer Cooper<sup>4</sup> swept the air with a short-handled net and caught more than 7000 beetles of 81 different kinds, of which 25 had not previously been found

at Wicken. Similar observations as to the movements of insects have been made in all parts of the world. Darwin and Wallace mentioned the insects that arrived on board the ships on which they were travelling when they were at great distances from land. In November, 1908, Messrs Muir and Kershaw,<sup>12</sup> on board ship in the Cochin China Sea more than 120 miles from shore, observed great numbers of small moths in perfect condition on the deck which they thought at first were hatching out on the ship until they found that these moths were also on the sea, sometimes resting on the surface and sometimes making short flights in a direction from N.N.-W. to S.S.-E. They could even survive in the broken water round the bows. They were mostly a small plume moth, but there were several other species with them.

I had a similar experience in July, 1928, crossing the Atlantic from Bristol to Jamaica. The sea was calm, and on the second day out numbers of a small moth (*Nomophila noctuella*) were on the surface of the water and on the ship, and we were then about 400 miles from England. (See Poulton, E.B. 13.) That year, this little moth, which is only a visitor from America, was unusually abundant in southern England. Even larger moths, such as Hawk Moths, have been observed sitting on the sea.

Recently Professor A. C. Hardy recorded that when more than 100 miles from the west African coast "a hot wind brought hundreds of insects" on board the ship, and at 130 miles "more insects have come aboard to-day than ever before, several butterflies, numbers of moths, beetles and countless grasshoppers, locusts and flying bugs," and even at 300 miles from shore various butterflies and moths were arriving.

There are great numbers of such records in entomological literature, and these include records of flights over land quite unsuited to the flying insects. J. W. Sherman, jr.,<sup>15</sup> mentioned that many water beetles, especially *Hydrophilidæ*, are caught at light in the desert region of America at great distances from any known water supply. Plants similarly travel over country in which they could not survive, and J. C. Willis<sup>18</sup> gives an interesting example.



The mountain Ritigala, 2506 feet high, stands as a solitary peak to the north of the main mountain mass of Ceylon and separated from it by 40 miles of country on which practically no rain falls during six months of the south-west monsoon. But the high ground of Ritigala condenses the moisture of this wind so that a wet zone, similar to the wet zone in the southern mountains, is produced. The heights of Ritigala have 103 of the wet zone plants which could not survive in the dry area below, and these plants are gradually ousting the few remaining dry zone plants in the wet area. Willis mentions that although most of these wet zone plants on Ritigala have transportable stages, a few are entirely without means of transport or of means of living in the intermediate desert.

The oceanic islands, islands which have risen out of the sea floor and have never had any contact with the continents, are nevertheless covered with a rich fauna and flora, and they have been populated by plants and animals transported to them by ocean currents and by winds.

Within the last 20 years experiments have been made with a view to finding out to what extent the air in the neighbourhood of our islands is occupied by transportable organisms which are mostly insects. For this purpose Professor Hardy,<sup>9</sup> already mentioned, arranged with the captains of ships crossing the North Sea on normal business to fly from the masthead a long townet, the net being set when the ship reached a distance of 100 miles from land and closed when the ship once more came to within that distance of land. The resulting captures were very interesting, and included flies, aphides and various other bugs, wasps, may-flies, moths, beetles, spiders, etc.

To some extent these drifters arrive where they are found by their own efforts, but there is a large mass of evidence that insects are carried great distances involuntarily, and not only the transportable forms. It seems that, after a spell of cold weather, a sudden rise of temperature tends to cause an updraught from the valleys which frequently becomes a strong wind at the mountain tops, and, as one author states it, "it

is well known that butterflies and other insects are occasionally transported by aerial currents from the valleys to the summits of high mountains and far out to sea" (Phipson). The discovery every year of previously unrecorded insects may be merely the finding of some rare resident which has previously escaped capture, but in most cases it is the discovery of a chance arrival which may have arrived only once or may come over in rare occasions. Here are a few examples among the beetles:

1. *Cybister lateralimarginalis*. In 1826 a single specimen of this very handsome water beetle was found in a puddle at Walton in Essex. Another specimen was found in 1831. It had been thrown out of an oyster basket in the City Road, London, and had, undoubtedly, come from the Essex coast. In 1836 a third specimen was found at Southchurch in the same county. There may have been a fourth example found at this period, but these are the only evidence of this insect in Britain, an insect that occurs over large parts of Europe excepting the north, and it also occurs in North Africa. It is interesting to note that the three specimens caught were all females.
2. *Haliphus furcatus*. In 1916 a specimen of this small water beetle was discovered at Burnham in Somerset, and in 1935 I happened to discover a clay-pit within a few miles of Burnham in which this insect was in numbers. The pit had been dug within living memory to supply ballast for the Great Western Railway track which runs beside it, so that, at most, the beetle could not have been many years in that pond. As the pond gradually filled with vegetation and changed into a swamp the beetle gradually became less common and has by now doubtless disappeared, possibly, of course, having found some new habitat. In 1932 I found it in Jersey (Channel Islands), and it is known throughout middle and western Europe, and I regard it either as a new member of the British fauna or as a species that has just failed to make good. But it was described by Beirne, who is one of those who believes in the necessity for land-bridges, as "an example of a species of which the population survived a glacial phase in the Channel Land while the main population survived in eastern Europe and did not re-invade western Europe in postglacial times." If this is the correct explanation this little beetle has been dodging about from pond to pond for at least ten thousand years and has only just been discovered.
3. The carnivorous beetle, *Calosoma sycophanta*, has been taken in fishermen's nets 40 miles out in the Channel and has been repeatedly found in the southern counties since long before

the beginning of this century, but it has, so far, failed to establish itself. This may be because of the nature of its food, which consists mainly of the caterpillars of the Processionary Moth (*Cnethocampa processionea*), a species that does not occur in our islands.

4. The Colorado beetle (*Leptinotarsa 10-lineata*), introduced accidentally into Europe from North America, occasionally reaches these shores, but we do all we can to prevent its having a chance of establishing itself, although we do not know that climatic conditions would suit it.

The recent report of alien plants in and near a bomb crater on Box Hill, Surrey, described by some as a practical joke, by others as from seeds that arrived in a German bomb, and by others as having been brought by migrating birds, is an example of the chance arrival of seeds from Mid- or South-Europe which found more or less unoccupied ground in climatic and ground conditions which allowed them to germinate.

The possibility that some of these visitors may succeed in establishing themselves is always present, but in a well-stocked area like ours the chances are small, although there are a number of known successful cases. I will give a few examples of recently established residents in Britain and one interesting example of what was once a British moth which made a reputation for itself in the eastern part of the United States:

1. The Rayless Mayweed or Pineapple plant. (*Matricaria suaveolens (discoidea)*.) A North American plant, almost certainly introduced into the Old World with some agricultural produce, had spread over parts of Europe before it was recognised here. A specimen in the herbarium of an Irish botanist, Dr Moore, was labelled "Between Richmond and Kew, July, 1871," and that appears to be the only British record until it was recorded from Dublin in 1894. But its Irish history, although not clear, seems to have begun by its arrival in West Mayo, the seeds coming in bags of corn for poultry. Thence it appears to have spread in a broad band across Ireland along the railways and in the sidings where little else would grow. Then it spread southwards and northwards, but it had apparently reached the Glasgow district of Scotland before or about the time it was recorded from Dublin, and it has now spread over most of Scotland and England, always occupying the more or less bare patches where few plants grow.

2. The American or Canadian Pondweed. (*Elodea* (*Anacharis*) *canadensis*.) Accidentally introduced into Ireland where, in 1836, it appeared at Waringstown, Co. Down. In 1842 it was found in the lake at Dunse Castle, Berwickshire, and by 1850 it had spread all over Britain, being found in ponds, lakes, canals, reservoirs, and rivers. From then until 1880 it was occupying more and more water, and all the spreading has been done through the brittleness of the stem, as only the female plant reached this country.
3. The Monkey Flower. (*Mimulus guttatus* (*luteus*).) Introduced from America as a garden plant and spread over the country along the streams and at the edges of lakes and ponds and in bogs, even up to high levels.
4. The Marsh Frog. (*Rana ridibunda*.) In 1935 12 specimens of this frog, which is probably a variety of *R. esculenta*, the common water frog of the Continent, were introduced from Hungary into a pond in East Kent, but, within a few months, they moved into the neighbouring Romney Marshes. They now occupy many square miles of country bounded by Rye, Tenterden, Hythe, and Dungeness.
5. The Buff-tip Moth. (*Phalera bucephala*.) Professor Heslop Harrison, whose parties of students have worked the western isles of Scotland for many years and had found this moth in South Rona and Raasay, discovered numbers of caterpillars on oak and willow in two places on Rhum in August, 1943, and in 1944 the insect had spread north-west of these spots and appeared to be flourishing.
6. A Hoverer Fly. (*Volucella zonaria*.) One of the most recent examples of a new immigrant to this country is a handsome fly nearly an inch long and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches across the spread wings, and it is frequently mistaken for a wasp. The genus to which it belongs consists of flies that freely enter the nests of hornets and other wasps and lay their eggs, the grubs or larvæ acting as scavengers and doing no harm to their hosts. This insect was first found in this country some time before 1870, but the two specimens then known have since been described as coming from Jersey. Odd specimens were taken from time to time, always in the south-eastern counties, at first Kent and Sussex, later Surrey and Hants, and it was not until about 1940 that the number of records definitely increased, and this year there was a broadcast in August requesting people not to send any more specimens to the British Museum (Natural History). The fly is common in south and west Europe, and it has now bred in Hampshire, because larvæ were dug out of a wasps' nest in 1945 and there is little doubt but that at least some of the specimens recently caught have hatched out in England. So far there are no

records except from the south-eastern counties, but presumably the insect will gradually extend its range to the West and north, unless something checks it.

7. The Gipsy Moth. (*Lymantria* (*Porthetria*, *Ocneria*) *dispar*.) Here is a case of colonisation in the opposite direction. This moth is a well-known insect in several European countries and in the temperate regions of Asia and Japan. At one time it was resident here, and Westwood, in 1857, described it as occurring in great profusion in the Huntingdonshire Fens. I must have been one of the last people to find it in England, somewhere about 1890. The caterpillar feeds on oak and other trees and at intervals becomes a pest, appearing in great numbers and doing much damage. In 1869 a Mr Trouvelot, of Melford, Massachusetts, who was working on silk-producing caterpillars, obtained a supply of Gipsy moths from Europe and, by accident, some of them escaped. He notified at once the fact that they had escaped, but at first nothing happened, and for several years the insect attracted no attention, even in the town where it escaped, the first extensive outbreak occurring in 1889, by which time it had spread to 30 townships and gained a footing in each without attracting public attention. It was stripping woodlands and fruit trees so that in the summer they were without leaves. The caterpillars were so numerous that the falling of their excrement sounded like heavy rain and on still nights the noise of their chewing the leaves was audible. The means by which this insect spread was not by flight, as the female moths seldom use their wings, but the first stage larvae have long hairs furnished with bladders and by climbing to the tops of the trees and letting go their hold they are carried as much as 20 miles with a gentle breeze. (Minott.<sup>11</sup>) In these early days the caterpillars were eating almost every kind of tree and the moths were laying on an average 500 eggs, but as time passed the feeding became restricted to fewer plants and the fecundity of the moths reduced to about 300 eggs, the usual number in Europe.

Man has made a number of attempts to introduce or re-introduce animals and plants into this country, and not always with success. The Capercailzie or Capercaillie or Woodland Grouse, once a native of Scotland, disappeared more than one hundred years ago, and, comparatively recently, it was re-introduced from Scandinavia and quickly re-established itself. The English or Brown Hare, supposed by the "land-bridgers" to have reached England after the separation of Ireland by the Irish Sea, its absence from



that country being thus accounted for, has been introduced into that country several times, but not one of the attempts to establish it has been a signal success.

Many years ago our East Anglian fens were the home of a very handsome butterfly, the Large Copper (*Chrysophanus dispar*), but for some reason it disappeared about 1846. Possibly the draining of the marshes and the consequent reduction in extent and the reduction of the food plant of the caterpillar, the Water Docken (*Rumex hydrolapathum*) was the cause, according to some. An attempt was made to re-introduce the insect from the continent in 1909 when caterpillars were brought from Holland and planted in Wicken Fen, Cambridge. This attempt failed, the explanation given being that there was not enough of the food plant available. A second attempt was made some years later when Captain Purefoy, having prepared a bog in Tipperary by clearing some of the vegetation and planting Water Docken, again obtained a supply from Holland, and this colony survived and was flourishing 14 years later but has now died out. While it was doing well, some of its stock was transferred to Wood Walton Fen, Hunts., and to Wicken, but only the Wood Walton colony survives and that only because it is nursed, the caterpillars being collected and protected during the winter and the food plant assisted by frequent weeding round the plants. Another attempt is now being made on a fen near Norwich where, it is thought, the dangers of summer drought will be less.

Tutt<sup>17</sup> gave two interesting examples of extension of range and suggested a possible explanation for them. The first of these is the Painted Lady Butterfly, very well known as a frequent migrant to Britain. It belongs to a New World section of the Vanessids, and is the only member of that section not confined to America, its range being almost world-wide. In America, however, it is limited to some extent, not because of lack of food plants or unsuitable climate, but apparently because of the presence of its closest relations. Similarly in the case of the Small Garden White butterfly which is an Old World insect. It was first seen in America

at Quebec in 1860, and spread to Maine by 1866 and to Montreal by 1867. It was imported by way of New York in 1868, and from these two centres it spread rapidly, so that by 1902 it had invaded practically the whole of temperate America. The section of the Pieridæ to which it belongs is poorly represented in America, so that competition is reduced, and this may have contributed to its success. I mentioned previously that, although a species belongs to some type of habitat, it is frequently found in other types where the individuals may be only very temporary visitors or where they may survive for some time. There may be frequent records for a species in several types of habitat, but really because successive generations are constantly supplying odd individuals which, sooner or later, pass on to their home habitat or die out. For instance, there is a pretty water beetle, *Platambus maculatus*, rather more than one quarter of an inch long, which inhabits small streams in most parts of England and Scotland. This beetle is also found in rivers and in lakes, but, so far as lakes are concerned, it is not so common as in the streams. It seems possible that it is frequently being washed out of the small streams during floods, and hence from its records in lakes and rivers it seems to be as much at home in these habitats as in the streams.

Complete adaptation to an habitat must be a very rare thing, partly because of the constantly-changing climatic and edaphic conditions and because of the constant movement in and out of transportable forms which, while in the habitat, form part of the environment. But with all this movement there is a tendency for each organism to extend its range, and when I suggested that the English and South-Eastern groups are merely parts of the British group, I meant that we see in them stages in the formation of the British group all tending to spread over Britain, but either because of more recent arrival or because of some resistance to their expansion, have only covered a portion of the objective. There are many interesting examples of extension of range, and here are a few among the insects.

In June, 1938, on the marshes below Tain in East Ross,

I discovered a small beetle (*Ochthebius lenensis*) in the brackish pools, where it was quite common. Its known range up to that time was Eastern Siberia, so it seems likely that it reached Scotland during some climatic disturbance. In the following year it was in a pond just below Tain station, where it had not been found in the previous year. In May of this year I received a specimen from Dr. Richter, taken by him in a salt marsh at the mouth of the Findhorn river, Morayshire, and in October he sent me another specimen from a salt marsh at Lossiemouth.

In 1839 a beetle about half an inch long and of a brassy green colour (*Ilybius subæneus*) was first recorded from the London district. The fact that it was not previously known in Britain cannot be treated as indicating that it had only just arrived, because, up to that time, beetle recording was done by very few entomologists. Nothing more was heard of this insect until 1866, when it was found in West Kent, and succeeding discoveries were in:

East Suffolk...	1887	North Lincs....	1908	Angus...	... 1933
West Norfolk...	1890	Isle of Man ...	1910	Notts....	... 1937
East Norfolk...	1893	Herts....	... 1911	Staffs....	... 1939
Cambridge ...	1904	Durham	... 1930	Cheshire	... 1942
				Dumfries	... 1945

These are all the records, and the list suggests that this species has been extending its range since the hundred odd years ago when it was first discovered; and some support is obtained for this view because Cambridge, Notts. and Cheshire had all been especially well worked for many years, and in Angus in 1908 I had worked very carefully the small loch or large pond in which it occurred in some numbers in 1933, as there was another beetle there in the earlier year in which I was specially interested.

We have two distinct water beetles closely related (*Noterus*) which, until 1935, were only known as far north as Yorkshire, but in that year one of them, *N. capricornis*, was discovered by Professor Heslop Harrison's party on Raasay Island in the Inner Hebrides. In 1946 it turned up in a shallow pond in Dumfriesshire, a pond which, about 18 years previously, had been only a marshy part of a field which

was then dammed up to make a curling pond. In 1949 Miss Jackson found it in one loch in Fife and I found it in numbers in a large pond near Gatehouse-of-Fleet. None of these places had been previously worked, so it is possible that the beetle had been in all except the Dumfries pond for a long time, but it is difficult to believe that it has escaped discovery so long if it has long been an established Scottish species. In the area covered from Dumfries to Fife and Raasay there have been such well-known collectors as Dr. Sharp, Dr. M'Nab, Wm. Lennon, Bertram M'Gowan, and others covering a period of much more than 50 years.

In 1941 I discovered the second species, *N. clavicornis*, in Carlingwark Loch, Castle-Douglas, a locality well worked by Sharp and Lennon and one which I worked in 1907, but without finding this beetle which is now quite common there. Miss Jackson also found this species in Fife in one loch in 1949, and I think that both species have extended their range during the last 50 years.

And many other animals and plants have done the same, in many cases changing the group to which they belonged when they were first discovered. Dr. E. B. Ford<sup>7</sup> referred to a number of butterflies which, at the present time, are extending their range. The Peacock (*Nymphalis io*) until early in this century was very rare in Scotland although it had waxed and waned in the north of England and in some of the Border counties. Now it is common in Scotland and is spreading northwards. The White Admiral (*Limenitis camilla*) was for long restricted to a few areas in the south of England, but about 1920 it began to extend its range and is now a common woodland insect and has been found as far north as Northampton. The Comma (*Polygonia c-album*) about 1850 was a common south of England butterfly, but it became restricted until it was almost confined to an area around Gloucester. Now it is once more common throughout southern England.

I have already mentioned that those who believe in the necessity for land-connections to account for our fauna and flora recognise different invasion groups, the earliest of which

was preglacial, and, according to Forbes, was confined to western Ireland. It is to be noted that, with regard to this group, Forbes said: "The remarkable point concerning these plants—for as yet no terrestrial animals of this period have been observed, nor from what I shall presently have to say is it likely that there are any now existing—is that they are all species which at present are forms either peculiar to or abundant in the great peninsula of Spain and Portugal. . . ." Thus the fact that these species are concentrated in the Spanish Peninsula had nothing to do with Forbes' creation of the Irish group, but there is a tendency among his supporters to pick out of the Britannic fauna and flora any species which, outside these islands, is found in the Spanish Peninsula and place it in Forbes' preglacial group regardless of what its present range here may be. Thus Praeger<sup>14</sup> (p. 62) makes a "Lusitanian-Mediterranean" group which includes Irish species from the south-east and east, several being only found in the neighbourhood of Dublin, e.g., three woodlice. One of his group, a weevil (*Otiorrhynchus auropunctatus*), occurs in Ireland only in the east and north, while the snail (*Helix virgata*) is widely distributed. As there would be difficulty in accounting for the presence of some of the Irish species unless it were admitted that they were postglacial, although only found in the north, these are supposed to have arrived across land between Donegal and the west of Scotland, a "bridge" suggested by Beirne for some of the moths.<sup>1</sup>

But is it logical to require a land bridge for a few plants and yet to admit, as Praeger does (l.c., p. 65), that cryptogamic plants "with their power of almost limitless dispersal by winds, and animals with powerful flight" are quite likely to be recent arrivals in Ireland? The evidence I have brought forward as to the movements of transportable forms indicates that there are many organisms which, if not as well provided for limitless dispersal as the mosses and ferns are not therefore unable to move except across land. It is extraordinary how species with apparently inferior grades of transportability get about.



The fauna and flora may have been greatly reduced at each change of climate, and invaders consequently found colonisation easy under such conditions, but as the inhabitants increased in numbers the biological factor (whether it be competition or some other effect of living organisms upon one another) became more important and immigrants could only succeed if they were more vigorous than the residents in the climate and soil conditions where they arrived or could find some niche where there was still room for them, as in the case of the *Matricaria* already mentioned. Doubtless thousands of kinds of animals and plants have perished during the postglacial period, and it is probable that our lists of species would have contained fewer names but for the replacement of many losses, even of our commoner species, each year by immigration.

This instability of the populations of all types of habitat probably explains the absence of many species which the "land-bridgers" declare never reached the Britannic area, and as the determination of the dates at which our land-connections disappeared depends largely upon the presence or absence of animals and plants, these dates are open to question.

I have illustrated my criticisms of the views of the "land-bridgers" largely with examples of the one group of insects to which I have paid special attention, but there will be few who will dispute the view that if my arguments with regard to the water beetles are correctly based they will equally apply to all transportable forms of plants and animals, and I believe that so long as the earth turns on its axis and passes on its annual journey round the sun: so long as the sun affects the earth by its varying sunspots: so long as there are ocean currents, whirlwinds and gales and volcanic eruptions, the flora and fauna will continue to move about, segregating into groups, the groups, changing, breaking up and re-forming but differently composed, always subject to the changing environmental conditions.

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## ARTICLE 2.

**The Excavations at Chapel Finnian, Mochrum.**

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD, M.A., F.S.A.

Chapel Finnian lies on the shore below Corwall Heugh, about one mile west of Chippermore, in the parish of Mochrum. The name of the saint was already attached to the site in 1692, when Andrew Symson wrote his *Description of Galloway*.<sup>1</sup> It therefore seems likely that the tradition goes back to the Middle Ages, when the chapel was in use. I visited the site with Mr R. C. Reid in 1948; we then decided that it was worth investigation, as remains of a rectangular building were visible on the surface.

Excavations were carried out by the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society in July, 1950. The arrangements for the work were made by Mr Reid, who was present for the greater part of the week. Permission was readily granted by the proprietor, Lord David Stuart, and by Mr J. Mactier, the tenant of Corwall. To all these my best thanks are offered, as also to Col. T. H. M. Murray, road surveyor of the Wigtownshire County Council, for the loan of tools. Two men were employed for six days, including the filling of the trenches.

In preparing this report I have had the assistance of Mr H. G. Leask, formerly Inspector of Historical Monuments in Eire. His comments, part of which are printed below, have been most valuable in establishing the degree of relationship between the remains uncovered and contemporary buildings of the same character in Ireland.

The thanks of the Society are also due to Mr Bell, photographer at Portwilliam, and Mr William C. Walker in Corwall, for the loan of photographs as illustrations.

**THE SITE.**

The south-west coast of the Machars for several miles west of Portwilliam consists of a line of heughs, formed by

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Symson, *Description of Galloway* (1692), p. 75 (Edinburgh, 1823).

the erosion of the sea. The resulting cliffs are nowhere of great height, the elevation varying as the coast was cut back across the line of the hills and valleys. At the base of the cliffs is a flat stretch of land raised only a few feet above sea level; this is formed of old sea beach, partly covered with detritus from the cliffs and vegetated to within a few yards of high water level. The land above the heughs is studded with small "forts," of which the Inventory of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments listed about 12 in the Parish of Mochrum alone.<sup>2</sup> These forts resemble the "homesteads" of Roxburghshire<sup>3</sup> and the Borders on one side and of North Wales<sup>4</sup> on the other. In Galloway none of these sites has been excavated, but their appearance would suggest that, like the analogous settlements in other areas mentioned, they represent substantial farmhouses of the Roman period. These dwellings are native, not Roman, in type, and, if the comparison with North Wales is valid, they should represent the emergence of more settled conditions and greater opportunities for trade, resulting from the establishment of the *pax romana* on the neighbouring frontier. These farmsteads do not occur on the flat below the heughs, where Chapel Finnian remains an isolated site to which no parallel can be quoted.

Chapel Finnian lies on the upper side of the road some six miles from Portwilliam and eight from Glenluce. A cottage lies immediately west of the site, and in front of the cottage a small channel kept free from stones affords a possible landing place for small boats. The site is an irregular enclosure, the wall showing before excavation as a rough bank of stones with occasional facing blocks projecting through the turf. Within the enclosure were traces of a rectangular building measuring about 28 feet by 18 feet and built of mortared masonry. Except for a path across the lower side of the enclosure, the whole area was covered with a dense undergrowth

<sup>2</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Wigtownshire, nos. 188-99.

<sup>3</sup> Plans of some are given in Christison, *Early Fortifications in Scotland*, p. 370. I am much indebted to Dr. Angus Graham, with whom I was able to visit typical examples in the valley of the Bowmont Water, Roxburghshire, an area now under survey by the Royal Commission.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiquity*, xviii., 188.

of brambles, bracken, and other plants. Immediately to the east are traces of another enclosure, roughly circular and rather larger; this is surrounded by a rough bank of earth and stones. It could only be examined after a systematic clearance of the undergrowth, and may be of no great age.

### THE EXCAVATION.

A long trench was first laid out to cross the enclosure from east to west and provide a section along the main axis of the building<sup>5</sup> (fig. 1; section A—B). Trenches were then cut at right angles to provide a cross section (fig 2; section C—D). The southern half of the building was then cleared and the greater part of the outer face of the walls exposed down to the old ground level. Finally a number of holes were dug alongside the faces of the enclosure wall.<sup>6</sup> The northern half of the building, which had been used to stack the dump from the first trench, was not cleared.

SECTION A—B. The trench, which ran approximately at right angles to the cliff, started six feet above the enclosure and was carried through as far as the lower wall. The trench, four feet wide, was everywhere carried down to the natural subsoil. Except at the east end, outside the enclosure, the lowest deposit consisted of round or oval water-worn pebbles of no great size; it corresponded exactly with the modern beach below high water mark and is a similar formation. These pebbles were covered with a layer between six inches and nine inches thick of brown soil containing angular stones with rounded edges, the whole loosely compacted; it resembled the surface deposits of the heugh and had probably fallen from the cliff. Both pebbles and soil were covered with humus carrying the modern vegetation; roots did not penetrate far below this humus. The east wall of the building stood on a small ridge of pebbles, and beyond this the surface of the pebbles rose again; it was not reached outside the enclosure, some 30 feet from the foot of the cliff.

<sup>5</sup> The section is not parallel to the axis of the building as the south-west buttress was mistaken for the wall face before clearance.

<sup>6</sup> These small shallow holes are not marked on the plan.



Plate I., No. 1.—CHAPEL FINNIAN. GENERAL VIEW.



Plate I., No. 2.—CHAPEL FINNIAN. SOUTH DOOR.



Plate I., No. 3.—CHAPEL FINNIAN. EAST END.

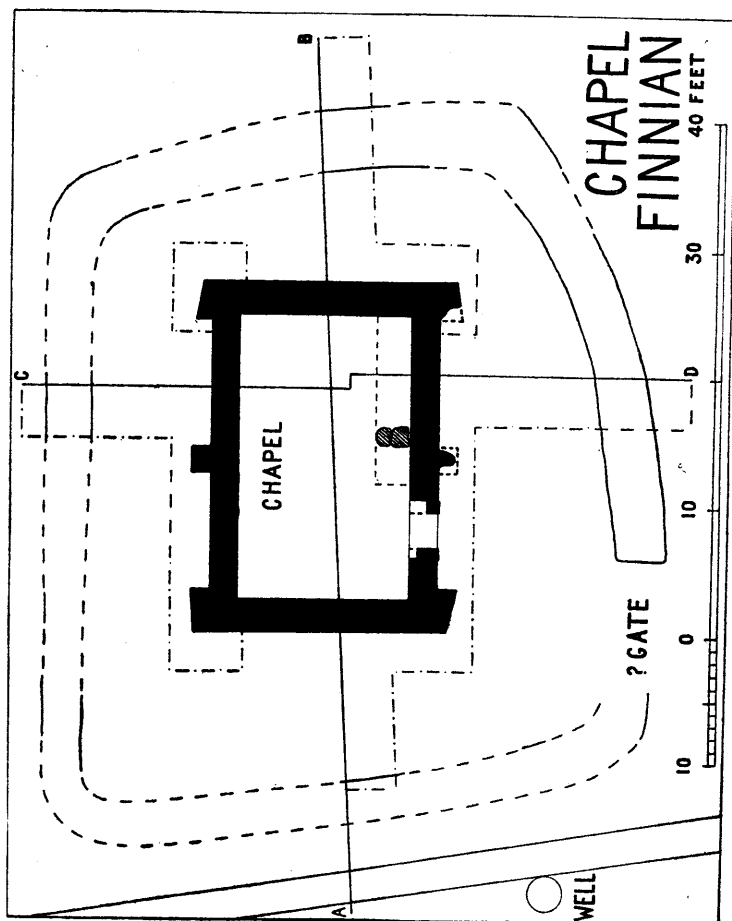


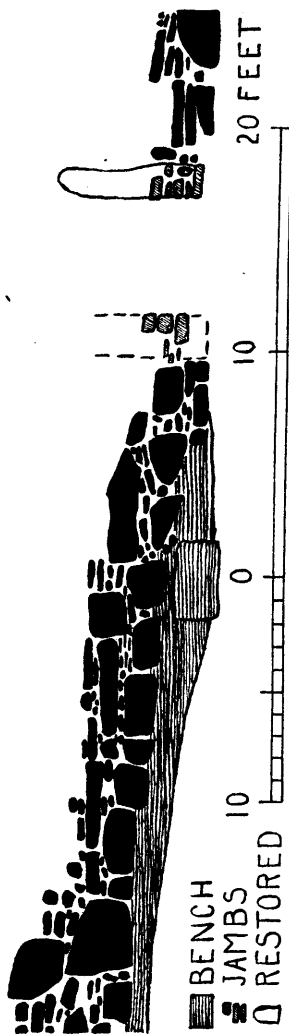
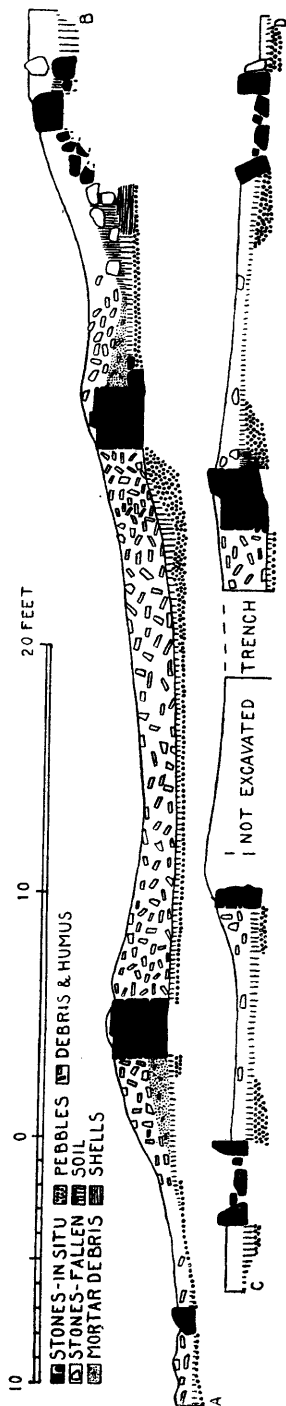
Fig. 1—PLAN.

The absence of an old surface suggests that the turf had been stripped, probably for use in the enclosure. This is borne out by the dark deposit on either side of the east wall, which is probably decayed turf.

At the foot of the east wall of the enclosure a large deposit of shells, mostly winkles, was found on the north side of the trench. It extended for two feet along the trench and 18 inches out from the face. The shells were covered by the outermost stones from the enclosure wall, but these were probably fallen. Alongside of the shells was a dark layer of organic matter. The whole deposit probably represents a deliberate burial of rubbish during the occupation of the site.

Enclosure and building were set on the brown soil or pebbles, without foundations. On the upper sides of the building large stones had been set into the pebbles in order to consolidate the bank of shingle. The west wall of the enclosure, behind the single facing stone, which remained *in situ*, was disturbed. The ground in this area was littered with stones, which had either accumulated during the building of the modern dyke, which lies a few feet away, or had subsequently fallen from it. Small banks of soil with some stones and a certain amount of comminuted mortar had accumulated against the outer faces of the walls of the building. They stood to a height of about one foot, covering the wall face, and extended outwards for up to four or five feet, gradually tailing off. One small fragment of mortar facing was found lying against the west wall, showing that the building was originally plastered externally. Plaster was also found in position on the inner face of the west wall; it was formed of the mortar used in the core of the wall, about three-eighths of an inch thick and roughly trowelled on. No pavement was found inside the building. The debris from the walls lay directly on the surface of the brown soil, which sloped gradually upwards from west to east, and it was clear that this had served as the floor while the building was in use. The debris covering this floor consisted of building stones, with some mortar, and modern rubbish, showing that





the decay of the building had been gradual and that it had at various times been used as a dump.

SECTION C—D. These trenches ran north and south, starting outside the walls of the building. A short cut running from the first trench to the south wall showed the relation of the strata within the building, but the corresponding part on the north side was not dug. The section was slightly staggered to avoid a dense patch of brambles, which appeared to be growing in a disturbance. The section shows the same sequence of strata as that already recorded and need not be described in detail. The level of the beach pebbles dropped one foot on the line of the south wall of the building, and stones were set against the outer face of the wall as on the east side. Accumulations of soil and mortar did not occur against the outer face of the side walls of the building, the stones and debris lying directly on the old surface. This is probably explained by drainage from the roof which would have washed these deposits away as soon as they began to accumulate.

#### THE CHAPEL.

The rectangular buttressed building is that to which the name Chapel Finnian has long been attached. This chapel is rectangular, measuring internally 22 feet by 13 feet 6 inches. The side walls are two feet two inches thick, the east wall two feet eight inches, and the west two feet six inches. The chapel, which lies approximately east and west, is set at right angles to the shore. There are three buttresses on each of the side walls, one in the centre and one against each corner. The central buttress on the north side is rectangular, 25 inches by 18 inches. The corresponding buttress on the south side now consists of a single large stone tied into the wall. It is probable that another large stone found slightly displaced on the east side belonged to this buttress, but it was removed before the existence of the buttress had been realised. No similar stone remained on the west side, but the appearance of the wall indicated that the buttress had originally been the same size as that on

the north. The corner buttresses are rather over three feet wide; the outer faces are oblique, the angle differing in each case. There were no buttresses on the end of the building. The door was on the south side midway between the western and central buttresses. On either side the masonry projects about two inches in a flat band about one foot broad. There are no door checks.<sup>7</sup> Hollows on the inner angles of the doorway once contained large upright stones. One of these lay as it had fallen from the western jamb; it measured eight inches by seven inches and was four feet 1 inch long, fitting into the space on this side of the door. The corresponding stone from the eastern jamb was not found. The walls of the chapel nowhere stood to more than three feet high, and there was no trace of a window.

The base of the interior of the south wall was rough, some of the stones projecting several inches beyond the face of the masonry. This roughness extended for 13 feet from the east end, and rose to about 1 foot three inches above the floor. Nine feet from the east end two large stones were set in the floor. They projected two feet eight inches from the wall face. Others further east were found lying on the floor, but these may have been fallen. No mortar was found among this material, but at the east end there was a dark deposit, probably representing decayed wood. The evidence points to a bench three feet wide and about 18 inches high, and possibly cased in wood.<sup>8</sup>

No roofing slates were found among the fallen material in and around the building. Even with the buttresses the walls are too slight to have taken a corbelled vault. The roof must therefore have been of thatch.<sup>9</sup>

7 This is normal in late Saxon doorways (A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, p. 111) and in other primitive churches.

8 Compare the benches in the early monastic buildings at Tintagel (*Journal of Royal Institution of Cornwall*, xxv., 32) and the projections on the side walls of St. Patrick's Chapel at Whitesands Bay, St. Davids, which are not very convincingly explained as foundations (*Archeologia Cambrensis*, 1925, 92 and 97).

9 Churches continued to be thatched in Wales until the end of the Middle Ages and even later, e.g., Gyffin, Caernarvonshire (Hughes, *Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 65).

The masonry of the walls was constructed of large blocks of stone split and roughly dressed on the outer face. The blocks were irregular, and large stones set on edge occurred at the base of the walls. Some long slabs were used as headers; in particular this method was employed to bond the buttresses into the wall. The interstices between the stones were filled with small fragments or spalls, generally laid horizontally, and small stones were used to make up the core of the masonry (fig. 3). The mortar was cream-coloured, with much sandy grit, less coarse than that in the 12th century building at Cruggleton; it was lavishly used, but had much perished near the surface. The same mortar was used to cover the faces of the walls. The plaster still *in situ* on the west wall was about three-eighths of an inch thick, roughly trowelled on.

The masonry of Chapel Finnian was well-built. Technically it was far more advanced than that of the early church found at the east end of Whithorn Priory.<sup>10</sup> There the stones were set in clay and the blocks split without dressing. The use of large irregular blocks with spalls in the interstices is typical of medieval work at Whithorn and in other districts where similar stone is used. But a comparison with the 13th century work at Whithorn fails to produce examples of the very large blocks or of blocks set on edge. The oblique-ended buttresses and the construction of the door are also foreign elements. Nor do the lesser buildings of this date, such as the Chapel of St. Ninian's Chapel at the Isle of Whithorn or the old parish church at Wigtown, provide any real parallel to the primitive features at Chapel Finnian. A different stone is employed in the 12th century church at Cruggleton, and in any case there are historical reasons why this building should not be regarded as typical of local work.<sup>11</sup>

The date of Chapel Finnian will be considered at a later stage in this report. It will now be sufficient to say that the

<sup>10</sup> Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, Transactions, Ser. III., xxvii., 106.

<sup>11</sup> See below pp 92-95.

considerations outlined above indicate that the building is likely to be earlier than the 12th century.

### THE ENCLOSURE.

The chapel stood within an enclosure, an irregular quadrilateral with rounded angles. This enclosure measured 50 feet from east to west by 40 feet from north to south, the chapel lying rather nearer the north and east walls.

The enclosing wall was between three feet six inches and four feet thick, with two faces formed of large stones and rubble lying between. Very few stones were found alongside the wall. As the fallen material from the chapel has not been removed, it must be assumed that the enclosure wall originally contained few additional stones and that the upper part was built of turves and soil. The lower side of the enclosure alongside the modern dyke, has been much disturbed, and only the inner face could be traced. The upper wall runs along a slight natural rise, which has been consolidated by setting some large stones into the subsoil. Elsewhere there remains only a single course set directly on to the old surface.

On the south side of the enclosure, near the south-west corner, a large block of stone, set on one side, transversely across the line of the wall, appears to mark the east side of the entrance. The corresponding block on the west side would have been removed when the modern track was formed.

No stratigraphical relationship between the chapel and the enclosure wall could be established. Both structures appear to have been built on virgin ground. The difference of technique is not in itself sufficient to prove that the enclosure wall is older than the chapel, though there are other grounds for thinking that this may be the case.

### PARALLELS AND CHRONOLOGY.

The general appearance and lay-out of Chapel Finnian suggest a comparison with the small early chapels found in all Celtic lands, and notably in Ireland. But there are some features to which it is difficult to quote a parallel, and, in

particular, the arrangement of the buttresses along the side walls is a feature not apparently found elsewhere. The plan uncovered in the excavations has been submitted to Mr H. G. Leask, formerly Inspector of Ancient Monuments to the Irish Board of Works, and he has replied as follows in a letter which he kindly allows me to quote :

“ The proportions of the plan are very much those of many early Irish churches (interior length about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times width ; not constant, of course, but common). The walls are thinner than is usual in Irish examples. I do not think they can have borne a corbelled stone roof. Buttresses are not found in our examples ; the usual form is the east and west extension of the north and south walls past the gable face, the antae. I do not know of any example with a buttress mid-way in the long walls. In this case they might have been counterforts for a centrally placed roof truss. Unfortunately we have no evidence here, even as late as the 13th century, of the existence of principal trusses at intervals.

“ The bench along the inside of the south wall is a very strange feature, and I can offer no Irish parallel. Nor do I recollect having ever seen the inner angles of door jambs formed of upright stones, though external jambs are sometimes so formed, e.g., Labba Molaga, Co. Cork, where two such upright jamb stones support the lintel. A south door, *ab initio*, is not at all common in Ireland in early churches. As to plaster on walls, this has usually disappeared from our roofless ruins, but in the few examples known to me (inside the corbelled roof and on parts of the walls of St. Lua's Oratory from Friar's Island, now at Killaloe,<sup>12</sup>) the plaster is thin, roughly trowelled on, very irregular, and yellow in colour. The enclosure of early Irish churches with a dry masonry wall is common.”

These detailed comparisons show that there is much at Chapel Finnian which differs from the Pre-Romanesque churches of Ireland. The general lay-out with the chapel in

12 Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, ix., 130.

a primitive enclosure is common not only in that island, where there are good examples at Temple Manchan and Kil-fountain in the Dingle Peninsula, Co. Kerry, but in the keills of the Isle of Man<sup>13</sup> and in certain Cornish sites. In Galloway we have another example in the enclosure wall which surrounded St. Ninian's Chapel on the Isle of Whithorn. This is a late survival of the 13th century with a dressed stone door and windows to the chapel and a mortared stone-built enclosure wall; its very sophistication emphasises the primitive character of Chapel Finnian, lying only a few miles away. This is as far as the purely archæological data will carry us.

The historical background must now be examined. St. Finnian of Moville is traditionally connected with Whithorn. He was early identified with St. Fridianus, Bishop of Lucca, whose life includes the following story:

The Blessed Fridianus became famous for his great learning. Wherefore his master, by name Mugint, who had instructed him in the liberal arts, in the city which is called Candida, becoming enraged, plotted with two disciples who had remained with him (for many had assembled to receive instruction of the blessed Fridianus) to destroy him secretly in the night. . . . Strengthened in their evil purpose, the disciples of Mugint came with axes to the door of the church, to keep watch so that they might slay the holy man in the porch, when he, first of all, arrived for the morning service. But the angel of the Lord . . . removed one of his sandals and, while the blessed Fridianus was seeking it on all sides, Mugint arrived at the door of the church, and, struck down from right and left by those who were lurking in ambush, he perished.<sup>14</sup>

St. Fridian, we are told, then departed to his own country, to Moville in County Down. The same story, with other details that do now not concern us, is told in the preface to the hymn *Parce, Domine*, in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*,

<sup>13</sup> Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, pp. 1-3.

<sup>14</sup> Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, March, p. 633.

the scene of the incident being there given as Futerna, the Irish form of the Saxon name Whithorn.<sup>15</sup> The two versions are so similar that they must go back to a common source. The occurrence in the *Liber Hymnorum* proves that the story was known in the 11th century, and the use of the form Futerna suggests that it is as old as the period of Northumbrian rule at Whithorn (7th-9th century). The names which are associated with this story are consistent with a date early in the 6th century, when St. Finnian, who died about 580,<sup>16</sup> would have been a young man. We may therefore accept the traditional connection of this saint with Whithorn and identify him as the patron of Chapel Finnian.

The chapel or oratory described in this report cannot be as old as the 6th century, but the enclosure might be of this date. We can compare the site with such places as the Chapel of St. Patrick at Whitesands Bay, near St. Davids,<sup>17</sup> and suggest that it commemorates some episode in the life of St. Finnian, or was, perhaps, a traditional landing place for pilgrims coming from Ireland to Galloway. The building of the chapel would then be due to closer links between the two countries in the 10th or 11th century, when the Irish Vikings established their rule in Galloway and made their chief centre in that country at Whithorn.

<sup>15</sup> *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ii., pp. 11 and 112 (Henry Bradshaw Society).

<sup>16</sup> *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 578 (Ed., Hennessy, i., 69).

<sup>17</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1925, p. 87.



## ARTICLE 3.

**Castle Loch, Mochrum.**

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD, M.A.

In 1912 the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland recorded that the proprietor, the Marquess of Bute, was engaged in the examination of the buildings on an island, known as Castle Island, at the north-east end of Castle Loch, Mochrum.<sup>1</sup> An extensive clearance of the ruins was then carried out and the walls and enclosure were consolidated. A number of objects found on the site have been preserved at the Old Place of Mochrum, but no account of the work has been published. At the suggestion of Mr R. C. Reid and with the consent of the present proprietor, Lord David Stuart, both the site and the objects have been examined and the present report drawn up. One of the photographs taken in 1912 is now published. No plan being available, a survey was carried out in 1950. The collection has been examined by both Mr R. B. K. Stevenson and the present writer and the list accompanying the report was drawn up through the National Museum of Antiquities, to which Lord David Stuart kindly sent the more important objects for examination.

My most sincere thanks are due in the first place to Lord David Stuart for permission to examine the site and to study the objects at the Old Place of Mochrum. Not only did he afford us all the facilities required for the preparation of this report, but he also arranged for the clearance of undergrowth in order to facilitate the survey, and provided the assistance of members of his estate staff during the period when this was carried out. To Mr Reid I am indebted for first bringing the site to my notice and for much assistance during the work. I would also thank Mr Stevenson for facilities provided at the National Museum of Antiquities and the various scholars whose names are appended to the different sections

<sup>1</sup> Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland: Wigtownshire, no 226.

of the report on the objects found. The later historical account is the work of Mr Reid. During the survey assistance was afforded by Mr James Rennie of the Mochrum Estate, who was present during the excavations carried out in 1912.

#### **The Site.**

Castle Loch, Mochrum, is an irregular lake with a much indented shore, lying one mile west of the Old Place of Mochrum. Though less than two miles from the south-west coast of the Machars, the drainage from this and the neighbouring lakes runs north-eastwards to the Water of Malzie and so into the Bladnoch. Castle Loch is rather over one mile long and half a mile wide. The strata run north-east and south-west, with a number of outcrops forming islets or isolated rocks, projecting above the surface of the water. Castle Island is one of these, situated about 100 yards from the north-east shore of the lake. Local tradition points to the existence of a ford, across which one might ride from the shore to the island, but Mr Rennie knew of no one who had done this, and the lay-out of the remains points to a boat as the normal means of access.

#### **The Buildings.**

There is a rocky outcrop on the north side of the island. The ridge, which follows the direction of the strata, now runs for some 80 feet and is 35 feet wide; it rises to a height of 25 feet. On the south-east is an irregular space, about 150 feet from north-east to south-west by a maximum of 90 feet across. This space is now flat, with a slight fall to the south and east; originally there were probably other outcrops, which have been quarried away to provide material for the buildings.

Except on the rocky north-west side the island is enclosed with a low wall rising from the water. In the centre of the east side the wall curves outward, the ends being inbent to form a small harbour. The entrance measures 10 feet across, but the basin, some 20 by 16 feet, is now largely silted up. Originally the walls on either side would have served as quays.

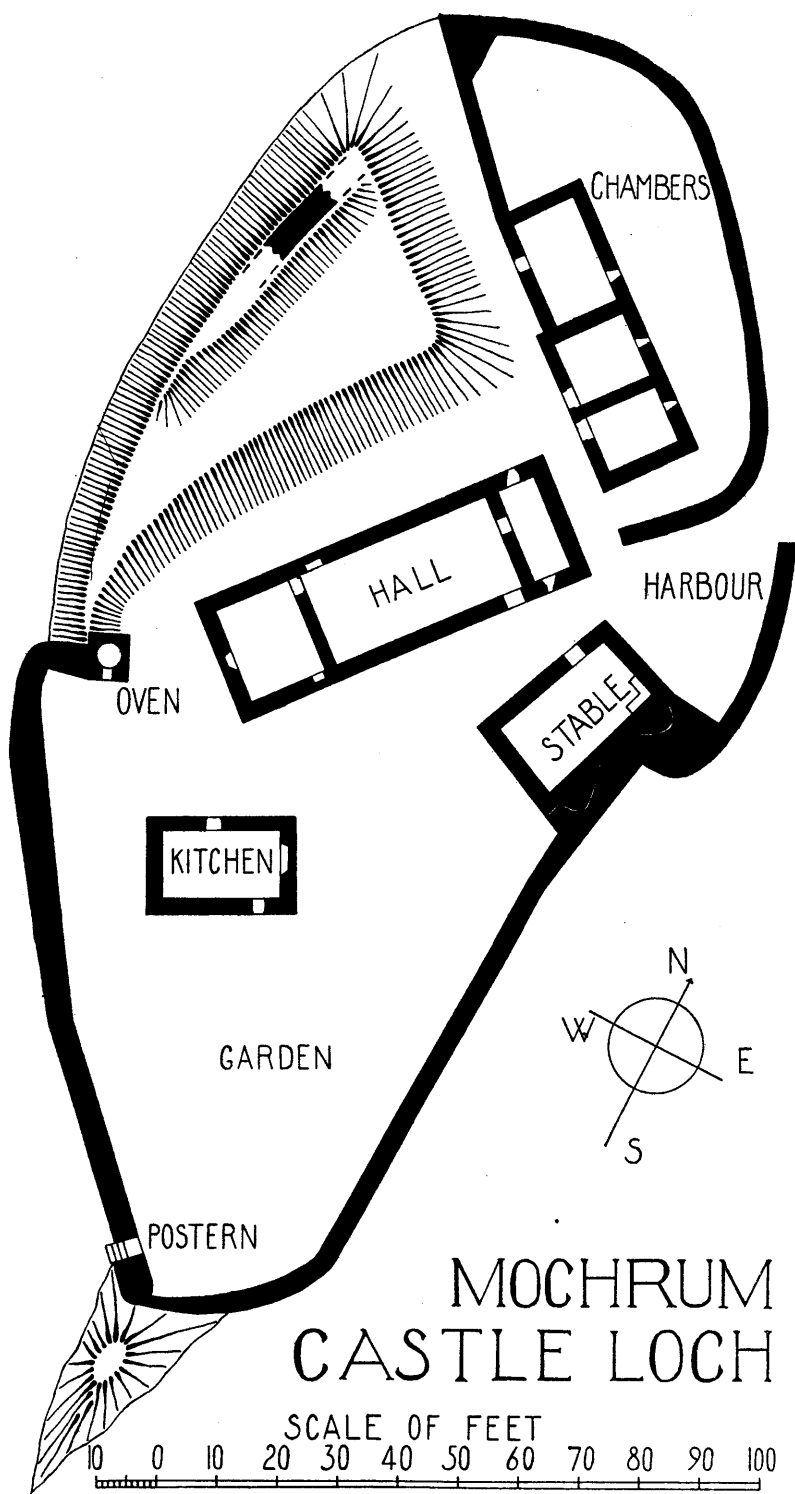


Fig. 4—PLAN OF THE ISLAND ON CASTLE LOCH.

On the right of the harbour, running north and south, are the Chambers; on the left is Barn or Stable. The central space is occupied by the Hall, a long building facing south, with the outcrop at its back. Beyond the hall are the Kitchen and Oven, the latter standing on the west shore, where the enclosure curves inland at the foot of the outcrop. The flat space in front of the hall is open, with a second entrance and steps leading down to a landing place lying on the west side of the farthest point of the island. This open space probably served as a small garden.

In their present form the buildings are all late medieval or later. They are rubble built of roughly split stones. The hall is formed out of an older building, probably a chapel. The complex represents a dwelling of some pretention, and its importance is borne out by the wide range of luxury wares of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, recovered in the course of Lord Bute's excavations.

**The Hall (fig. 5).**

The hall in its final form was a rectangular building 62 by 21 feet. It faced south on to a strip of cobbled paving 7 feet wide. The masonry is of two dates. The older east end is 47 feet long, built of large irregular stones with smaller pieces wedging them into position. The quoins are formed of larger blocks, poorly dressed, and the window jambs have stones roughly split to the angle required. The later masonry

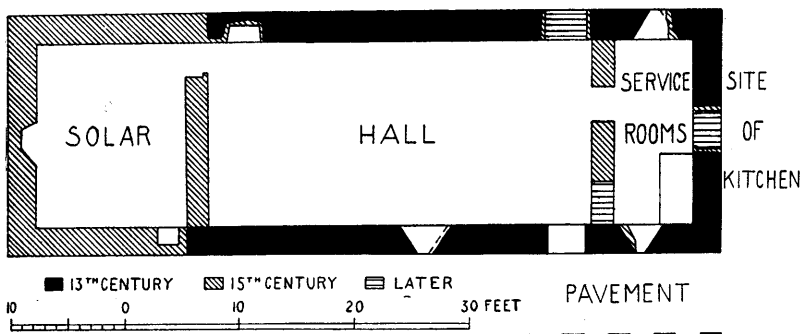


Fig. 5—PLAN OF HALL.

at the west end is also rubble; it uses a higher proportion of small stones and the quoins and jambs are roughly squared. The walls of the building were partly taken down in 1912; each stone was numbered and the masonry rebuilt and consolidated. The walls were in places heightened, but the top of the old work was everywhere marked by the insertion of a lead plate.

The interior of the hall is partly encumbered with piles of stone found on the site and stacked there after the excavation. It is divided into three parts, the centre forming the hall proper. This has an original door near the east end of the south wall, with a later door opposite. The west splay of the window near the centre of the south wall is also original, but the fireplace in the north-east corner is an insertion. The east wall, with its two doorways, is a partition butted against the older side walls. There is no trace of an upper storey.

The small space beyond the partition at the east end formed the buttery and service rooms. These were lighted by windows in the north and south walls. The western jamb of the former and the eastern jamb of the latter are original, but the opposite side has in each case been rebuilt in order to reduce the width of the embrasure. The north window is rectangular and 2 feet high with a lintel 6 feet above the floor; this forms part of the later work. The upper part of the south window has been rebuilt on the same lines. In the south-east corner is a stone-built table 6 feet by 3 feet and 1 foot 6 inches high. A door has been cut through the centre of the older east wall; it has checks on the inner side, with the door opening outward. This indicates a lean-to structure against the east wall. No trace of this now remains, but a kitchen in this position would be normal. Seven feet above the floor two inserted corbels project from the inner face of the east wall. These would have carried the floor of an upper room. The partition wall opposite is not standing to a sufficient height to retain the corresponding corbels or the marks of joists embedded into the masonry as would have been usual if the floor was inserted with the partition. Both

the eastern door and the south door in the partition were blocked at some later date.

The west end of the hall block is an extension of the earlier building. The original end wall was demolished, but the base of the old quoin is visible on the outside of the south wall. This extension formed the solar or private apartment of the owner. It was entered through a door at the north end of the partition. There is an original fireplace in the west wall and a rude inserted chimney near the south-east corner. On the north side the wall stands to a height of 10 feet above the floor level. At 8 feet 6 inches there is a recess for a wooden beam, showing that this addition was designed as a two-storied building.

This block consists of a central apartment over 9 feet high, with no sign of an upper storey, and two smaller rooms at each end. These rooms were comparatively low, with an upper floor. There was also a lean-to against the east end, which was later demolished. The block is a variant on the English medieval house plan with a central hall open to the roof and cross wings at the ends, with upper stories and their roofs rising above that of the hall.<sup>2</sup> At Castle Loch these wings are incorporated into the main building and covered by the same roof. This arrangement is also found at Cochwillan, Caernarvonshire, which was built by a prosperous Welsh squire between 1450 and 1480.<sup>3</sup> At Maenan in the same county a similar timber-framed house was built in the mid-15th century. Berw in Anglesey, built about 1480, is a further example of the same plan.<sup>4</sup> The west wing of Tretower, Brecknock, also of the second half of the 15th century, is on a grander scale, with a retainers' mess hall open to the roof, lying beyond the service rooms. Tretower in the earlier north wing also provides an example of the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in England: Essex, vol. IV., p. xxxv.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1896, 20-9.

<sup>4</sup> Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: Anglesey, 101.

<sup>5</sup> Tretower Court, Official Guide (Ministry of Works).

lean-to kitchen at the end of the hall block.<sup>5</sup> These examples show that the house on Castle Island belongs to a type well established in Wales at the end of the Middle Ages, and provide valuable evidence for the dating of the Scotch dwelling.

The dating suggested by the parallels cited in the last paragraph is borne out by the local evidence. A date later than the middle of the 16th century is excluded by the fact that the local gentry in Galloway were then building tower houses of the type represented by the Old Place of Sorbie.<sup>6</sup> At the other end the 13th century is ruled out by the dating to this period of the original structure, within which the hall was contrived. I should hesitate to place the building at Castle Loch earlier than 1400 on purely archæological grounds, and this dating is borne out both by the large quantity of later domestic finds and by the historical evidence cited by Mr Reid, which points to a date about 1475. The blocking of the eastern door and the other alterations should be connected with the erection of the separate kitchen, probably during the 16th century.

The older structure was a simple rectangular block 47 by 21 feet. The only original details are the south door near the east end and the splays of the eastern windows, together with that in the middle of the south side. The west wall has not survived. The windows all appear to have been lancets. The interior was at least 9 feet 6 inches high, with no upper storey. The masonry suggests a 13th century date. A building of this type is unlikely to have been domestic. It was more probably a small chapel like St. Ninian's Chapel at the Isle of Whithorn,<sup>7</sup> a structure which it resembles in size and plan. This identification and dating are confirmed by the discovery within the east end of the small altar slab, which came from the bottom of the debris within the part later cut off to form the service rooms (fig. 6).

<sup>6</sup> Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland: Wigtownshire, no 421.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 492.

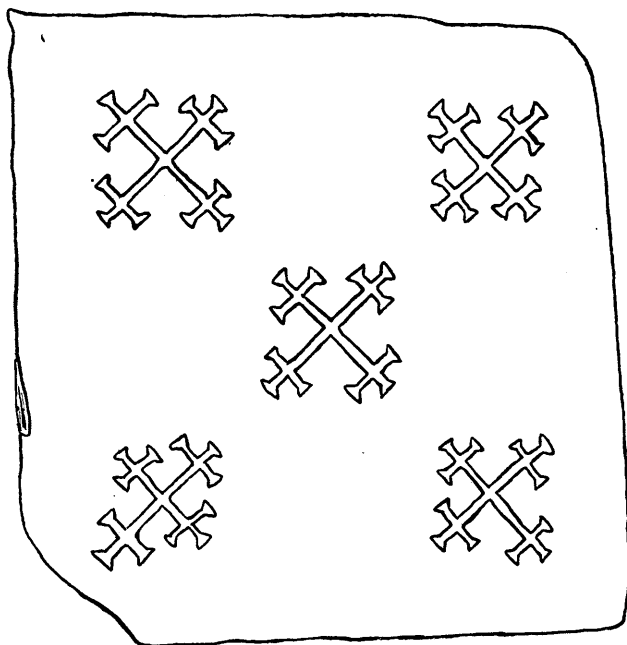


Fig. 6—STONE ALTAR SLAB (Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$  in.).

#### The Kitchen.

The later kitchen is a rectangular building 21 by 16 feet, lying in front and slightly to the west of the hall. The entrance is on the north side. The whole of the west end is occupied by a great chimney. The wall on either side of the flue is pierced with holes 6 inches square, which held the beams carrying the hood. There are small rectangular windows in the side walls. This building stands to roof level with the gables intact. The masonry, though rough, is more sophisticated than that of the solar end of the main block. It has no datable detail, but was probably added during the 16th century when the lean-to at the east end of the hall was demolished.

#### The Oven.

Beyond the kitchen on the western shore is a small rectangular oven. The opening on the south side is 2 feet



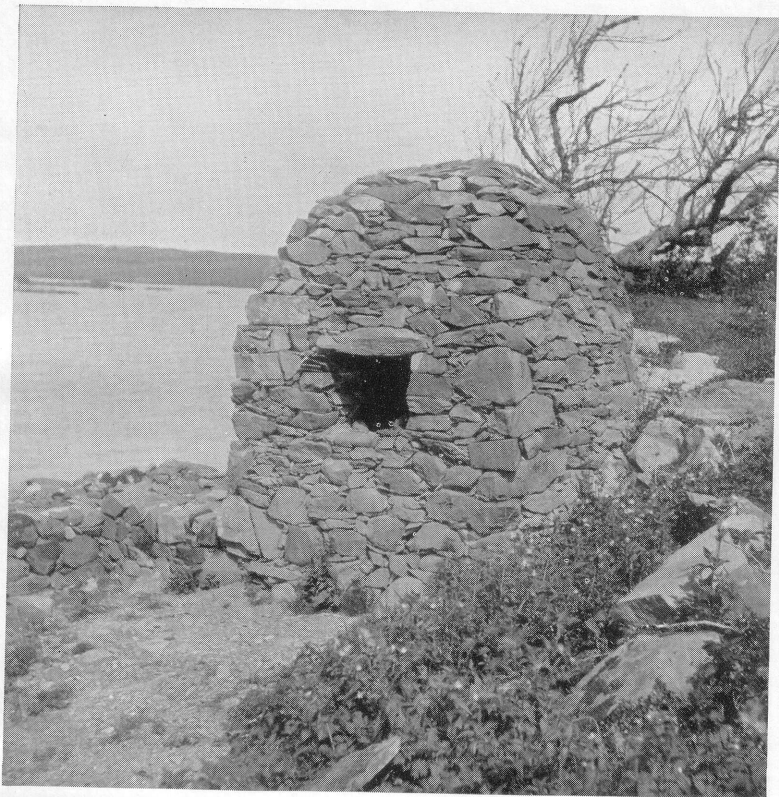


Plate II.—CASTLE LOCH, MOCHRUM; THE OVEN.

wide, with a circular chamber rather over 4 feet across, covered with a corbelled roof 4 feet high. The roof was ruinous when found, and has been reconstructed on the evidence of the surviving parts. The masonry suggests that the oven was built at the same time as the kitchen (plate 1).

#### **The Chambers.**

The block at the north end of the island is of two periods. The main part, 27 feet 6 inches by 17 feet, consists of two separate rooms entered through doors set, side by side, in the centre of the west wall. The doors have carefully made stone jambs. There is a small rectangular window in the east wall of each room. The masonry resembles that of the kitchen. The chambers cannot have been built before the demolition of the lean-to kitchen at the east end of the hall. They are therefore part of the 16th century rearrangement. In the late medieval house the upper storey over the service rooms would have served as a guest chamber. Later it was replaced by this separate building, which may be compared with the lodgings provided in a number of late medieval houses and castles. The north addition to the block provides a third apartment of the same character. It does not appear to be much later, though the walls are butted against the original north end.

#### **The Barn or Stables.**

The building south of the harbour is much ruined. It is 27 feet long and diminishes in width from 18 feet 6 inches to 16 feet 9 inches. The door is on the north side. Two feet above floor level the back wall is pierced with two rectangular holes 15 inches wide by 10 high. In the eastern angle there is a rough bench 2 feet high and 18 inches wide. Outside are two irregular blocks of masonry, later incorporated in the enclosure wall. The purpose of this building is uncertain. Its rough construction and irregular shape suggest that it was not part of the dwelling. The position next the harbour would make it useful as a barn or stable if a ford practicable for horses existed when the house was occupied. Its date is probably the same as that of the hall.

### The Enclosure.

The greater part of the enclosure wall above water level is a rebuild. When I surveyed the site in March, 1950, the lake was at a high level and little of the original masonry was visible. It showed no very marked characteristics. The parts of the wall abutting on the barn, the oven and the chambers are all later than these buildings, but these parts of the enclosure probably represent modifications; the main wall may be much older. On the crest of the rocky outcrop is part of a similar wall, which must be older than the existing arrangement with the ends curved back at the foot of the outcrop. This implies an earlier stage when the enclosing wall surrounded the whole island. The basis of the present wall probably belongs to this stage. The wall on the top of the outcrop cannot be later than the date of the chapel, and an enclosure surrounding this building and covering the full extent of the island would be perfectly normal in this type of site in the 13th century. How much earlier it is cannot be determined on the evidence at present available.

Lord Bute's excavations were not carried below the floor level of the buildings, and my own work was confined to an examination of the remains already uncovered. Further excavation carried to a lower level might throw further light on the earlier history of the site. But this is by no means certain, as the soil must be shallow, and we have to reckon with the possibility of extensive disturbance in the Middle Ages and later. In the meantime our reconstruction of the history of the site must depend on the finds, interpreted in the light of conditions prevailing in the earlier Middle Ages.

### History.

The earliest objects found on Castle Island—a fragment of terra sigillata, coarse Roman pottery and spindle whorls—date from the beginning of the Roman period. Native settlements on natural or artificial islands have been recorded from a number of sites in Galloway. A good example was found not many miles away in the drained Loch of Dowal-

ton.<sup>8</sup> At Castle Loch the beads carry the story down into the early Christian period.

Castle Loch lies in the parish of Mochrum, and there is evidence that the settlement at Kirk of Mochrum, the later medieval ecclesiastical centre, goes back to the 12th century. The Mote of Druchtag<sup>9</sup> has no recorded history, but presumably belongs to this period. Romanesque corbels from the original parish church are now to be seen built into the byres at Boghouse. They date from the second half of the 12th century, and two unpublished cross slabs from the same buildings, now in the Museum at Whithorn, are approximately contemporary.<sup>10</sup> A chapel on the island in Castle Loch could hardly have arisen after the foundation of the Parish Church, unless the site already possessed hallowed associations. The origin of the chapel must therefore be carried back beyond the existing building, at least as far as the 11th century. The evidence of the beads would fit in with a foundation in the early Christian period. This being so, the site can hardly be dissociated from Chapel Finnian on the coast below Corwall, which has been shown in its latest form to date from the 10th or 11th century. Chapel Finnian would not have been an isolated foundation. Its obvious purpose was to mark the landing place for some object of pilgrimage. The position is inconveniently situated for travellers to Whithorn. Even those who desired to avoid rounding Burrow Point on their way to the Isle of Whithorn could find a more convenient shelter in the neighbourhood of Monreith Bay. But for a pilgrimage to the neighbourhood of Mochrum Loch the site below Corwall is well chosen. The valley of the Craignarget Burn, which now looks the most direct route from the shore to Castle Loch, would have been choked with undergrowth and almost impassable. The easier route in the conditions then prevailing would have been by a direct ascent

<sup>8</sup> Archæological Collections of Ayrshire and Galloway, v. 77; cf. Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland: Wigtownshire, p. xxvii.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 200

<sup>10</sup> These and other fragments referred to are unpublished; I hope in the near future to place them on record.

of the cliff and along the higher ground. For this purpose two landings offer themselves—Garheugh Port and Corwall Port, the latter the site of Chapel Finnian. Garheugh Port is the nearer to Castle Loch, but it is unlikely that the main site lay on the isolated island which forms the subject of this report. That sanctuary is more likely to have been a retreat, like St. Ninian's Cave. The main centre must be sought elsewhere, and the crosses afford a valuable indication. Two fragments are known from Elrig, one now built into the modern house and another in the Museum at Whithorn.<sup>11</sup> A third is incorporated in a pillar of the cart shed at the neighbouring farm of Airylick.<sup>12</sup> A fourth now built into the outbuildings of May Farm lies on the direct route from Elrig round the south end of Mochrum Loch to the island in Castle Loch. It is in the neighbourhood of Elrig and Airylick that the lost monastic site must be sought. Extensive ruins at Barhapple, near the modern house, appeared to provide a clue, but a superficial examination of the site suggests the remains of a comparatively modern village.

A Celtic monastery with its own retreat and landing place provides the most probable explanation of these early remains in the western part of Mochrum Parish. The monastery doubtless fell on evil days, and is unlikely to have survived the foundation of the new Parish Church at Kirk of Mochrum. But some memory of their former sanctity must have remained attached to the island in Castle Loch and the little chapel on the shore. Only so can we explain the rebuilding of the first and the traditional association of St. Finnian with the latter. The final extinction of the ecclesiastical connections of the island can probably be explained by a lay usurpation in the later Middle Ages. The Dunbars may have inherited from their Celtic predecessors some rights over the settlement, and what these rights might mean is well illustrated by the account of Llanbadarnfawr in Cardiganshire, which appears in the pages of Giraldus Cam-

<sup>11</sup> Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society., Ser. III., x., 225.

<sup>12</sup> Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland: Wigtownshire, no. 229.

brensis.<sup>13</sup> "This church," he writes, "like many others in Ireland and Wales, has a lay abbot. For the evil custom has grown up that men, powerful in the neighbourhood, being first appointed by the clerics as stewards, or rather patrons and defenders of the churches, with the passing of time and increasing greed, usurp to themselves the whole right and impudently appropriate the lands and other possessions, leaving to the clerics only the dues and tithes and offerings, and even assigning these to their sons and relatives who are in orders." In the troubled days of the 15th century the final step would not have been difficult.

### THE OWNERS OF MOCHRUM LOCH.

By R. C. REID.

The property of Mochrum Loch was until 1474 part of the undivided barony of Mochrum, possessed at that date by Patrick Dunbar of Cumnok and Mochrum. That barony comprehended the greater part of Mochrum parish, and perhaps was acquired by the 8th Earl of Dunbar by marriage with Marjorie Comyn, daughter of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, who was sheriff of Wigton by 1264. It is difficult otherwise to account for the presence of an East Coast feudal family in the remote West of Scotland. Certainly the Earls of Buchan owned Cruggleton Castle on the other side of Wigton Bay. From this 8th Earl of Dunbar was descended Patrick Dunbar of Cumnok and Mochrum. Patrick had no son, only three daughters, all married to distant Dunbar cousins. The eldest received Cumnok as her portion, the second received Mochrum Park, and the youngest, Janet, with whose descendants we are concerned, inherited Mochrum Loch. Thus the two younger girls each had half of the barony of Mochrum. The division took place in 1474, and at once the husband of Margaret, the elder of the two, proceeded to build the old tower of Mochrum Park, now restored as the Old Place of Mochrum.

<sup>13</sup> *Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Cambriae*, ii., 4 (Rolls Series: Opera, vi., 120).

Prior to that there is no record of where the Dunbars lived—probably at Cumnok. Janet, the youngest, married Patrick Dunbar 3rd of Kilconquhar, a Fifeshire laird. The question at once arises, where did they live at Mochrum? Until Mr Raleigh Radford visited the island site it was assumed that they were absentee landlords residing really at Kilconquhar. But it is now clear that the deserted mediæval chapel on the island was adapted as their residence at about the same time that the earliest tower at Old Place of Mochrum was being built. The family, however, mainly resided in Fife, where their history must be sought. But the eldest son on reaching age seems to have lived at Mochrum Loch till succession. Thus the 4th Patrick, who fell at Flodden, is frequently associated with Mochrum. In youth he had caused his family some anxiety. He had slain Patrick M'Culloch, and in 1498 sought a Crown remission for the crime which had been committed in the town of Wigton. Remission for nine years was granted and renewed in 1507. Prior to the remission he had been at the horn and had been sheltered by his father, who consequently had to obtain in 1503 a remission for this reset. The Crown respite for the murder cost his father £133 6s 8d, which sum indicates that the slaughtered Patrick M'Culloch must have been of some standing. Patrick Dunbar, 5th of that name, died in 1549, leaving a son, Andrew, and four daughters. On succession Andrew had to pay very large sums to the Crown for feudal casualties, and to meet the call sold to his neighbour, Dunbar of Mochrum Park, a part of the Loch estate—the lands of Barbrochene, Glentriploch, Mekill Kerintrae, Drumskeoch, and Clone. Andrew died in 1564, and his four sisters were his heirs portioners. The story of how these heiresses parted with the property of Mochrum Loch is too long and involved to be given in this brief note. But it provided a prolonged lawsuit that was celebrated in its day and is still quoted in text books on the law of Bastardy and Divorce. The proceedings lasted from 1568 to 1584, and all parties were beggared. By 1590 the property had been acquired

by Sir Patrick Vaus of Barnbarroch: Mochrum Loch was owned by the Vaus family for a few generations and then feued out in various parts, ultimately to be acquired by the ancestors of the late Marquess of Bute. If the island was inhabited to the end of the 17th century it is not known who were the occupants.

### **List of Objects from the late Marquess of Bute's Excavations.**

#### **A. COINS, identified by Mr Robert Kerr, M.A., Royal Scottish Museum.**

- 1-7. Six English silver pennies of Edward I., minted at Bristol, Bristol (?), Canterbury, Durham (2), and York; and a seventh, fragmentary, probably of the same King, minted at Canterbury.
- 8.-9. Two small fragments of silver, presumably from similar coins but without any traces of lettering or design.
10. Silver penny of John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia and Poland (1310-1346 A.D.).
- 11-13. Three copper coins; one, much defaced, appears to be a Scottish twopenny piece probably of Charles II.; the other two, both quite illegible—one is the size of a Scottish bawbee, the other of a Scottish twopenny piece.

#### **B. METAL WORK, identified by Mr Stuart Maxwell, M.A., National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.**

1. Zoomorphic brass spout, surface much worn. May be the spout of an Aquamanile, or, more probably, of a form of Ewer common in the 15th century, with one or two spouts and handle of similar design. cf. Tevenor-Parry "Dinanderie," p. 178, Pl. XXXVI.
2. Brass stop-cock or tap, with trefoil handle.
3. Brass neck of bottle or other vessel. Differences in thickness are perhaps due to faulty casting.
4. Brass handle, with hook attachment, from chest or cupboard. This type of handle is very common.
5. Prick spur with point of a late style (London Museum Medieval Catalogue, p. 85-7, type 8). It is set at quite a large angle from the arms, which are fairly straight. Late prick spurs usually have curved arms. One terminal is missing and the other much corroded, but they seem to have been of the simple ring-bolt type,



which became obsolescent with the introduction of the rowel spur. (London Catalogue, p. 95, type B (1)). The striking peculiarity is the size; the length is 2.5", while the shortest in the London Catalogue (p. 101, A. 11004) is 3.35", and is described as "unusually short." The latest date for the prick spur appears to be the 14th century—perhaps late in the century for Scotland.

6. Brass ring, made of a single band, diameter 0.8", width 0.2". Two saltires are roughly incised on either side of the join.
7. Bronze candlestick with portion of socket missing, around the hole for ejection of the candle-end. The base is of the type thought by Curle (P.S.A.S., 1925-26, p. 188) to have developed from his type I. The flatness of the moulding between base and stem, and the small size of the moulding on the stem, he has kindly identified as early features. The candlestick may therefore belong to the late 14th century at the earliest

**C. GLASS FRAGMENTS**, identified by Mr W. A. Thorpe, Victoria and Albert Museum.

**I. Roman.**

- (30). Curved portion of small vessel, highly encrusted. Impossible to say what it is. ?? Roman period.

**II. Crystal.**

**A. Painted.**

- (39). Portion of the side of a drinking glass of crystal, probably a stemmed drinking glass, decorated with figure, etc., subjects in enamel colours. It is evident that the remaining figure in light blue and yellow enamel, presumably that of a man, has his right arm upraised and a narrow belted waist. This piece comes from a late 16th or 17th century glass, but I think certainly from a French rather than a German piece, though German pieces of course occur very much more frequently. Not apparently forest glass. For the style compare Buckley Collection, No. 204. In contrast with the fragments following, this figure, though apparently the worse for burial, has the characteristic fused surface of muffle-fired enamels.
- (40, 41). Two fragments of rather dusky and rather horny crystal, both blown about 1-16th to 1-10th inch thick. The design on the larger fragment is a woman's head, the face and neck painted in opaque white pigment with dabs of red and the eye and other details in black. The hair may have been originally black, but now appears simply as a matt band. Behind it is a patch

of opaque bright red. The smaller fragment has similar red paint in two corners. Though the technique of the glass and painting is like that of Roman cups made in the Alexandrian code, exemplified by fragments from Traprain and Housesteads (P.S.A.S., LXVI., p. 294) and complete vessels in Scandinavia (Anton Kisa, *Das Glas in Altertume*, III., 1908, pp. 303 ff.), Mr D. B. Harden of the Ashmolean Museum does not consider that the style of the face can be Roman.

- (42). Fragment of drinking vessel. Crystal glass decorated in ? white enamel, a portion of foliage or figure crossed by a line in red.

**B. Crystal—French Façon. 16th century.**

- (16). Rim portion of crystal drinking-glass with white enamelled decoration dotted above traces of scale pattern, probably originally gilt. This is an interesting piece of rather French type, particularly as dug up in Scotland.
- (17). Rim or spout fragment of 16th century Façon jug or drinking-glass with decoration painted in milk-white and opaque blue enamels (blue line below white dotted line below rim). This is 16th century Façon and of a French type, not of the highest class for Italian types, but not exceptionally low for French types. Franco-Scottish connections in the time of George Buchanan make this interesting.

**C. Crystal—Façon. 17th century—early 18th century.**

- (4). Portion of the side of a crystal glass vessel (?) drinking-glass.
- (9). Portion of broad hollow-folded foot-rim of drinking-glass.
- (11). Portion of crystal drinking-glass. Probably from the join of bowl and stem.
- (7). Part of the hollow-folded foot-rim of a drinking-glass. 17th century to early 18th century.
- (14). Part of side of (?) drinking-glass. 17th century or early 18th century.
- (38). Fragment of vessel, possibly the near rim of a sitting-cup. The metal is the true ancient crystal, the distinctive, very hard, rather horny, almost colourless, high quality crystal of which other fragments at Queen Street, some thin blown, have been found in Scotland, etc. The blowing is not very thin here, but interesting as in two casings, ?? with decoration originally between them. Difficult to suggest what exact form

should be evident from the parting of the two casings. The general crystal family that this belongs to is described in "Transactions of the Society of Glass Technology," Vol. XXII., 1938, pp. 5 and following.

**D. Crystal—Façon—Milk-Trail. 17th-18th century.**

- (1). Part of rim of crystal drinking-glass with rough milk-trail of six circuits. 17th to early 18th century.
- (2). Ditto. Ditto.
- (3). Ditto. Ditto.
- (5). Ditto. Ditto.
- (6). Ditto. Ditto.
- (15). Portion of the side of a stemmed V-shaped drinking-glass, crystal, with trailead and other decoration in milk glass. 17th century.
- (24 to 29). Six fragments (rim fragments or near-rim fragments) of vessels with horizontal milk-trail roughly done. These are akin to numbers (1) to (3) and (5) to (6) and are of a kind which might well have been produced in Scotland under the Hay monopoly by briefly migrant Italians like Bernard Tamerlayne, and Giovanni dell'Acqua, from about 1610 onwards.
- (32). Rim fragment of a drinking vessel, crystal with rough milk-trail. 17th century to early 18th century. Akin to numbers (1), etc.
- (33). Portion, not far below the rim, of a funnel-shaped drinking vessel, almost certainly stemmed, of crystal, with dropped-on milk dots over light moulded ribbing, below irregular milk-trail. Fairly rough façon, 17th century. Mansell-Hay period. Brown discoloration of the milk glass is due to burial.
- (34 to 35). Two fragments of a crystal glass vessel or vessels, probably one drinking-glass, akin to number (33), with vertical dots of milk glass over light moulded ribs. Rough façon, 17th century. Probably Mansell-Hay period.

**E. Pearl Moulding. 17th century.**

- (10). Portion of pearl-moulded rim of drinking-glass, perhaps from a sitting cup. Crystal, latter half of 17th century.
- (18). Rim fragment of Façon crystal drinking-glass with pearl moulding, probably 17th century. Same general type as No. 10.
- (23). Rim portion of crystal sitting cup or stemmed glass, with pearl moulding. About 17th century. Akin to numbers (10) and (18).

**III. Forest Glass.**

- (12). Portion of solid-folded foot-rim of forest-glass drinking-glass (*Roemer*) with pincer marks.
- (13). Portion of hollow-folded, fairly thin-blown, foot-rim of drinking-glass, probably not a stemmed glass. ? Forest glass, but encrusted.
- (37). Foot-rim fragment with hollow fold in fairly thin-blown forest glass. 16th century or early 17th century. ? Is there evidence that forest was made in Scotland in the 16th century.
- (19). Portion of foot near the stem of a forest glass drinking vessel, probably akin to beer beakers of the 17th century type. Forest code probably Scottish.
- (31). Portion of the base of a vessel, small, highly encrusted. Looks like a double fold as done in some 16th century forest feet, but it is very thin-blown for this. Difficult to say.

**IV. Window Glass.**

- (20). Portion of green glass window (flat) with traces of design, originally painted, of a "stained glass" window type. Late Medieval (say 15th to 17th centuries).
- (21). Portion of deep green glass window. Flat with painted traces much encrusted of "stained glass" window design. Late Medieval.
- (22). Large portion of deep green window glass with engraved traces of foliated design of stained glass type. Late Medieval.
- (8). Portion of flat glass, probably window glass, not before 17th century.

**V. Bottle Glass.**

- (36). Fragment of light-green glass. The form of this piece thickening at the top and the punty-mark on the under-side, suggest that this is a kick of a late 17th century bottle-glass bottle. The metal as it now is is not quite normal for that type, but the Wealden sites have shown that funny things may happen to colour and texture during burial.

**D. POTTERY**, identified by Messrs R. Bruce-Mitford, B.A., and W. A. H. King, British Museum.

- 1-2. Fragments of Medieval jars, originally lead glazed yellowish-green over the grey fabric, decorated with wheel-mark ridges and wavy horizontal lines scored on the clay when soft.
- 3. Piece of rather softer grey ware, also with traces of

glaze, decorated with a roundel .6—.7 inch across bearing in relief an eight-armed cross with dots between the arms: probably similar date to foregoing.

4. Three sherds including a ring handle of crumbly buff fabric coated on both sides with glassy green glaze; from a cup or small pot of 16th century date of B.M. Catalogue of English Pottery, figs. 77-79.
5. Small sherd of hard pale fabric glazed orange-yellow outside; also 16th century.
6. Four small fragments, including an upright lip, of "Hispano-Moresque" lustre ware, decorated in blue, purple, and white on a pale pink body: from Valencia, 15th or 16th century.
7. Piece of Roman terra sigillata: Dr. K. A. Steer reports that though very worn it may be identified as a fragment of hemispherical decorated Samian bowl Form 37, Lezoux ware of Hadrianic date. The design is arranged in panels bordered by bead rows and the fragment shows beneath an ovolo, too worn to identify—(a) a nude male figure facing left; (b) an indeterminate figure in a festoon.

The following two items have been identified by Mr J. P. Gillam, M.A., of Durham University:

8. Neck of flagon with part of shoulder and stump of handle surviving. Light pinkish buff fabric with yellowish buff slip. While it is difficult to quote precise parallels, numerous fairly close parallels could be quoted from deposits of the period A.D. 40 to 80, on sites in north-western Europe generally, and in south-eastern Britain in particular; there are even a few fairly close parallels in northern England. c.f. "Richborough," 368, Claudian (Society of Antiquaries' Report, XVI.). "Carlisle," 128, ? Flavian (Cumberland and Westmorland, Vol. XVII.) (see fig 7, No. 1).
9. Greater part of shallow bowl in smoothed brock-red fabric, flecked with mica. Parallels have not been noted but the piece is almost certainly Roman, and probably of the same date as No. 8 (see fig. 7, No. 2).

Both vessels appear to be Roman and not Medieval; it is not easy to give reasons, but most students of Roman or of Medieval pottery to whom they have been shown have formed the same opinion. They would appear to be among the earliest pieces of Roman pottery to have been noted north of the Solway, but are not necessarily earlier than the time of Q. Petilius Cerialis.



**E. BEADS**, described by Mr R. B. K. Stevenson, M.A., National Museum of Antiquities.

1. Spherical bead of translucent pale blue-green glass, diameter .6 in., having eight small circular spots of ultramarine, each containing a white spiral. The spots are flush with the surface of the bead, and are arranged spiral-wise so as to encircle the bead one and a half times from top to bottom. The perforation is slightly funnel-shaped, being wider at one end than the other: minimum diameter, .14 in. (fig. 8, No. 3). (Found in June, 1910, at the N.-E. building.) Mr Harden refers to an unlocalised and undated specimen, "Gréan Cat.," (Pl. 142, 14). The technique is similar to that of native glass armlets c. 2nd century A.D.
2. About a quarter of a turquoise-coloured "melon bead" with obliquely gadrooned sides. Length, .8 in. Normal Roman type found, e.g., at Dowalton Loch and other Scottish crannogs as well as Roman sites.
3. Bead of dark blue-green glass, in shape of a short truncated bicone, length .3 in., maximum diameter .38 in., with a perforation .28 in. across. (Found in May at the "large building Castle Loch Island.")
4. Half of a similar but smaller bead (diam. .3 in.) of greener glass. A bead of similar glass comes from the Mote of Mark, Kirkcudbrightshire.
5. Annular bead of cobalt-blue glass, maximum diam. .35 in., thickness c. .1 in., perforation .2 in. across.
6. Similar, slightly darker bead, maximum diam. .25 in., thickness .8 in., perforation .17 in.
7. Part of a bi-segmental bead of brick-red paste, with almost straight sides. Its broken edges have a copper lustre. Length .42 in., diam. .31 in., perforation .18 in.
8. Portion of a barrel-shaped bead of greyish-pink stone, originally about 1 in. in diameter, with probably biconical perforation. A globular bead of similar material comes from Glenluce. (N.M.A., F.N., 178.)

Though beads have been little studied, it seems probable that all the foregoing belong to the early centuries of the Christian era, rather than to the Middle Ages.

**F. SPINDLE WHORLS**, described by C. A. Ralegh Radford, M.A.

1. Spindle whorl of dark grey slate with large cylindrical hole and slightly domed side. The whorl has been split longitudinally and one half is missing. Diameter, 1 11-16 in. The side is decorated with a cross formy,

the arms filled with hatching and the left side of each emphasised with two parallel lines; the edge is plain (fig. 8, No. 1).

2. Similar spindle whorl with flat sides, one of which is partly split off. Diameter, 1 5-16 in.; thickness, 7-16 in. Each side is decorated with a cross formy, the arms filled with hatching (fig. 8, No. 2). Decorated spindle whorls with a more or less rectangular section are recorded from a number of sites of Iron Age B in south-west England. In the Roman period they occur on native sites in Wales (cf. Report on Milber Down, Devon Archaeological Exploration Society, Proceedings, Vol. IV., forthcoming). The whorls of the early Medieval period tend to have a more tapering section (cf., those from the Saxon Abbey at Whitby; *Archæologia*, LXXXIX., 73; fig. 23). I am unable to quote any parallels from Scotland. These whorls should probably be associated with the early Roman pottery.

**G. STONE ALTAR SLAB**, described by C. A. Raleigh Radford, M.A.

Slab of grey slate  $6\frac{1}{4}$  ins. square by  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. The edges are irregular and roughly cut. The surface is polished smooth and has five crosses crosslet, carefully cut with a clean V-shaped section; the ends of the arms are finished with slight serifs (fig. 6). The slab is part of an altar, either the cover stone of the receptacle in which the relics were placed or, less probably, the slab of a portable altar, originally set in a frame of more precious material. It dates from the 13th century.



## ARTICLE 4.

**The Dumfries and Maxwelltown Mechanics' Institute,  
1825-1900.<sup>1</sup>**

By W. B. DE BEAR NICOL, M.A.

"In 1799 another law was passed forbidding any open field or place of any kind to be used for lecturing or for debating, unless a specific licence for such place had been obtained from the magistrates. . . . Every house room or place which shall be opened or used as a place of meeting for the purpose of reading books, pamphlets, newspapers or other publications and to which any person shall be admitted by payment of money shall be deemed a disorderly house." (39 George III., c. 79, sec. 15.)

The above extract describes one aspect of the intellectual dictatorship which gripped the country throughout the Napoleonic wars. So successful was the policy of repression that Lord Henry Cockburn remarks in his "Memorials," of an anti-slavery meeting in Edinburgh in 1814, "it was the first assembling of the people for a public object that had occurred for twenty years." The general state of education in Scotland at this time was no better. A government investigation in 1818 brought out the fact that 50,000 children of school age were still without instruction from lack of accommodation.

With primary education in such a state and the universities no better, one cannot expect to find eagerness on the part of government or individuals to spread light among the hundreds of illiterate adults who formed the majority of the population. Two men, however—William Singleton, a Methodist, and Samuel Fox, a Quaker—founded what they called an adult school in Nottingham in 1798. They aimed to teach reading and writing so that the Bible might be read, and studied. In 1796 Dr. John Anderson of Glasgow had invited a few tradesmen and mechanics to a course in experi-

<sup>1</sup> Acknowledgments for assistance in research are due to Mr Duncan Thomson, Mrs M. M'Lean, Miss Egans and Mrs M. M. Nicol.

mental physics in the University there. He was succeeded by Dr. George Birkbeck, a Yorkshireman, in 1799, who the following year gave a course of lectures upon mechanics "solely for persons engaged in the practical exercise of mechanical arts, men whose situation in early life had precluded the possibility of acquiring even the smallest proportion of scientific knowledge." His audience grew in four meetings from 75 to 500.

Dr. Birkbeck's reputation brought him into contact with the Edinburgh-born lawyer, Henry Brougham, who achieved fame as the defender of Queen Caroline in the notorious 1820 "trial." Birkbeck and Brougham between them furnished the occasion if not the cause of the tremendous enthusiasm for Mechanics' Institutes which spread through the country from 1823 onwards. Birkbeck was responsible for the foundation of the Glasgow Institute in 1823. Manchester followed in 1824, as did Aberdeen and Dundee, and in 1825 Institutes were founded in Ayr, Carlisle, Dunbar, Dunfermline, and Dumfries. The movement began as a result of the impact of these two powerful personalities, Brougham and Birkbeck, on a social problem of the age, but the climate of the time must have been peculiarly suitable to encourage such rapid germination. And indeed reasons are not far to seek for the new interest in learning evinced by the mechanic. The very fact that he had been forbidden for twenty years to congregate in reading rooms and meeting places made him eager to enjoy the privilege he had regained. The repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824 gave promise of increased political freedom. More important than either of these reasons was the realisation on the part of the mechanic that he held his fortune in his head and in his hands; knowledge and skill were commodities which could be invested and would bring a thousand per cent. The world of industry was his oyster. That was the great difference between the first half of the Victorian era and the second half. In the first half your investment was skill, which could be acquired by exercising the Samuel Smiles' virtues of patience, industry and application. In the second half, investments had to be made

in hard cash which you either possessed or lacked. We shall see the difference reflected in the story of our Institute. In 1825 mechanics apprehended an immediate relevancy in the acquirement of knowledge, and the masters could appreciate the utility of highly skilled artisans when the cry was then, as now, that we must export more and more to pay for the expensive Napoleonic war.

Henry Brougham, a reforming Whig, might be expected to support any movement for the alleviation of extreme poverty. When he heard that a parish minister in Dumfriesshire had invented a scheme for encouraging the poor to save and that the same minister had found time to establish and himself edit a newspaper which consistently advocated the abolition of slavery—a matter which concerned Brougham closely—we might expect some diligent correspondence to ensue. And so indeed it came about that one of the two great Dumfriesians of modern times established friendly relations by letter with a Whig politician in London. In 1805 Dr. Henry Duncan of Ruthwell established the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, which he managed and edited until 1817. In that year, engrossed as he was in his Savings Bank project, he brought a young man of 27 from Edinburgh to take over the editorship. John McDiarmid had been involved earlier in the year in the foundation of *The Scotsman*. His willingness to leave such a promising venture to his two partners is reasonable evidence of the reputation which Dr. Duncan had built for his provincial newspaper, a reputation which M'Diarmid did nothing to diminish in his 35 years of masterly editorship. Of all the individuals concerned with the Dumfries Mechanics' Institute, he was destined to play the most active and productive rôle.

By 1824, Brougham, his defence of Queen Caroline now a matter of history, had flung himself into the cause of educational reform. The following year he wrote a pamphlet, "Practical Observations on the Education of the People," emphasising the need for cheap accessible literature and for the provision of lecturers either occasional or permanent. He may well have sent Dr. Duncan a copy. The latter, now

in peaceful retirement after the successful passage of his Savings Bank Bill, certainly became possessed of a copy of Brougham's pamphlet, which, equally certainly, he bore into his editor in Dumfries and asked him to read and digest it. The result was the appearance of the following paragraph in the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* of March 15, 1825:

"We do most sincerely rejoice that a meeting of our townsmen is to take place in the Trades Hall at eight o'clock to-morrow evening for the purpose of the formation of a Mechanics' Institute in this town. No one interested in such an object should neglect to procure Mr Brougham's excellent sixpenny pamphlet."

So it came about that on the fifteenth of March, 1825, a number of gentlemen met in the Town Hall under the chairmanship of Provost Thomson of Woodhouse. The Provost explained that the gentlemen who were interested—we already know both their names—wished to set up the Institute and then leave it to be self-governing. "Everything," the worthy Provost pointed out, unconsciously echoing the words of Henry Brougham, "everything should be avoided which might lead to religious or political disputation and all books on such subjects should be excluded from the library." What was most important was that the Provost on behalf of the Town Council promised the new organisation a suitable room in the Academy. Dr Duncan rose and said it was now universally admitted that it was not knowledge which free and liberal institutions such as ours had to fear, but ignorance. Half-learning was dangerous. Ten days later there was another general meeting, with the Rev. T. T. Duncan, brother to Duncan of Ruthwell and minister of the "New" Greyfriars' Church, in the chair, and a constitution for the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Mechanics' Institute was adopted. "Persons of the age of sixteen years shall be eligible to become members. All apprentices on attaining the age of fifteen may become reading members and be entitled to the privilege of attending the different classes." Rule 6 details the Committee, viz.: a president, a vice-president, a treasurer, a secretary, and seventeen other members, two-

thirds of whom shall be operative mechanics, the vice-president always being one. The annual subscription for adults is set at 8/- annually, paid quarterly, and half that for apprentices. The committee includes three cabinetmakers, two plumbers, a brassfounder, a gilder, a millwright, a mason, a dyer, the brothers Duncan and John McDiarmid.

Within two months of its establishment the Institute has organised five evening classes: in architectural drawing; algebra and trigonometry; euclid and geography; arithmetic, practical geometry and practical mensuration; and English grammar. The Rev. Mr Dow, a friend of Dr. Duncan, is to undertake a course in chemistry if the committee will purchase him some equipment. They do so, and order for the library Marsett's *Conversations on Chemistry*. The library is opened in a room of the Academy with over £70 of books donated, and the Institute has 200 members on its roll. Mr Dow began his course on Thursday, 23rd June (this is the only year we hear of summer lectures) with an introductory lecture on "the pleasing popular and highly important science of chemistry." "The attendance upon the whole was very respectable but there were many gentlemen absent who would do well to recollect that there is a great efficacy in an example set in high places." For the next two years the Institute maintains a respectably industrious existence throughout the winter months.

At the end of 1828 the Institute died one of its frequent deaths and was resuscitated in January, 1831, with John McDiarmid as president. In explaining its temporary demise a newspaper paragraph states: "The members lost their original enthusiasm and dropped off nearly en masse." It is possible that the period of eclipse is not entirely unconnected with the fact that McDiarmid in 1829 took up the unpopular cause of Catholic Emancipation and frequently suffered bricks being thrown through his office window. The reconstituted Institute cuts its annual subscription to 4/- and 2/- for apprentices. A fairly successful period was brought to an end in 1832 by the great plague of cholera which struck Dumfries with appalling ferocity. In January, 1834, the

Institute has its first public meeting after a long lapse. It has only 43 members, and its president, McDiarmid, gave a short address on this, the "Poor Man's College." "To young men he recommended the habit of composition." Mr Charteris, a vice-president and a "very ingenious mechanic"—he is a founder to trade—starts a series of lectures on electricity. The juniors are very active this year and succeed in having a motion carried that they may be eligible to vote. Having gone thus far, however, the elders legislate against the possibility of the under-twenty-ones becoming office-bearers.

The following year Mr Robert Burns, eldest son of the poet, has returned to Dumfries, and, perhaps mindful of his father's interest in the people's education—for he it was who ran a library at Ellisland for the folk of the district—he has consented to give a lecture to the Institute on the unromantic subject of Life Assurance. A year later Mr Burns gives the opening lecture of the session (in December, 1836), and takes as his subject, "The Value and Function of Mechanics' Institutes." Four members of committee have previously been busy compiling statistics which Mr Burns uses and which are of great interest to us. In the two burghs of Dumfries and Maxwelltown there are in this year 318 masters, 823 journeymen, 354 apprentices, a total of fifteen or sixteen hundred mechanics. Of that number, 16 masters, 2 journeymen, and 11 apprentices are members of the Institute. "As the total number belonging to it is 85," says the report, "it is plain that the working man's college is principally composed of and patronised by gentlemen who were never contemplated to form a majority in the Mechanics' Institute." The report concludes: "It is one of the sunniest features of the picture that the lecture was attended by sundry fair ones."

Throughout 1839-40 the Institute is again in retirement, but in November, 1840, there appears in the *Courier* a report of the annual general meeting and a note suggesting that the Institute is by no means flourishing, and casting an envious eye upon Liverpool, which had a few months previously put on a monster exhibition, reported at great length in the

columns of the *Courier*. It is clear that John McDiarmid is ettling for a similar exhibition in Dumfries. Six months later comes a letter asking for a guarantee of £100 for an exhibition, the writer answering in advance two curious objections: first, that such an exhibition is for the pecuniary gain of the organisers; and, second, that it has a political purpose. Under the diligent guidance of W. C. Aitken, a brassfounder, who later graduated to Coventry, the exhibition opened its doors in the Old Assembly Rooms, Assembly Street, on 15th September, 1841. Tickets cost 1/, season's 4/-. The exhibition included a miniature canal and water-mill, a miniature railway, and a band of music. There are a natural history room, manufacture and model room, philosophical apparatus room, refreshment room, curiosities and antiquities room, engraving room, phrenological room, and a sculpture gallery. The insurance on the collection was £15,000. In two months 782 season tickets and 6285 singles were sold. As a performance, the exhibition was a great success. As the beginning of the present museum collection in the Observatory, it has its place in local history, but as a means of making money or recruiting members to the Institute it failed.

Two years later the committee publishes this cry from the heart: "The Institute has for many years been allowed by the public generally to flourish in obscurity and prosper by neglect. . . . It is frequently asked, why are there no lectures or classes for Geography, Geometry, Drawing, and the important sciences of Geology and Chemistry? The only reason is, want of public support." (*Courier*, 10.11.1845.)

Another two years pass in hibernation, then suddenly at the annual general meeting in November, 1848, we find a membership of over 100 and £50 funds in the bank. It is now suggested that the Institute library be brought into the centre of the town and associated with it a reading-room. A Building Committee is formed and various possibilities explored. The following February and March is a period of tremendous activity, with one and sometimes two lectures a week. After three years' work the building fund stands at £370, and there is a momentary period of depression

when the abandonment of the building scheme and eventually of the whole Institute is suggested, discussed, and negated. Two months later the secretary is authorised to pay up to £350 for the premises in Nith Place belonging to the late Mrs Sweetman. On July 1st the secretary reports the purchase for £350 (the upset price), and on July 8th, 1852, the Committee meets for the first time in its own building. This year also saw the death of the Institute's best friend, John McDiarmid.

Settled in its new quarters, the Dumfries Mechanics' Institute rapidly comes to the front as the burgh's centre of intellectual life. In season 1856-7 the lectures include such topics as: Professor Nichol from Glasgow on "The Method of Discovering Truth, Illustrated by the Progress of the New Astronomy"; "The Advantages of Studying History"; "The New Atomic Philosophy"; "Dumfries Past and Present"; Dr. W. A. F. Browne, the president, on "The Genesis of Thought"; Samuel Neil, Esquire, Rector of Moffat Academy, on "The Days of Good Queen Bess"; and, the show piece of the season, William Makepeace Thackeray on "George II." Four classes are meeting for apprentices, including one in the new art of phonography or shorthand. The year ends with an appeal signed by the president, treasurer, and secretary, couched in the most regrettable terms, to the working man: "Those hours which you often spend in idle conversation, in vacant listlessness or still more unprofitably in the tavern, might all be turned to golden opportunities." Since the death of McDiarmid there is a new note in the Institute propaganda which might be characterised by the term, "smugness."

The nine years between the removal to Nith Place and the opening of the new Hall seem in many ways to have been the Institute's period of fruition. The membership climbs to over 600. In the winter months the members enjoy a weekly lecture on a variety of topics—perhaps too great a variety—and the classes meet regularly, having in one session 84 pupils. In the report of November, 1860, the Committee makes the sound comment that "Mechanics' Institutes are not complete where classes are awaiting for the instruction of adults



whose early education may have been neglected." The library has had the entire contents of the Dumfries Public Library added to it, and now numbers 6000 volumes. Money is coming in for the new building venture, the Hall, and towards the end of 1861 the new hall is opened. The opening was attended by one or two lamentable mishaps. Lord Brougham—our quondam Henry Brougham of 1824, and now 83 years old—had been approached, but he was ill. Mr Charles Dickens, asked to give a reading, was busy. Another three notabilities, ending with the president, Dr. Browne, were all engaged, and the hall opened with maimed rites at the hands of the provost, the town band, and one or two ladies and gentlemen who sang.

The hall cost £1559 11s 6d, more than half of which was covered by bond from the Commercial Bank. Financially the hall probably justified itself, for it brought in a steady income of anything up to £150 a year in lets. Educationally it was a tactical error, for it became an entertainment tail which wagged an education dog. From 1860 onwards the quality of the lectures deteriorates, and their number in any session is reduced gradually, to zero: there is a corresponding preponderance of thinly disguised entertainment on the winter syllabus, eventually developing into brazen music-hall stuff. 1863 is a good year, with little sign of the coming deterioration. The committee this year find it necessary to enlarge the classroom in order to accommodate upwards of 100 men between the ages of 13 and 30. It is noticeable, however, that the level of instruction seems to be lower. There is no mention of geometry or mechanical drawing. We are down to arithmetic, English grammar, geography and writing. There were 76 on the class roll, with an average attendance of 59, and prizes to the value of 30/- were awarded.

One cannot but commend the practical sense of the committee in spending £100 this year in erecting hot and cold baths in the basement of the building. At a period when even middle-class dwellings often had no bath, one can hardly imagine a more practical application of "*Mens sana . . .*" But the baths were a failure. Inside five years, still unpaid, they were ignored and they ceased even

to be advertised in the yearly syllabus. In 1865 there is another exhibition to help pay for the hall. Among the directors we note W. C. Aitken, now of Coventry. Ten thousand visitors came to regard the astonishing array of bric-à-brac, and the profit is £302. Judging by the catalogue, this exhibition was not nearly so intelligent a performance as that of 1841. There are 738 members this year, and upwards of 100 pupils attend classes.

In the list of the ordinary members the commonest designation is "clerk." Counterhands in shops take a prominent place, along with writers, a few plumbers and plasterers, photographers, and such stray callings as the prison governor and the town clerk.

In the report for 1868 there appears the interesting suggestion: "It is hoped that during the ensuing session a class in technical education will be formed in connection with the Science and Art Department, Kensington." If that suggestion had been followed up, its consequences might have been momentous for Dumfries. The region might have had a technical college. At Manchester, Birmingham, Huddersfield, and elsewhere technical colleges developed without a break from the Mechanics' Institutes. But the committee missed the boat, and after trying for a year with classes in architectural perspective and mechanical and furniture drawing, they signed the death warrant of the Institute as an educational establishment in 1871 in the following report:

"During the year the classes were not so successful as was desirable, and being conducted at a loss to the Institute and as the Committee believe, without adequate benefit to the boys themselves, they are of opinion, subject to approval of the general meeting, that these classes should in the meantime be discontinued."

They never started again. In 1871 the Committee of the Dumfries Mechanics' Institute decided to abdicate and leave the cultural governance of their members mainly to cheap actors who came from London to give penny readings, varied occasionally by a polite dissertation upon Tennyson or a lantern lecture on Afghanistan, Peru, China, or Beetles. One can only accept regretfully the report of the writer of

the *New Statistical Account of Dumfriesshire*, who writes in 1876: "Out of 928 members, only 60 are mechanics; and systematic instruction in any branch of knowledge is now not even attempted. As a means of providing intellectual gratification and amusement, the Institute is most successful."

The Committee's annual reports begin to deteriorate rapidly, each one becoming practically a verbatim repetition of its predecessor. The membership is well over 1000, and the annual "lecture" bill, which includes the cost of more musical entertainments than lectures, reaches nearly £150. With the drop in standards, there comes an itch on the part of the committee to justify themselves in brick and mortar, and without reference to their members they calmly purchase the old Prison Buildings in Buccleuch Street (1883) for £1900 "as a site on which a new Institute and Hall might be erected." Frankness is not the keynote of annual reports at this period, and we hear no more of the Prison Buildings until, two years later, a small item appears on the financial statement: "Balance of profit on sale of Prison Buildings, £6.16.6." The last pretence that the Institute is a democratic working man's organisation disappears in 1891, when two grades of membership tickets are issued. The higher price member gets a reserved seat at lectures.

In the next five years the Committee meet with the failure which in a way their perversion of the original purpose of the Institute well merited. The membership drops to 296. "Various reasons," says the report, "are assigned for this, such as the closing of the reading-room and library and the fact that the uniform and minimum charge of 5/- per season ticket is too rigid an arrangement and tends to exclude the apprentices and younger people of the town from participating in the advantages of the Institute."

A few years later, in 1908, there are 32 members, and no lectures or even concerts. The original Dumfries and Maxwelltown Mechanics' Institute is dead. Although it continued to exist in name for more than twenty years, it never returned to its original purpose of being solely devoted to the furtherance of that branch of social organisation which we now call "adult education."

## ARTICLE 5.

**The Bells of Whithorn.**

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD.

**1. THE BELL IN THE TOLBOOTH.**

The Tolbooth at Whithorn is surmounted by a small square tower with spire, which was built early in the 18th century. In it is a contemporary bell, 20 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches diameter at the mouth, which bears the inscription in ornate capitals of 17th century type:

PETER VANDER GHEIN HEEFT MY GHECOTEN  
INT IAER / 1708

This may be translated as "Peter van der Ghein cast me in the year 1708." The height to the base of the canons is 16 inches, and the latter are 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches high with a spread of 6 inches (see fig. 9).

The words are separated by small triangular dots and the main inscription, with the exception of the figures of the date, runs between two ornamental bands of linked fleur-de-lis. The date appears below the lower ornamental border, and between the two central figures appears a bell surmounted by the letters RA.<sup>1</sup>

Peter van den Ghein was a member of a well-known family of founders, being the fifth to bear the Christian name Peter. He was the son of Andreas van den Ghein, and moved from St. Truiden to Thienen (Belgium) in 1700.<sup>2</sup> The foundry was originally established at Mechlin or Malines in Belgium by Willem van den Ghein about 1506, and subsequently moved to Leuven, where it was continued until a few years ago, when, with the death of Felix van Aerschodt, the foundry was closed.

Peter van den Ghein V. and Mathias van den Ghein, with others, cast a carillon for the city of Nijmegen in

1 A section of the inscription and of the ornamental borders, showing the position of the date is reproduced in fig. 10.

2 Dr. G. van Doorslaer, *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 1908, 1910

Holland in 1738. No other example of Peter V.'s work has so far been discovered in Britain, though a number of bells and a mortar have come to these shores from the foundry, including one in the tower of Cessnock Castle, Galston, in the neighbouring county of Ayr.<sup>3</sup>



Fig. 9—THE TOLBOOTH BELL, WHITHORN (Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch).

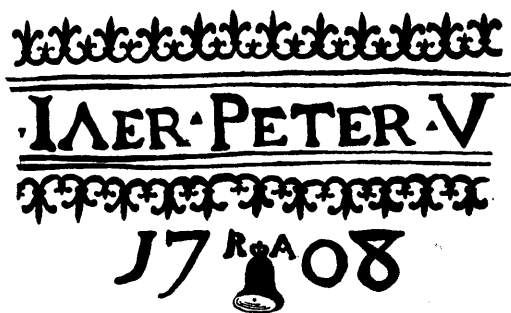


Fig. 10—SECTION OF INSCRIPTION AND BORDER  
(Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch).

<sup>3</sup> Ayrshire Archæological and Natural History Society, Collections, Second Series, i., 249. The author of that and other valuable articles on Scottish Bells—Mr Ronald W. H. Clouston, F.S.A. (Scot.)—has most kindly revised this notice.

## 2. THE BELL IN WHITHORN MUSEUM.

A bell now in Whithorn Museum was formerly preserved in the crypt,<sup>4</sup> and is thought to have come from the steeple of the Cathedral.<sup>5</sup>

The bell is without ornament, and measures  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches high without the cannons; it has mouth diameter of  $11\frac{3}{4}$  inches. The heavy coarsely modelled cannons are  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high with a spread of 5 inches. The clapper is missing, and the cannons have been repaired. An inscription in plain capital letters 9-16 in. high encircles the upper part of the bell. It reads:

EVERT BURGERHUIS 1610

The date coinciding with the consecration of Bishop Gavin Hamilton at Westminster<sup>6</sup> suggests that the bell formed part of the refurnishing of the nave of the Priory Church to serve as the Cathedral of the Protestant Bishops of Galloway. It may have been the treble of a small ring, perhaps the only survivor when the steeple fell about 1700.

Evert Burgerhuys, son of Jan Burgerhuys I., was a member of a well-known family of bell founders of Middelburg in the Netherlands. Only documentary evidence of this member of the family now exists in Holland, and no other bells by him are recorded in Scotland.<sup>7</sup>

## 3. LOST HANDBELL.

Symson in his *Description of Galloway*, written in 1692, records: "There is a little handbell in this church (i.e., Whithorn), which, in Saxon letters, tells it belongs to St. Martin's Church."<sup>8</sup>

This bell is now unfortunately lost, but the description suggests a small handbell of the type used by the Celtic Saints. A number of these are preserved in Scotland; the

4 Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland: Wigtownshire, no. 491.

5 Harper, *Rambles in Galloway*, p. 338.

6 Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, Ser. III., xxvii., 143.

7 Ayrshire Archæological and Natural History Society, Ser. II., i., 251.

8 Symson, *Description of Galloway*, p. 46 (publ. 1823).

most notable, perhaps, is the Bell of St. Fillan, now in the National Museum, but long preserved in the old churchyard at Strathfillan, Perthshire.<sup>9</sup> Other bells of the same type are known in Wales<sup>10</sup> and Ireland.<sup>11</sup> The mention of "Saxon letters" indicates an Insular inscription. This may be compared with the bell at Armagh, which is dated to the beginning of the 10th century.<sup>12</sup> The cult of these bells is peculiarly Celtic and does not occur in Saxon England. The bell mentioned by Symson should, therefore, in all probability, be ascribed to the period of Irish Norse rule in the 10th and 11th centuries.

<sup>9</sup> Catalogue of National Museum of Antiquities, KA2 (p. 282); cf. Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland, viii., 265.

<sup>10</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1926, 324.

<sup>11</sup> Mahr, *Christian Art in Ireland*, 45 and 144.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 49.

## ARTICLE 6.

**Who was Ninian?**

By A. W. WADE-EVANS.

Bede<sup>1</sup> reports a tradition that the southern Picts had been converted by the preaching of "Nynia," a British bishop, who had been instructed "regularly" at Rome in the Faith, whose episcopal seat, named after St. Martin, famous for its church, where "Nynia" rested in the body with many other saints, was now in the possession of the English nation. The *locus*, monastery, belonged to the province of the Bernicians and was commonly known as Candida Casa,<sup>2</sup> because he there built a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons. One infers that the episcopal seat named after St. Martin, the church where "Nynia" rested in the body, and the monastery of Candida Casa were all located at Whithorn on Wigtown Bay; also that it was among the Britons.

It was now in the possession of the English nation, pertaining to the province of the Bernicians. Bede does not state how this had come about, nor does he tell us what the district was called. He seems to imply that it was amongst the Britons. Dr. Duke<sup>3</sup> says it was Cumbria or Strathclyde, Dr. Simpson<sup>4</sup> calls it Novantia. Candida Casa certainly was never in Strathclyde, and Novantia is a deduction from the second century appellation of the Novantoi, who then occupied the region.

One would infer again that Candida Casa, by whatever name it was then called, dates from the early 5th century (for we learn from Patrick<sup>5</sup> that Picts had been converted before his death in 461), when Christianity in Britain and Ireland was being fashioned on the lines of the Church

1 H.E., iii., 4.

2 What the British equivalent of Candida Casa (Hwiterne) may have been does not appear. Welsh writers often assume it was Ty Gwyn, "white house."

3 *The Columban Church*, 22.

4 *Saint Ninian*, 28.

5 *Pictorum apostatarum (Epistola Patricii*, 2, 15).



in Gaul, somewhat previous (it may be) to that subsequent outburst of monasticism which distinguishes what historians are pleased to call the "Celtic Church." Anyhow Bede very evidently approves of "Nynia," Briton though he was—he had been instructed "regularly" in the Faith at Rome, he was (as it seems) a regionary or missionary bishop free to choose his own centre of operations, his church was of stone in the Roman<sup>6</sup> and not in the British manner, and now the "episcopal seat" was in the possession of the English nation, pertaining to the province of the Bernicians.

Moreover, the "episcopal seat" had recently been revived. We know nothing of any immediate successors of Bishop "Nynia." But recently a bishop of Whithorn had been appointed, a "first bishop." His name was Pecthelm,<sup>7</sup> who as deacon or monk had lived a long time with Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury and afterwards Bishop of Sherborne, that protagonist (be it noted) of "orthodoxy" against the western Britons.<sup>8</sup> His name means "helm of the Picts." One need not doubt that it was his baptismal name, but only whether he had borne it from infancy; the second bishop after him was similarly styled Pectwine, "friend of the Picts." We have here a picture, pleasing to Bede—an orthodox English bishop, Pecthelm, "helm of the Picts," stationed at Whithorn, in the true line (however broken) of that "Nynia," who, Briton though he was, had been the orthodox apostle of Picts, the southern Picts, educated "regularly" at Rome, founder and builder of Candida Casa, erected in the Roman manner, named after St. Martin. Verily it was as it should be. The Pictish interest, too, is most patent. But we ask what Picts? Are we to believe that Whithorn in Galloway was the "cathedral city" of the southern Picts beyond the Firth of Forth? Or was it after all only the episcopal seat of our old friends, "the Picts of

<sup>6</sup> H.E., v. 21.

<sup>7</sup> H.E., v. 23.

<sup>8</sup> H.E., v. 18. In 705 Aldhelm was appointed by a West Saxon synod to write a letter of reproof to Gerontius, king of "Dumnonia," condemning the irregularities of the Britons in not celebrating Easter at the due time, etc.

Galloway"? Or shall we say with Mrs Chadwick<sup>9</sup> that they were a community of imported Picts—imported for specific reasons of an ecclesiastical and political character—into the old foundation of the blessed "Nynia"?

There is uncertainty as to the bishop's name. One wonders whether Bede knew it. He gives it as Nynia (ablative case). It appears as Nynia, Ninia (nominative), Nyniam (accusative), Nynie (genitive) in the 8th century poem, *Miracula Nynie episcopi*; and Ninian (nominative) in Ailred. It is Ailred who set the fashion of styling him Ninian, which is hardly correct. But twice in the *Miracula* he is called Nyniau, which is the Welsh Nyniaw, later Nynio.

Nynio is associated in the *Miracula* with a certain king, Tudwal. This can hardly be other than the king of the Isle of Man, viz., Tutagual m. Eidinet m. Anthun m. Maxim Wletic,<sup>10</sup> i.e., third in descent from Maximus (383-388). His *floruit* may therefore have been well within the 5th century.<sup>11</sup>

That the name, Nynio, was well known among the Britons is clear from the following particulars. The first king to have taken over the rule of the Romano-British territoria of Ariconium (Weston-under-Penyard) and Venta Silurum (Caerwent), i.e., Erging (Archenfield) and Gwent respectively, was Erb,<sup>12</sup> whose period may be determined by the fact that he was great-grandfather of St. Dubricius the bishop (of legendary fame) who consecrated St. Samson of Dol on February 22, 521.<sup>13</sup> Now Erb had several sons, of whom

<sup>9</sup> *Transactions*, Dumfriesshire and Galloway Antiquarian Society, 3rd Series, vol. 27, pp. 35-6.

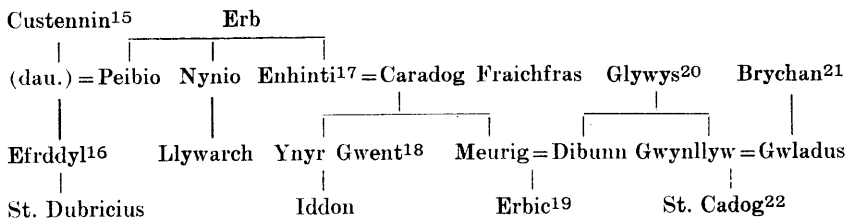
<sup>10</sup> Harleian Pedigree, IV. (*Nennius*, p. 104).

<sup>11</sup> Maximus, in 383, left non-cantonal districts of Britain towards the west in charge of military leaders who, in the pedigrees, are affiliated to him. These may not have been real sons; some may well have been of the same age as himself or even older. This commitment of non-cantonal districts to the care of military leaders may be the historic truth underlying the legend of the "Armoric Britons," as given by Nennius (27) and the foundation of Brittany or Letavia, Llydaw, as it was called in Welsh. It is certain that this term, Llydaw, was applied to parts of Roman Britain, cf., e.g., *finibus Armorice Wallie, quia antiquitus pars maxima Wallie dicta est Armorica* (Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ii., 204).

<sup>12</sup> *Bk. of Llan Dâw*, 72, 75-6. Erging is Herefordshire, west of the River Wye. Gwent is Monmouthshire, between the Wye and the Usk. These two territories are the only ones in Wales, taking their names from Roman towns.

<sup>13</sup> Taylor's *St. Samson*, xi.

two wêre Nynio and Peibio.<sup>14</sup> As we have here a date in the career of St. Dubricius, the following scheme may prove serviceable to fix the times in which the persons mentioned flourished:



14 Jesus College Ped., IX. (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii., 85). The pertinent part should read as follows, where m. stands for *mab*, son of, and *verch*, daughter of. The two m's in round brackets should be deleted. (I)udhael, m. Morgant, m. Adroes m. Meuric m. Thewdric. (m). Llywarch, m. Nynnyaw, m. Erb. (m). Erbic, m. Meuric, m. Enenni verch Erb. (Erb)ic, m. Meuric, m. Caradawc vreich vras. For Iudhael m. Morgant, see Harl. Ped., XXVIII. (*Nennius*, p. 112). Iudhael's son, Fernmail, died in 775. The pedigree extends in V.S.B., 118 Teudiric, f. Teitfall, f. Idnerh, f. Yrb. Enenni (Enhinti, V.S.B., 80) is confused with Emminni (Henninni, V.S.B., 118), daughter of Cynfarch of the line of Coel, both in Jesus Coll. Ped. IV., and in the Life of St. Cadog, c. 46.

15 B.L.D., 72, possibly son of Maximus.

16 *Ib.*, 78-9.

17 V.S.B., 80.

18 Ynwr Gwent son of Caradog (V.S.B., 274). Iddon, f. Ynwr Gwent, f. Caradog, a contemporary of St. Teilo (B.L.D., 118), must not be confused with Iddon, f. Ynwr Gwent, f. Caradog, f. Gwrgan Mawr (V.S.B., 16, 20), who was a contemporary of Cadwallon (died 634) and of St. Beuno, who was the grandson of Lleuddin, eponym of Lothian.

19 Erbic, son of Meurig (V.S.B., 118).

20 Glywys, eponym of Glywysing, which stretched from the River Usk westwards, including "Glamorgan." For Dibunn, his daughter, St. Cadog's aunt, see V.S.B., 80.

21 Brychan, eponym of Brycheiniog. "Brecknock." Among the many children ascribed to him are Cynon and Rhun (or Rhunan) in Man (the latter, apparently, at Kirk Marown), and a daughter, Bethan or Bechan, also in Man (V.S.B., 317-8).

22 This pedigree fixes the period of St. Cadog as from the early 5th century to the early 6th century), which is confirmed by passages in the Life of St. Cadog (cc. 19, 25, 70, and especially 57) where he appears as a contemporary, even an older contemporary, of St. Illtud. Now, according to the early 7th century Life of St. Samson (7), Illtud was ordained presbyter at an early age by St. Germanus (died 448) and was present at the ordination of St. Samson by St. Dubricius (*ib.*, 13, 15), but not at his consecration as bishop (*ib.*, 44) in 521 (Fawticr's *La Vie de Saint Samson*, 105, 112, 114). We may thus date Illtud from c. 425 to c. 505. St. Cadog spent some time in Arglud, i.e., Clydeside, where he built a monastery at Cambuslang and was assisted at the task by Caw of Pictland, a quondam raider of those parts. So renowned did Cadog become that he was presented with 24 villis or homesteads by *Albanorum reguli*, kinglets of the Albani, apparently in Arglud. Caw's famous son, St. Gildas, was born in Arglud and died in 570. If we assume that Gildas was born c. 500, his birth would have occurred around the time that Fergus mac Eirc founded Dalriada. The story of St. Cadog's visit to St. Andrew's may indicate that he moved at one time among the southern Picts.

Nynio and Peibio figure in the medieval tale, "Culhwch and Olwen,"<sup>23</sup> but whether the two sons of Erb are meant does not appear. They are described in burlesque as the two Ychen Bannog, "horned oxen," whom God transformed into oxen for their sins. They could not easily be yoked together, the one being on the further side of Mynydd Bannog, "Mount Bannog," and the other on this side. As there is a Mons Bannauc given in the Life of St. Cadog<sup>24</sup> as situated in the middle of Scotland, apparently between St. Andrews and Cambuslang, doubtless near Bannockburn, dividing Pictland from the south, one may read into this a reference to St. Nynio's sojourn among the southern Picts and agree with Mrs Chadwick<sup>25</sup> that Plebia, Nynio's brother, who figures in Ailred's Life of St. Ninian, is none other than Peibio.

The Nennius of Geoffrey of Monmouth,<sup>26</sup> who was brother to Cassibellaunus and who fought a quixotic duel with Julius Caesar, appears in early Welsh translations of Geoffrey as Nynio, indicating that the translators neither knew the Welsh equivalent of Nennius<sup>27</sup> nor were unfamiliar with Nynio as a man's name.

But there is another possible claimant to the identity of "Ninian."

In certain Lives of Irish saints there is mention of one, who is variously called "Monennus," "Nennyoi qui Maucennus," etc., who was *magister* at a place styled

23 Ellis-Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, i., 202.

24 V.S.B., 82, 100. "That the Mons Bannauc formed an important political frontier is shown both by the above passage, where St. Cadog is said to have come to a certain city *citra montem Bannauc* and by the passage [in Aneirin's *Gododdin*, 31], where 'a son of Cian' is said to be 'from beyond Bannawg'" (Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, xi., 75). The passage reads, *yn maban e Gian o dra Bannauc*, "sole son to Cian from beyond Bannauc." "The range of hills in the midst of Scotland which seems to suit the description best is the range which crosses Stirlingshire, and from which flows the Bannock burn (Duke's Columban Church, 35).

25 *Transactions*, ut supra, p. 41. But cf. Pledias, i.e., Palladius (Van Hamel, *Lebor Bretnach*, 68).

26 H.R.B., i., 17; iii., 20; iv., 3, 4.

27 Nennius otherwise Nemnius or Nemnius (*Nennius*, p. 8).

"Rosnat,"<sup>28</sup> "magnum monasterium," and "Alba." The name Monennus (says Phillimore) is simply formed by affixing in the usual Irish way the first possessive pronoun to the name *Nennio*, but that *Maucennus* and similar forms cannot be corruptions of *Monennus* is shown by the occurrence of the name of the saint in the quite independent forms of *Mungentius* and *Mugint*, forms obviously derived from some Welsh original, such as *Maucant*, *Moucant*, which retained the final *t*. One infers that the saint was known not only as Nyniaw but also as Maucant or Moucant, which yield in Welsh Mawgan and Meugan respectively.

St. Meugan would seem to have had an extensive cult in the four corners of Wales, also in Cornwall where he is known as St. Mawgan, but as to his identity there is all but complete silence, which is certainly remarkable. We have Capel Meugan near Beaumaris on the Menai strait in N.-E. Anglesey, in the old principality of Ysfeilion, named after Ysfael, son of Cunedda Wledig; Llanfeugan, alias Llanrhudd, the mother church of Ruthun, chief stronghold of Dogfeiling, so called after Dogfael, son of Cunedda Wledig, in Denbighshire, in which neighbourhood are Pant Meugan (his hollow), Tir Meugan (his land), and Bodfeugan (his dwelling), one of the townships of St. Asaph parish; Llanfeugan, near Hay, in Breconshire; Capel Meugan, near Cilymaenllwyd, in Carmarthenshire; and Llanfeugan in the hundred of Cemes in N.-E. Pembrokeshire, the district between the rivers Teify and Gwaun (whence Abergwaun or Fishguard). Also in Cornwall we find Mawgan-in-Pyder and Mawgan-in-Meneage. All these, of course (and there are many besides), may derive from more than one person of this name.

Add to the above that in the Life of St. Cadog,<sup>29</sup> a holy

<sup>28</sup> "Rosnat is from Ros (a promontory) nat (diminutive)," Duke's *Columban Church*, 25. If this is correct, the name exactly fits the Isle of Whithorn, an almost isolated promontory or peninsula extending far into the sea. It has been thought by Welsh writers that confusion has risen between Rosnat and Vallis Rosina at St. David's on the supposition that the latter stands for some such form as "Rhosnant," i.e., Nant Rhosan, "little moor valley" (cf. Littlemore, near Oxford), which, however, was commonly called Hodnant. Glyn Rhosyn, in the Welsh Life of St. David, is merely a translation of Vallis Rosina, and was never used in daily speech.

<sup>29</sup> V.S.B., 136.

man of whom nothing else is said, called *Moucan* and *Maucan*, intervenes in a dispute between St. Cadog and King Maelgwn Gwynedd. Even Geoffrey of Monmouth<sup>30</sup> introduces a highly mysterious personage of this name into his romance as one of inspired knowledge who figures with Merlin and Vortigern, who (if he be the same) also appears as Bishop of Silchester.

The same absence of information applies to St. Mawgan in Cornwall; the only bit which may be old, is that he was "Bishop of the Iles of Scilly."<sup>31</sup>

That there was a very early, important, and mysterious saint, named Maucannus in Wales, is shown in the Life of St. David,<sup>32</sup> which tells how that 30 years before St. David was born, certain gifts were deposited on his behalf in the Monastery of Maucannus, afterwards known as the Monastery of the Deposit, which appears to be Bridell<sup>33</sup> in north Pembrokeshire, in which district St. Meugan was of great repute. "St. Meugan's in Kemes" survives as a name at Llanfeugan (his church), Pistyll Meugan (his spout), Cwm Meugan (his dingle), and Dyffryn Meugan (his glen), all less than three miles south of the River Teify. A great fair to the saint's honour was (and is) held in the vicinity called Ffair Feugan, "on the Monday after Martinmas"; a similar fair was held at St. Dogmaels, a neighbouring parish. As a centre of Welsh Catholic devotion (a hotbed of "superstition") St. Meugan's in Kemes was desecrated and utterly abolished by order of the Privy Council in 1592. A saint in Cemes 30 years before St. David's birth brings us well into the early 5th century, in fact to the very year when St. Patrick went to Ireland as Bishop in 432.<sup>34</sup> The copyist of a list of Roman emperors<sup>35</sup> at St. David's in the 10th century, misreading the name of the emperor Macrinus, writes (Map)

30 H.R.B., vi., 18; ix., 15.

31 Doble's *Saint Mawgan*, 1.

32 V.S.B., 150.

33 *Life of St. David* (S.P.C.K.). pp. 58-62.

34 That "thirty years before St. David was born," was a date to reckon from, is seen also in the Life of St. Carannog (V.S.B., 142). It also appears in the liturgical services (*ib.*, 169) at St. David's.

35 Harleian Ped., XVI. (*Nennius*, p. 108); also V.S.B., 116.

Maucannus, not only thus betraying his familiarity with St. Meugan's name, but also with his importance, possibly even with his importance in some "imperial" sense.

Notwithstanding all this, Meugan's pedigree as a saint nowhere appears in the earliest and best lists, nor is there a hint other than what appears above as to who he was. Not until the early 16th century do we come upon a record,<sup>36</sup> wherein appears this brief, Meugant ap Kyndaf, gwr or Israel "Meugant son of Cyndaf, a man of Israel," whatever this may mean. The name Cyndaf, otherwise unrecorded in early sources, certainly occurs as Cunotami and Cunatami (in the genitive) on the Ogham-Latin inscribed stone at St. Dogmaels, i.e., in the Cantref or Hundred of Cemes, where was the Monastery of Maucannus, mentioned in the Life of St. David; which is a striking coincidence, and should by no means be disregarded, but it may be no more.

Finally, we find another Maucant, who may be the man possibly to be identified with Nynio. The Harleian Pedigree XXII.<sup>37</sup> runs as follows: Selim m. Cinan m. Brocmayl m. Cincen m. *Maucann* m. Pascent m. Cattegirn m. Catel Durnluc. Selim is he who fell in the Battle of Chester in 617. Catel Durnluc is the man whom St. Germanus in 430 raised to be king of Powys,<sup>38</sup> "from a servant he became king and all his sons [nine of them] became kings, and from their seed *omnis regio Powisorum*, the whole country of the Powysians is ruled even unto this day" (i.e., 829). In accordance with this the Harleian Pedigrees<sup>39</sup> run up the Powysian line to Catel Durnluc, not however through nine sons, but through one only, to wit, Cattegirn, through the latter's two sons, Pascent and Brittu, and through Pascent's son, Maucann or Maucant. In accordance with this, too, Taliesin in his praise of Cinan, the

<sup>36</sup> "Additions" to a late copy of *Bonedd y Saint*, G. c. 1510 (*Revue Celtique*, vol. 50, p. 174).

<sup>37</sup> *Nennius*, p. 110.

<sup>38</sup> *Nennius*, 35. A very early tradition as to the presence of St Germanus of Auxerre in Wales is found in the old early 7th century *Life of St. Samson*, c. 42, that the monastery of which St Samson became Abbot, i.e., Llantwit Major in Glamorgan, was said to have been "founded by Saint Germanus."

<sup>39</sup> XXII., XXIII., XXVII (*Nennius*, p. 110-2).

father of Selim, mentions *Katelling ystret*, the line of the Cadelling, Cinan himself being *Cyngen cyfanian*, of the same stamp as Cincen his grandfather.<sup>40</sup> All this looks delightfully clear, but, knowing as we do the year of Selim's death, viz., 617, and allowing (as usual) three generations for each century, we find the pedigree yielding too many names, as follows:

317-417	{	— Catel Durnluc Cattegirn
417-517	{	Pascent Maucann Cincen
517-617	{	Brocmayl Cinan Selim

On the evidence of the Taliesin poem we may accept the last four names, Selim m. Cinan m. Brocmayl m. Cincen, who certainly were of the Cadelling. But when we consider the other four, Maucann, Pascent, Cattegirn, and even Catel Durnluc himself, difficulties arise. Thus in the early valuable tract *De situ Brecheniauc* Cincen is made to be the son of Tutglid, daughter of Brychan, not by Maucann, but by Cynfor Cadcathuc,<sup>41</sup> indicating clearly that at this point our pedigree begins to be unreliable.

Moreover, the statement quoted above that *omnis regio Powisorum* was governed by the nine sons of Catel Durnluc is open to criticism, for within its ancient bounds was Gwrtheyrnion, whose rulers for centuries were *in direct descent from Vortigern*, through his son Pascent. Also, whereas the Harleian Pedigrees make the Powysian line to descend from Catel Durnluc through his son Cattegirn, who had two sons, Pascent and Brittu (not to mention Maucann), we know on better evidence that Pascent and Brittu were *sons of Vortigern*—Pascent son of Vortigern who ruled over Gwrtheyrnion

<sup>40</sup> *Bk. of Taliesin*, 45-6; *Y Cymmrodor*, xxviii., pp. 199-202.

<sup>41</sup> V.S.B., 315.



(within ancient Powys) and Buellt (just outside) after Vortigern's death in 430,<sup>42</sup> and "Britu, son of Vortigern, whom Germanus blessed and whom Sevira bore to him, the daughter of king Maximus, who killed the king of the Romans" (a statement cut on the "Pillar of Eliseg" by Cyngen, king of Powys, who died in Rome in 854).<sup>43</sup> Add to this that Cattegirn was also the son of Vortigern, and finally that Cattegirn can hardly be other than Catel Durnluc under an abbreviated popular form of his name. Moreover, on the "Pillar of Eliseg" appears what seems to be the name of Maucann, given there as Mau(c)annan (a pet form), following that of Pascent, possibly as his brother. I would infer, therefore, that the ruling family of Powys deduced its origin from Vortigern, whose name was later suppressed, the house preferring to trace its rise to Catel (i.e., Cattegirn), whence they became known as the Cadelling.

I am not aware that Maucant's name appears elsewhere outside these pedigrees, but I submit for consideration that the evidence is sufficient whereon to launch the theory that he was Vortigern's son and that he is to be identified with Nynio, otherwise Maucant, the founder of Rosnat.

First of all, the period fits. Maximus is credibly believed to have first arrived in Britain in 369 in the entourage of his kinsman, Count Theodosius. He may thus have married his British wife, Helena, at that time, and their daughter, Sevira, whom Vortigern married, may have been of marriageable age, say by 385, when Maximus had already placed the cityless "tribes" of Wales and Cornwall in the charge of friendly generals, among whom we may reckon Vortigern in charge of Powys. Maucant therefore may well have been born within the last decades of the fourth century.

Secondly, the family connections fit. The learned authors of *The Lives of the British Saints*<sup>44</sup> write as follows:

"Maximus had established himself at Trèves as the capital of his portion of the Empire, and doubtless Helen

<sup>42</sup> Nennius, 48, 49.

<sup>43</sup> Nennius, p. 33-4

<sup>44</sup> S. Baring Gould and John Fisher, iii., 258.

was there with him. The tradition at Trèves is that the present Cathedral was the palace of the Empress Helena, which she gave up to the Church. To this day it bears evidence of having been adapted from a domestic purpose to sacred usages. The atrium, open to the sky, was only domed over comparatively late in Mediæval times. At Trèves, however, Helena, the British Princess, wife of Maximus, has been confounded with Helena, the mother of Constantine; and there is no historical evidence for asserting that the more famous Helena was ever there, and this misconception has been made to serve as a basis for the origin of the "Holy Coat," shown as a relic in the Cathedral."

We read also of the Empress's extraordinary devotion to St. Martin of Tours (who figures so largely in the legend of "St. Ninian") much to St. Martin's embarrassment; of the emperor Maximus, too, her husband, as a champion of orthodoxy.<sup>45</sup> With such upbringing, Sevira, their daughter, the wife of Vortigern, would have inherited a strong attachment to Romanitas and to the Church, and particularly to the memory of St. Martin.

Vortigern was of high British lineage.<sup>46</sup> He lived at a time when the Roman empire was in state of collapse, when *Barbaria*, sympathy with the barbarians, was increasing steadily on all sides. The Roman name had become abhorrent even to Romans of high standing and of liberal education. Vortigern seems to have been one of those nobles who (as Salvian<sup>47</sup> testifies) no longer wished to be Romans. But unfortunately for him his fellow-Britons<sup>48</sup> of Wales and Cornwall were pro-Roman<sup>49</sup> and took as their leader a champion of Romanitas and of the Christianity which accompanied

45 Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogues*, ii., 6.

46 Nennius, 49.

47 *De gubernatione Dei*, v. 5.

48 Nennius, 48.

49 This was in consequence of the policy of Maximus, who started both Wales and Cornwall on their initial autonomy under leaders affiliated to himself. There is good evidence that "Maxim Wletic" was stationed at Segontium in Arfon, whence he proceeded on his bid for the empire accompanied by his Seguntienses.

it, to wit, Ambrosius, remembered as Emrys Wledig, Vortigern, too, as we have seen, was married into the family of Maximus, a champion of orthodoxy and of the Roman cause. So that we find him as having attained the highest pinnacle of unpopularity by the alienation of his fellow-Britons as, too, of his own family and also of the Church. He sided with Barbaria as against Romanitas, which roused the Britons against him, he followed what appears to have been a traditional practice in his matrimonial arrangements whereby he was charged by the Church with incest and caused his sons to turn against him, who in consequence were blessed by Germanus.<sup>50</sup> As if this was not enough, he was identified by the Venerable Bede<sup>51</sup> some three centuries later with a certain "proud tyrant," who (so the story went) had first let "Saxons" (two gangs of them) into Britain, since which time he has figured in our history books not only as weak-witted, but also as supreme King of what was once Roman Britain after its alleged abandonment by the Romans! Thus Vortigern became the villain who inaugurated an Anglo-Saxon conquest of the province as depicted in glowing terms by patriotic Bede.

That Vortigern was an imposing personage (but never styled gwledig) among the Britons of the west is evident; the story, however, is lost as to how he attained this distinction. He was clearly the forebear of the kings of Powys, his home-land (still called by his name), being the district between the rivers Ieithon and Wye in modern Radnorshire.<sup>52</sup> He is found in authority in Arfon to the north-west and in Dyfed to the south-west. A fortress called "Wirtgernesburg"<sup>53</sup> at or near Bradford-on-Avon in Wiltshire, i.e., in the canton of Venta Belgarum (Winchester), may indicate his presence there among the Gewisse, and he is even credited with having retired to the North<sup>54</sup> after he

50 Vortigern married his own daughter (*Nennius*, 39), as is told also of Vortiporius, king of Dyfed (*Epistola Gildæ*, 31); *Arch. Camb.* (1941), 193.

51 H.E., i., 14.

52 *Nennius*, 48.

53 William of Malmesbury, *de gestis regum*, i., 2.

54 *Nennius*, 42.

had surrendered the West to Ambrosius, to a region called Guunnessi, where he built a fortress called by his name Gair Guorthigirn, which, however, has never to my knowledge been identified.<sup>55</sup>

In the second excerpt quoted by Nennius<sup>56</sup> from "the Book of the blessed Germanus," we are told that Vortigern took his own daughter as wife, who bore him a son. In consequence St. Germanus arrived "with all the clergy of the Britons" to reprimand him. A great synod of clergy and laity having come together, Vortigern bade his daughter to proceed to the assembly, to place her son in Germanus' lap, and (if I understand rightly) to declare that he (i.e., Germanus) was the father of the child. This implies (if I am right) that Vortigern's daughter had been under the saint's care abroad. Whatever of this, St. Germanus adopted the boy, who is said to have been none other than Faustus, afterwards the well-known Abbot of Lerins and Bishop of Reii in Provence. So it would appear that, notwithstanding Vortigern's wickednesses, Christians worthy of Germanus' blessing, even prominent ones, could emanate from his household.

The suggestions put forward in this essay are so startling that doubtless, at least at first reading, they will scarcely be deemed worthy of consideration. I am all the more appreciative of their acceptance by Mr Reid for publication. They seem to me to provide material which fit in amazingly well with the picture drawn for us in Dr. Simpson's attractive book.

<sup>55</sup> An "ancient scholiast" adds that he also "built there near Carlisle a fortress which in English is called Palme castre." This refers to the Roman fort on the River Wiza in Cumberland, possibly Olerica, between Maia (Bowness on Solway) and Derventio (Papcastle on Derwent), which has been known, at least since the 16th century, as Old Carlisle. "Palme castre was the name of an inclosure in [the parish of] Westward containing an area of 150 acres, within which the Roman station was situated" (Wilson, *The Antiquary*, xli., 411).

<sup>56</sup> C. 39.

## ARTICLE 7.

**Cruggleton Church.**

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD, M.A., F.S.A.

Cruggleton Church lies some 600 yards inland from the castle and about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile south of the farm, near the coastal road from Garlieston to the Isle of Whithorn. In the later Middle Ages the church belonged to the Priory of Whithorn and the cure was served by a Vicar, but the parish has been united with Sorbie since the 17th century. The ancient parish church had long been ruinous, when, about 1890, the Marquess of Bute undertook the careful restoration of the fabric. The work was carried out under the supervision of Mr Galloway. His notes and the earlier published drawings show that every care was taken to preserve the original features.<sup>1</sup>

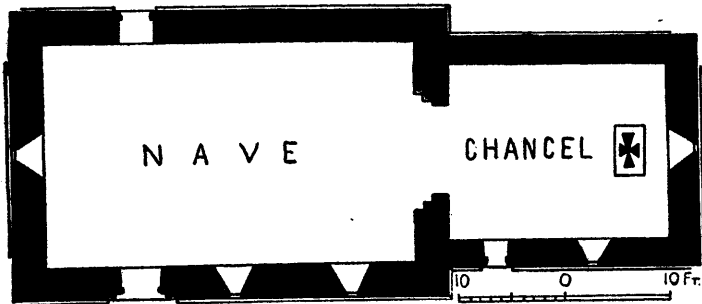


Fig. 11—PLAN OF CRUGGLETON CHURCH.

The building consists of a nave (35 ft. by 20 ft. 6 ins.) and chancel (21 ft. by 15 ft. 9 ins.), separated by a wide round-headed arch. The walls are of coarse sandstone rubble set in a hard mortar which contains much grit. Their original character can best be seen on the north side, where the undisturbed masonry stands to a considerable height. The base of the rebuilding is marked by a line of tiles set

<sup>1</sup> D. Macgibbon and T. Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, i., 212; T. S. Muir, *Ecclesiological Notes on some of the Islands of Scotland*, 238.

flush with the wall face, but the older drawings show that many parts, now rebuilt, were standing when the work started, and there is no reason to doubt that the new masonry faithfully reproduces the ancient features.

The doors and windows are all restorations. In 1864 only the north door remained, but Mr Galloway's notes show that the inner angles of the opening of the south door were found in position. The base of the eastern jamb also remained, but reset "to look like an ordinary courser." Voussoirs of the arch and one of the capitals, together with other fragments, were found lying loose in the vicinity, so that the height is the only doubtful element in the existing doorway. The north doorway was also restored from the evidence found, but the door on the south side of the chancel is an insertion, for which there appears to have been no ancient warrant. Only the east and west windows are old. That on the east had a widely splayed embrasure with a sloping sill, but the west window was "set square to the wall." Both openings were formed of roughly squared stones laid flat, with monolithic arched heads. The carefully dressed jambs, now visible, the splayed western embrasure, and the whole of three windows on the south side lack ancient authority.

The chancel arch, which has been partly reset, is of two orders with shafts; the east side is plain. The shafts have bulbous bases; the capitals are cubical in the outer order and reeded in the inner. The voussoirs are plain. The capitals and bases of the south door resemble those of the outer order of the chancel arch. Only one of these bases is original, but the capitals were doubtless copied from that found in front of the doorway. The decorative features may be compared with the Romanesque work at Whithorn and the church was probably built by the same masons. The details, particularly the bulbous bases, resemble Irish Romanesque ornament.

The walls rise from a chamfered plinth. This is continuous round the eastern angles of the nave, where the lowest quoins are old, in situ on the north side and reset on the south. At the four outer angles of the building the quoins are all modern; the description written in 1864 expressly

states that "most of the dressed stones have been torn from the angles of both compartments." The plinth is also missing at these corners, where there are traces of foundations projecting both east and west. These cannot belong to clasping buttresses of the normal Romanesque type as the plinth on the side walls in each case approaches too close to the angle. It may therefore be suggested that the end walls of the building were flanked with shallow pilasters like the antae in so many of the early Irish churches.

The details of the building and its relation to the Cathedral at Whithorn show that Cruggleton church was erected in the second quarter of the 12th century. The only other parish in Galloway that has produced evidence of a building of this date is the old church above the town of Kirkcudbright,<sup>2</sup> from which the capitals are now preserved in the Museum in that town. Kirkcudbright was already a place of some importance, but the appearance of so elaborate a building in the small and remote parish of Cruggleton calls for an explanation.

Cruggleton was granted to the Priory of Whithorn in 1424 by Archibald, Earl of Douglas, whose grandfather, Archibald the Grim, had acquired these lands when he purchased the earldom in 1371-2.<sup>3</sup> The Comyns had previously held Cruggleton, and the earliest documentary reference to the castle occurs in 1292, when John Comyn, Earl of Buchan and Constable of Scotland, obtained leave from the English Crown to export lead from the Isle of Man to cover the eight turrets of the castle.<sup>4</sup> Comyn must have inherited Cruggleton through his mother, a co-heiress of Elena, Countess of Winchester, who was herself the eldest daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway. This descent of the castle, as Mr R. C. Reid has pointed out, is confirmed by a curious legend contained in a letter from Joseph Train to Sir Walter Scott. The story preserves, under the disguise of 17th century

<sup>2</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Kirkcudbright, no. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society Transactions, Ser. III., xvi., 128.

<sup>4</sup> Bain, ii., 616; Stevenson, i., 329.

names, an episode of the early 13th century, and the hero is no other than Alan, son of Roland of Galloway, seated in his castle on the coast of Wigtown Bay.<sup>5</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that Fergus, the grandfather of Roland, also held Cruggleton, and his interest in matters ecclesiastical would provide a sufficient explanation for the erection of this elaborate parish church at the foot of the castle.

That Cruggleton Castle was indeed the residence of Fergus and his father Somerled is borne out by the description in the old French Romance of Fergus.<sup>6</sup> Somerled dwelt in "a house well built of hurdles all around, on the top of a dark rock. On the hill was a tower which was neither of stone nor lime. The high wall and the battlements were made of earth. The man within could see all around him for 30 leagues and needed to have no fear for siege engineer or assault. The rock was too high." William the Clerk, the author of the poem, was probably "the beloved and familiar clerk" of Alan of Galloway, who was sent on a mission to the King of England in 1220. He would certainly have been familiar with Cruggleton, and it is difficult to believe that this description, that stands out so vividly from the conventional imagery of the Romance, was not penned with this castle in mind. The rock on the sheer cliff edge, now crowned by the ruins of a late medieval building, and the great semi-circular bailey with its earthen bank and ditch, running from cliff edge to cliff edge to cut off a slight promontory, fit the picture.<sup>7</sup> Cruggleton Castle, as the layout shows, is certainly as old as the 12th century, if indeed it is not even older in origin, the Viking stronghold of Earl Malcolm, to which Kari Solmundarrson and his companions fared up after the battle of Clontarf.

5 Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society Transactions, Ser., III., xviii., 207.

6 *Ibid.*, xxvii., 168.

7 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Wigtownshire, no. 420.



## ARTICLE 8.

**St. Ninian's Cave.**

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD, M.A., F.S.A.

St. Ninian's Cave, on the coast three miles S.S.-E. of Whithorn and half a mile from Physgill House, is a natural cleft in the cliff, about 25 feet above sea level. The site was excavated in 1884 and again in the present year, and has produced a number of crosses of early Christian date. Some of these are cut on the living rock of the cave; others are carved on loose stones.

The excavations showed that the cave floor was formed of large blocks of stone fallen from the roof. Above this were layers of occupation characterised by frequent small fires and the deposit of much rubbish, including very numerous shells. Limpet, whelk and winkle predominated, but other shells were found; the deposit also contained broken bones, including sheep, pig and rabbit. One well marked floor level, partly paved with flat slabs of stone and partly levelled up with beach pebbles, was found about 18 inches above the level of the fallen rock. Another entirely formed of flat paving stones lay about 1 foot above the first. The character of the deposit under the lower floor in no way differed from that between the two pavements. A further deposit, which lay on the higher floor to a depth of 2 or 3 feet, was removed in the earlier excavations, but the report makes it clear that it was of the same character. Modern artifacts were found in the upper levels and in the deposit between the two pavements. Nothing recognisably modern was found under the lower pavement, but the occurrence of rabbit bones and the character of the remains suggest that this also is of no great age.

None of the loose crosses was found in position; all had been re-used in structures contemporary with the upper pavement. The position of the crosses cut on the walls of the cave shows that, when they were cut, the floor lay somewhere between the two pavements. Initials cut by visitors from

the 17th century onward show that the level gradually rose till in the early 19th century the floor must have been some 4 feet above the upper pavement.

The occupation layers represent a use of the cave by smugglers or fishermen in the 18th and 19th century. Such occupation was probably intermittent and would have been no bar to the visits of pilgrims, which are attested by the initials.

The crosses are of various periods. The earliest is probably a simple cross cut on a boulder. This may be as early as the 7th century. Others, including some of those cut on the rock, have the expanded ends and hollow outline of Anglian crosses of the 8th or 9th century. A number roughly scratched on blocks of stone clearly imitate the symmetrical sinkings of the Whithorn school of crosses of the 10th and 11th centuries. Finally there is a small headstone with the remains of a runic inscription of the 11th century. There are no later crosses, but a stone set in the upper floor had incised on it an inscription to St. Ninian; this is cut with a steel point and is of post-Reformation date, a relic left by some Catholic pilgrim during the penal days.

The survival of so many early Christian relics in this cave, and the persistent tradition associating it with St. Ninian, can only be explained on the assumption that it was in fact connected with the founder of Candida Casa. It is not difficult to explain the nature of this connection. The early church at Whithorn was dedicated to St. Martin of Tours and the life of the saint describes the retreat, which he made for himself on the banks of the Loire, outside the city. On the plain between the river and the cliff "he had a small cell woven of branches, many of the brothers had the same, others cut away the overhanging rock and made for themselves retreats." (*Sulpicii Severi, Vita Martini*, x., 4.) St. Ninian's Cave on the shore of Luce Bay shows that he followed the example of the man he regarded as his master and made for himself a retreat in the neighbourhood of the monastery. Such retreats later became a commonplace in the Celtic Church, and those which were associated

with famous saints would naturally become places of veneration to be visited by pilgrims.

The cave is now under the guardianship of the Ministry of Works. It has been left open, the crosses cut on the rock face being protected by metal gratings. The loose crosses and other relics have been removed to Whithorn Museum. A full report on the excavations carried out in 1950 will appear in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

## ARTICLE 9.

**Physgill.**

By R. C. REID.

Unlike so many of the lands in the vicinity of Whithorn, Physgill was never monastic property. It was part of the lay estates of the Douglasses when they were Lords of Gallo-way. At their fall in 1452 the Lordship reverted to the Crown, and all those who had held lands of the Douglasses sought to obtain Crown charters of their former holdings. Physgill, which in early days was spelt Fischgill, was at that date possessed by James M'Dowell of Spottis, who belonged to, if not identical with, the family of Freugh, and in 1470 James resigned the lands in favour of his eldest son, Andrew.<sup>1</sup> The land was a 5 merkland—about 250 acres.

Several generations of M'Dowells followed, who owned both Physgill and Machermore outside Newton-Stewart. But early in the 17th century they had to sell their estates. In 1623 they parted with Machermore, and in 1626 Physgill was sold to Alexander Stewart in Larg, eldest son of John Stewart, parson of Kirkmahoe, a younger son of the family of Garlies.

The tombstone in Glasserton Kirk of this Alexander Stewart shows that he died in 1645, leaving a substantial family of four daughters and eight sons, not all of whom can be traced.

In 1624 Alexander acquired Kiddisdale from William Forrester. It was a £5 land, thereby more than doubling the size of his estate. The next Laird was an ardent Royalist in Cromwellian days, and the estate, sadly impoverished, was redeemed by a younger son, who, as an active and prosperous lawyer in Edinburgh, was able to earn good fees without the risks involved in forlorn hopes on the field of battle.

John Stewart, who was a Writer to the Signet, was the

<sup>1</sup> R.M.S., 1424-1513, 990.

first of the family to marry an heiress. His wife was Agnes, daughter of Thomas Stewart, Provost of Wigtown, and she brought to her husband property in that burgh as well as the neighbouring farms of Glenturk, Carsgown, Carslae, and Chapelton, properties which are now no longer part of the estate of Physgill. Out of his own professional earnings John Stewart purchased from the Houstoun family in 1701 the lands of Isle of Whithorn, Prestrie, Drumaston, Chipperharran, Outoun, Corwar, Outoun Burgess, Balnab, and others, some of which are still parts of the Physgill estate. But, like many a better lawyer, John Stewart overstepped himself. Many years ago the English Law relating to wills was codified and clarified by a Lord Chancellor. His effort is still known as Lord St. Leonard's Act. Yet when he died it was found that his will, written by himself, was incapable of being legally construed and was held to be void. When he married the Provost's daughter, John Stewart made a marriage settlement with provision to the heirs of the marriage. Forgetful of this, or more probably in spite of this, he entailed his estate in 1719 in such a way as to exclude the lawful heirs of line. When he died two months later there ensued a lawsuit that rivalled the St. Leonard's litigation. The result was in favour of the heirs of the marriage settlement, the House of Lords after several hearings set aside the entail, and Agnes Stewart, a granddaughter of John Stewart, succeeded to the estate. She married John Hathorn of Over Aries, whose forebears had been tenants of Over Aries before the Reformation.

Agnes Stewart must have been a lady of considerable character. She can hardly have considered herself to be in any way socially superior to her husband, yet she never called herself Mrs Hathorn, and down to the day of her death in 1786 she always signed her name as Agnes Stewart of Physgill. Her children took the surname of Hathorn Stewart. Agnes and her husband have been described as a well-matched couple, prosperous and happy. They probably built the first part of this present house of Physgill. Her diaries have survived, full of quaint notes and the somewhat strained

piety of the period. Here are a couple of entries:

30 Ap., 1780—All at home; the chase being broke yesterday. Blessed be the Great Preserver of men and beast—none hurt.

This is the earliest Wigtownshire hunting commentary known to me. And again:

4 Ap., 1780—Tonargie here all day, a terrible night. Lord rebuke Satan.

Clearly Hugh Stewart of Tonderghie had arrived early and stayed late, leading her spouse astray into festive potations. Tonderghie may have been a heavy drinker, even in those days when one was of little consideration unless one was a three-bottle man.

These diaries are more fortunate than a Journal kept by Agnes's father, who was one of the few survivors of the ill-fated Darien Expedition of 1696. For long his Journal was preserved unpublished at Glasserton. Now, alas, it has disappeared.

I have suggested that Agnes and her husband probably started to build the present house of Physgill. Prior to that the family must have lived in a tower-like structure of the early 17th century. Nothing of that building has survived, unless it be an abnormally thick wall embedded in the basement of the northern face of this house.

On 8th April, 1725, in a lease of the Mains of Physgill, there was reserved to William Stewart of Physgill the castle and close of Physgill. We may be sure from this that at that date the house consisted of a tower within a walled enclosure—something like the Hills in Lochrutton. This must have been swept away to make place for the more ambitious modern building designed for Agnes Stewart and John Hathorn. Whatever may have been their complete design, it is clear that the northern wing was built first, and tusks were left protruding from its eastern extremity to build it into the eastern frontage when that was added. Architecturally the date of the northern wing is about 1780, in which year John Hathorn died. This may explain why the house was not then completed and why the eastern frontage is of

entirely different design from the northern face. This frontage has been dated a few days ago by Dr. James S. Richardson, late H.M. Inspector of Ancient Monuments, as "about 1789," and it is significant that in that year Robert Hathorn Stewart, son of Agnes, married a daughter of Sir Stair Agnew of Lochnaw. In the interval between these dates a new conception of what the completed house should be had been born. I would suggest that the architect of the northern wing had died and a new one had been engaged—one brought up in the tradition of the Adams school. One has only to contrast the height of the rooms on the northern face with those of the frontage to realise the change. There is a 50 per cent. increase, whilst in the size of the rooms over 100 per cent., and the stone stairs of the northern face, sufficient for a mid-18th century house, give way to the majestic yet admirably proportioned staircase of the Adams part. We know not the names of either architect, but it can scarcely be the work of one of the Adams, for, though of Adams' design and proportion the decorative details are too severe and restrained. One interesting feature should be noted. The staircase leads up to a balcony on the first floor which runs round the hall, itself open to the roof. Only one side of this balcony has a balustrade, the others are closed in, and one looks down from them into the hall below through windows. The reason for this is that a hall open to the roof is apt to be a very draughty funnel, and the enclosed balcony protects persons coming or going to the bedrooms from unpleasant chills.

The next four generations all served in the Army with distinction. One of them, Stair Hathorn Stewart, purchased Glasserton in 1819, selling Over Aries and the Wigtown lands to finance the purchase. He was Convener of the County, and married Margaret, daughter of James Johnston of Straiton, a marriage which brought to the Stewarts the Midlothian estate of Straiton. In consequence the Convener's son took the surname of Hathorn Johnston Stewart.

The last laird preferred the Navy to the Army, retiring in 1912 as a Rear Admiral. His son, Robert Hathorn John-

ston Stewart, has most kindly allowed us to visit Physgill to-day. He can look back on a long ancestry with pride and satisfaction. For his forebears were God-fearing and canny, industrious and prosperous; law-abiding, too, for one seeks in vain for them in the annals of a lawless age. No murder—the hallmark of respectability of many families—enlivens the family archives. During the religious troubles they eschewed the fanatics and sought the ways of tolerance and peace. But in time of war they have always been at the service of their Crown and country. Yet amongst them all I have not found a single archæologist, a serious omission which is about to be rectified by the admission of Mrs Johnston Stewart as a member of this Society. We will welcome her election all the more seeing that she is a grand-niece of our old friend, the late George M'Leod Stewart of Cairnsmore, who was for so long a Vice-President of this Society.



## ARTICLE 10.

**Glencairn Castle and Maxwelton.**

By Miss JOAN GLADSTONE.

This article is in the nature of a lure in case any learned person can give more particulars and disentangle the problem—was Glencairn Castle the same as Maxwelton, and if they were separate buildings, where was the former?

W. F. Hunter-Arundell, writing in 1827 to John Riddell,<sup>1</sup> says: "My friend Sir Robert (Laurie) when he settled in Scotland took to burning all what he thought rubbish in the Charter Room and when he saw my advertisement of a County History, he wrote me a note saying how much now he regretted the Conflagration, but that I was welcome to all that remained." The Riddell MSS. has original Laurie marriage contracts and many signatures, and Hunter-Arundell's letters correcting Riddell's dates. In his Barjarg MSS. at Barjarg House, Dumfriesshire, Hunter-Arundell copied pedigrees and notes for his projected *History* in foolscap size leather-bound books.<sup>2</sup>

Timothy Pont's map<sup>3</sup> gives Maxwelton and Glencairn Castle as separate places, and the only contemporary account (between 1647-1684) is by the Rev. William Black, who implies that the Castle is on Maxwelton land. Charters and other records make it fairly clear that Maxwelton lands contained the Castle.

The Earls of Glencairn seem mostly to have lived at Finlaston, Renfrewshire, and at Kilmaurs in Ayrshire, but by 1511 what was later called Glencairn Castle was to be the "principal messuage" in the valley, where the Earls lived in the late 16th century. A great point is made of their absence in 1600 when they left servants there to defend it.

The Castle had a defensive position overlooking one valley and on the "way" over a low pass, the Clone, into

1 Riddell MSS., No. 38. National Library, Edinburgh.

2 These volumes have now been presented to the Ewart Library.

3 Timothy Pont's Survey, dated, by Sir Herbert Maxwell, 1604, and published in Blaeu's Atlas, 1654.

other valleys (the main way to Edinburgh from the S.-W. in the 17th century). This pass was a short approach for the raid by the followers of the Douglasses of Drumlanrig in 1600. Andrew Symson, minister of Kirkinner from 1663, describes the "way" in *A Large Description of Galloway*:

"The way from Edinburgh to Kirkcudbright comes by Penpont, Glencairn, then Garristoun (about 2 mile and a half north of Mule), then to the Mule through the gate, betwixt Mule and Margoly in Irongrey; thence south to Kilpatrick Mure called Gallagat; thence to the Church, thence Bridge of Urr to Carlingwork. . . ."

This old "way" may have gone over the Clone pass and come out into Glencairn behind Maxwelton House, and so via Crossford to Garristoun, West of Dunscore and Margolly Bridge; but Gallagat is not on the modern map—thence by Bridge of Urr to Carlingwork, the modern Castle-Douglas.

The earliest known owners of the Glencairn lands, before 1370, were the Danielstoun family. The ancestor of the Earls of Glencairn, Sir William Cunynghame, obtained them by marriage with Margaret Danielstoun, co-heiress, about 1404, and they remained in his family till the early 17th century, when the Earl, owing probably to financial difficulties, sold some of his lands.

It is stated in the Barjarg MSS. that in 1611 Stephen Lowrie, merchant burgess of Dumfries, purchased the estate of Maxwelton from Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar. In 1614 Stephen Lowrie had a charter from Lord Kilmaurs, Janet Kerr, his wife, and James, Earl of Glencairn, of the 5 merk land of Maxweltoun and the 3 merk land of Schancastell, with the Castle, tower, fortalice, etc. This Charter is quoted by Riddell and Hunter-Arundell, but neither of the originals have been found.

Stephen is mentioned in 1616 as already the owner of Bellibocht, Maxweltoun, and Shancastle, with the Castle of Glencairn, in a Royal Charter of apprising to Mr John Lindesay of the rest of the lands and barony of Glencairn.<sup>4</sup> Stephen's grandson was Sir Robert Laurie, the first baronet,

<sup>4</sup> R.M.S., 1609-20, 1546.

and the direct line ended in Admiral Sir Robert Laurie (d. 1848). Maxwelton then passed to his nephew, John Minet Fector, and in 1868 to his nephew, Sir Emilius Bayley, third baronet, who was grandfather of the present baronet. They took the name of Laurie under the entail. The baronetcy is the Bayley creation (1834).

Pont's survey (1604) shows Maxwelton as a large settlement apparently on the site of Maxwelton Mote. There are four motes in Glencairn: Ingliston, the "toun" of the Englishman or Norman, the earliest and largest, has a base court for the followers which shows it is older than Birkshaw and Maxwelton. These, without a base court, would become too small for the feudal tenant subordinate to the Anglo-Norman owner of Ingliston.<sup>5</sup> When a mote hill became too small for the tacksman (tenant) and his retainers they moved to a larger settlement or "toun," generally up the hillside, and only used the mote hill when there was a raid.

Forts were older than motes, and there are forts on Shancastle and Tynron Doon.

The *Register of the Great Seal* does not refer to motes before 1430, and Ingliston is not in the list of Dumfriesshire motes beginning A.D. 1489. Dr. Gerhard Bersu<sup>6</sup> says that excavation is necessary for proof that these mote hills were Norman.

Maxwelton Mote is on the left bank of the Cairn, close to Maxwelton House. On it the earliest tower would have been of wood, then one of wattled clay, i.e., walls of clay and straw which could not be burnt, and the corners of windows and doors of stone. A few stones remain but no tower, the stones of which would have been used for a new building.<sup>7</sup>

It is difficult to distinguish which mote hill is meant by various authors. They name them differently. On Ordnance maps the only motes are Ingliston and Maxwelton, the latter being terraced and therefore agreeing with David Christison's No. 17.<sup>8</sup> Birkshaw Mote near Birkshaw farm is on the

<sup>5</sup> *The Ingliston Mote*, by R. C. Reid, in D. and G. Trans., 1946-7, p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> Of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. Mon. Com.*, Inventory for Dumfriesshire.

<sup>8</sup> Christison's *Forts, Camps and Motes of Dumfriesshire*.

significantly named Moteland on the left bank of the Cairn. It belonged to a branch of the Cunninghams, relatives of the Earls of Glencairn.

Two mounds across the Cairn from Birkshaw are "the Orchard," N.-E. of Snade farm on low-lying ground—a circular plateau "unlike any other earthwork in the county";<sup>9</sup> and "the Castle," S.-W. of Snade farm, not described by the Commission on Historical Monuments. This was the Place of Snade and belonged to the Hays of Yester in 1573,<sup>10</sup> and passed to John Broun of Ingliston in 1661.<sup>11</sup>

The measurements of the mote hills are:

Ingliston Mote—31 ft. diameter, base court 213 ft. long.

Maxwelton Mote—70 ft. x 60 ft. (Terrace, 25 ft. x 30 ft.).

Birkshaw Mote—34 ft. diameter (with a shoulder 105 x 95 ft.).

Ingliston Mote Hill would have housed many mercenaries. Pont places it between Halfmarck and Blackstoun up the slope away from the marshy ground in a line with Jarbruck. (The present Jarbruck house on a flattened spur has the mill behind it. The ruins of a Peel Tower higher up the hill near the burn are covered with undergrowth.) Pont places Blackstoun east of Ingliston, and Jarbruck nearer Moniaive, which is only named "The Bridge."

He marks Ingliston as a mere dot, or small "toun." Ingliston Mote is not shown, and was obsolete. This explains Darnagill being chosen as the "principal messuage" a century before.

The earliest mention of Ingliston is in 1481-2, when Uchtre Edzar of Ingliston served on an assize.<sup>12</sup> In 1634 William Edgar had the lands and disposed them to William Broun, minister of Glencairn, whose wife was the daughter of Stephen Laurie.<sup>13</sup> Stephen's son, John, inherited the

<sup>9</sup> *Hist. Mon. Com., Dumfriesshire.*

<sup>10</sup> *D. and G. Trans., 1946-7, p. 171.*

<sup>11</sup> *Gen. Reg. Sas.*

<sup>12</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com., Drumlanrig Papers, I., 48.*

<sup>13</sup> *Part. Reg. Sas., Dumfries.*

"Templand medow in the carse of Ingliston," where the mote hill is.

When Ingliston Mote became obsolete the owners moved up the hillside, apparently to the present Upper Ingliston. Maxwellton remained on its mote hill, and gave its name to the lands on which the Earls of Glencairn built their mansion (by 1511). GlenKarne is on John Leslie's map of Scotland of 1578. In 1511 it is called "the toun and mansion in the lands of Darnagill, near the Church of Glencarne, which the King wished to be the principal messuage of the barony."<sup>14</sup> It is called "Darnagill otherways Maxwelltoun" in the 16th century, and Maxwellton in the 17th century.

The Gaelic name Darnagill means *doire*—the copse: *an gille*—of a servant, or *nan gille*—of the servants.

Shan castle now a farm, meaning in Gaelic "old castle," may be the site of the oldest castle of Glencairn. "Stane-castle" is mentioned in 1484,<sup>15</sup> earlier than Darnagill.

A barony gave the title to its possessors. They sat in Parliament, elected M.P.s, compelled tenants to grind corn at their mills, bringing them revenue, and earlier punished minor offences on their land. There were three baronies in Glencairn—Crawfordton, Glencairn, and Snade.

The "Caput" or principal messuage was the meeting place where the superior officially infefted an heir.<sup>16</sup> Ingliston Mote was the earliest Glencairn caput, but Darnagill was chosen in 1511, so must have been large and important then. By 1604<sup>17</sup> Ingliston was a very small "toun" up the hillside.

In 1315-21 the barony of Glencairn is mentioned.<sup>18</sup> In 1370 Robert Danielston owned it. The earliest mention of a castle there is when Danielston received the gift of the Castle wards of Glencairn in David II.'s reign.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> R.M.S., 1424-1513, 3594.

<sup>15</sup> R.M.S., 1424-1513, 1594.

<sup>16</sup> D. and G. Trans., 1946-7, p. 170.

<sup>17</sup> Pont's Survey.

<sup>18</sup> R.M.S., 1306-1424, 31.

<sup>19</sup> R.M.S., 1306-1424, app. ii., 1064.

In 1404 Sir William Cunyngham, the first Earl's grandfather, acquired the lands through Margaret Danielston, his wife. Shancastle was among the Glencairn lands given by Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs, to Edward Crichton in 1484.<sup>20</sup> We do not know how the Earls regained ownership. In 1498 William Cunyngham, son of Cuthbert, was in possession, and in 1511 Cuthbert, second Earl of Glencairn, "tint" (lost) the barony, including Darnagill, which was "recognosced" by the King (his superior) because Cuthbert had sold them without a licence.<sup>21</sup> Three days later the King gave them back, as Cuthbert paid the fine in a hurry. Lands were "recognosced" or taken back by the overlord, when the greater part was sold without permission. The vassal might not sell them

"because theirby he may becum puir, and unable to do his superior sik service as he suld do of the lawe."<sup>22</sup>

In 1512 occurs the first mention of Maxwelton.<sup>23</sup>

In April, 1544, the Governor, Arran, on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots, ordered the third Earl's house of Finlston to be besieged, because he was communicating "wyth our auld ennemyis in Inglands." In event of opposition the officers were to "raise fire gif neid be."<sup>24</sup>

This does not seem to have subdued the Earl, for in May he and Lennox agreed to give Henry VIII. several of the strongest Scottish castles and promote the marriage between Prince Edward and Mary. The Earl and his son were to receive 1000 crowns. In December Glencairn was pardoned.<sup>25</sup>

The Castle is first mentioned in October, 1546, when the Earl personally infeft a tenant there.<sup>26</sup> In April, 1547, he was prevented from attending his first meeting in Glencairn, and said he would be there on 27th. In July he wrote: "I caym to my place of Glencairn."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, 1594.

<sup>21</sup> *A.D.C.*, vol. xxiii., f. 62.

<sup>22</sup> *Dict. of the Law of Scotland*, by R. Bell.

<sup>23</sup> *A.D.C.*, xxiv., f. 53.

<sup>24</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. 4th Report*.

<sup>25</sup> *Scots Peerage*, IV., 237.

<sup>26</sup> *D. and G. Trans.*, 1913-14, pp. 205 and 206.

<sup>27</sup> *Cal. of Scottish Papers*, I., 62-63.

William (the 3rd Earl) on 26th August, 1547, disposed of the 5 merk land of Maxwelltoun, alias Darnayngill, to Marjorie Cunynghame of Byrkschawe. Robert, son of Marjorie's late husband, received the 2½ merk land of Maxwellton, alias Darnayngill, on 8th December. This was done "apud manerium sui castri" (at the manor house of his castle) on the lands of Maxwellton. In 1548 Marjorie gave back the 2½ merk land of Maxwelltoun, alias Darnayngill, to William (son of Alexander, the 4th Earl), the first donor's grandson.<sup>28</sup>

This transaction looks uncommonly like a mortgage between relations to tide over some crisis, Marjorie keeping the lands till the Earl was out of his difficulties. These lands were divided as an additional safeguard. A mortgage was a common expedient of landowners to avoid confiscation of lands when outlawed or imprisoned. Glencairn would repay the mortgage and regain ownership when the trouble blew over.

In 1549 the Queen confirmed a charter (not extant) to Alexander, the 4th Earl, by which he sold the £20 lands of Glencairn, including Darnagillie, to William, his son, and Janet Gordon.<sup>29</sup>

The fortalice of Glencairn was surprised 15th September, 1600, by John Douglas of Craiginwy and kept "stuffit with men, victuell and armour as an hous of weir" against the King. The house was recovered, but later John Douglas sent his brother George and others armed to the Earl's place of Glencairn. They surprised it and removed the servants. Douglas said the keepers let him in, and he stayed there eight days, as the Earl was non-resident. His excuse was his family's feud.

The Earl complained (recorded 1601 and 1602), and the attackers were put to the horn (March, 1602) for taking the Earl's "house." In December Malcolm Dalrimple was surety for Douglas that he should answer for taking, manning

<sup>28</sup> *D. and G. Trans.*, 1913-14, pp. 210 and 218.

<sup>29</sup> *R.M.S.*, 1546-90, 372.

and victualling the Castle. In 1603 Douglas pleaded ignorance of the horning.<sup>30</sup>

A special point is made of the Earl's absence, and the building is called fortalice, place, house and Castle.

James, the 6th Earl, was threatened with finding two sums of £20,000 in 1591.<sup>31</sup> This most probably caused the sale of the lands. As a result the barony passed through some very involved financial difficulties, in which Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, Sir James Cunningham of Glengarnock, and others were concerned, ending in the superiority passing from the Earls of Glencairn and only the farm of Nether Kirkcudbright being retained to enable the Earl to have a vote as Freeholder in the County.

In 1614, by a charter dated at Canongate and Maxwelton 23rd April and 20th May, Lord Kilmaurs and his wife and father gave to Stephen Lowrie "the 5 merk land of Maxweltoun of old extent and 3 merk land of Schankisdail, with the Castle, tower, fortalice and manor place of Glencairn, to be held of the Earl."<sup>32</sup> In the same year Stephen Lowrie gave a tack of the lands of Maxwelton to John Corsane, but Stephen may not have had enough money to complete the purchase, and the tack would allow Corsane to hold the lands for him. In July William, Lord Crichton, received a charter of the lands and barony from the King.<sup>33</sup>

Glencairn was still a Castle in 1651 when a fight took place near it.<sup>34</sup>

Maxwelton and Schankesdail, with castle, tower and manor place of Glencairn, are so named in 1661, and a 1698 retour mentions Maxwelton and the manor place.

Little help can be derived from a study of the early maps of Glencairn. John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, published his map in 1578, Camden's *Britannia* (1607), and Pont's *Survey* (1604) published by Blaen (1654). They all make use of symbols which are believed to indicate the relative

<sup>30</sup> R.P.C., VI., 204 and 324-5.

<sup>31</sup> R.P.C., IV., p. 692.

<sup>32</sup> Riddell, MSS., no. 38.

<sup>33</sup> R.M.S., 1609-20, 1096.

<sup>34</sup> Sibbald MSS., Nat. Library of Scotland.



importance of the places named. But little reliance can be placed on the symbols, and it is obvious that some of the sites named are misplaced. A few symbolised sites are unnamed. Both Pont and Leslie place West to North on their maps, which increases the difficulty. No roads are shown, and streams, liable to change their course, are in different guides to the identification of sites. Maxwelton is shown close to the Cairn—where now stands the mote hill—its symbol an upright oblong surmounted with flagstaff and a circle beside it, perhaps denoting tower and farm buildings. Dalgair, Dardarroch, Lag, and several others unnamed have the same symbol. But Glencairn Castle is shown north-east of Maxwelton, symbolised like Drumlanrig and Dalswinton Castles by a larger upright oblong surmounted by flagstaff and flag, and surrounded by enclosed park.

The earliest description of this part of Glencairn is in "Mr Black's Account" in the Barjarg MSS. It was printed in the Rev. William Mackenzie's *History of Galloway* (1841), II., Appendix VII., published by John Nicholson, Kirkcudbright, the original being in the Sibbald MSS. in the National Library of Scotland. William Black was minister of Closeburn, 1647-84. His Account must have been written after John Laurie of Maxwelton's death c. 1671, and before his own death in 1684.

" . . . The next parish to Tinron is the parish of Glencairne. . . . A little beneath Moniaive in this parish stands the Church of Glencarne, situate at the foot of an high hill called the Dune of Shankcastle; near to which also stands the Castle of Glencarne anciently the dwelling place of the noble family of the Cuninghames Earles of Glencarne, who being superiour to the whole parish, excepting a Barony or two, did divide the property among his jackmen\* for the greater part of it into several tenements bearing the name of the first occupants, which denominations though the lands now be possessed by those of other names, yet they do still retain as at first, as Blackstown, Inglistown, Crawfordtown, Stewartown, Gilmorestown, Garriokstown and some others more: and it is probable that other places had the like denomination, though now changed. At the disposition of the superiority of this parish, the Earle of Glencarne did reserve the superiority of one room†

\*Tacksmen. † Farm.

called Nether Kirkcudbright which he yet retains; and at the disposition of his property, a little know near the Castle of Glencarne, which Castle with a considerable part of the parish doth now pertain to Robert Laurie of Maxweltoun, Baron of Straith, which makes him capable of electing, and being elected, a Commissioner for the Parliament."

Black gives the tradition, surviving to the present day, that retaining the "little know" enabled the Earl to vote, but in fact the Earl kept the farm of Nether Kirkcudbright for this purpose—a common legal practice. The knoll has three blocks of hewn pink sandstone between the "lily-pond" and Maxwelton House.

#### MAXWELTON HOUSE.

A Castle was generally built near an already occupied site, an enclosure within a barmkin wall. The hall was the chief room entered directly from the turret stair, with chamber, kitchen and brewhouse connected by covered alleyways. Storerooms, stables and granaries gradually formed a courtyard. In the 15th century the roofs were of turf or stone slabs, as at Closeburn.

The present house is built on three sides of a courtyard, probably closed in the 17th century by a wall and archway like many existing houses. It was examined and reported on in 1940 by Mr Ian G. Lindsay, B.A., A.R.S.A., F.R.I.A.S., who has most kindly allowed the reproduction here of his Report:

10th September, 1940.

The task of assigning dates to the various portions of the house of Maxwelton is complicated by the large number of alterations which have been made to it from time to time, and further by the harling which covers the walls and prevents any study of the types of masonry or blocked-up windows. It is unfortunate that when the walls were re-harled some 30 years ago, no record seems to have been made of the various windows of earlier date which were exposed at the time. It is not suggested that the present harl and white wash is other than the correct finish for the house. Such houses have always been rendered in some way at all periods, and the present fashion of so-called restoration by exposing all stone work is entirely incorrect. However, when any repairs are being done, measurements and photographs should always be taken of any features thus exposed. In

any case, therefore, many of the findings must be regarded as rather tentative.

For the sake of clarity we may name the main part of the house containing the public rooms the west range, the block containing the pend the north range, and that with the old servants' hall, etc., the east range. It is impossible without further evidence to be certain of the existence of a tower earlier than the other buildings, but, from what features are visible, there is no particular reason to suppose that there was, and the house may have been planned on the so-called palace or courtyard plan from the beginning.

The west range, which is largely 17th century in date, was undoubtedly the early house, and it is exceedingly doubtful if it had any internal communication with the north or east ranges which, previous to the 19th century, were only two storeys in height. The main entrance would undoubtedly have been through the pend, whose outer arch is probably the original. This pend would be protected with a heavy wrought-iron yett and possibly with stout doors as well. The main entrance to the house in the west range is not quite so obvious owing to additions and alterations on the courtyard elevation. The usual position of the doorway was at the foot of the stairs, but as neither of the earlier armorial stones show any sign of having been placed on other than a flat surface, this may not be so. There is, however, a short jamb or wing projecting into the courtyard at the south end of the range which contains a doorway with a roll moulding surmounted by an armorial stone on which is carved the impaled achievement of Sir Robert Laurie and Dame Jean Riddell. Sir Robert was created a baronet in 1685 and died in 1689, so that the stone must date from that period and possibly the doorway. The gun room to which it leads must formerly have had internal communications with the rest of the house, and the small cupboard opening from the present library may be a relic of this. The gun room has a plaster barrel vault, but whether there is a stone one beneath this or not I could not find out. The present window and fireplace date from the 19th century. There is unfortunately no trace of a stair near this doorway, and if, in fact, there never was one and the gun room ceiling is vaulted in stone, it is most unlikely that the doorway and panel are in their original positions. The reason for this is that in Scottish houses of the 17th century, the hall, which was the main living-room, was always on the first floor and a stair led almost invariably straight to it from the front door.

As part of the east range is vaulted, it is quite possible that the ground floor of the western wing was also, and that to form public rooms the vault was cut out at a later date. The side

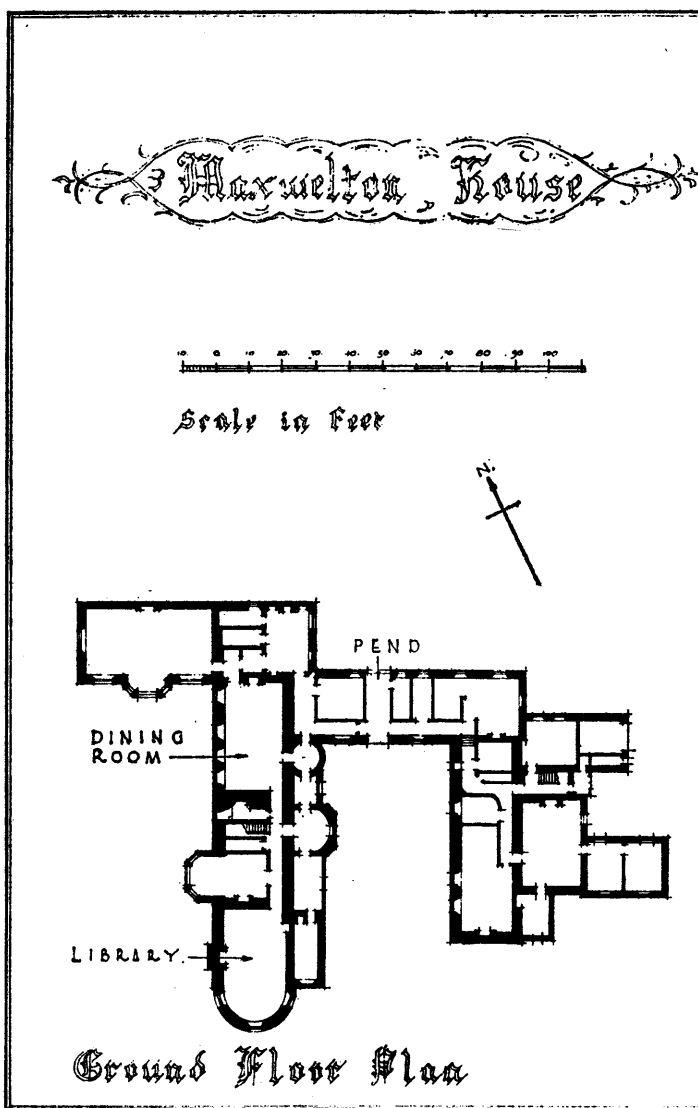


Fig. 12—MAXWELTON HOUSE—GROUND PLAN.

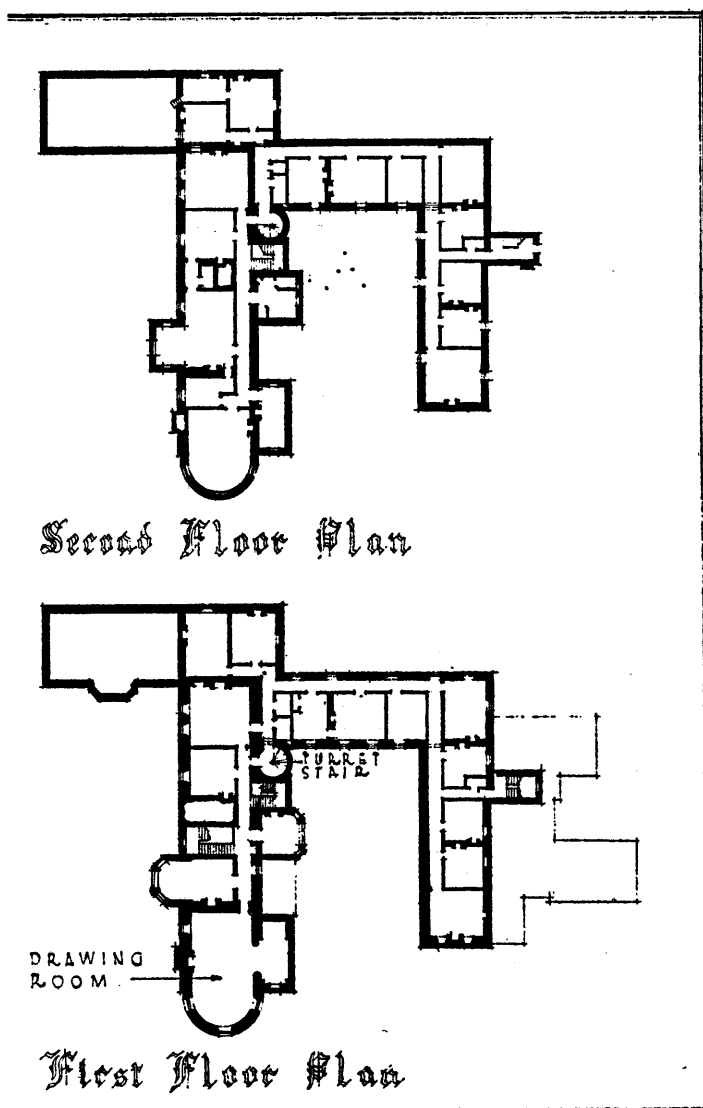


Fig. 13—MAXWELTON HOUSE—PLAN OF UPPER FLOORS.

walls are of the usual thickness to support one. The ground floor often contained the kitchen, but otherwise, owing to the necessity for exceedingly small windows, generally mere slits, it was given over to storage and wine cellars. About the middle of the block there is a heavy wall nearly 10 ft. thick at the ground floor. The small cloak room is said to have been hollowed out of it, and, if so, it would have been very interesting to know what was found in the process, as there can be little doubt that it contained the original kitchen fireplace and probably a beehive stone oven. As things are at present, it cannot be said with any certainty which side of this wall the kitchen was on, but there is a tradition that it was the present dining-room. It is most unlikely that it would be as large, however, and there might have been a partition some half-way along. The dining-room windows are all subsequent to this, probably 18th century and one certainly 19th.

The first floor contains little evidence of 17th century work, but the stair to it is probably early 19th or late 18th century, and a charming piece of work. The west wall seems to have been thinned down a bit to fit it in. The two bedrooms north of the stair each contain stone surrounds to their fireplaces dating from the late 17th century, and probably put in by Sir Robert Laurie. The hall, or main living-room, of the house would originally have been situated on one side or other of the thick wall already mentioned, and it is most likely that if the plaster was stripped traces of a wide fireplace would be exposed. The present drawing-room has been remodelled in the early 19th century, and contains a good marble mantelpiece. It is possible that this work was carried out by Admiral Sir Robert Laurie in or about 1823, which is the date inscribed on a lintel (probably not in its original position) in the entrance hall. The semi-circular bay at the south end of the drawing-room has been an 18th century addition. Opening from the drawing-room through a Victorian archway is an interesting little room known as Annie Laurie's Boudoir. It is unusual in being vaulted with a rib vault of 17th century date. The modern corbels in the corners from which the ribs spring are in form of shields, bearing the Laurie arms, and may be copies of the original. The whole arrangement and position of the room is unusual, and if further investigation could be made of the walls beneath the plaster it might reveal that it had had some connection with a staircase from the doorway beneath. However, this is merely a suggestion, and it is quite impossible to go further without more evidence.

The 17th century turnpike stair still exists between the first and second floor. It is unfortunate that the lower flight to the ground floor has now been removed. The second floor contains

very little evidence of 17th century work, excepting one fireplace similar to those on the first floor in the bedroom immediately north of the thick wall. The south bedroom has been done up about the same period as the drawing-room. It is unfortunate that the roofs have all been lowered in pitch and all the chimney stacks renewed. Had this not been so, considerable more evidence might have been brought to light.

The north block contains little of interest excepting the pend, which has already been mentioned. Most, if not all, the windows have been renewed at a later period, probably when the top floor was added. The east block still retains part of its barrel vaulted ground floor, but otherwise it, too, has been considerably altered. Facing the courtyard is a lintel with raised letter inscription, surmounted by a shield upon which is carved the impaled arms of John Laurie and Agnes Grierson, together with the date 1641. Both lintel and armorial stone have originally been set above a doorway, possibly in the same position as they now are. It is very probable that both the north and the east blocks formed the outbuildings to the main house, with storage, stable, and servants' accommodation. It is also pretty certain that the courtyard would be closed on the south side by a wall some 12 to 15 ft. high.

IAN G. LINDSAY.

The Gun Room—popularly called the Dungeon—has over its outer doorway an armorial stone of the first Baronet and his wife, Jean Riddell. This stone is said to have been moved by the Admiral (1764-1848) from the original entrance. It would seem to have been formerly over the narrow doorway to the turnpike stair.

Two sketches at Maxwelton, one signed George Stewart, depict the House c. 1800. The coloured one, a view from the south-east, shows the turret containing the turnpike stair with a modern sloping roof, the east wing without the second storey (1870), and near the kitchen garden the "dovcot" destroyed by 1870. It was a square building of two storeys, surmounted by a cupola.

The pencil sketch is from the south-west, probably by the same artist, and shows the narrow entrance to the turnpike stair crowned with the first Baronet's armorial stone. Two other doors to the courtyard are shown, and the pend with its iron yett. There are fewer windows on to the courtyard than to-day, and the east block ends at John Laurie's

armorial stone over a doorway. The initials of John Minet Fector, who took the name of Laurie under the entail, figure on the east wing and rain water heads.

In conclusion, it seems, on all the available evidence, that Glencairn Castle of 1600 stood on the lands of Maxwelton, near the church, and had been "a town and mansion" on the lands of Darnangill in 1511. Some parts of that Castle may be incorporated in the present Maxwelton House, though it is impossible now to identify the remains. The reconstruction by the early Lauries has obliterated any obvious features. The names of the buildings—castle, tower, and manor place—occur continually in documents down to the 19th century. The Earls used it in 1511, and it was the "caput" of the barony succeeding the earlier "caput" of Ingliston Mote. If Maxwelton Mote had a tower and settlement larger than several others in Glencairn in 1604, it is not mentioned in documents except as lands of large extent.



## ARTICLE 11.

**The Military Road to Portpatrick, 1763.**

By M. C. ARNOTT.

Many of the engineering and other problems that had to be overcome in the construction of the Military Road from Sark to Portpatrick are brought to light in letters written by the officer in charge to one of Lord Stair's ancestors. The letters are included among the Stair papers, and are published here by kind permission of the Earl.<sup>1</sup>

The officer was Major (later Lieut.-Col.) William Rickson, who was most thorough in his explanations and, obviously, in his methods. Everything connected with the road appears to have come under his personal care, and his letters contain, in addition to information relating to road construction, sidelights on living conditions, food supplies, the fixing of embarkation charges at Portpatrick, and the ways of the Treasury. The letters cover the operations during the summers of 1763-64. They are addressed to Mr John Dalrymple, who may be identified with John Dalrymple, younger, of Dunragit.

This correspondence would seem to be all that has survived relating to the making of this road. A search in the Library of the War Office has been fruitless, and no map or plan of the road appears in War Office Maps (W.O., 78) at the Public Record Office. Similarly nothing has been found amongst War Office In-letters, North Britain (W.O., 1/615), except a letter dated 3rd December, 1763, from Lord George Beauclerk enclosing a return of works on the new road leading from Carlisle to Portpatrick. No details of the route are given, merely the number of men employed, pounds of powder expended, rocks blown, etc.

Further, an examination of Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1763 (W.O., 1/981-985), was just as unproductive,

<sup>1</sup> The letters were found amongst the Earl's archives by Dr. Gordon Donaldson and R. C. Reid when examining and reporting on the Stair Papers for the National Register of Archives.

although a letter from Major Rickson was found but not relating to road building.<sup>2</sup>

Directly after the suppression of the '45 Rising a strenuous period of road making was commenced in Scotland by the government. A military survey was made, and by 1755 a map was produced; many of the M.S. maps from which the complete map was made are in the British Museum. They are often referred to as the "Duke of Cumberland's Survey" or as "General Roy's Survey."<sup>3</sup>

The original proposal for the road, embodied in a plan, is first referred to by Major Rickson as dated 1756, but it was 15 years later that the work commenced. Strangely enough, being a purely Scottish need, it began at Sark on the Border and not at Carlisle, the natural military base, and it was not till the section to Dumfries was completed that the War Office in London, stimulated by the indignant remarks of Mr Graham of Netherby, realised the necessity of spanning the gap between Carlisle and Sark. Contrary to modern notions, no new road was constructed, but existing roads and tracks were made use of, improved, supplied with ditches and draining, and doubtless re-surfaced. In many places, deviations from the existing tracks, especially in the Stewartry, were involved, existing bridges widened, as at Glenluce, or their approaches re-graded, as at Creebridge, and a large number of new bridges built. But it is obvious that the previous roads and tracks were not without bridges at that date. We hear of one at Graydock, at Skyreburn (where another one was constructed), Tarff, and Bridge-of-Dee, and it may well be that in parts the road followed the line of the Roman Road which we now know must have run from the vicinity of Dalswinton to Glenlochar, Gatehouse and beyond.

Red tape and official delays were apparently not unknown in those days, and there is a note of relief in Major Rickson's letter from London, written on the eve of his departure for Scotland. On 30th April, 1763, he wrote :

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Mr. C. S. Drew, the courteous secretary at the Public Record Office for this information.

<sup>3</sup> *Wade in Scotland*, by J. B. Salmond, p. 294.

I have at last got hold of the money; it was paid yesterday and I have lodged it in Messrs Coutt's hands. I began to be extremely tired of attendance and broken promises of getting it week after week and was obliged to give the Duke of Queensberry the trouble of speaking about it, or believe I should not have got it yet. I shall set out for Scotland on Monday and after having done the needfull at Edinburgh shall lose no time in setting out for Galloway. Carts must be bespoke at Edinr. and I beg your advice to meet me there whether I should purchase horses there or whether it would be cheaper to pick them up in Galloway. I believe, at any rate, it will be saving to purchase as many as will serve the carts that draw the tools, but I will do neither till I have your opinion.

Having dealt with the immediate business on hand, the Major adds:

The talk of the town is that Mr Wilkes is sent to the Tower. Lord Holland is set out for France, but before he went Mr Calcraft and his Lordship have made up accounts, and entirely broke off correspondence with each other. Various are the opinions which of them is to blame. I do not pretend to decide, tho I have heard one side.

By June the arrangements were well forward. Writing from Dumfries on 9th June, 1763, Major Rickson stated:

We are now pretty near reality. One hundred men arrived here this day; the carts with the tools arrived two days ago. Quarters are assigned. Meal is ready to be issued and I hope to break ground on Monday. I intend to push on fifty men on Saturday (for they must halt to-morrow) to the Carlinwark, who will be early enough on Monday morning at the Bridge of Dee to mark some ground there, to begin with. I have reduced my plan to a kind of system, which I think I comprehend as practicable, for without such a disposition one is always in uncertainty and perplexity.

I propose then to divide my 200 men into four bodys and to assign them four stations—1st, about the B[rig] of Dee; 2nd, from the Kirk of Anwoth to the Corse of Slakes; 3rd, at the Ferrytown; 4th, at Newton-Stewart; the 1st to begin about the B. of Dee, because that is the first bad piece of road after passing the Carlinwark; this party to consist of 2 Serpts. 1 Corpl. and 36 men to work forward at first till some progress is made on the worst part of the road and can then work back towards the Carlinwark, as occasions requires; the 2nd to consist of the complement of my first 100 men (for I must inform you that I fear I shall not have my second 100 men before the end of the month, Napier's Regt, which is to relieve Leighton's not being yet in Scotland, nor will

arrive at Edinburgh before the 23rd or 24th); this party to attack and, I hope, carry the Corse of Slacks and after some progress thereon, a part to work backwards towards the Gatehouse; the 3rd to consist of a part of the 2nd 100 men, proportionable to the work and to work both ways, that is a part towards Newton-Stewart and a part towards the Corse of Slacks; the 4th of the remainder of my 2nd 100 to work always forward from Newton-Stewart towards the Ferrytown. The advantage of the intermediate stations is that they can extend themselves both ways without change of quarters; but Newton-Stewart being so large a quarter, tho an extremity, must be taken. I wish this disposition may be such as you approve of, and I shall be glad to receive any amendments you think proper on it.

I am sorry I can give you no account of any progress made in estimates of the bridges. Not one was made nor river examined before I came here, which was on 30th May. I sent Mr Laurie to examine the Sark and some other waters in that district and one, Kerr, a mason of Kirkcudbright, to the Steps of Tarffe, the Skyre Burn and some others in that district, but have not had any report from either yet. I fear we shall not do as much as was proposed in that way this season; therefore, propose to confine that branch of the work to such places where any new directions of the road may carry it from the usual fords or places of crossing waters, that whatever part of the road is compass'd this season may not be imperfect in those essential circumstances and I shall think myself well off if that is brought about, for I do not find that there is choice of undertakers of those works at present in the country or that are unemploy'd at least.

I have heard several opinions about changing the directions; that of carrying the road from the Gatehouse to the Ferry Town by the shore, the most considerable. In order to be able to give an answer I rode it on Saturday in company with Mr Murray, Castle-Stewart, and Mr Agnew and found it extravagant enough to be entirely rejected. Besides its being above four miles, about one half of the road would be more difficult and expensive than the same distance on any other part of the road, but I have one answer always ready against any considerable deviations that are proposed, which have more whim, opinion or particulare views than any real or general utility—that as such directions are not in the plan approved of already, I cannot take upon me to adopt them without fresh powers and this, I think, can disoblige nobody.

It was not long, however, before the public demanded a road round the coast. About 1783 it was becoming clear that the existing military road from Gatehouse to Creetown was inadequate, and a number of local proprietors began to agitate for a new coast road. In 1786 a Major Andrew

Fraser, presumably a military engineer, made a report on, and submitted to the Land Tax Commissioners, a plan of the proposed new line, comparing it favourably to the existing road over the moors by the Corse of Slakes, which was very steep, subject to blocking by snow, and expensive to maintain. This plan was modified by Mr Tayler, Surveyor of Military Roads for Scotland, and a sub-committee was appointed to take estimates. A number of contractors were engaged, each to do a section of the work, among them William Stewart, contractor in Appleby, who constructed part of the road in the parish of Minnigaff; John Niven and William Hannay of Bargally, who constructed the portion from Boreland of Anwoth to Skyreburn Bridge. These facts are taken from the Ardwall Papers and communicated by Mr Walter M'Culloch, W.S., of Ardwall. No details of the cost have survived, but the road was completed in 1790.

Major Rickson's letter continues:

There are two alterations which I think may be advantageous; the first is to strike off from the Dumfries road a quarter of a mile of this side of the Steps of Tarffe into the road leading to Kirkcudbright by Livingstone Boat; to have a bridge on the Tarffe between Underwood and Mr Maitland's at Barchapel (where there is an excellent foundation) and carry the road by the Kirk of Twynholm and near to Campbelton to join the Kirkcudbright road from the Gatehouse and theré to come on the Hill of Enrig. By this direction all the disadvantages mention'd in the Survey (to which I beg leave to refer you) from the Steps of Tarffe to the Hill of Enrig (the greatest steep of which will be shunn'd) will be avoidied. The only objection that can be made to this direction is that it is a mile and a half, or perhaps more about, but I think it will be amply made up by the ease and goodness of it. There is not one pull, rock, moss, or bad water all the way and the best of materials underfoot; nor can the damages be anything to speak of, there being a road already almost the whole way, so that I think upon the whole it will be made at less expense than the old road and in point of goodness of ground better beyond comparison. . . .

The second deviation from the plan is, instead of striking off from the top of King's Laggan to the N. to the side of the opposite brae and so descending to the Skyre Burn opposite to Glen's Meadow and there build a bridge. Mr Murray is of opinion with me that it will be as well to sweep round the pinch of the hill of King's Laggan to the N. and then gradually return to the old

road to the present bridge over the Skyre Burn and then follow Glen's own road from the bridge towards his house, leaving that and his little planting a little on the left hand and so come to the same point on the shoulder of the Corse of Slakes the other direction would have led to, and sweep round the hill in the very same manner. The reason for this change is that the tenants on King's Laggan and the neighbouring farm think their damages will be very great and Glen would think his favourite mossy meadow quite undone if the road was carried through them; and the advantage to be gained to the road would not make it worth while to struggle with such dissatisfied people. Beside the saving of the bridge will make the rest of the road to the present bridge, and the great point on the Corse of Slakes remains still in the state proposed.

A third alteration is proposed in order to avoid the Black Craig and the Path of the Craig by turning short to the left hand a little on this side Graydock Bridge and go thro' the farm of Muirfadd to Burn of Palnure, where a bridge is proposed which will comprehend both burns and then carry the road at the foot of Heron's Woods by the edge of the moss. This alteration must remain undetermined till Mr Laurie can give satisfaction about this bridge and till the ground at the foot of Heron's Woods is examined; if both these articles answer it will undoubtedly be a good change; distance is in its favour and a very rocky bad hill will be avoided. . . .

P.S.—Mr Laurie recommends an entire new bridge at Luce, an arch of 56 feet and recommends Mr McErgo of Loggan and John McWhistien of Glenluce as good workmen to undertake it. If you will take the trouble to consult Mr Ross and it should be agreeable to your opinion and his to follow this advice and to employ those or either of them, I beg the favour of you to take such measures as will be conducive to it.

Shortly afterwards Major Rickson journeyed to Newton-Stewart, and on 24th June he explained that he had "come with Mr Laurie in order to ascertain the places where the bridges are to be built all the way from Dumfries and that he may be able to give a fixed estimate"; and he pointed out that until the sites of the bridges had been made certain "the direction of the road cannot be absolutely determined." Of Mr Laurie he says, in the same letter, "The man has an ambition for this great undertaking and Mr Maxwell thinks he is the most fit man for it."

I had one other point in view in coming hither which was to examine whether it was practicable to carry the road over the Palnure Burn at a point opposite to Heron's Woods and at the

foot of those woods to Newton-Stewart in order to avoid the Black Craig and the Path. I examined the foot of the Woods very carefully yesterday and I find it utterly impracticable, the moss, which is for ought I know 20 feet deep, comes up to the very roots of the trees, and in some places to the foot of the rock which is perpendicular.

I this morn examined every yard of the Black Craig and cannot find the least advantage any way from the old direction. so that I must endeavour to make the best of it, which never can be very good. Here I intend to set fifty men to work as soon as ever my second Division arrives, which I hope will be next week; and this shall be the first stroke they shall strike, for the way from hence to the Path is practicable enough for the present. I intend to reinforce the party on the Corse of Slakes with 20 men more from this 2nd Divisn. and the remainder to ease the access to the Ferry Town and other bad places on both sides of that place. As it will be impossible to compleat the whole of the road from this place to the Carlinwark this season, I propose to get the better of the worst places in it, so as to make it practicable with ease to keep up the good humour of travellers and to give a little credit to the undertaking. This method will by no means hinder or retard the continuation or junction of the several pieces of road the next season and is in my opinion the most expeditious way of making the design usefully.

Two parties go on very well at the Bridge of Dee and the King's Laggan, but as they have been used to task work they required very strict looking after in their day's work. I have, therefore, put them to the task at the same rate or Majr Caulfield us'd to do, which was 1 yard and  $\frac{1}{2}$  a man for a day's work, and they sometimes do 2 yds and sometimes 2 yds and  $\frac{1}{2}$  in a day and the work equally well done. By this means their labour will be equal to one half of their number more. They go to work at 3 in the morn and leave off by 12 or 1 for the day. The men are excellent workers and know what they are about. We can go on at this rate everywhere but where there is rock of which we have not met with much. . . .

With this letter the Major enclosed a note of the bridge estimates, set out in this way:

Kerr's Estimates.			Bridges.	Laurie's Estimates (1757).		
£17	10	4	Carlinwark widened .....	£9	8	2
25	19	0	Kelton Mill, 2 arches ...	23	13	10
31	0	0	Removing B Skyre Burn	25	2	1
11	10	0	Englishman's Burn .....	15	14	4
13	5	0	Middle Burn .....	11	15	8
19	8	6	Garrocher .....	15	11	9
54	18	4	Monypoole .....	28	19	5
<hr/>				<hr/>		
£173	11	2		£130	5	3

Mr Kerr is the Kirkcudbright mason referred to in an earlier letter, and sending the abstract of the estimates Major Rickson explained that he was sending "one of Laurie's in opposition, by which you may form a judgement."

By October, 1763, other matters affecting the road were receiving Major Rickson's attention, and writing from "Ferry Town of Cree" on the 9th he referred to a visit he had paid with Mr Goldie to Mr Graham of Netherby "in relation to the bridge to be built over Sark" (the river close to the English border). Mr Graham, according to the Major,

entered upon the subject at first very dryly; said that it appeared to him that he was left in the lurch with regard to the remainder of the road, viz., from Sark to Carlisle, by the Gentlemen of Scotland, after their having desired his concurrence upon the first proposal of the road in the year 1756; and it appeared very odd that in a plan of such an extent of road there should remain a gap of twelve miles only at one end of a military road and that leading to a garrison town, unprovided for; that he proposed to make an application to have the plan extended to Carlisle and thought it not unreasonable to expect the support of the Gentlemen of Scotland who had succeeded in their own application to aid and second his. Whatever might be the result he would not oppose the building a bridge on any part of his grounds where it might be found most proper, but that he expected his leave should be applied for (I believe he meant with some formality) on that occasion; but if he found that good inclination among his neighbours in Scotland towards applying for an extension of the plan (and which he thought was rendering it compleat, which it would not be otherwise) he would give all the assistance in his power, not only towards the bridge, but by allowing the road to be carried in the best and shortest direction.

Mr Goldie and myself said what best occurred to remove his ideas of partiality on the matter and undertook to answer so far for the sentiments of the Gentlemen of Scotland that they thought it a very reasonable expectation of having the plan extended to Carlisle and that it was highly probable they would encourage such an application. He therefore desired that I would mention his thoughts on the matter to such gentlemen of the committee that is to meet to-morrow for marking out the road as I thought the most proper to speak to and particularly to write to you and to acquaint him with yours and their sentiments of the matter as soon as I was authorized to do so. He, after those explanations, abated a good deal of the consequence of the man of great property and condescended to come with us to the river in a neighbourly manner and approved of the place that we had pitched on prefer-



ably to that which his own people had pointed out to him, and ordered a mason he brought with him to make an estimate which he would send to me. I shall be glad to have your commands on this subject at Mr Ewart's at Dumfries.

We have now finished the communication round the Corse of Slakes, which I could open in a couple of hours, but keep it shut till the last of our working in order to prevent the cattle coming over it as long as we can; and I hope the precautions we have taken against the waters will secure it. We have continued the communication from Palmure B. to Graydock B. and have another party working towards them from hence, but fear they will not be able to perfect a junction this season. I have a party working up the hill from the Kirk of Anwoth and to-morrow the Corse of Slakes party will begin on a road to avoid the rockiest part of what is call'd the Haughs of Anwoth, working towards the other party. When this is done (which I calculate will be by the 22nd, when we shall close our campaign) I can venture to say that all the bad places between Newton-Stewart and the Gatehouse are made good, which I believe is breaking the neck of all our difficultys; we submit all to the mercy of winter, but not without a guard. I have proposed to Lord George to station 1 Sergt. 1 Corpl. and 12 men at the Gatehs. as a party agst. smugglers who shall have instructions to visit all that district of road now and then, particularly after tempestuous weather and to make up immediately any breaches that may be made till we can provide better agst. such accidents the ensuing season. . . . Our meal arrived in due time, so that we can work as long as necessary with permission of the weather.

There is a postscript to this letter, which reads: "Ld Hillsborough walked over the Corse of Slakes; was well pleased with the road and gave the men 3 guineas."

Considerable progress was reported on 22nd October, 1763, when Major Rickson wrote from Newton-Stewart:

This day we have clos'd our operations for this season. . . . We have compleated the road from near the Englishman's Burn round the Corse of Slakes to the other side of the King's Laggan and have given it a surtout of substantial slaty gravel all along the Hill, the best and indeed only materials that cou'd be procured for the purpose and I think what will be sufficient and permanent. We have very near compleated the road from the foot of the Path, toward the end of Barholme's Territories towards the Ferrytown. What remains uncompleted we have widen'd and made easy. We shall end with a piece of a new direction on the Hacks of Anwoth, which I expect will be finish'd this day. . . . The bridge over Skyre Burn is very well finished; we opened the road over the Corse two days ago and all friends are

welcome. We only declare war against cattle and the Justices have refus'd them passports.

We have been plagued with springs bubbling up in the heart of many parts of the road which never made their appearance when it was made, nor for many weeks after. We have been obliged to open the road wherever they have shewn themselves and to make drains, some of which have a discharge equal to a little burn. Seeing the bad effects of those that have discover'd themselves, we have not let any place escape where there was the least suspicion without the same precaution. They are a most insidious enemy and I cannot answer how many more may lie lurking; nothing but the experience of the winter can discover their number, nor their retreats. I can only answer that we have taken every precaution that information or observation cou'd direct us to use against the power of the water, which is the most precarious and difficult object to ascertain in certain situations.

Lord Hillsborough honour'd us with his approbation and his bounty; he gave the men three guineas.

In the same letter the Major refers to certain horses, and says he found them "all able, but one, which I shall dispose of; his original price was but £4 4s, so that there cannot be much lost by him; it is but very lately that I have treated them with a second course; some of them only began to taste corn yesterday."

Enclosed in this letter is an abstract of the measurements of the work, personally measured by the writer, there being yet a few hundred yards to measure on the Hacks of Anwoth and near the bridge of Fleet:

	Roads	Back Drains
From the foot of the Path to beyond the Bridge of Gradock ... ..	5015 yds	338
From Bridge of Gradock to Barholm's Croft ... ..	2112 ,,	1040
From Englishman's Burn to beyond King's Laggan ... ..	5720 ,,	5599
From Gatehouse to the Bush above the Cally ... ..	1107 ,,	—
From march of Barncross to east of Bridge of Dee ... ..	2301 ,,	594
	<hr/> 16255 yds	<hr/> 7571

By 29th October Major Rickson was in Edinburgh, and in a letter of that date he states:

I cou'd not get anybody to offer any terms about meal before I left the country. They said they cou'd not judge of the prices of the markets yet, but have promised to send their proposals by the 20th Novr. which was the soonest they cou'd form any judgement of the terms they cou'd undertake it upon. I fear there will be difficulty to bring this matter to bear and yet it must be done some way or other, for the footing we were upon this year was most expensive and the most unsatisfactory.

The writer undertook to send the estimate to Mr Ross of Balkail to prepare the contract, and opines that either Andrew Muir of Newton-Stewart or Alex. Hughan at Ferrytown or both will be the undertakers.

Another source of worry is dealt with in the same letter:

Lord George has particularly enjoined me to write to you by this post to acquaint you that the embarkation of Hales's Regt. at Port Patrick is charged in Collr. Campbell's accounts at 7/6 for each man and horse; that his Lordship always understood that when application was first made to him for his assistance and encouragement to the making of the road the charge of embarkation of a Dragoon and his horse was 2/6 and that of a foot soldier 1/- and he upon that authority had mention'd those as the charges upon embarkation of the troops to the Secretary of War as a recommendation of that place for the purpose of embarkation on account of the savings to the Government preferable to any other. His Lordship is sorry that the expense is enhanced beyond what he had so authentically declared and really understood, and wishes you wou'd be so good to inquire and explain the matter. His Lordship thinks this being the first embarkation that has happen'd, it will be the precedent for future ones and that therefore it interests much the plan of making Port Patrick a favourite port for those services to make the charges as reasonable as possible; and in order to fix this precedent as low as may be. His Lordship wou'd rather that in Mr Campbell's accounts the price of embarkation was fixed at 2/6 for man and horse and that the overplus charges attending that embarkation were made incidental under such articles as "the packet being detained in waiting for the troops" or such other reasonable and probable articles as will not be liable to objections and which will have no effect on any future embarkation, nor give room to any objections agst. the using that place of passage; and his Lordship knows you have consider'd the matter more variously than any man and adopted this plan more peculiarly as your own and thought no one wou'd or cou'd so well

explain this matter and therefore directed me to be as explicit as possible on the subject and to beg the favour of your answer with all convenience.

By May, 1764, the work should have been resumed, but delays were taking place. In a letter from Edinburgh of 30th May, Major Rickson wrote:

I am sorry to tell you that we are losing the best of the season and are likely to do so; the Scotch Fusileers must first march from Ft. William and be reviewed at Stirling and then proceed to Dumfries, which Col. Skene tells me cannot be accomplished before the 25th or 26th June. This is owing to the order for Ld. Geo. Lenox's Regt. to march to Scotland coming so late. Another unexpected accident Mr Coutts informs me of this post. Major Caulfield having received assurance at the Treasury that the money wou'd be issued the 17th, allowed me to draw on him at 10 days date, payable to Messrs Coutts and it seems the whole money cou'd not be issued, so that only £1000 is paid into Messrs Coutts hands to my credit and Caulfield is on the road to Scotland. I make no doubt but the other £1000 will be forthcoming, because that sum was granted in the warrant and the same clause inserted as was last year. However, I shall know more when Caulfield arrives, which will be in a few days, but what I am more vexed at is that I had given my draught for the whole sum and one of my bills I fear will meet with the disgrace of a protest. . . . I will never trust in Treasury promises again and if disappointed a few times more I shall not even put my trust in Princes.

Apparently it was July before the work was re-started. In a letter from Newton-Stewart, dated 8th July, 1764, Major Rickson wrote:

The bearer comes for our cart and horses which you have been so generous to entertain the last winter, for which our best thanks are due.

Fifty men arrived here last night; to-morrow they will begin to work at the end of the bridge. Mr Laurie having done the masonry for easing the steep of the bridge, I propose they shall finish the road from thence to the foot of the Path and afterwards make good the communications thro' Barholme's Wood to the new road to Ferrytown. Afterwards this party will turn their faces towards Glenluce. The partys will begin the succeeding days as they arrive; one at the Gateh[ou]s towards the Kirk of Twynholm; one to compleat from the Heights of Anwoth to the Bridge of Fleet; and one from the Englishman's Burn to the Ferrytown. If we find we can manage more work this season we shall turn all the strength of towards Glenluce.

I enclose a little calculation of the meal that will probably be expended this year; my contract at Dumfries is for 1000 Galloway stone, which will turn out 2187  $\frac{1}{2}$  pecks at 8 pounds, which is almost a week's delivery gain'd by the difference of the weight of the Gallw. and Lithgow weight. . . . P.S. Andrew Muir has this moment made an offer to deliver as much as will be wanted here at 18 pence the stone of 16 pounds or 9d the peck. . . .

The calculation was for 8 sergeants, 8 corporals, 3 drummers, and 200 men at a peck each per week, and 40 women at  $\frac{1}{2}$  a peck per week. Over a period of 16 weeks the total was 3585 pecks or 1792 stone. The pecks were of 8 pounds.

But by the 16th of July a different note was struck:

I arrived last night and find upon inquiry that Mr Muir's meal is not good; it is North country meal and very old. The men had bought some and they complain of it; so that I do not find we can deal with him, therefore, I believe we shall use your 800 stone.

I have the pleasure to tell you that we go on very well; the soldiers are very orderly and obedient, the Serjeants and Corporals sober and attentive, some of them clever, and the officers very diligent in their attendance.

I have fifty men working between Heron's Dykes, but next week I shall send them to compleat the road between Mr Maxwell's and Barholme's grounds, thro' the wood where it is narrow. Here is not above a fortnight's work and I reckon another fortnight will compleat from the Path of the Craig to this place [Newton-Stewart] so that in a month, I hope, this party will set their faces towards Glenluce. There are forty men compleating from the Englishman's Burn to the Ferry Town; thirty men compleating the road from the King's Laggan to the Bridge of Fleet and the remaining eighty (divided into two partys on account of quarters) viz., fifty abt. the Gatehouse and thirty abt. the Kirk of Twynholm, working towards one another. All the partys (except that of the Gatehouse, who are working in a muir, where the surface is tough and spungy) do two yards a man for their task. I cannot yet prevail on them to do more than their task; they cou'd very well, but they don't like it. Many of them are Highlanders; but I will endeavour to lead them into it by encouraging small partys to do supernumerary work, for which I will give them ready money, that they may be as willing to work for me as for the country people who do give them ready money. As fast as the partys compleat their several parts of communication in the district from the Tarffe to this place, I will move them on towards Glenluce. I believe you will agree with me that it is necessary to compleat everything in this district

this summer, that the inhabitants may not be burthen'd a third season with the quartering of soldiers, which they do not consent to with good will and this is my strongest reason for keeping in this district till that is done. I am sensible there is as great a necessity for doing the road from hence to Glenluce as many parts we are doing now, but the above reason makes our plans necessary; I shall, however, be glad of your opinion on this matter.

I will now give you an extract of a letter I got lately from the Duke of Queensberry: "I am now in great hopes of getting the Post established from Dumfries to Port Pat. in spite of the opposition from Dublin. Before I left London I gave in a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury signed by me, my Lord Hillsborough, Sir James Lowther, etc., which has been refer'd with a recommendation from the Treasury to the Postmaster-General, who, I believe, wanted only that authority to proceed upon, and I have reason to think that a Post directly from Edinbr to Dumfries will consequently follow, that the Capital may have the convenience of this communication with Ireland."

And food caused concern, just as it does to-day, although there is no similarity in prices.

I was grudging the time lost in the beginning of the season, but really we are early enough for the article of provisions, which are extremely scarce and dear; not a bit of mutton or beef, only lamb and that is above twopence a pound. The men being mostly Scotch and used to the way of living of the country, the greatest part of them board with their landlords at 22 pence a week and their meal, which tho' not very cheap is a convenient way and makes a good harmony between them, as it unites the soldier and landlord into one family.

The papers also include an estimate by Alex<sup>r</sup> Laurie (mason and undertaker for bridges) setting out in detail his figures for 21 bridges. The grand total is £629 18s 11d.

Estimates of the Bridges found necessary to be built on a survey by Capt. William Rickson, deputy Quartermaster General in North Britain, and Hugh Dibbieg, Lieutenant of Engineers, on that part of the proposed military road from the Water of Sark to Portpatrick that extends from Dumfries to Portpatrick:

	£	s.	d.
1. Lochrutton Burn and Milnrace Bridges ... ..	31	9	0
2. Miltoun of Orr Bridge... ..	17	11	2
3. Spots burn Bridge ... ..	33	11	6
4. Carlinwark burn Bridge ... ..	9	8	2
5. Kelton miln burn and Milnrace Bridges ... ..	23	13	10
6. Water of Tarff Bridge... ..	64	14	1
7. Killwhanaty and Rownile Bridges ... ..	24	11	1

8. Auchintalloch burn Bridge ... ..	17	19	3½
9. Skyreburn Bridge ... ..	25	2	1
10. Englishman's burn Bridge ... ..	15	14	4
11. Middle Burn Bridge ... ..	16	15	0
12. Garrocher burn bridge... ..	15	11	9
13. Monypole burn bridge... ..	28	19	5
14. End of Cree Bridge ... ..	28	8	2
15. The rebuilding of Tarf bridge ... ..	85	5	11
16. Lady burn bridge ... ..	20	3	10
17. Widening and repairing Luce Water Bridge ... ..	51	6	6
18. Balochfargan burn bridge ... ..	19	0	6
19. Ballancallantie burn bridge ... ..	48	0	4
20. Pallanton Burn bridge ... ..	36	9	6
21. Two mile burn Bridge... ..	16	7	5

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£629 18 11

These estimates are made with all accuracy I am capable of and to the best of my judgement the above bridges may be built for the sums set down opposite to them and no cheaper.

(Signed) Alexander Lawrie

Mason and undertaker for Bridges.

Records of the financial transactions were minutely kept, and the handwriting, clear, vigorous, and bold, would delight the most fastidious schoolmaster. Here are a few of the entries: To paid for 3 horses at Falkirk Fair, £25 4/-; to paid a man to bring them to Edinburgh, 4/-; to turnpikes and toll at Lithgow Bridge, 1/1½d; to paid Mr Robt. Bull for 7 carts, No. 3, £51 9/-; to an express from Dumfries to the Gatehouse, in answer to a letter from Mr Murray, 24 compd. miles 6/6d; to paid Mr Paterson, saddler, for harness for 2 carts, to replace such as were burn'd by the country people, No. 9, £3 7/-; to paid 12 men for clearing the road near the Ferrytown of a quantity of loose stones, 3/-. "The account of meal laid in for the use of the troops on the road in Galloway" in 1763, shows that in all the cost was £329/5/11. This included freight and other charges.

It may be added in conclusion that the meal was sold to the soldiers at less than cost price. Total disbursements for season 1763 amounted to £1352 19s 2d, to which had to be added the allowance fixed by the Duke of Queensberry, to Col. Rickson for his attendance and inspection of the work, viz., £200.

## ARTICLE 12.

**Wilson of Croglin.**

By R. C. REID.

There has recently appeared a small brochure, privately printed, entitled *Fragments that Remain*, the handiwork of Mr Alec Wilson, Oak End, Northiam, Sussex. Compiled for the younger generation far scattered from their ancestral home in Dumfriesshire, it is a charmingly written act of piety such as might well be followed by the elder generation of most families. Small landholders, feuars of the Lords Crichton of Sanquhar, their prosperity was based on sheep farming in the high hill land of the Tynron valleys. But following the example of some of the larger landowners, they took up capital of the Ayr Douglas Bank in the days long before limited liability companies were ever thought of. When the Bank failed they were ruined, the estates were sold, and the family dispersed. The last laird, still a young man, went to Ireland, and Mr Wilson's brochure is mainly concerned with his life and descendants in Belfast and Co. Down. Little more than one page is devoted to the early account of the family in Dumfriesshire. These notes are intended to supplement that account.

The earliest known member of the family is

MATHEW WILSON OF CROGLIN, who on 7th December, 1508, was summoned to bear witness in an action between Sir Alexander Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael and Roger Kirkpatrick of Knok (*A.D.C.*, XX., f. 13). He may be the same person as Mathew Wilson of Kirkconnell,<sup>1</sup> who at that date held a lease of the 40/- lands of Corferding in the barony of Tibbers (*ibid*, f. 6 and f. 85), which lands were certainly held in lease by later members of the Croglin family. Nothing further is known of Mathew, and there is no certainty that the next generation were his sons. He is believed to have had two sons:

<sup>1</sup> On 31st March, 1507, Matthew Wilson, of Birkeconnell, obviously the same man, served on an assize (*Yester Writs*, 299).



- (1) John Wilson of Croglin, of whom hereafter.
- (2) Gilbert Wilson in Corfurdyn and also of Bennan. In 1529 Gilbert received a Crown remission for remaining from the host at Solway (*R.S.S.*, II., 405), and was a witness in 1531 (*Vester Writs*, 480, 484). In January, 1541-2, he and his surety, Thomas Wilson of Croglin, were sued by Thomas Amuligane in Bennan for restoration of 31 kye and two oxen pointed by Gilbert as the maill of lands lawfully pertaining to him in heritage (*A.D.C. et Sess.*, Vol. 17, f. 10, and Vol. 18, f. 138). Gilbert must have lost his lawsuit, for a few months later he was called on to renounce the 3½ merklands of Nethersyde of Bennan (*ibid.*, Vol. 19, f. 46).<sup>2</sup>

JOHN WILSON (1) OF CROGLIN is mainly known to us from an episode concerning the house of Strawmilligane, a small neighbouring property that was only lost to the Croglin family in 1720. It had been let to a tenant, one John Porter, who was dead by 1530. His widow, Katharine Williamson, had been ejected by the Wilsons, an episode that included serious damage to the steading and a suspicious disappearance of all the widow's stock. The outraged widow at once commenced a process against the laird before the Lords of Council. As the Laird did not appear in Court, the Lords decided in favour of the widow. In July, 1530, heavy damages were given her—£200 for damage to the house and steading, 40/- for the furnishings, and a further sum for the missing stock (*A.D.C.*, Vol. 41, f. 92). But if the decision rejoiced the widow's heart, it did not help her pocket. In the early 16th century there were no police to enforce the Court's decision. The Laird just disregarded it, and the widow had to wait 13 years before she got justice. In 1543 her importunacy was ended. She assigned the debt to

<sup>2</sup> There was another Gilbert who cannot be associated with the Croglin family. Gilbert Wilson, of Benbreck, was slain at Flodden and his son, Thomas, had to sue Alexander Stewart, of Garlies, his superior, before he could be infeft in the Merkland of Benbreck, in the Barony of Grenane, Dalry, as heir to his father (*A.D.C.*, Vol. 28, f. 131). Gilbert had received a charter on 12th August, 1513, under reversion for £100 (*ibid.*, vol. 29, f. 120).

Ninian Crichton of Bellibocht, an asute move, for he was the sheriff depute of Dumfriesshire. Ninian was always on the look-out for a bargain, and the widow probably parted with the debt for a song. But Ninian was in a position to enforce payment, for the Wilsons were feuars of Lord Crichton, who was sheriff principal, and in June, 1543, he secured a decreet of the Lords of Council against the son of the Laird, who in the interval had died. From the Court proceedings it is learnt that John Wilson "had been man and servant all his days to Lord Crichton," and it was claimed on his behalf that he had already paid 140 merks under the decreet and only owed another 40 (*Acts and Decrees*, I., 385, 469). In 1534 John Wilson was called on by the Earl of Glencairn to produce in Court his tack of the 2½ merklands of Murquhne, probably Marquhirne (*A.D.C. et Sess.*, Vol. 5, f. 171). John Wilson died before 1539, being survived by his wife, Marion Kirkpatrick, of whose antecedents nothing is known. As a widow she was entitled by law to a third of her husband's property for life, a claim which was resisted by her son Thomas. She was successful in the Sheriff Court on 4th March, 1540, but had to carry the case to the High Court in 1541, where she obtained decreet for her third (*A.D.C. et Sess.*, Vol. 15, f. 150, and Vol. 16, f. 95). The known issue of this marriage was a son Thomas.<sup>3</sup>

THOMAS WILSON OF CROGLIN first appears in February, 1539-40, when he served on an Assize at Dumfries (*Yester Writs*, 560). In January, 1557-8, he was cited with others to bear witness in an action by Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig against Marion Maxwell, which dragged through the Courts (*A. and D.*, Vol. 16, f. 248), and in 1566 was a witness to the infetment of John Wilson as son and heir of the deceased Andrew Wilson in the 27/- lands of Craighinsolace

<sup>3</sup> There is another member of the family who, so far, is unattached, and may have been a son or brother of John Wilson, of Croglin. In 1531, Andrew Wilson, in Lagane, received from Lord Hay, of Yester, a charter under reversion of the 20s lands of Tagartstoun, in Snaid (*Yester Writs*, 479). In 1551, as in Ardis of Tynron, he was called on to compear in Tynron Kirk and receive the redemption price of Laggane, Conistoun and Tagartstoun (*ibid.*, 634). He was married to Agnes Coitis (*ibid.*, 654), and as early as 1539, had a son, Andrew (*ibid.*, 546).

and Holtoun, which lay in the £14 lands of Airds and were held by Roger Grierson of Lag (*Lag Charters*, 129).<sup>3a</sup> He may have been twice married, but only the name of the second wife is known. Before 5th September, 1563, he had married Agnes Grierson, widow of John Gordon of Blacat and probably sister of Gilbert Grierson of Dalton, who also owned Castlemaddie, Carminnow, and Kermanoch, in the parish of Kells (*D. and G. Trans.*, 1916-18, p. 104). Thomas Wilson died in January, 1571, and Agnes Grierson married, secondly, John Fergusson, younger of Craigdarroch, and was dead by 1580 (*A. and D.*, Vol. 79, f. 94). He had the following children:

- (1) Mathew Wilson of Croglin, of whom hereafter.
- (2) Janet, perhaps a daughter of the first marriage, was married prior to 6th January, 1562-3, to Gilbert Grierson, son of the above Gilbert Grierson of Dalton by Beatrix Carruthers, his wife. On that date Thomas Wilson of Croglin received from Gilbert Grierson, elder, discharge for the tocher due with Janet (*Lag Charters*, 406).
- (3) Christian.
- (4) Katharine. These two daughters were legatees in Thomas's Testament (*Edin. Tests*, Vol. 4).

MATHEW WILSON (2) OF CROGLIN, shortly after succession to the estate, found it necessary to sue John Fergusson of Craigdarroch on 22nd February, 1579-80, concerning the charters of his father's lands of Craiginsolace and Holtoun, in the barony of Aird, and also of Dalwhat, in the barony of Glencairn. The details have not survived, but his step-mother's marriage to Craigdarroch's son may have been the cause of the action (*A. and D.*, Vol. 79, f. 94). Whatever may have been the upshot, Mathew procured from Roger Grierson of Lag on 28th May, 1585, another charter, under reversion of 200 merks, of Craiginsolace and Holtoun (*Lag Charters*, 154).

<sup>3a</sup> This Andrew Wilson, deceased, was clearly a member of the Croglin family but as yet unattached.

In March, 1589-90, Mathew received from John Maitland of Auchingassill a 28 years' tack of the 40/- lands of Corsfarding, in Tynron parish, paying a lump sum of 400 merks at entry, which was set off against the very small yearly rent of £4 (*Reg. of Deeds*, Vol. 34, f. 290). He is named in the testament of Peter Denune (Denholm) of Creichane, who died in February, 1581, as tutor testamentar to the testator's heir, David Denune (*Edin. Tests*, Vol. XI., f. 358), and in 1591 received discharge for 200 merks left by the testator in legacy to his children (*Reg. of Deeds*, Vol. 48, f. 43). In 1595 he became cautioner for James, Earl of Glencairn, that the Earl would not harm Alexander Cunynghame of Craganes (*R.P.C.*, V. 649), and in 1602 the Laird of Pinzerie (a Douglas) was surety that Mathew would not harm John Johnston of Lochhouse and others "for surprising and taking the house of Glencairn" (*R.P.C.*, VI., 719). This John Johnston was a notorious character who came to a sticky end. He was lay parson of Johnston, and was publicly executed in Edinburgh in 1603 for the murder of a servant to the Earl of Glencairn, the slaughter of Gilbert Rorieson, and the highway robbery of a number of Edinburgh merchants at the Rounetreeburn between Ayr and Wigton (*Douglas of Morton*, p. 116). In 1602 Mathew Wilson and his eldest son gave a bond for £500 not to reset this ruffian during his rebellion (*R.P.C.*, VI., 720).

Mathew Wilson must have died about mid-summer, 1606, having married Janet Kirkpatrick (*Lag Charters*, 139), with issue:

- (1) John Wilson (2) of Croglin, of whom hereafter.
- (2) Thomas, a natural son, became a merchant burgess of Edinburgh and received Crown letters of legitimisation in 1601 (*R.M.S.*, 1593-1608, 1264).

JOHN WILSON (2) OF CROGLIN was still described as "apparent of Croglin" on 8th May, 1606 (*R.P.C.*, VII., 638), but on 31st July, 1606, figures as of Croglin when he took out letter of Horning against Sir James Johnston of Dunsckellie (*Gen. Reg. Inhibitions*, Vol. 18, f. 216). As his three sons are named as parties to this process, it must be

accepted that their father had been married at least 20 years prior to that date. Of these sons—John, James, and Robert—the second one, James, is some fifty years later described as eldest son and heir of Helen Maxwell, spouse to deceased John Wilson of Croglin. John, who undoubtedly was the eldest son of his father, must therefore come from an unknown and earlier wife than Helen Maxwell.

In 1612 John Wilson renounced the lands of Corfardean in favour of Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig (*Drumlanrig Inventory*, p. 35), who thus redeemed the lands wadset by the Maitlands of Auchingassill, whose estates had been acquired by Douglas. He was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1613 (*R.P.C.*, X., 73), and again in 1623 (*R.P.C.*, XIII., 344). In 1619 John Wilson and Helen Maxwell, spouses, were infeft in an annual rent from the lands of Cormilligane (*P.R.S.*, I., f. 206), and another from the lands of Clanrea and Craigtoun (*P.R.S.*, I., f. 207). Two years later they renounced the lands on redemption (*G.R.S.*, IX., f. 92). In 1626 he acquired the 2½ merkland of Stronmilligane and the merkland of Kilmerk from Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, a property which the descendants of his younger son were to hold for some generations.

It has been found impossible to ascertain the date of his death, as the pedigree at this point gets very involved owing to the presence of three successive Johns, and serious hiatus in the records. It is possible that there were only two Johns, but the problem is complicated by the fact that the first John had two sons both named John, and that the allocation of wives to the generations may be incorrect.

The following narrative is based on all the few facts that have so far come to light:

John Wilson (2) of Croglin was twice married. The name of the first wife is unknown, but she was the mother of his eldest son. Before 21st May, 1616, he had married, secondly, Helen Maxwell, of unknown affiliation (*G.R.S.*, IX., f. 92), who survived till 1660 (*P.R.S.*, VII., f. 213).

The recorded issue of these marriages was:

- (1) John Wilson (3) of Croglin only known issue of the first marriage, of whom hereafter.
- (2) James Wilson, described as eldest lawful son procreated betwixt John Wilson, elder of Croglin, and Helen Maxwell (*P.R.S.*, VII., f. 213), was infeft in 1660 by his mother in the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  merkland of Stronmilligane and the merkland of Killmark, in parish of Tynron, of which he was at that time the occupant. He had married (contract dated 4th March, 1657) Helen Crichton, daughter to Robert Crichton in Craigmuy (*ibid*). He was alive in 1670, when his son and apparent heir, John Wilson, is mentioned (*G.R.S.*, Vol. 26, f. 180). This John Wilson must have had a University degree, for he is described as Mr John Wilson of Strawmilligain when he infeft his wife, Sarah Fergusson, and their sons, James and William, in 1690 in the family lands on bond of provision (*P.R.S.*, 15 April, 1690). In 1718 William Wilson owned Stronmilligane, having married (contract dated 18th February) Elizabeth Rankine (*P.R.S.*, IX., f. 162), and in October, 1720, they disposed without reversion the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  merkland of Stranmilligane and the merkland of Killmark to Alexander Fergusson of Craigdarroch (*P.R.S.*, IX., 288), Alexander Wilson, brother of William, being a witness.
- (3) John Wilson, described as procreated betwixt John Wilson of Croglin and Helen Maxwell spouses, was in 1632 infeft by his father in an annual rent from McQuhetstoun in Tynron (*P.R.S.*, III., f. 199). He was dead by 1654 (*P.R.S.*, VI., f. 16), his brother James of Stronmilligane being his heir.
- (4) Robert (*Gen. Reg. Inhibitions*, Vol. 18, f. 216). He was apprehended by Andrew Sturgeon of Torrorie, sheriff depute, illegally in 1628. It seems to have been so glaring a case of injustice that the sheriff depute hastened to secure a Crown remission for his error (*R.M.S.*, 1620-33, 1324).
- (5) George Wilson, brother to John Wilson of Land, may

have been another son (*P.R.S.*, 1st December, 1626). William Wilson of Croglin before succession was known as of Land, in which he was infeft by his father, John, who at one time may have been described as of Land.

- (6) Susanna married (contract dated 11th November, 1626) to John Sitlington of Stanehouse and liferented by him in Tynlagow in Tynron parish (*P.R.S.*, II., f. 206).
- (7) Margaret married to Quintigern Maxwell of Fourmerkland in Holywood parish, being liferented therein by her spouse in 1630 (*P.R.S.*, III., f. 68).
- (8) Jean married to Mr George Clelland, minister at Mortoun (*P.R.S.*, 9th July, 1660), son of Mr George Clelland, minister at Durisdeer.
- (9) Anna, daughter of John Wilson of Croglin and spouse of John Stewart of Ballydrane in Ireland, died on 26th December, 1682, aged 63 years (tombstone at Drumbeg Church).

JOHN WILSON (3) OF CROGLIN, during his father's lifetime, was known as "younger" and his father was described as "elder." But on his father's death he was just John Wilson of Croglin until his eldest son, another John Wilson, reached manhood, when the father was described in his turn as elder—changes which are calculated to lead astray the unwary genealogist. In 1610, as younger of Croglin, he married (contract dated 9th July, 1610) Margaret Dalzell, daughter of the first Earl of Carnwath (*Reg. of Deeds*, Vol. 336). He was still "younger of Croglin" when he is mentioned in the testament of Agnes Laurie, spouse of David Bell (*Dumfries Tests*, 2nd June, 1630). But between 1630 and 1633 his father must have died, for on 12th January, 1633, as "of Croglin," he infeft his eldest son and his heirs male, whom failing, the nearest heirs of his said son, John Wilson, younger, bearing the name and arms of Wilson, in the lands of Craighinsolace and Holtoun (*P.R.S.*, III., f. 211). In another sasine of 30th January of the same year he is described as John Wilson, elder of Croglin (*P.R.S.*, III., f. 213). In 1672 he infeft his son, William in Craighinsolace

and Holtoun (*P.R.S.*, 22nd October, 1672), and though there is no documentary evidence, he seems to have followed that up with a resignation of the whole property to his son, retaining only the liferent. He died in March, 1677, and the contents of his testament confirmed on 20th November, 1677 (*Dumfries Tests*), bear out the assumption that in his old age he had transferred the estate to his son. A cow, a calf, and a stirk was all his live stock, and, including some household furniture and clothes and a small debt, the valuation was only £236. Against that was a bond dated 7th April, 1639, for 400 merks payable at his death to William Wilson, his son. He was scarcely solvent. His wife, Margaret Dalzell, had long been dead, and he does not seem to have married again. His only known issue was:

- (1) John Wilson, described in 1633 as his son and heir (*P.R.S.*, III., f. 211). He was dead, without issue and apparently unmarried, by 1654 (*P.R.S.*, VI., f. 16).
- (2) William Wilson of Croglin.

WILLIAM WILSON OF CROGLIN must have succeeded at a time when the country, and especially the South-West of Scotland, was in confusion with Covenanting troubles, Cromwellian occupation, and the excitement of Restoration. The Courts of Law in Edinburgh had not been functioning, Parliament had not sat for years, and local Courts of Record, if operating as Courts, certainly failed to keep their records. Tenure had been so uncertain that few had troubled to take steps to register, so that there is to-day a big hiatus in the land registers, which causes grave difficulty in any attempt to follow the transmission of lands, the basis of all Scottish family history. It was not till a few years after the Restoration that there was a return to normal functioning of the machinery of Government, and even that was disturbed by further Covenanting risings in the South-West. There is no evidence that the Wilsons of Croglin, wherever their sympathies lay, were actively implicated in these Risings. But if William Wilson refrained from political activities, he made up for it with matrimonial adventures. He had no



less than three wives.<sup>4</sup> His first visit to the altar was in 1643 with Sarah Grierson, daughter of Thomas Grierson, younger of Barjarg, by his wife, Sarah, daughter of John Brown, minister of Glencairn.<sup>5</sup>

On 20th January, 1646, William witnessed the marriage contract between Jean Grierson, sister to his wife, and William Murray of Murraythwaite (*Morequhat Charters*). In October, 1663, he is mentioned in a deed relating to the Kirkpatricks of Auchensow (*M.S.S.*, Various, IV., 124), and the same year with James Wilson of Stronmilligane was cautioner that the heritors would pay their proportions of the stipend of Tynron (*R.P.C.*, 3rd Series, I., 196).

In 1661 he married, secondly, Margaret Kirkpatrick, daughter of the deceased Major John Kirkpatrick of Auchincell (*G.R.S.*, 3rd Series, Vol. 17, f. 108). His third and last venture was to marry (contract dated 7th March, 1681) Mariota Wishert, daughter of the deceased William Wishert, merchant, burgess of Irving, whom he infeft in part of Land in Tynron parish (*P.R.S.*, III., f. 111). Two years later (1683) Sir Robert Grierson of Lag redeemed Craiginsolace and Holtoun, which had been wadset 100 years before by Roger Grierson of Lag to Mathew Wilson of Croglin, great-grandfather (*proavus*) of William (*P.R.S.*, III., f. 267 and 268).

That same year William, like so many others, subscribed the Test along with Alexander Wilson of Drumcowe (*R.P.C.*, 3rd Series, VIII., p. 639). The date of his death is unknown. Only five children are recorded :

- (1) John Wilson, apparent of Croglin in 1666 (*G.R.S.*, 3rd Series, XV., f. 79). He must have died without issue.
- (2) James Wilson of Croglin, of whom hereafter.
- (3) Robert Wilson, a witness in 1667 (*G.R.S.*, 3rd Series, Vol. 17, f. 108). He must have been dead by 1718.

<sup>4</sup> It is just possible that there may have been two consecutive Williams to share these wives. But there is no evidence of a second William.

<sup>5</sup> In *P.R.S.*, V. 207, she is erroneously described as daughter of James Grierson, of Capenoch, who was really her stepfather, her mother having married him as her second husband.

- (4) Gavin Wilson, a witness in 1674 (*P.R.S.*, I., f. 329).
- (5) Margaret Wilson married, firstly, Robert Carmichael of Corss, and, secondly, Robert Park, Provost of Sanquhar. In 1718 she disposed to her "only brother," James Wilson of Croglin, the lands of Corss, in the burgh of Sanquhar (*Sheriff Court Deeds* bundle, 1718).

JAMES WILSON OF CROGLIN in 1708 resigned his lands and took out a Crown Charter of Croglin and Macverstoun, being parts of the barony of Glencairn, and at once infeft his wife, Elizabeth Gordon in Marquerstoun and its *waulk myln* (*P.R.S.*, VII., f. 320 and 346). He had married Elizabeth as early as 1688 (contract dated 16th February), so he may have succeeded long before the date of the Crown Charter. He died in July, 1735. Their issue was:

- (1) Walter Wilson of Croglin, of whom hereafter.
- (2) Robert Wilson (*P.R.S.*, VII., f. 320).
- (3) Marion Wilson, his eldest daughter, spouse to Alexander Gordon of Shirmers (*P.R.S.*, 19th October, 1722).

WALTER WILSON (1) OF CROGLIN was infeft as heir to his father in the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  merkland of Croglin and  $\frac{1}{2}$  merkland of Makverstoun on 25th July, 1737 (*P.R.S.* of date). Walter must have been in very comfortable circumstances, for in 1767 he went to the expense of taking out a Crown Charter under the Great Seal, whereby he resigned all his lands for a new infeftment to himself, his heirs male, whom failing heirs female, whom failing his heirs whatsoever or assignees, of the lands of Croglin and Mackverstoun, "being proper parts of the barony of Glencairn" and of Land, Kirkconnell, and Tanlego held of Charles, Duke of Queensberry. The only direct benefit of this grant was that on his death his heir would not have to be infeft separately in each part of his lands, but that single sasine would be taken "at the manor place of Croglin" (*P.R.S.*, XX., f. 43). A Great Seal Charter was an expensive acquisition. When Elizabeth Charteris of Amisfield in 1715 obtained one it cost her £280 and endless drink money (*Charteris of Amisfield*, by R. C.

Reid, p. 69). But a Crown Charter carried with it some definite social status, so all-important in that age.

In 1771 Walter Wilson purchased from Major Patrick Gordon of King's Grange the 2 merkland of Skelstoun and the one merkland of Drumboy, in the parish of Dunscore, as well as Nether Claythock in the barony of Crawfordton (*P.R.S.*, XX., f. 423). Walter was now in the heyday of prosperity. He had recently married Isabella Gordon, stated to be daughter of George Gordon of Troquhane (*Fragments that Remain*, p. 15). She died in 1772 giving birth to his heir, perhaps before the storm broke over Walter's head. For in 1772 the Ayr Bank failed and Walter was faced with ruin. He transferred his lands to trustees for behoof of his creditors, and they were gradually all disposed of. Aged and broken, he died on 20th May, 1781. One echo remains. In 1799 his son petitioned the Teind Court concerning a claim made in 1792 by the minister for augmentation of stipend from the lands of Bogrie, Skelstoun, Drumboy, and Cleuch, situated on the boundaries of the parishes of Glencairn and Dunscore. The lands are stated to have passed from John Kirk of Bogrie to the Gordons of Kirkbryde, then in 1770 to John Wilson, merchant in Dumfries, and then (year not stated) to the late Walter Wilson of Croglin, the petitioner's father.<sup>6</sup>

By his wife, Isabel Gordon, Walter Wilson had the following issue:

- (1) Walter Wilson (2) of Croglin, of whom hereafter.
- (2) Margaret.
- (3) Elizabeth.
- (4) Ann, married in 1791 a man named Thomson.
- (5) Isabel.

Walter Wilson (2) of Croglin had little to inherit at the age of 10. All that is known of him prior to his departure to Ireland is derived from the formal discharge which he gave on 27th October, 1796, to Wm. Campbell, W.S.,

<sup>6</sup> Ex information kindly supplied by Dr. C. A. Malcolm, of the Signet Library.

then deceased, factor to the tutors and curators of Croglin. By 1781 his father, then prospering as a large sheep farmer, had taken into his own hands the whole estate except the farms of Land and Kirkconnell, and one Sophia Kerr was employed as housekeeper and to look after the children. Three men were employed outside and three women in the house, David Johnston getting as pay £2 a year and Robert Fingland 4 guineas. The women were paid approximately half of what the men got, and all received free board.

The Trust accounts provide some items of interest. The Laird had contracted to pay £1 a year for a builder to keep the roofs and slating of the houses at Marquerston in good order; the building of byres was a cheap undertaking, £3 16s at Margmalloch and £2 10s at Tanlach. On 8th November, 1786, the Trustees paid £81 5s 1½d as stent for building the Manse of Tynron. The minister's stipend came to £31 18s. The Schoolmaster received, by assessment on each farm, £16 4s 4d per annum. There is not only mention of the schoolmaster of Tynron but also of a schoolmaster at Mounthooly, for which Tanleoch was assessed. There are echoes of the late laird's death:

Paid to Dr. Gilchrist for a visit to Croglin in his last illness ... ..	4 guineas
Funeral expenses ... ..	£46 3 6
Mourning bought of James Rae, merchant in Dumfries ... ..	£70 9 4
Due to the children of Wm. Wilson in Barnwells by bond dated 5 March, 1773, with interest ... ..	£95 0 0

There is mention of John Harkness, elder, in Holystone, who lent the estate £400 in 1780. But the principal debt was due to George Horne, factor to Douglas Heron & Co., the Ayr Bank. Two shares only, of unlimited liability, had been held by the late Walter (1). Call after call was made on his unfortunate son till in the end he had to pay in capital £3896 5s 7d, together with much accrued interest.

At his father's death Walter (2) was packed off to board with the minister, Rev. Thomas Wilson, till December, 1782, when that worthy died. Then he was transferred to the care of Dr. Davidson till July, 1786. That October he was sent

to Wallace Hall, then a prosperous boarding school for the youthful gentry under Dr. Mundell, till November, 1789. The fees paid were £20 per annum for board and £16 2s 3d for "education and necessities" (see *D. and G. Trans.*, XXII., p. 115). May 5th, 1789, must have been a proud moment, when, for £1 16s 3d, the Trustees bought a fishing rod for him from George Maclean. That winter, 1789, he spent at Craigdarroch, where a horse was bought for him at a cost of £12. Before the end of 1790 he had crossed to Ireland, and by December, 1791, had obtained £300 from his trustees to commence business in the linen trade.

His four sisters had moved in 1782 to Dumfries, and lodged with a Miss Gordon—probably an aunt.

The following rental of the estate was prepared in 1791, in view of a sale at a later date:

Farm.	Tenant.	Rent.
1. Land .....	John Crosbie .....	£57
2. M'Querston .....	Wm. Hewetson .....	£75
3. McQuerston Park .....	Samuel Williamson .....	£31
4. Tinlego .....	James Brydon (bankrupt in 1793) .....	£52
5. Kirkconnell .....	Wm. Harkness .....	£90
6. Thistly Mark Park .....	Wm. Harkness .....	£8
7. Appin, Croglin, etc. ....	James McTurk .....	£170
8. Skelston and Clauch ...	John Wells (bankrupt) .....	£70
		£543

The free rent was £490. The interest on debts amounted to £323 14s, and he was still due £1500 to his three unmarried sisters. Sale was inevitable; the curtain fell; and the parish of Tynron was to know the ancient stock of Wilson of Croglin—no more.

Broken up, the estate passed through several hands till in 1831 Croglin was purchased from one James McTurk by Francis Wilson, W.S., who already had some interest in Stroquhan. He at once entailed it on his heirs male, having or adopting the surname of Wilson and the arms of Wilson of Croglin. He was the son of Ebenezer Wilson, bookseller and bailie of Dumfries, who died in 1788, having married Mary Carruthers, sister of Janet Carruthers of Whitecroft.

Ebenezer must almost certainly have been a cadet of Croglin, but proof is yet to be found.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> More than a century earlier, another Francis Wilson, writer in Edinburgh, is believed to be descended from Croglin. He was the son of William Wilson, of Holmshaw, and grandson of William Wilson, in Wanlockhead, who married Sarah Johnston, co-heiress of her grandfather, William Johnston, of Holmshaw (Kirkpatrick-Juxta), and of Netherplace (Dryfesdale). Sarah's sisters renounced their interest in succession and her son became William Wilson of Holmshaw and Holmheid. His son was Francis Wilson, the writer, who was succeeded in the lands by his sister, Janet Wilson, who married (contract dated 23rd July, 1700) Captain James Lawsone, brother to John Lawsone, of Cairnsmure (P.R.S., 7th October, 1700, and G.R.S., Vol., 88, f. 427). In the churchyards of Carncastle and Ballymoney, County Antrim, are Wilson tombstones, c. 1778, bearing the Croglin arms, but it is not possible to connect these Wilsons with the house of Croglin.

## ARTICLE 13.

**Butterflies and Moths of the Solway Area.**

## FURTHER ADDITIONS AND NOTES.

By DAVID CUNNINGHAM, M.A.

These notes are additional to those previously published in the Society's *Transactions* (Third Series: 25: 69-75). To the following collectors and observers I express my thanks: Mr Richard Byers (R.B.), Master Alex. Dobie (A.D.), Mr Arthur B. Duncan (A.B.D.), Miss Brenda M'Intosh, Master Michael Pullen (M.P.), Mr O. J. Pullen (O.J.P.), and Mr F. W. Smith (F.W.S.). The frequency with which the initials A.B.D. appear tells its own tale.

## BUTTERFLIES.

1. *Erebia aethiops* Esp. The Scotch Argus.

Two specimens of var. *flavescens* Tutt taken, one Tynron 10/8/50 and one Corsock 13/8/50.

2. *Argynnis selene* Schiff. The Small Pearl-bordered Fritillary.

One unusually early capture, 19/5/49, a female, must surely be the result of a freak emergence.

3. *Argynnis euphrosyne* Linn. The Pearl-Bordered Fritillary.

Additional localities are Newlands Glen and Quarrelwood, the only Dumfriesshire localities known at the moment (A.B.D.), Boreland of Southwick (F.W.S.), Screel and Dal-skairth.

4. *Argynnis aglaia* Linn. The Dark Green Fritillary.

Half of the females taken are of the subspecies *scotica*. I have compared them with Hebridean specimens in the collection of Mr Arthur B. Duncan, and they are as large and as dark.

5. *Vanessa atalanta* Linn. The Red Admiral

Fairly common, as was also *V. cardui*, in both 1949 and 1950.

6. *Aricia agestis* Schiff. (var. *artaxerxes*). The Scotch Brown Argus.

R. Service's colony in Mabie still persists, but is threatened by the planting of conifers on its habitat. Another locality is the railway bank at Lochanhead (A.D.).

7. *Celastrina argiolus* Linn. The Holly Blue.

One, a worn and tattered female, Dumfries, 26/8/50. This is the first record for Scotland ("The Entomologist," 83: 235). When, in 1872, Buchanan-White ("Scottish Naturalist," 1: 273) forecast the finding of this butterfly in Scotland, it was not known that the conditions favourable to butterfly life were steadily deteriorating. Since 1920 there has been a steady improvement in these conditions, and some species, including the Holly Blue, have been extending their range once more. The butterfly is now very common in Cheshire, has appeared in some numbers in the Isle of Man in 1950, and is establishing itself and extending its range in N.-W. England ("Entomologist," 83: 280). The Dumfries specimen laid fertile eggs, from which Mr Duncan and I have reared eight to the pupal stage, and this suggests that the extension of range includes the South of Scotland. The previous northern limit was Carlisle (Tutt, Vol. IX., p. 474, and Dr. E. B. Ford, "Butterflies," p. 134).

8. *Lycaena phlaeas* Linn. The Small Copper.

This species does not seem to fluctuate in numbers in this area as it does in the South of England. It was almost entirely absent from many localities in the south in 1946 ("Entomologist," Vol. 80 *passim*), but as frequent on the Solway that year as in any other.

9. *Thecla quercus* Linn. The Purple Hairstreak.

Another single record comes from Auchengibbert Wood, Tynron, 20/8/49. Master Andrew Duncan captured a worn male in his hand and took it to his father for identification.

10. *Euchloe cardamines* Linn. The Orange Tip.

A few more records of this butterfly, which recent notes in "The Scottish Naturalist" show to be widely spread in Scotland but very scarce, are now available. Six males, Potterland Wood, 18/5/48 (R.B.). Mr Byers also saw females of the butterfly the same year, and both males and females in smaller numbers in 1947. Miss Brenda M'Intosh tells me that she saw a single male in the spring of 1947 and another in the spring of 1948, both in the same locality on the outskirts of Dumfries.



11. *Colias croceus* Fourcroy. The Clouded Yellow.

A single male in fresh condition, Port Ling, 19/8/50. This was the entomological highlight of the Society's excursion to the Colvend coast and Carsethorn. The only period in an exceptionally wet season which seemed favourable to insect immigration was the first fortnight in June. It seems probable that this specimen was one of a few survivors from ova deposited somewhere on the Solway by a June immigrant. The weather preceding its capture seemed singularly unfavourable for migration, and the insect was reported as scarcer than usual in the South of England ("The Entomologist," Vol. 83, *passim*). But the migrating instinct is so strong in this species and the flight so powerful that the possibility of autumn migration cannot be ruled out.

## MOTHS.

1. *Acherontia atropos* Linn. The Death's-head Hawk.

Three pupæ were brought to me from Penpont, October, 1949; one female imago from Heathhall, in a very worn and tattered condition, 12/6/50; and one in excellent condition from Torthorwald which had been taken to the *Standard* Office for identification, 16/10/50.

2. *Herse convolvuli* Linn. The Convolvulus Hawk.

One from Moffat brought to Wallace Hall Academy, 15/10/48, and one to Drumsleet School, October, 1950, both very worn.

3. *Macroglossa stellatarum* Linn. The Hummingbird Hawk.

One, Colvend coast, 12/7/49. Mr Duncan finds it common on the coast every year.

4. *Cerura furcula* Cl. The Sallow Kitten.

Rare in this area. A.B.D. found me one larva, in, I think, its second instar, on sallow, Tynron, 10/8/50: it duly spun up at the end of the month.

5. *Pterostoma palpina* Cl. The Pale Prominent.

This, though rare, appears to be widely distributed. Seven larvæ were taken in the last week of July and first fortnight of August, 1950: four at Gilchristland on poplar (A.B.D.); one at Tynron on sallow (M.P.); one at Corsock on sallow (O.J.P.); and one at the Black Loch on sallow.

6. *Habrosyne derasa* Linn. The Buff Arches.

Barrett (Vol. 3, p. 189) accepts one record from Gourrock, and South (Series I., p. 185) recognises only one Scottish record, probably the same one. Mr Duncan's series from Gilchristland, July, 1935, is therefore of the highest interest. An addition to the Solway list.

7. *Thyatira batis*. The Peach Blossom.

This beautiful insect was more common than usual in 1950. At least a dozen came to sugar between 2/6/50 and 8/7/50, whereas I see only three or four in a season normally. Bolam ("The Lepidoptera of Northumberland and the Eastern Borders," "History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club," Vol. XXVI., pt. 2, p. 135) says that in the eastern borders the normal catch is only one or two in a season.

8. *Orgyia antiqua* Linn. The Vapourer.

One, Mabie Wood, 22/8/49.

9. *Leucoma salicis* Linn. The White Satin.

F.W.S. records one for the Southwick area, early August, 1948 ("E.M.M.," Vol. 85: 41). Rare in Scotland. This appears to be an addition to the Solway list.

10. *Apotele leporina* Linn. The Miller.

One at sugar, Mabie, 8/7/50. Rare throughout the British Isles, but recorded by Lennon for Dumfriesshire and by Gordon for Wigtownshire. This is probably the first Kirkeudbright record.

11. *Craniophora ligustri* Schiff. The Coronet.

Three at sugar, 10/6/50, and one, 7/7/50, Mabie.

12. *Peridroma saucia* Hb. The Pearly Underwing.

One at sugar, 16/9/49, Mabie.

13. *Amathes ditrapezium* Borkh. The Triple-spotted Clay.

One at sugar, 24/6/49, Mabie. An addition to the Solway list.

14. *Myppa rectilinea* Esp. The Saxon.

One at sugar, Mabie, 24/6/49, and two at sugar, 10/6/50. This beautiful moth is an addition to the Solway list. Taken at raspberry flowers, Gilchristland, before 1938 (A.B.D.).

154 BUTTERFLIES AND MOTHS OF THE SOLWAY AREA.

15. *Procus versicolor* Borkh. The Rutous Minor.

One, Closeburn, 28/6/43 (F.W.S.). (Recorded by Mr E. W. Classey in "The Entomologists' Gazette," I.: 51.).

An addition to the Solway list.

16, 17, 18. *Hydraecia oculea* Linn. The Common Ear.

*H. lucens* Freyer. The Scottish Ear.

*H. crinanensis* Burrows. The Irish Ear.

These species are distinguished by the genitalia, and Mr E. W. Classey (op. cit., p. 31) records having examined a series of twenty-two taken by F.W.S. at Closeburn, and found seven males of *crinanensis*, 9/8/40—4/9/40, three males and three females at *lucens*, 3/9/40—19/9/40, and seven males and two females of *oculea*, 16/8/40—22/9/40.

19. *Orthosia munda* Schiff. The Twin-spotted Quaker.

One, Tynron, 10/4/44 (A.B.D.).

20. *Xylocampa areola* Esp. The Early Grey.

One at sallow, the Long Wood, 23/3/50. An addition to the Kirkcudbright list. One, Gilchristland, 19/4/41, and another 10/4/46 (A.B.D.). An addition to the Dumfriesshire list. Gordon has recorded it for Wigtownshire. Rare.

21, 22. *Xylota exsoleta* Linn. The Swordgrass.

*Xylota vetusta* Hb. The Red Swordgrass.

*Vetusta* is common but *exsoleta* is scarce in my experience. At sugar, Mabie, in one night, 7/10/49, I counted twenty-two *vetusta*, but I took only three *exsoleta* in all that autumn. In 1950, a very bad season, I saw four *vetusta* and no *exsoleta*. All hibernated specimens I have seen in the spring have been *vetusta*. Gordon seemed to find these species equally common in Wigtownshire forty to fifty years ago, and his experience of hibernated specimens was the reverse of mine. Lennon listed *exsoleta* but not *vetusta*.

23. *Ectypa glyphica* Linn. The Burnet Companion.

Several taken on the outskirts of Dumfries, May, 1948, and in every subsequent year (A.D.). An addition to the Dumfriesshire list. Lennon had already recorded it for Kirkcudbright, but there is no record as yet for Wigtownshire.

24. *Lampropteryx suffumata* Schiff. The Water Carpet.

*Ab. piceata* Stephens and *Ab. porrittii* Robson both occur.

25. *Abraxas sylvata* Scop. The Clouded Magpie.

Additional localities are Boreland of Southwick (F.W.S.) and Munches (R.B.).

26. *Bapta punctata* Fab. (*temerata*) Schiff. The Clouded Silver.

Three, Mabie, 29/5/48. It was also found in some numbers at Southwick the same year (F.W.S.). The only other record for Scotland of which I am aware is Gordon's for Wigtownshire, a single specimen, May, 1895.

27. *Deuteronomos erosaria* Schiff. The September Thorn.

One, Gilchristland, 8/9/32 (A.B.D.). An addition to the Dumfriesshire list. Recorded by Lennon for Kirkcudbright.

28. *Semiothisa liturata* Cl. The Tawny-barred Angle.

One, Tynron, 16/6/45 (A.B.D.). An addition to the Dumfriesshire list, and the second specimen recorded for the Solway area.

29. *Phigalia ptilosaria* Schiff (*pedaria* Fab.). The Pale Brindled Beauty.

A fine specimen of the melanic variety *monacharia*, Tynron 14/2/49 (A.B.D.).

30. *Procris statix* Linn. The Forester.

Mabie, four 17/6/49, four 18/6/49, one 12/6/50. The only other record for the Solway is Lennon's, Dalskairth, first week of July, 1861. Since Lennon's record has been questioned, I quote the relevant parts of his note: "I was out on an insect-hunting excursion round Lochaber Loch, about five miles from Dumfries, a place at that time very famous for lepidoptera. On returning home by way of Dalskairth, I thought I would just look in and see what could be discovered on a small patch of meadow-land close by the road-side. *Procris statix* was hanging on almost every blade of grass: I had never seen the insect before. I stood spell-bound with wonder and astonishment; their fine blue-green wings glancing and reflecting in the sun was unquestionably the finest entomological sight I ever witnessed. I had with me at the time only some ten or twelve empty boxes, which I soon filled, putting three or four in a box, without the aid of a net. I went back next morning, thinking to take a good supply, but not one was to be found; nor have I ever

met with the insect since, although I have never failed to look for it " (E.M.M. 8: 274). Mabie is a neighbouring estate to Dalskairth.

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## A LIST OF THE TIPULINÆ OF THE SOLWAY AREA.

This is an abstract of a paper by Mr E. S. Brown and Mr Arthur B. Duncan in "The Scottish Naturalist," 61: 156-168. Readers interested in the seasons and habitats of the insects here listed are referred to the complete paper.

1. *Tipula fulvipennis* Degger. Widespread and very common.
2. *Tipula maxima* Poda. Locally common.
3. *Tipula vittata* Meigen. Frequent in April and May in damp places.
4. *Tipula variicornis* Schummel. Local in Dumfriesshire.
5. *Tipula rubripes* Schummel. Rare, Tynron.
6. *Tipula scripta* Meigen. Very common in woods.
7. *Tipula variipennis* Meigen. Very common.
8. *Tipula hortulana* Meigen. Fairly common.
9. *Tipula rufina* Meigen. Common.
10. *Tipula unca* Wiedmann. Very common.
11. *Tipula macrocera* Zetterstedt. Not common.
12. *Tipula cheethami* Edwards. One, Cluden Water, Dumfries.
13. *Tipula marmorata* Meigen. Common.
14. *Tipula alpium* Bergroth. Locally common Glen Trool; one, Tynron.
15. *Tipula staegeri* Nielsen. Tynron.
16. *Tipula signata* Staeger. Common, in association with Norway or Sitka spruce.
17. *Tipula pabulina* Meigen. Not very common.
18. *Tipula oleracea* Linnaeus. Widespread and fairly common.
19. *Tipula czizeki* de Jong. Tynron; new to the Scottish list.
20. *Tipula paludosa* Meigen. Abundant.
21. *Tipula vernalis* Meigen. Common.
22. *Tipula subnodicornis* Zetterstedt. Locally common.
23. *Tipula solstitialis* Westhoff. New to the Scottish list. Dumfries, Parkgate, Loch Moss.
24. *Tipula couckeii* Tonnoir. Very local: Cluden Water, Langholm, Faldanside Loch.
25. *Tipula lateralis* Meigen. Common and widespread.
26. *Tipula montium* Egger. Very common.
27. *Tipula pruinosa* Wiedemann. Tynron: apparently local.
28. *Tipula luteipennis* Meigen. Penpont, Tynron; apparently local.
29. *Tipula pagana* Meigen. Very common locally.
30. *Tipula flaveolineata* Meigen. Rare and local. Tynron.
31. *Tipula luna* Westhoff. Locally common.
32. *Tipula fascipennis* Meigen. Common.
33. *Tipula cava* Riedel. Tynron and Loch Moss.
34. *Tipula lunata* Linnaeus. Cluden Water, Tynron, Thornhill.
35. *Nephrotoma dorsalis* Fabricius. New to the Scottish list. Cluden Water.
36. *Nephrotoma flavipalpis* Meigen. Drumpark and Tynron. Rare.
37. *Nephrotoma scurra* Meigen. Corncockle Quarry and Irongray. Rare.
38. *Nephrotoma flavescens* Linnaeus. Very Common.
39. *Nephrotoma quadrifaria* Meigen. Very common and widely distributed.
40. *Prionocera turcica* Fabricius. Numerous locally.
41. *Dolichopeza albipes* Stroem, H. Not uncommon.

**An Early Cross at Ruthwell.**

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD, M.A., F.S.A.

The stone which forms the subject of this note lies with a number of other fragments in the garden of the Manse, just outside a small door in the east wall of the Parish Churchyard at Ruthwell. When I visited the church in 1948 Mr Reid drew my attention to a small cross on the surface of the stone, and closer examination showed this has been worked in a way characteristic of pre-Romanesque monuments. These simple and inconspicuous crosses are not easy to detect. The present note is therefore published not only on account of the interest of the stone, but also in the hope that it may receive wider attention and that other examples may be brought to light. My best thanks are offered to Mr R. C. Reid, who brought this monument to my notice, and to Rev. M. W. M'Caul for permission to make this publication.

The stone measures 2 ft. 11 ins. by 1 ft. 3 ins. by 5-6 ins. thick. It is a slab of coarse red sandstone, probably local, and has been split along the bedding planes. The surfaces, which are roughly flat, are not dressed, except on the left side which has at some subsequent date been finished with a fair face, doubtless when the stone was re-used as building material. The cross is placed centrally on the front about 1 ft. from the top of the stone; it consists of two lines each between 7 and 8 ins. long. These lines are pecked, not cut with a chisel, the outlines are irregular, as in all work of this nature, with a shallow, uneven base to the groove. To the right of the cross the surface has flaked off, giving the appearance of part of an enclosing circle, but there is no trace of its continuation on the left, and similar flaking continues diagonally upwards, making it certain that the irregularities are the result of damage subsequent to the cutting of the cross.

It is difficult to give a precise date to so rude a monument, but the rough shape of the slab and the pecked

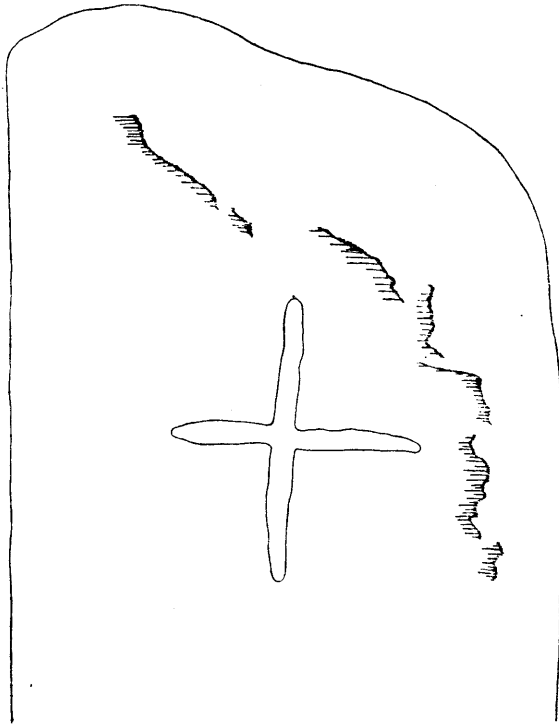


Fig. 14—AN EARLY CROSS AT RUTHWELL.

technique point to a period earlier than the 12th century. The cross may be compared with Welsh examples, like a stone from Marlas Farm, Kenfig, and another at St. Davids.<sup>1</sup> These are both classed by Nash-Williams in his second group, attributed to the 7th-9th century. The cross at St. Davids is particularly valuable in this connection, as it was re-used in the early 9th century and must be older than that date. Technically the cross at Ruthwell may also be compared with the Chi-rho of the 5th or early 6th century on an inscribed stone at Penmachno, which is in the same pecked technique.<sup>2</sup> I do not know of any similar monument in Northumbria, and it is most unlikely that so simple a memorial would be

1 V. E. Nash Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales*, nos. 199 and 380; pl. XXIII. and LI.

2 *Ibid.*, no. 101; pl. VIII.



erected at Ruthwell at the same time as or later than the great cross; one would then expect Northumbrian monuments to follow the current fashions. All these considerations indicate an earlier period and suggest that this cross is a monument of the British Church of the 6th or early 7th century. Such crosses were then set up to mark graves, and, as a number of the Welsh monuments show, these burials were not always on ecclesiastical sites. The cross indicated that the man buried was a Christian, an intention explicitly referred to in the story of St. Patrick and the graves in Albus Campus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Tirechan's Collections in Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (Rolls Series)*, ii., 325.

## ARTICLE 15.

**Sanquhar Church in the 19th Century.**

(Continued.)

By Rev. W. M'MILLAN, Ph.D., D.D.

Mr Ranken died on 7th October, 1820, and on 24th March the following year a call was addressed to Mr Thomas Montgomery. It was signed "by a considerable number of heritors, the whole of the elders at that time resident and a great number of heads of families." Mr Montgomery was presented to the parish by the trustees of Walter Francis, Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, and was ordained and inducted on 5th June, 1821. He was a native of Ayrshire, being the son of Robert Montgomery of Auchentibber, Kilwinning, a connection of the Earls of Eglinton. The Sanquhar minister was born in 1791, and was educated at the University of Glasgow, where he graduated as Master of Arts in 1811. The Presbytery met at Sanquhar on the forenoon of 5th June, in "Mr Wilson's Inn," when James M'Call, "Church Officer," was sent to make the usual intimation at the most patent door of the Church. The Court met in the Church in the afternoon, when Mr Wallace of Durisdeer preached from Philippians iii., 8: "I count all things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord." Mr Somerville of Drumelzier was associated with the Presbytery.

The Session Records have no reference to Mr Montgomery's induction, and his name first appears therein, under date 14th August, 1821. He was a bachelor when he came to Sanquhar, but in 1826 he married Mary Brown, who died at the Manse in April, 1843. The old proverb that "new brooms sweep clean" was strikingly exemplified by the new minister, in quite a number of ways. Within the first few years of his incumbency he got a new church, a new manse, a new school and schoolhouse, an extension of the glebe, and an augmentation of his salary. We also see from the Session Records that in more ways than one he endeavoured to

improve the doings of that Court in what he considered to be amiss. Just six months after his induction he petitioned the Presbytery regarding the state of the Church. He stated that it contained only six hundred sittings, while the population numbered 2000, exclusive of another 1000 at Wanlockhead, figures which show that the old tales about everybody going to Church in the early years of last century have to be taken with a goodly amount of salt. It must have been a physical impossibility to seat more than a fraction of them, even if the building was filled to the doors every Sunday, which is very unlikely. We learn, further, that the roof of the Church was not ceiled, nor were the walls plastered, which is what we might expect in a mediæval building. Further, the school was not fit for use and the Parochial Schoolmaster taught in the "Town House," which the Magistrates wanted for other purposes. The Schoolmaster had no official residence, but lived in a house belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch. Nothing was done at the time, but evidently Mr Montgomery would not let the matter drop, and on 8th January, 1822, a meeting of Presbytery and Heritors was held at Sanquhar, when it was resolved to advertise for plans for a new Church. This was done, and at a meeting held at Dabton on 18th April, 1822, the Heritors of Sanquhar "compeared" and laid before the Presbytery the estimates and plans for a new Church, a new school and schoolmaster's house. These had been drawn up by Mr James Thomson, Architect, Dumfries. The Presbytery approved of the estimate for mason work given in by William Wilson and Alexander Hair, being £373 10s for the Church and £176 13s for the school and schoolhouse. The joiner work at the Church, together with the furnishings, was to cost £850, and the same for the school and schoolhouse £326. The total for all three was £1798 3s. The heritors appointed their Preses, Henry Veitch, to sign the minute. In accordance with these proposals, work was begun, and the new Church was opened for worship on Sunday, 28th March, 1824, when, as we learn from a contemporary newspaper, Mr Montgomery "preached an appropriate sermon."

The "hangings" on the pulpit were of red cloth instead of green as they had been in the older Church. This was the colour used in Scotland from the Reformation, red being an importation from England. When Queen Victoria died in 1901 the pulpit was draped in a black covering with silk fringes and with two silk tassels hanging from silken cords. I was told by an old man that he had seen the same ones used after the death of the Queen's uncle, King William.

In the Session Minute Book there is recorded a list of the Heritors among whom the sittings in the new Church were allocated. It is somewhat of a surprise to find that there were no less than a hundred and one people who, being landowners in the parish, could claim a seat or seats in the Parish Church. Of course by far the greater number of seats were assigned to the Duke of Buccleuch, while a much smaller proportion went to Mr Veitch of Eliock. Among the persons mentioned was the "Rev. Mr Reid" of the South Kirk, who had a claim on a seat by reason of his possession of his glebe. Many of the Heritors were assigned one sitting only, showing that their holdings must have been small. Two groups of heirs are mentioned in the list.

During the time the Church was being rebuilt, services were held in the Council House. At least, so it is said, but if such was the case, then the members who attended must have been very small, considering the population of the parish. The only light the Session Records throw on the matter is an entry under date 22nd June, 1823, which states that the Session was to meet in the Low Schoolhouse "immediately after Divine Service." As the "Low Schoolhouse" was the small hall in the Council House next to the Lochan, this entry may be held to confirm what is alleged by tradition. Some seven months later we find the Session meeting in "Mr Montgomery's house," which probably indicates that at that date, 1st February, 1824, the Manse was not ready for occupation.

In the same year as the plans were passed for the erection of a new Church the Minister raised an action of augmentation of stipend against the Heritors in the Court of

Teinds. He asked for as much as would make up the stipend to seventeen chalders, one half meal and the other half barley. He also asked that the allowance for Communion Elements should be fixed at £20. By an Act of Parliament passed in 1808, power was given to the Court of Teinds to augment the stipends of parishes where there was free teind (and there was abundance in Sanquhar), provided application was made by the Minister and a period of not less than twenty years had elapsed since the last augmentation. So far as can be ascertained Mr Montgomery was the first Minister of Sanquhar to get his stipend raised in this way, and it may be added that he got more than he asked, the stipend being fixed at 18 chalders, worth on an average about £280.

One might have thought that having got so much, the Minister would have been content to let other things remain as they had been before he came. But not so. In 1822 he brought the condition of the Manse before the Presbytery, and before the year was finished he had the satisfaction of seeing plans for a new residence for himself and successors in office laid before the Court. These plans had been prepared by Mr Thomson, along with Mr James Smallwood, Architect, Drumlanrig. The stones for the new Manse were to be got from local quarries, the lime was to come from Whitecleugh, the "flags" in kitchen and cellar were to come from "Gaitley Bridge," while the stairs were to be built of "blue stone" from Kirkconnel. Nothing is said of a water supply, but there was to be a water closet, probably the first in the district.

The new Manse was built on the glebe, and in consequence the Heritors had to provide the Minister with an equivalent extent of ground. The Duke of Buccleugh handed over a part of the lands of Townhead in Sanquhar, amounting to nine acres, three roods and seven falls. The amount to be given was settled by arbitration, the arbiters for the Minister being James Hyslop in Blackcraig and James Otto in Newark; those for the Duke being William M'Call, Ulzie-side, and William Smith, Auchenskeoch. The site of the

Manse was then bounded by lands belonging to the Duke, and it was these that were handed over to the benefice, things being finally settled in December, 1823. Mr Montgomery then petitioned for a fence round his garden. This was granted in the form of a substantial wall. Altogether the Minister had every reason to congratulate himself on the success of his endeavours.

We are probably right in assuming that Mr Montgomery was behind the movement to increase the salary of the Parish Schoolmaster, Mr John Henderson. A minute of a meeting of Heritors is preserved in the Session Records, and makes interesting reading. "At Sanquhar this 23rd day of March, 1829; met here James Veitch, Younger of Eliock; Thomas Crichton, Esq., Chamberlain to His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh and Queensberry; and the Rev. Thomas Montgomery, Minister of Sanquhar, who having taken into consideration the Act of the 43rd of George 3rd, Chapter 54, and the report of the Barons of Exchequer by the King's Remembrancer, as to the Fiars prices of oatmeal on an average of the last 25 years, proceeded to fix what would be the salary of the Schoolmaster for the ensuing 25 years, when they fixed and hereby do fix and determine that the School salary shall be at the rate of two chalders of oatmeal, that is to say in money £24-4-4½; which sum they authorize the Schoolmaster to levy from the Heritors of the Parish, according to their valuation." This minute is signed, "James Veitch, Preses."

A second minute, also signed by Mr Veitch, authorizes the Schoolmaster to charge the same "school wages" (fees) as formerly. Now that he had his new school and school-house, the latter large enough to allow him to keep boarders (the house contained "six rooms and cellars"), the teacher would find a considerable betterment in his position. Though the amount to be levied on the Heritors seems small, it was the utmost that the Act of Parliament permitted to be uplifted. The Heritors had also to provide a residence for the Schoolmaster, but this did not need to have more than two rooms, *including the kitchen*. The Lord Advocate

(Hope), who saw the Bill through Parliament, stated that he had difficulty in securing even this minimum, some of the Scots members being indignant at "being obliged to erect palaces for dominies."

In the Session minute book we notice a "tightening up" in several ways after the coming of Mr Montgomery. Thus in 1822 James Kennedy was appointed Presbytery Elder. This is the first entry referring to such an appointment since 1788, when William Hamilton had been sent. Kennedy, who was known as the Sanquhar Poet (he published quite a number of books of verse), ran a private school in the burgh for many years.<sup>1</sup> In May, 1823, William Blackwood was the Session representative to the Presbytery. He was the senior Elder in the congregation and celebrated his jubilee in the eldership, a distinction which belongs to few holders of that office. He is buried in Sanquhar Churchyard, only a short distance east of the imposing monument which marks the grave of Provost Hamilton. In November of the same year Alexander Wightman became Presbytery Elder. He was one of the best known farmers in Upper Nithsdale, and was tenant first of Dalpeddar and afterwards of South Mains. His son and grandson were in turn tenants of the latter farm. In 1830 William Blair was Presbytery Elder. He was miller at Euchar, and was still remembered in my young days as being the last to lead the "lining out" of the 103rd Psalm at Communion seasons in the Parish Church. As is well known, up to the sixties of last century or thereby it was customary for the communicants to come in relays to the Holy Table, which ran down the middle of the Church. As one party moved out and another moved in, the Psalm mentioned was sung to the tune of "Coleshill." At one time the practice of the Precentor reading the line before singing it had existed in Scotland (except in the Orkney and Shetland Islands). It was really an English Puritan custom, and as such was resented by many when it was first introduced about the middle of the 17th century. However, it obtained a firm hold, and when it was discon-

1 See Tom Wilson, *Memorials of Sanquhar Kirkyard*, 62-67.

tinued trouble arose in quite a number of congregations. After the custom had been laid aside at ordinary services (about the end of the 18th century) it was retained at this part of Communion service. Probably the younger Precentors could not manage the "lining out," and so "Auld Blair," as he was familiarly called, stepped into the breach. In the old Register of Baptisms there is a note stating that the "first baptism in the new Church" was that of Helen, lawful daughter of William Blair and Mary Colvin. This was "Auld Blair's" daughter, and she was born on the 2nd and baptised on the 4th April, 1824.

Mr Montgomery saw two new congregations formed in Sanquhar. The first of these belonged to the Reformed Presbyterians, better known as the Cameronians. In 1832 the members of that denomination residing in and around the burgh petitioned the Synod to "receive Sermon" in addition to what was being provided at Scaurbridge, which was the parent congregation in the district, and where up till the year mentioned they had worshipped. The minister, Rev. Thomas Rowatt, who had married a granddaughter of Rev. John McMillan (the first and for many years the only minister of the denomination after the Revolution), had died in January, 1832, and the charge was not filled for fully three years. Hence, perhaps, the desire of the Sanquharians that such supply as was given should be provided, in part at least, in Upper Nithsdale. When three years later the Rev. Peter Carmichael was elected as minister at Scaurbridge, the Sanquhar members asked to be "congregated." Naturally the parent congregation objected, but the Synod granted the petition and Sanquhar became the seat of a Cameronian congregation. The members bought a building known as the "Kiln," which stood on the property of Allansdale, "roon the backs," now known as Simpson Road. This had been built by Charles Crichton, one of the Crichtons of Carco, as a dwelling-place for himself, some time about the middle of the 18th century. The building attracts attention by the large carved tablet in front. This represents a dragon's head spouting fire, the crest of the Crichton family. Above is the



family motto, "God send Grace," a very fitting one for a religious house. The congregation was not a large one, and was never able to call a minister. The Presbytery supplied the pulpit once a month or thereby, and one elder, Mr Milligan of Burnmouth, was ordained. Writing in 1853, Dr. Simpson says that the Reformed Presbyterian place of worship was only occasionally occupied. In 1865 he tells us that the cause was then discontinued. The building was converted into a stable and the pulpit became a "corn kist," which I can remember seeing in my boyhood. The second congregation to be formed was that of the Free Church.

A new Kirk Session minute book was started on 20th February, 1832, and was in use for fully fifty years. While discipline cases form the bulk of the entries, there are other items as well. On 3rd December, 1835, we have the first minute relating to the admission of elders, James Stodhart and Samuel Stewart being added to the Session. At the end of the minute the following list of members and officials is given. "Rev. Thomas Montgomery, Moderator; William Blackwood, Alexander Wightman, James Kennedy, Robert Whigham, John Young, William Blair, William Watson, James Moffat, George Hunter, James Stodhart, and Samuel Stewart, Elders. John Henderson, Session Clerk; and James Whyte, Officer." The minute further informs us that the admission of the two new elders took place on the Sacramental Fast Day. This is the first indication of the Winter Communion in Sanquhar. Up to the end of Mr Ranken's ministry the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper seems to have been celebrated once a year only (after the fashion of the Jewish Passover) on the 4th Sunday in June. In this fixing of a "Season" in Winter we have another indication of the zeal of Mr Montgomery.

Round about 1840 we find several different "hands of write" in the Minute Book. Mr Henderson was now a very old man; in 1841 he resigned as Parish Schoolmaster, and Mr James Orr was appointed in his place. Two years later Mr Orr was unanimously chosen Assistant and Successor (as Session Clerk) to Mr Henderson, "now far advanced in

life." The older man was to retain the fees and emoluments of the office during his lifetime. There is evidence that Mr Orr had been writing the minutes for some time before his appointment. He appears as an Elder in 1842, though there is no reference to his admission as such. Mr Henderson died in 1842, having been Schoolmaster for fifty-six years, easily a record for the district. For some time between 1791 and 1814 he was a Councillor and Magistrate of the burgh.

During his ministry Mr Montgomery appears to have tried to get the position of the minister at Wanlockhead put on a better footing. We learn from the Presbytery minutes that Mr Hastings, on being admitted there in 1834, was guaranteed only £25 of salary. He got more, but nothing like a proper living. It was not, however, until after the disruption that things were rectified.

The greatest of all the events in the Ecclesiastical History of Sanquhar in the 19th century was the Disruption of 1843, when a large number of members (probably more than half the total) left the Church of Scotland to form the local congregation of the Free Church. Mr Montgomery belonged to what was called the Evangelical section of the ministry, and was zealous for the policy of "Non-Intrusion." It is a somewhat remarkable fact that the districts which in the 17th century were markedly "Covenanting" were lukewarm towards the policy followed by those who were afterwards the leaders of the Free Church. The Synods of Glasgow and Ayr, of Dumfries and of Galloway, which were all strongly "Covenanting," produced fewer free Churches than any others in the country, while the Highlands, where "Covenanting" was almost unknown, went strongly for Free Churchism. In the Presbytery of Penpont there were nine parishes, and only one of the ministers came out. Four of the clergy had at first been inclined to favour the "Non-Intrusion" party: Mr Borrowman of Glencairn, Mr Montgomery of Sanquhar, Mr Menzies of Keir, and Mr Bennet of Closeburn. To these should perhaps be added Mr Hastings of Wanlockhead, who was not legally a member of Presbytery. Menzies and Bennet withdrew before any

definite steps towards separation had been taken. Borrowman and Hastings went all the way and left the Church of Scotland, and it was confidently expected that Montgomery would do the same. He had taken quite a prominent part in the movement. In the General Assembly of 1838 he voted for the Independence resolutions, which were laid before it by Dr. Buchanan, and which not only declared the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church Courts, but also threatened to enforce submission to the same on all members, whatever might be the consequences. This was carried by a majority of about forty.

Among the attempts made to stem the tide of schism was the introduction by Lord Aberdeen of a Bill in Parliament which would have given to the Courts of the Church much of the power they claimed in the matter of rejection of Presentees to parishes. This Bill was considered by the Assembly of 1840, and, though it would have gone far to remove grievances, the Supreme Court of the Church refused to accept it, Mr Montgomery being one of those who voted for its rejection. In 1842 was held the "Convocation" of the Evangelical ministers, and at it two resolutions were carried. The first one of these declared that no measure proposed by Parliament could be accepted if it did not protect the Church against the "wrongs" alleged to have been inflicted by the Civil Courts. The second pledged the subscribers to secede if their own way was not taken. The first resolution was subscribed by 427 members, the second by 333. Mr Montgomery signed both. It is not to be wondered that such a course of action led everyone to expect he would come out with his Evangelical brethren. But when the day of trial came he stayed in. It is said that he had been much influenced by his wife, and that his wavering commenced with her death on April 21st, 1843. This may have been the case, though I remember being told by a prominent Free Churchman that she had exhorted her husband on her death-bed to stand firm, which may indicate that she had her own views as to what his real convictions were. It used to be commonly said that he was one of the "Forty Thieves,"

but such was not the case. This nickname was bestowed (by Hugh Miller) on a group of some forty-five Evangelical ministers who tried to keep unity in the Church by suggesting a middle course. The best known of the party was the great Norman Macleod. Mr Montgomery never had any connection was this movement. One can well understand how those who had followed their minister along the "Non-Intrusion" road were seriously annoyed at his conduct in refusing to leave the Church. This annoyance was intensified by the fact that a goodly number of those who were expected to come out followed his example and failed to do so. The whole parish was in a ferment. All accounts which have come down to us agree that families were divided, friends estranged, and a great deal of bitterness engendered. This bitterness was increased by the action of the Duke of Buccleugh in refusing to give a site for the new Church at Wanlockhead and in declining to allow stones for building to be taken from the quarries on his estate. There was no difficulty regarding the site in Sanquhar, where a bit of garden ground belonging to a merchant in the burgh was leased to the Free Church. At Wanlockhead, however, all the ground belonged to the Duke, and it was impossible for any building to be erected without his consent, and that consent was not given until about fifteen years after the Disruption. The matter of the stones at Sanquhar was solved by the Town Council allowing the congregation to take stones from their ground, and, although this led to a lawsuit, the materials were eventually obtained.

One or two of the remarks heard at the time of the Disruption have been preserved. "It wad hae been a guid thing," said an old lady who stayed in, "if Maister Montgomery had fa'en and broke his leg the day afore he went aff tae the convocation." Another who came out declared that he would never enter the "gate leadin' tae the Establishment" until he went in "feet first," a threat which, it may be said, he did not keep. Mr Brown states that the Communion Roll of the Sanquhar Free Church at first numbered 450 persons. It was claimed that at Wanlockhead over

two hundred members came out with Mr Hastings. If these figures are correct, then there could only have been a handful of worshippers left in the old Church in each place. In the New Statistical Account, written by Mr Mnotgomery in 1832 or thereby, it is stated that the total number of communicants in both places was 750. Even if we allow for an increase in the ten years before the Disruption, it is still difficult to believe that the "exodus" was as great as is reported. The Kirk Session Records throw no light on the matter, except that they contain the resignations of four Elders: two at Wanlockhead, James Moffat and George Hunter; and two at Sanquhar, Alexander Wightman and James Kennedy. It may be noted that the last-named did not resign until 22nd December, 1843. I have heard it said that this delay was due to a desire to obtain one of the Parochial Schoolmaster-ships which had become vacant through the withdrawal of the incumbents. When only two Elders withdrew from the Sanquhar congregation, it is difficult to believe that nine-tenths of the communicants did so.

The position of Mr Montgomery became difficult, and we are not surprised to find him applying for an Assistant and Successor the year following the Disruption. He was only fifty-three years of age; but in those days such applications were more easily granted than they are to-day, and no objection seems to have been made about his leaving. Indeed there is some evidence that he had ceased to be *persona grata* with members of Presbytery, which is not altogether to be wondered at. In April, 1843, there was a debate in the Presbytery as to whether the commission of the Sanquhar Representative Elder should be sustained, opposition being raised on the ground that the words *bona fide* regarding his status as an Elder did not appear on his commission. The Elder in question was William Blair, and there is some reason for believing that he was expected to come out along with the minister. The objection, while not exactly frivolous, was certainly not well-founded, for most of the brethren must have known that Mr Blair was an active member of Sanquhar Kirk Session, and, as such, quite entitled to take his

seat. Evidently some of the "Moderate" members were resolved to keep the "Evangelical" party as small as possible. By eight votes to seven the Sanquhar commission was sustained. In the autumn of 1843 the Presbytery ordered two of the Sanquhar Elders, Messrs Blair and Kennedy, to attend a meeting to be held at Wanlockhead and there subscribe the Confession of Faith. This was apparently a "feeler" on the part of the Court to find out whether these two intended to join the Free Church. When the meeting was held it was reported that Mr Kennedy had sent in his resignation as an Elder to the Session, and that Mr Blair was present and was quite willing to sign as required. No more was heard of any desire that he should do so.

Mr Montgomery had received leave of absence in the autumn of 1843 on "account of delicate health," but nothing is said as to how long this leave was to extend. On 3rd December, 1844, he appeared at the Presbytery and laid on the table a presentation to Mr John Inglis, Probationer, as Assistant and Successor at Sanquhar. There was also a letter produced in which Mr Montgomery stated that he was giving Mr Inglis a bond for £60 annually, together with the manse and glebe, as from Whitsunday, with the exception of one field, which he was going to retain until the separation of the crop. Mr Inglis, who was present at the meeting, intimated that he was willing to come on these conditions, and he was there and then admitted as a Probationer within the bounds. The proposed division of the stipend was little short of scandalous. The living, including the glebe, was worth about £310, of which the man who was to do the work received £90, and the retired minister the remainder.

Mr Montgomery was seldom seen in the parish after his retiral. The Session Records, however, show that he presided at a meeting in 1848. He was then resident near Ayr. He afterwards resided at Govan, then a country parish, ministered to by Dr. Leishman, who was one of the leaders of the party known as the "Forty Thieves." One wonders if the two compared notes as to what led them to stay in the Church after going so far with those who came out. Mr Mont-

gomery died at Govan, 3rd June, 1861, and was buried beside his wife in Sanquhar Churchyard. One incident which happened during his ministry may be mentioned. James Laing, Student in Divinity in the Parish of Sanquhar, was taken on trials for license in 1829. He was licensed by the Presbytery on 4th May, 1830. He was appointed by the Glasgow Missionary Society as a missionary to Kaffraria, and after being ordained on 3rd August, 1830, by his native Presbytery, sailed for South Africa. He joined the Free Church, and was Superintendent of the large station at Lovedale, 1843-55. He afterwards returned to his first charge at Burnhill (so named after Dr. Burns, minister of the Barony of Glasgow), and died there in 1872. Although he resided at Sanquhar he was born at Durisdeer in 1803.

Mr Montgomery was the writer of the *New Statistical Account* of Sanquhar, which was published in 1845 (Vol. IV., 297-314). His contribution is dated October, 1835; but in dealing with the "Ecclesiastical State" of the parish he says that the Church was built "about eight years ago," which indicates that part of the *Account* was written *circa* 1831-2. Mr Montgomery's contribution runs to fully eight thousand words, of which about one-third deal with the mines at Wanlockhead. There is reason to believe that this section was written by someone else (probably Dr. Watson, who published a description of the mines in 1838), and simply incorporated. Although the new *Account* is not so interesting as the older one, it gives us a lot of interesting information. The number of families belonging to the "Established Church" was 551; attending the "Secession Chapels and the Chapel of the Anabaptists," 164. The Church was of "elegant architecture," the interior being "highly convenient" and affording accommodation for 1000 sitters. Not a word is said regarding the old mediæval church, which might have been preserved if there had been any desire for its restoration on the part of minister and people. Mr Montgomery further tells us that there was a Society "for Bible Missiqnary and other religious purposes." Its annual income was about £30, one half of which was collected at the Church

and the other half contributed by members of the Society. He does not mention another Society which we know from other sources came into existence during his ministry. This was the Temperance Society, the members of which pledged themselves not to drink ardent spirits, unless for medicinal purposes. In 1831, during troubles over the Reform Act, the Magistrates somewhat foolishly imprisoned a young man for taking part in one of the demonstrations. A large crowd gathered, and would have burst open the doors and taken the prisoner out by force if the Magistrates had not sent their officer with the keys. We are told in a newspaper report that "Spirits were plentifully tendered to the prisoner by the mob, but he declined to partake, being a member of the Temperance Society." Dr. Simpson mentions that a Society of Teetotallers was formed in Sanquhar about 1840. This marks the date when the Temperance Society members began to impose a stricter pledge. As a body the Teetotallers took part in the processions, which were at one time such a marked feature of burghal life. In the 'seventies they were merged into the Sanquhar Lodge of Good Templars, which was the oldest Lodge in the South-West of Scotland, its number being 13.<sup>2</sup> Mr Montgomery gives quite a lot of information about the industries in the district. 123 persons were employed in carpet-making at Crawick Mill, the greater part of the output being sent to "North and South America, Hamburgh and St. Petersburg," There were about a hundred cotton weavers in Sanquhar, while the number of colliers in the district was about eighty. He tells us that four fairs were held annually at "the town of Sanquhar at regular intervals. These have continued for a long period, but they are now merely nominal, for few people attend and little business is done." Things must have changed greatly, for in the 'eighties and 'nineties of last century the street from the Council House to the monument was to be seen packed with farmers and dealers, while business transactions running into tens of thousands of pounds were carried through at these gatherings.

<sup>2</sup> I can remember hearing an old man say at a "Templar Soiree," held at the New Year, circa 1892, that such "tea meetings" had been observed for about sixty years in Sanquhar.



These fairs, it may be said, had to some extent an ecclesiastical origin. Indeed, the word "fair" is derived from "feria," which indicated a religious festival. In Sanquhar all the fairs were originally held on Saints' Days. The charter of 1484 gives the burgesses the right to hold fairs on the feasts of St. James the Apostle and of S.S. Simon and Jude. The charter of 1596, creating the town a Royal Burgh, allows three fairs, the first on the feast of St. Felix (30th May), the second on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene (22nd July), and the third on the feast of St. Luke (18th October). There is evidence, too, that fairs were in olden times held in churchyards. Even the nave of the church was sometimes used for buying and selling. Various statutes of Church and State struck at such practices, but the customs continued in spite of such enactments. In Sanquhar up to the end of the 18th century some of the fairs were held just outside the churchyard where the ground slopes down to what is now the New Road. Probably this was a survival from the days when the merchants and customers used the tombstones for tables, on which to transact business. The slope was evidently larger at one time, for there is evidence that the ring of trees nearest the Church marked at one time the boundary of the churchyard, the space between these and the Old Road having been added later. We don't know when this was done, but some light may be thrown upon the probable date by an item in the Testament of John Gibson, who died in Sanquhar *circa* 1747. This states that Mr John Irving, "Minister of the Gospel at Sanquhar," was owing the deceased six shillings sterling "for leading stones to the church yeard dyke of Sanquhar." It may be noted that this place is outside the original boundaries of the Royal Burgh; but the Town Council must have had some rights there, for they have levied rates for many years on the show people who use the adjacent Square for their caravans. These rates are still collected.

There were in the parish "twenty-one houses in which spirituous or malt liquors are sold by license, the effects of which on the morals of the people are far from being salu-

tary." The number of people receiving parochial aid was about 50, and the amount received by each, except "when under sickness," about £1. One marvels how the poor managed to keep body and soul together. The money was raised by church collections, voluntary contributions, interest of money "and dues collected by the kirk-session." These last represent the fines levied in cases of Church discipline. The church door collections amounted to about £35 per annum, which seems to indicate that many of the worshippers must have "passed the plate."

Mr Montgomery was associated with another publication. In 1836 the General Assembly issued a "Pastoral Letter to the People of Scotland on Family Worship." Following this, "several pious and talented individuals" suggested that a suitable book for such a purpose should be issued. The result was that a volume containing contributions from "a hundred and eighty clergymen" and bearing the title "Family Worship" was completed in 1841. Mr Montgomery's share in the work consisted in two morning and two evening prayers, together with four expositions of chapters of Holy Scripture—Ezra V., Haggai I., Haggai II. from the Old Testament, and Acts of the Apostles XXI. and XXII. from the New Testament. The expositions of the Old Testament chapters are divided into "Explanatory Remarks" and "Practical Remarks." As these deal with the re-building of the Temple at Jerusalem, one would like to know whether they contain any reminiscences of the "appropriate sermon" preached after the re-building of Sanquhar Church. The praise suggested consists of two Psalms and two Paraphrases. Although the latter had been allowed as early as 1781, Mr Montgomery seems to have been the first to use them in public worship in Sanquhar. His prayers are not liturgical, but they are evidently carefully composed and Scriptural in their phraseology. We conclude with a short extract from one of them: "Confirm, O Lord, every good and holy impression which may have been made on our hearts. Enable us habitually to realize Thy presence and to walk as seeing Thee who art invisible. In every diffi-

178 SANQUHAR CHURCH DURING NINETEENTH CENTURY.

culty do Thou guide us by Thine unerring wisdom; under every temptation do Thou uphold and strengthen us by Thine almighty power. Hear our prayers and accept of us graciously, for Christ's sake. Amen." Mr Montgomery was one of the few ministers in the south-west and the only one in the Presbytery to contribute to this volume.

## ARTICLE 16.

**" The Goodman's Croft "**  
**And its Relation to the " Aploch."**

By GEORGE WATSON, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

As is well known, the Scottish people in former times (even until a fairly recent generation) endeavoured to placate supernatural powers, supposedly capable of inflicting harm, by referring to them under some commendable or complimentary name. Especially was this the case with reference to the inhabitants of the glamorous realm of fairyland, who from the sixteenth century were usually referred to, especially by credulous rural people, as " the good neighbours ": the name " fairies " being itself taboo, under the belief that these supernatural, magically-endowed beings might be offended if termed. But it is not nearly so well known that people of some districts (especially in the eastern counties) sought to appease the supreme spirit of evil in a somewhat similar way, and additionally by dedicating a piece of ground to the supposed use of his Satanic highness. This is seen in a study of the field-name, " The Goodman's Croft."

A cognate phrase — " The Goodman's Acre " — had currency in Lanarkshire about a century and a half ago; but the expression had a different application, since the " goodman " referred to was a farmer who cultivated his own stretch of ground. This Clydesdale county—according to Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary (1808)—recognised that specified acre as a piece of land retained by a farmer for his own use when, on retiring from the cares and exertions of managing a full farm, he resigned the major share of the farmland to his son or family.

Somewhat similarly, in the north-east of Scotland " the Goodman's croft " was theoretically separated from the farm; and—regarded as devoted to a supernatural power or agency capable of withholding or preventing harvest benefits—the field was left perpetually uncultivated and uncropped, under the superstitious belief that his Satanic majesty derived

profit or at least gratification thereby, either by reason of the supposed harvest, or because of this territorial tribute to his believed power of subverting the processes of nature.

Some older writers follow the fashion that then existed of ascribing most things that were strange, and especially such as savoured of superstition to the Druids: but there is nothing necessarily Druidical about this custom. And although allowing land to lie waste was worthy of censure—and indeed was condemned—the offering was as nothing compared to the Hebrew sacrifices of human beings to Molech.

Though existing doubtless in pre-Reformation times (and mayhap condoned or at least ignored by the clergy of that dark period), this curious superstition apparently did not crop out until the Reformed church began to take notice of such irregularities. As the spark appears when steel strikes the flint, so light is shed on this matter when the ideals of the church clash with popular opinion regarding supernatural powers.

When the General Assembly met on May 13, 1594, the ministers and elders duly weighed this enormity of the practice of propitiating the arch fiend himself, and they exerted themselves to have the superstitious practice abolished, by publishing an ordinance against, and otherwise taking prompt action to suppress a custom so revolting. They especially considered that in Garioch (Aberdeenshire) and various other districts there existed a "horrible superstition" of dedicating "ane parcell of ground. . . to the Devill, under the name of the Goodman's craft"—which in consequence was left uncultivated—and they strove to bring about the abolition of the superstitious practice by moving that an Act of Parliament be passed ordaining the cultivation of such pieces of ground by their owners: under penalty of forfeiture to the king, who might dispose of the land to farmers who would assuredly cultivate it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Universal Kirk* (1845), II., 834; Row, *Historie of the Kirk*, 159; Calderwood, *True History*. Measures to be taken against witches, etc., were issued by the Privy Council in August, 1597—the year in which witch-trials began in such deadly earnest.

This, perhaps the first record of the occurrence of the name, is quoted, cited, or referred to by a few writers, e.g., Arnot,<sup>2</sup> who sees in this Scottish custom a practice that fell "nothing short of daemon-worship, and [which] was undoubtedly the remains of paganism." In popular works,<sup>3</sup> Sir Walter Scott compares the use of the *temenos* of a pagan temple, that enclosure cut off and dedicated to a Grecian deity, which was excluded from profane uses.

The church was not tardy in inaugurating its crusade against this superstitious rite. Only four years later (i.e., in 1598) a notable "witch" (i.e., reputed sorcerer or wizard) named Andrew Man was charged at Tarbruich in Rathven parish, Banffshire,<sup>4</sup> with various pernicious acts of sorcery, including the fact that he had measured off various pieces of land, called "wards," to the "Hynd Knight,"<sup>5</sup> whom he confessed to be a spirit, and that he set a stone in each of the four nooks of the "ward" and put a charm on the same, whereby he healed the "guidis" (i.e., farm animals) and preserved them from lung-disease and all other complaints; and further that he forbade the taking of turves from the land, or the ploughing of it. These his practices applied to the Mains of Innes and of Caddel, "and divers utheris places." The superstitious Andrew was accused also of affirming that the queen of fairyland "hes a grip of all the craft, but Christsonday<sup>6</sup> is the Gudeman, and hes all power under God."

Perhaps due in no small measure to temperament resulting from strong Celtic admixture, this superstitious practice was apparently more pronounced in the north-east of Scotland than elsewhere. Thus the Presbyterial Records of Strathbogie show that at Botarie on 25th November, 1646, William

<sup>2</sup> *History of Edinburgh* (1779), p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Border Minstrelsy*, "The Tale of Tamlane" (citing Lord Hailes); *Letters on Demonology*, ch. iii.

<sup>4</sup> *Spalding Club Miscellany*, I., 120

<sup>5</sup> That is, "the courteous knight," as a flattering name of the Evil One himself.

<sup>6</sup> Used *Ibid.*, p. 98 for "Sunday," but on pp. 120-5 and 170-3 as a euphonious by-name for the Devil, whom senile, if not crazy, Andrew Man sought further to propitiate (p. 120) by regarding as the son-in-law of God!

Seivwright and George Stronach in Glas were accused of sorcery, in that they allotted and gave over some land to "the old goodman (as they call it)." Denial of the charge was countered with further allegation; and the accused parties had to promise to cultivate the "said land." "The brethren" of the kirk placed them under censure, which would continue till their promise was fulfilled.<sup>7</sup>

When the Presbyterial commission visited Rhynie Church, Aberdeenshire, in August five years later, Sir William Gordon of Lesmore admitted to the censorious visitors that a part of his home-farm, given up to the "Goodman," was not in use to be cultivated; but "be the assistance of God," as he now informed that body of divines and elders, he fully intended to put it under cultivation. The commission commended Sir William for this professed determination.<sup>8</sup>

At Killiesmont in the district of Keith, about 1790, existed a ridge of uncultivated ground called "The Guidman's Craft," and (as a secondary name) "the Gi'en Rig," apparently since set apart or given to the arch fiend in order to secure his goodwill! Scorning the superstition, one farmer began to plough in order to reclaim this "given rig," when, behold, one of his draught-oxen dropped down dead. This confirmed many peasants in their superstition; but the succeeding farmer cultivated this "Deil's field" with no untoward results.<sup>9</sup>

Dealing with superstitions among backward people in the parish of Monquhitter Parish (Aberdeenshire), Rev. Alexander Johnston recorded<sup>10</sup> in 1799 their belief that "the old man's fold, where the Druid [was supposed to have] sacrificed to the demon for his corn and cattle, could not be violated by the ploughshare," if increase of grain and live stock were to be ensured.

Nor was this pagan superstition unknown in the Lothians, where its observance sometimes met undue recogni-

<sup>7</sup> *Presbytery Book of Strathbogie* (Spalding Club), pp. xxiv., 71.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv., 208-9.

<sup>9</sup> Gordon, *Chronicles of Keith*, 53.

<sup>10</sup> *Old Statistical Account*, XXI., 148

tion. In the early half of last century a relative of Sir James Young Simpson bought a farm about twenty miles from Edinburgh. Soon after taking possession, he inclosed with a stone wall a small triangular corner of one of the fields; and this nook (which still remained cut off in 1860) was "the Goodman's croft," thus separated and left intact as a supposed offering to the Spirit of Evil.<sup>11</sup> But (as Sir James was wont to relate) the parish minister sceptically observed that the "goodman's" share was perhaps the most worthless and barren piece on the whole farm!

I must refrain from appropriating such material on this grim subject as, having escaped my earlier reading, was found later in the Rev. J. M. M'Pherson's highly informative work, *Primitive Beliefs in the North-East of Scotland* (1929), where the reader will find an illuminative chapter on Devil Worship. In that section the industrious author shows that this "piece of land dedicated to the devil and left untilled" was additionally named "the Halyman's Rig" or (in Boyndie, 1649) "the halie man's ley," "the Goodman's Fauld," "the Devil's Croft," and (as at Forgue), "the Black Faulie," or "the Deevil's Faulie," as well as "the Given Ground" (as it was termed in King Edward Parish in 1793). After pointing out that it was not until almost the end of the eighteenth century that the last of these crofts came under tillage, the learned divine stated that such fields abounded in the north of Scotland and were more common there than elsewhere in our country. He further remarks that when these were brought under tillage, dire results were expected by the superstitious tillers. These fears were usually disappointed, though any mischance or accident during these agricultural operations was assuredly ascribed to Satanic agency. M'Pherson (who incorporates material from Walter Gregor's *Folk-Lore of North-East of Scotland*—1881) adduces instances of the names and of the superstitious custom from 1602 till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

While there is but one alleged concrete instance of the application of this name in the adjacent county of Berwick,

11 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, IV., 33.



various sayings were apparently current in the Merse about a century ago which indicated acquaintance with the profane practice. These were collected and embellished by George Henderson in his *Popular Rhymes of Berwick* (1856), an industrious compilation in which the " Goodman's field " or " craft " (also called " Cloutie's craft " and the " Goodman's taft," i.e., toft) is said to have consisted of " a small portion of the best land, set apart by the inhabitants of most villages, as a propitiatory gift to the devil, on whose property they never presumed to intrude. . . . It was reckoned highly dangerous to break up by tillage those pieces of ground." As Henderson's rhyme asserted:

" If you put a spade in the Goodman's craft,  
Mahoun will shoot you wi' his shaft.  
The craft lies bonny by Langton Lees " (etc.).

" He who tills the fairies' green " was put under a similar sentence. The result of thus allowing the plot or field to lie fallow (as another Merse rhyme asserted) was that

" The moss is soft on Cloutie's craft,  
And bonny's the sod o' the Goodman's taft;  
But if ye bide there till the sun is set,  
The Goodman may catch you in his net."

The appellation was apparently rather a usual byname for the particular field than its proper name. Though the possibilities of the latter have not been fully explored, it may be added here that the name of " the Goodman's Croft " (or " Field ") does not appear in the folio index volume of the *Retours* (published in 1816), which lists very many Scottish field and other land names of the seventeenth century.

Similarly the people of the south-west<sup>12</sup> were not exempt from this custom, which here took the form of a harvest offering to potentially malicious agents, especially warlocks, who might inflict harm or loss on the farmer or on his stocks and crops. Thus in 1824 the industrious collector, John Mactaggart, in that excellent compilation, *The Scottish Gallovidian Encyclopedia* (p. 20), recorded that " some few

<sup>12</sup> " West and south of Scotland," says the Supplement (1887) to Jamieson's Dictionary, but the context indicates that the source of the statement is the *Gallovidian Encyclopedia* (1824), which also is my only authority.

years ago a field of corn could not be shorn, nor a meadow mowed, without parts of them being left in corners uncut . . . ; they were left for the benefit of the warlock race, so as to keep their favour.” By the beginning of last century, however, farmers had become more level-headed and practical, and, abandoning this obvious waste, had defied all such supernatural beings to do their worst; so that by 1824 all these unharvested pieces “ now are vanished away.”

These unshorn parts were known by the name of *aplochs*, a word which, as Mactaggart recorded, in a more general sense meant “ remnants of anything.” The word is obviously of Gaelic origin (Gael., *ablach*), a fact which suggests the possibility that the origin of this land-custom of thus devoting to potentially harmful spirits pieces of ground or their crops or other produce, arises from the common Celtic origin of the inhabitants of these two districts, i.e., north-east and south-west Scotland. The curious custom—long since happily forsaken—may thus have had its beginnings among the Gaels in the dark centuries of early Scottish history.

**Stone Axe from Dhuloch.**

By R. B. K. STEVENSON, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

A small stone axe found by a schoolboy, Andrew Gibson, on the garden dyke at Glengyre Cottage, Dhuloch, near Stranraer, may be used to draw attention to recent archaeological developments in the study of such axes. The axe in question is only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long, and at most just over 2 ins. broad. The characteristics are the compact grey-green stone with well-polished surface and the narrow but flattened sides. Axes like this, but some as much as  $15\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long, have been found widespread in Scotland, particularly in the Border and south-western counties. The Dumfries Museum has its quota, mainly of the larger samples.

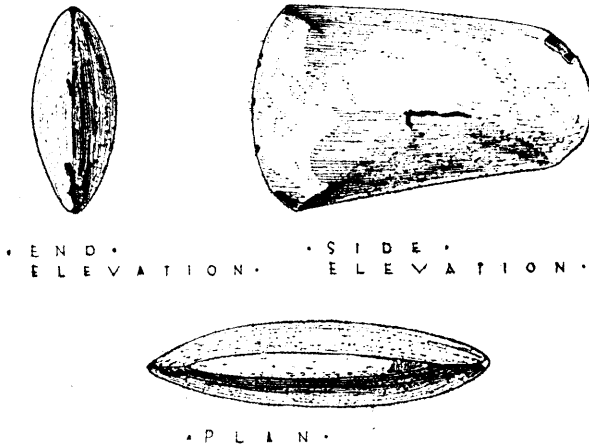


Fig. 15—THE DHULOCH AXE.

In England work has begun, in co-operation with petrologists, on the microscopic identification of sections of axes. By this means the locality from which the stone originally came may often be decided. One locality from which a huge number of axes must have been exported is in the south of the Lake District—Pike of Stickle and Stake Pass—where the

old working refuse has actually been found (Clare I. Fell, in *C. and W. Trans.*, XLVII., 1948, p. 214).

It is probably from there that the axes mentioned above, including the Dhulock one, came to Scotland—certainty must await the application here of microscopic investigation. Perhaps as many as one-third of all the stone axes found in southern Scotland are due to this Lake District trade. In England examples have been found as far south as Dorset (*Proc. Prehistoric Soc.*, 1941 and 1947).

The little evidence at present available for the date of the trade indicates the very end of the Neolithic period, say not long after 2000 B.C. One of the large axes, complete with its wooden haft, was found at the late " Neolithic A " site at Ehenside Tarn, Cumberland (*Archæologia*, XLIV., pl. VIII.), and a fragment at the recently excavated sacred site on Cairnpapple Hill, West Lothian (S. Piggott, *Antiquity*, 1949, and *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXII.) may have splintered off the axe of one of the possibly " Neolithic B " woodmen originally clearing the site. Another of the woodmen was using an axe from the factory at Penmaenmawr, North Wales, of which no other traces are yet known in Scotland.

## ARTICLE 18.

**A Roman Fort at Broomholm.**

By RICHARD FEACHEM, F.S.A.

The aerial photographs which together compose the comprehensive mosaic of the National Survey are the results of sorties flown from time to time over a period of about five years; many areas were covered more than once and at different seasons of the year. Accordingly, it is by no means certain that an obliterated earthwork will appear on them in the form of a cropmark, grassmark or soilmark, but if even a small part of the structure remains visible on the surface, it will almost certainly be distinguishable on the photographs.

The possibility of the existence of a Roman road down Eskdale, from Raeburnfoot towards Netherby, was stated recently in these *Transactions* (XXV., p. 141) by Dr. Eric Birley. It so happened that there were two sorties of National Survey aerial photographs which covered the area around Langholm, and these were examined to see whether any traces of the route, or of stations along it, could be found in that area. The first sortie examined produced a well-defined dark-coloured arc in a field on Broomholm Knowe, which most probably represented the remaining part of an otherwise obliterated earthwork. The other sortie, which had been flown in August, 1947, not only showed this arc but also revealed that it formed the only surface remains of a Roman fort, much of the rest of which could now be seen as a cropmark. The fort measures about 400 feet internally from N.-W. to S.-E.

The position of Broomholm fort in relation to Gilnockie and to Eskdale is shown on the accompanying sketch plan. The surface remains of the fort can be seen to advantage, as they cut the skyline, from a point on the road B6318 indicated on the plan by an arrow.

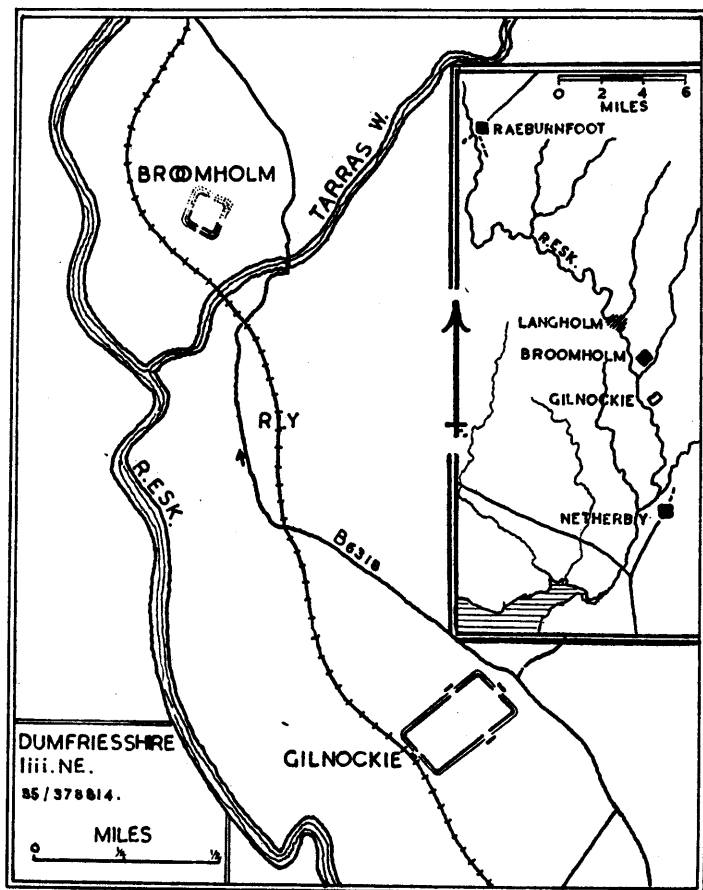


Fig. 16—BROOMHOLM FORT: SKETCH PLAN.

**Dating Second-Century Pottery in Northern Britain.**

By J. P. GILLAM, M.A.

During the second century A.D. the Roman Imperial government several times changed its policy towards the British northern frontier. Forts, systems of forts, and Walls were built and modified, temporarily abandoned and re-occupied, or sacked by enemies and re-constructed. The border between the Roman province and the unconquered Highlands was moved several times. Though some important points emerge clearly, are firmly based on evidence and meet with general acceptance, the full story cannot yet be written, for pieces of evidence are missing.

The kinds of evidence that have been used are, in order of importance, the structures themselves, literary sources, inscriptions, coins and pottery. As further progress is made pottery will play an increasingly important part in the solution of problems as yet remaining. The structures have already yielded so much evidence, in the hands of skillful excavators in Scotland and northern England, that, while they will reveal yet more, we can hardly hope for new discoveries in this field which will do more than modify the details of what has already been learnt. The discovery of surviving copies of the hitherto unknown works of literary historians is not to be hoped for. Inscriptions and coins doubtless remain to be found, but it is too much to hope that in the near future the right inscription, or the right coin, will necessarily turn up in the right place. On the other hand, pottery is found in large quantities on all Roman-British military sites.

The study of coarse pottery is only fifty years old, and as yet it has contributed comparatively little to our knowledge. But as knowledge of pottery grows, and as our methods of handling it develop, so will its value increase, and it may well supply some of the missing pieces of evidence. The method of using pottery that holds the greatest

promise is the statistical comparison of group with group. By group is meant a number of fragments found in one association, in circumstances that suggest that the vessels from which they come were all in use at about the same time. All the pottery found on a site which was occupied for only a few years, forms a group, as the word is used here, as does pottery found sealed, like the meat in a sandwich, between the remains of a demolished building and those of the one which replaced it, or pottery found in circumstances that suggest that it had all been broken at the same time.

If a group whose date is not known is compared with groups whose dates are known (because the limits of the occupation of the site, or the dates of the successive buildings, or the date of the disaster which caused a number of vessels to be simultaneously broken, are known), then it will be possible to date the unknown group very closely. The drawings, Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, are examples of fragments

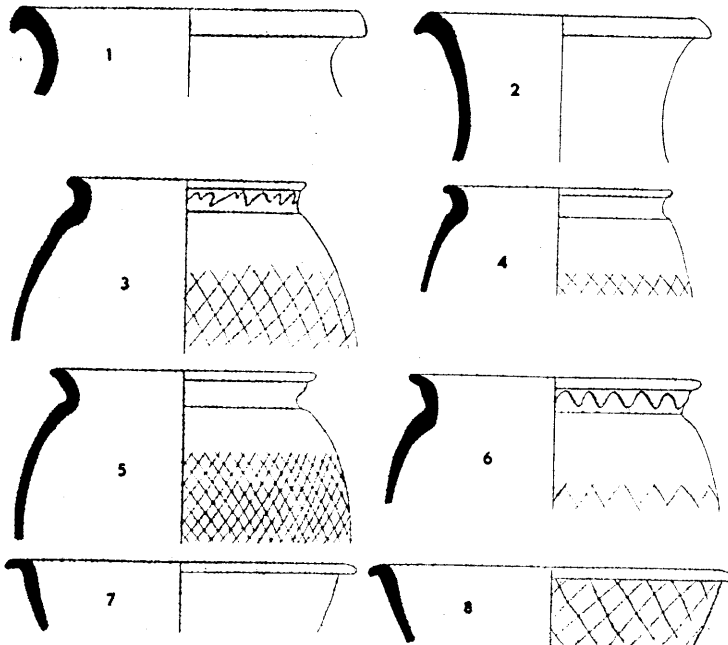


Fig. 17—POTTERY FROM CARZIELD.



of a class of cooking pot in black or grey fabric, and, when complete, with a plain cut-away base, which first began to be used in northern Britain in about A.D. 125, and continued to be made until about A.D. 365. During that time the form changed in detail and by and large a definite trend of development may be observed. But this development was not sufficiently rapid for it to be possible to date an individual vessel at all closely. Nos. 3 and 4 might have been made at any time between A.D. 125 and A.D. 170, while Nos. 5 and 6 might have been made at any time between A.D. 150 and A.D. 200. Not only is it most difficult to give an exact date of manufacture to any one vessel, but it is also almost impossible to decide for certain how long any one vessel that is found had been in use before it was broken and thrown away. It might then appear that pottery is almost useless for dating, and this view has in fact been expressed by deservedly respected scholars. But a group by group comparison promptly irons out both these difficulties.

It is found in practice that a group of pottery broken and thrown away during an occupation in the twenties and thirties of the second century differs quite markedly from a group formed during the forties and fifties. A group formed by the deposition of rubbish outside a fort between the years A.D. 139 and A.D. 197 differs from a group of pottery simultaneously broken during a sudden disaster overtaking the same fort in A.D. 197. It is not so much the presence or absence of types that distinguishes the groups as the proportion of types in them. For instance, the group formed by a disaster in A.D. 197 contains about one vessel in twenty which, to judge from its style, was made between A.D. 120 and A.D. 160, while the group deposited as rubbish during the last sixty years of the second century contains about one vessel in twenty of the characteristic style of A.D. 80 to 120, about eleven of the style of A.D. 120 to 160, and about eight in the style of the bulk of the vessels in the other deposit. As with all statistical approaches the working out of such a comparison has to be done in mathematical terms,

which convey a spurious sense of exactitude. The method depends merely on the general probability that, given enough pieces, the proportion of old-fashioned vessels in use in any two places, and at any two points in time, is likely to be about the same.

A specific example of the value of group to group comparison is Professor Richmond's recent study of the pottery from the Turf-Wall level of milecastle No. 79, at Solway House, near Port Carlisle. The Turf-Wall milecastle No. 50, at High House, was built in or very shortly after A.D. 122, as an inscription shows, and was carefully demolished very soon afterwards, to be replaced by a stone milecastle on a new site some way to the north. Milecastle 79 was replaced by a stone milecastle on the same site; there were already reasons to suppose that the replacement of turf by stone did not take place quite so early so far west as it did at milecastle 50. The object of the excavation was to find out precisely when the stone milecastle 79 was built. Certain structural peculiarities made it certain that it was before A.D. 197, but nothing about the structures gave any hint as to the point of time between A.D. 122 and 197. No coins or inscriptions were found, and only the pottery from the turf-milecastle level could decide. A statistical comparison was made between the pottery from the two milecastles—there were several hundred pieces. After all allowances had been made it emerged that twice as much pottery had been broken in milecastle 79 as in 50, that certain pre-Hadrianic types present in milecastle 50 were absent from milecastle 79, and that while *both* cooking pots of the type represented by Nos. 3 and 4 *and* plain clay jars of an earlier type were present in either milecastle, the proportion of the earlier to the later type was much higher in milecastle 50 than in milecastle 79. From these facts it has been inferred that the turf milecastle 50 was built some time before the turf milecastle 79, in other words, that the Turf Wall was built from east to west, and that the occupation of the turf milecastle 79 lasted twice as long as that of 50—long enough for Hadrianic-Antonine types of pot-

tery, that had already begun to be used before milecastle 50 was abandoned, to have come generally into use. If the pieces had been considered singly, instead of group being compared with group, these results could not have been achieved.

As more pottery is discovered it will be possible to use similar methods in an attempt to solve other outstanding problems in the history of the northern frontiers. The date when the Antonine Wall was finally abandoned is not known with complete certainty, though coins indicate that it was not earlier than A.D. 184. If it should emerge that in the forts of the Antonine Wall there is a high proportion of just those types of pottery that are characteristic of sealed and dated groups of the very end of the second century, then that in itself would be evidence, not amounting to proof, that the occupation lasted until later than A.D. 184. It is well established that the turrets and milecastles of Hadrian's Wall were temporarily abandoned in *circa* A.D. 140, and also that they were re-occupied before the end of the second century. It is not known exactly when this re-occupation took place; two dates have been suggested—*circa* A.D. 163, under the governor Calpurnius Agricola, when there was much re-organisation and rebuilding in what is now northern England, and *circa* A.D. 184, under the governor Ulpius Marcellus, on the abandonment of the Antonine Wall, if indeed the abandonment took place so early. If the pottery from the second phase of the first main occupation of the turrets and milecastles (Period I. B) should turn out to contain a smaller proportion of those types that are characteristic of sealed and dated groups of the end of the second century than those groups themselves contain, then this would be evidence, again not amounting to proof, that the milecastles and turrets were re-occupied in A.D. 163 rather than in A.D. 184.

These are but two of the questions that are still being asked about the history of the frontiers in the second century A.D., and to which answers are not yet available. In order to apply the methods of statistical comparison that have been

outlined, and to approach a solution, it is necessary first to isolate groups of pottery which we know to consist of vessels in use and broken during successive short periods. Enough evidence is already available to make a preliminary study possible. For several reasons the most useful period of time to take is twenty years. It happens that the average reign of the Emperors was about twenty years.

Domitian and Nerva	...	...	...	A.D. 81—98.
Trajan	...	...	...	A.D. 98—117.
Hadrian	...	...	...	A.D. 117—138.
Antoninus Pius	...	...	...	A.D. 138—161.
Marcus Aurelius	...	...	...	A.D. 161—180.
Commodus, Pertinax, and Clodius Albinus	A.D. 180—197.			

It is noticeable, and perhaps to be expected, that changes of policy often followed closely on the accession of a new Emperor. The change of policy towards the northern frontier soon after the accession of Antoninus Pius is the most striking example. A more interesting phenomenon is that the outbreak of wars or rebellions in Britain also seemed to follow a similar twenty-year rhythm; we may notice in particular the threat of war in A.D. 163, the crossing of a Wall by the barbarians in A.D. 183, and the great incursion of Caledonii and Maeatae into the province early in A.D. 197. This is not to say that there is any cyclical inevitability about the pattern, but merely that so far as records go it seems to have fallen out that way. The cycle of changes of policy which we are investigating is the same as the cycle of foundation, destruction, rebuilding, and abandonment of military posts, which sometimes provide us with sealed and dated groups of pottery. The two processes were intimately connected in antiquity, and we may use the results of the one—actual finds of broken pottery—to help to elucidate the other—changes of imperial policy. As we have seen the style of pottery in a given type series does not change very rapidly, and single pieces of pottery are therefore of very little value for dating, but the style of groups taken as a whole does change; the character of groups changed noticeably in the course of twenty years.

For a Hadrianic group we turn to the lowest levels in the turrets and milecastles of Hadrian's Wall (Period I. A), which began to be built in A.D. 122, as inscriptions show, and were temporarily abandoned when the Antonine Wall was built. Antonine pottery is found in Scotland in abundance, but it is rarely subdivided into period groups. For a subdivision of Antonine pottery into groups we can, at the moment, only turn to Corbridge. Here an early Antonine group is obtained from the occupation levels of the earliest set of buildings to make extensive use of stone—the granaries, in their earliest form belong to this phase. These buildings were erected, as inscriptions show, in A.D. 139 and 140, and the site was re-modelled as other inscriptions show, in A.D. 163. A mid-Antonine group is provided by the occupation deposits from the re-modelled buildings, while for a late second-century group we have the pottery from the levels of destruction of A.D. 197.

The greatest need now is for subdivided Antonine groups from Scotland, so that reliance does not have to be placed entirely on Corbridge, however well established the dating, derived from inscriptions, at that site is. South-west Scotland, which, in common with the whole region between the Walls, had a different history from either Wall, may turn out to be a key area for dating such groups.

#### **CARZIELD.**

When Carzield was excavated in 1939 it was found to be an Antonine fort on a virgin site, and to have been reconstructed once. Inveresk, Newstead, and Cappuck were also reconstructed in the course of the Antonine period and show two distinct occupations. A study of the pottery found in 1939 was published in 1947. It was found that there was a complete absence of Flavian pottery to correspond with the absence of Flavian structures, but it was not found possible to subdivide the pottery into an earlier and later Antonine group to correspond with the two periods noted in the structures. Most of the pieces seemed to belong to the reign of Antoninus Pius, the earlier of the two periods of occupation at Carzield, though one piece, a platter

with a down-turned rim, seemed to belong to later in the century. The reason for the absence of any evidence, either structural or ceramic, for Flavian occupation has subsequently been revealed by the discovery in 1949, from the air, of another fort only three miles away. Evidently here, as at Inveresk, contrary to his normal practice, Lollius Urbicus did not choose to build where Agricola had built before. We can be sure that all pottery found at Carzield belongs to the Antonine period as a whole. The amount so far discovered is small, but welcome additions are being made to it.

During 1948 Mr A. E. Truckell trenched extensively immediately outside the rampart of the fort, mainly at the north-east angle and along the front of the west rampart; he also put two small trenches in the interior of the fort near the north-west angle. Among the large number of objects found are many pieces of Roman pottery, all, so far as can be judged, of the period A.D. 140 to 200, with nothing earlier or later. Three of these pieces were sufficiently large and well preserved, and sufficiently informative, to warrant illustration. They figure as Nos. 1, 5, and 7 below.

1. The rim of a narrow-mouthed jar, in smooth orange fabric with a grey core. Found by Mr Truckell immediately east of the north-east angle of the fort at Carzield.

2. The rim of a narrow-mouthed jar, in smooth grey fabric. Found at Corbridge in 1947 in a destruction deposit of circa A.D. 200, and introduced for comparison with the piece from Carzield, which presumably belongs to the second Antonine occupation.

3. The rim and shoulder of a cooking pot in black fumed fabric burnished above the zone of cross-hatched decoration, and with a wavy line on the outside of the neck. Found in 1939, and previously published in 1947.

4. The rim and shoulder of a cooking pot, similar to No. 3, but lacking a wavy line. Found at Corbridge in 1936, in the deposit of an occupation beginning in A.D. 163, and introduced for comparison with the piece from Carzield, which presumably belongs to the first Antonine occupation.

5. The rim, shoulder, and part of the side of a cooking pot, similar in fabric to Nos. 3 and 4. Found by Mr Truckell.

6. A similar piece, but with a wavy line on the neck. Found at Corbridge in the same deposit as No. 2, and introduced for comparison with the piece from Carzield, which presumably belongs to the second Antonine occupation.

7. The rim and part of the side of a bowl or platter with a flat rim, in black fumed fabric. Found by Mr Truckell.

8. A similar piece from Corbridge; it was found in the deposit of an occupation beginning in A.D. 139 and ending in A.D. 163. The Carzield example presumably belongs to the first Antonine occupation.

It will be noticed that two of the four cooking pots have wavy lines on their necks, and that the presence of this feature, or its absence, has not been taken into account in dating the pieces. About one cooking pot in ten made in the second century had a wavy line on the neck. In the third century very few were decorated in this way. Generally speaking, the wavy line is commoner among cooking pots of the period from A.D. 125 to 160 than among cooking pots of the period A.D. 160 to 200. Two of the three best preserved fragments found by Mr Truckell seem to belong to a slightly later period than the bulk of the pottery so far noted from Carzield. The discoveries do not amount to much in bulk, but they add their not inconsiderable weight to our knowledge of the site, and a little to the study of the northern frontier as a whole.

## ARTICLE 20.

**Excavations at Milton (Tassiesholm) in Season 1950.**

By JOHN CLARKE, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

Though we had looked forward with high hope to this season's work as certain to resolve the unexpected problems raised by our 1949 results, this hope was quite frustrated by the atrocious weather which left the ground water-logged in the essential area. After the first week conditions became such that even with pumping excavation was impossible. Turning perforce to less sodden areas, we worked there in the hope that the weather might yet mend. Instead, conditions deteriorated still further, and the work closed, leaving us no further towards the solution of our main problem, though with a variety of useful information which doubtless contributes to the complete picture.

Now that an interval of a year will elapse before excavation on a considerable scale is resumed, it seems desirable to set down in summary the results of previous years<sup>1</sup> and to publish some of the more significant finds, so that those interested may be able to assess the bearing of the information as a whole upon the general problem of the first Roman period in Scotland.

Reference to the site-plan will show that so far we have distinguished the following elements (see fig. 18):

**The North Field.**

In the northmost of the three fields involved the earliest structure seems to be a temporary camp. The ditch of this, seven feet wide and gravel-filled without silting, has been sectioned under the east intervallum street of the permanent forts. Rustic ware occurred under the gravel filling. The size of the camp is not known. Very probably the ditch links up with that which can be seen in the top right-hand corner of the air photograph<sup>2</sup> of this field.<sup>3</sup> Next we have

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. of this Society*, vols. xxiv.—xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> The air photographs are reproduced by the courteous permission of the Air Ministry and of Dr. St. Joseph.

<sup>3</sup> Pl. III., No. 1.



two forts of permanent type, roughly superimposed the one on the other, and within their common area a small fortlet. The pottery shows both forts to have been occupied in the Flavian period. The fortlet, on the other hand, while it may have been constructed in late Flavian times, was certainly occupied later. It yielded pottery of Hadrianic or quite early Antonine complexion.<sup>4</sup>

Of the two forts, the earlier, which we shall call North Fort I., is of unusual form, with inswinging rampart and ditches at the north and south gates. It was equipped with a normal arrangement of wooden buildings; the main range, of which fragments of the Principia and a granary were identified, lay in the western portion and faced east; of the barracks, two double blocks lay in the eastern portion parallel to the Via Principalis. No timber was found in the sleeper-trenches of any of the buildings, nor was there evidence anywhere of destruction by fire. We may reasonably conclude that the fort was dismantled, not abandoned under hostile pressure. No confident statement is possible about the duration of occupation, but the extreme paucity of objects associated with it suggests that it was not long.

The later of the two forts (North Fort II.), closely superimposed on the earlier, is of normal form, without the curious inswinging defences at the north and south gates. On the east and west fronts and on the north front eastwards from the gate, ditches of the first fort were re-used. On all fronts a new rampart was constructed, the former one, which seems to have been mainly of turf, being demolished and disposed of partly in the disused ditches, partly as surface spread at convenient points within the fort-enclosure. The new rampart was somewhat heterogeneous in structure; peaty turf, soil, and stones composed the lower layers, which still lie two feet thick at some points; the base was a twenty-two feet wide shallow depression with heavy cobble bands along the inner and outer margins. This new rampart on the south front, west of the gate, and on the east front, overlay first

<sup>4</sup> There is also information that Dr. St. Joseph has identified a large marching camp about a mile to the north of Milton.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

The three aerial photographs are inserted with the kind permission of the Air Ministry, the Aerial Photography Committee of the University of Cambridge, and Dr. St. Joseph, the Curator.

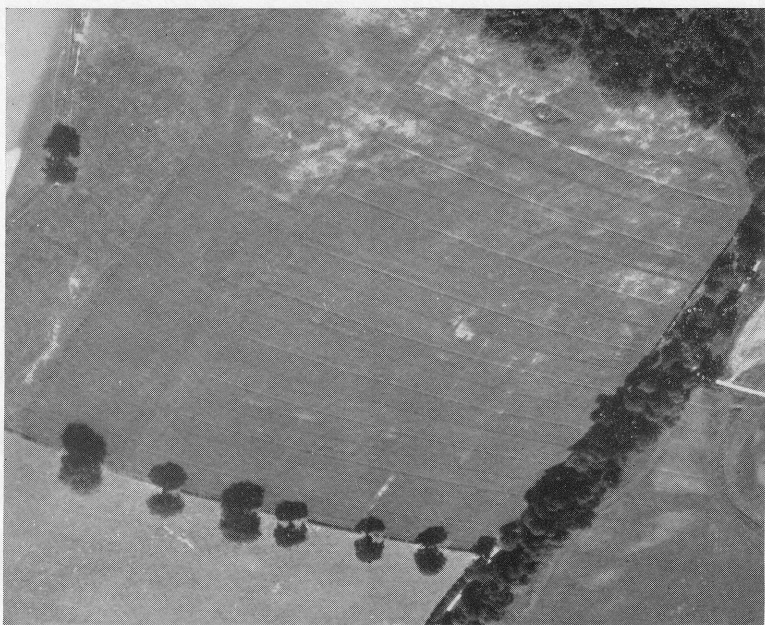


Plate III.—1, NORTH FIELD; 2, MIDDLE FIELD;  
3, SOUTH FIELD.

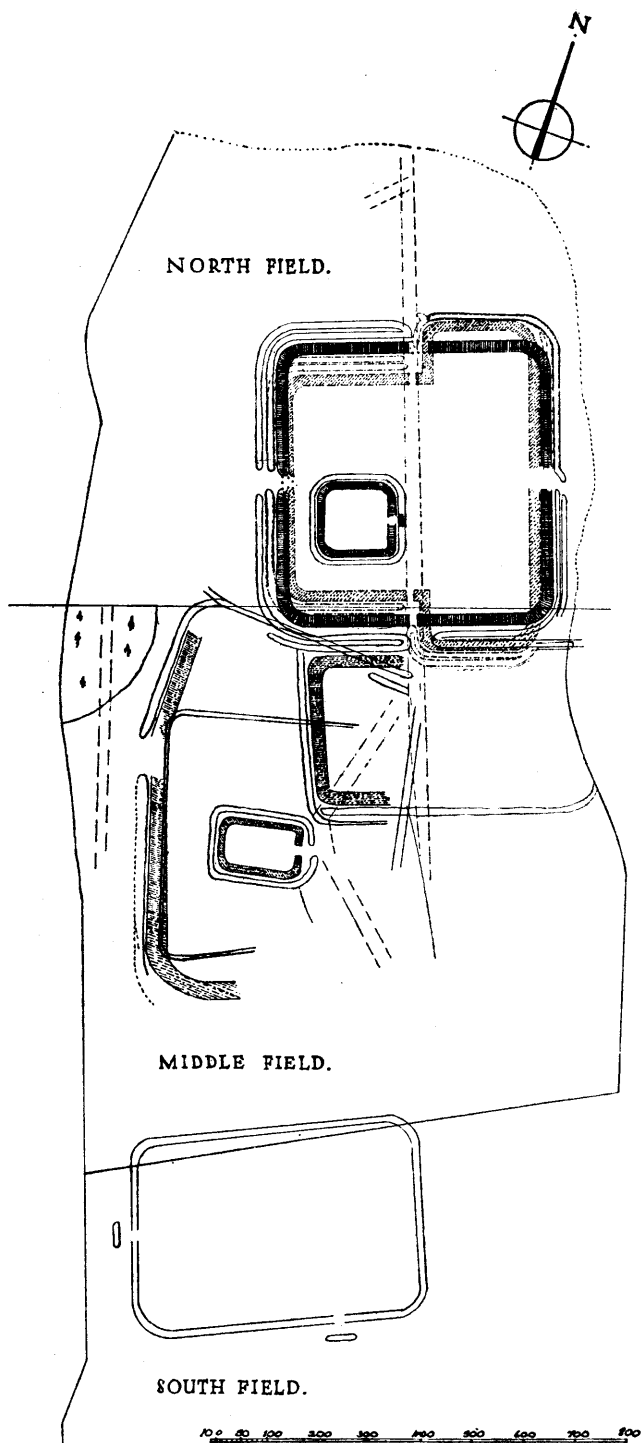


Fig. 18—GENERAL PLAN OF ROMAN FORTS AND CAMPS  
AT MILTON (TASSIESHOLM).

fort ditches. The lay-out of interior buildings in the main range closely followed the previous plan; the principia was certainly a new construction; the granary to the south of the principia may have belonged to both periods. Some of the barrack foundations in the *prætentura* also may be common to both periods.

The time-interval between the two forts, if one may judge from the small amount of silting in the sealed ditches of the first fort, was not long, and the question naturally arises why fresh troops re-occupying the site so soon after should have gone to the very considerable labour of demolishing the former rampart and building a new one, especially on the east and west fronts, where there was no real change of plan or alignment and where the new rampart ran only a few feet from the old. In the absence of any evidence of destruction of the earlier fort by an enemy, no satisfactory explanation is available except the arbitrary decision of the officer commanding the area.

We are on surer ground when we approach the question of the duration of the occupation of North Fort II. That occupation lasted long enough for the accumulation of a solid two inches of waste debris on the earthen floors of workshops, and for the growth of a considerable annexe attached to the south of the fort. Hut floors of the annexe, like those of the workshops of the fort itself, carried quite a thick layer of trodden material which contained evidence of the presence of women (beads) and women's craft (loom weights). The impression definitely is of an occupation of more than a year or two. On the other hand, finds within the barrack area or in the main range were few, which no doubt is natural. We were not fortunate in finding any rubbish pits which might have told a clearer story.

Like North Fort I., the later fort appears to have been evacuated in an orderly manner and largely dismantled. Only at one point, in the north wing of the Principia, did any foundation beams or traces of them remain in the sleeper trenches, and here a fire had taken place which had not, however, involved the building as a whole. Some pieces

of burnt daub and wattle, also evidence of fire, occurred in the barrack area, but they were few and certainly do not warrant general conclusions of hostile destruction.

A final point is worth mentioning. On the main street in front of the granary lay a surprising quantity of spilt grain, such as might have accumulated during the bagging of the contents of the granary for removal, but cannot have been a feature of the normal life of a fort under reasonable discipline. This is the only indication of haste, if indeed it be an indication, which was noted anywhere. One scrap of evidence suggested wanton destruction at the east gate. Some of the gate timbers lay tossed into the ditch, where they cannot have fallen in the course of the natural decay of the structure.

As for the small fortlet, this occupied part of the site of the Principia and the granary immediately west of the Via Principalis. As originally constructed it had a single gate at the south-east corner, where the defensive ditch turned inwards on either side of the entrance. A normal gate had been made later in the middle of the east side, the ditch had been filled in opposite this point and where the inturned ends flanked the former gate, and a new stretch of ditch had been dug round the south-east corner. The enclosed area, approximately a third of an acre, showed two periods or phases of occupation, both later than North Fort II., the surface and structures of which lay beneath. The internal arrangement had been similar to that observed in the Road-Post of the Antonine period in the adjoining field. The southern half was cobbled, the northern half consisted of floors sometimes with traces of flagging, sometimes of plain beaten earth with gravel spread, defined by post-holes whose arrangement has not yet been worked out.

No confident interpretation of this fortlet is possible on present evidence. The pottery indicates an origin within Flavian or immediately post-Flavian times, though the bulk of it speaks rather of a Hadrianic or early Antonine date. While it is possible that the post was established as local headquarters of a traffic control group during the evacuation

of Scotland when heavy convoys were streaming south, the siting of the original gateway is against such an explanation and suggests rather a connection which looked southwards. The place may equally be part of a system of forward posts in the period following the evacuation. Neither explanation has the support of confirming evidence from similar posts on the Dere street route where they might equally be expected.<sup>5</sup> Nor can we be certain of the date of the second phase. If we could assume, as seems probable, that the change of gateway marks the opening of the second phase, the most natural explanation would be that the Antonines established their first road-post here. Against that is the comparatively small amount of silting under the filling at the gate. Yet if we reject an Antonine re-use, we must assign the date to a period in the reign of Hadrian, which raises large problems of Hadrianic frontier policy north of the Wall. There for the present the intriguing problem of this tiny post must be left till the rotation of agriculture makes further examination possible.

Air-photographs, kindly made available by Dr. St. Joseph and now published with the permission of the Air Ministry, contain a number of interesting clues in the area north of the forts where little excavation has been done. In particular they suggest a ditch system branching off from the north-west corner of the defences of North Fort II., probably enclosing an annexe, and a corner of what looks like the ditch of a temporary camp close to the wood towards the north-east. Such excavation as has been done in this area was concerned with the course of the road, which is dealt with later (p. 214). A gravelled surface of wide extent, almost certainly parade-ground, was encountered, and what was interpreted as an entrenched block-house at a road-fork near the wood.

#### The Middle Field.

It will save confusion in reference to former interim reports if it is understood that the phrase "middle field"

<sup>5</sup> Unless the fortlet near Newstead be such. It is said to have yielded a fragment of Flavian Samian ware. *J. R. S.*, xxxviii., 83.

refers to the field hitherto referred to in these reports as the "south field" before it was realised that the complexities of the site extended still further to the south into the next field as well.

It will be seen from the general plan that the south defences of the north forts lie in this middle field. Apart from these defences, our knowledge at the opening of the present season extended thus far. We knew (since 1938-9) the Antonine fortlet but were not clear about its relation to the road system which had gradually revealed itself: the fortlet had two periods or phases of occupation, both of some duration, and therefore to be equated in all probability to the first two periods of the Antonine Wall. We knew that a fortified enclosure was attached to the south defences of North Fort II. and that this enclosure in whole or in part had finally served as an annexe of North Fort II.; we were not sure whether in whole or in part it had a previous history as a separate unit in the sequence of occupation; we were suspicious that it had such a previous history on two grounds—(i.) we encountered within the enclosure two distinct sets of foundation sleeper trenches; (ii.) we noted evidence of a rampart base not only accompanying the west and south ditches of the enclosure, where its presence was natural enough, but also along the south lip of the outer ditch of the south defences of North Fort II., where no rampart had any occasion to be, had the enclosure been an annexe during its whole history.

Further, we had in 1949 stumbled upon two apparently unrelated ditch systems within the enclosure. The phrase 'stumbled upon' has justification in that we had no suspicion of their existence; they have no connection with the other structures and they are not suggested either by any surface trace or by air photography. One of these ditch systems<sup>6</sup> ran obliquely through the south-west corner of North Fort II. defences and continued in a manner indicating an earlier fort of considerable size. Within the annexe

<sup>6</sup> There were two ditches. The southernmost, though parallel to the other, came to a well-defined end before it reached the corner.

it was obscured by compacted gravel filling, under which lay a very considerable depth (at one point two feet four inches) of what appeared to be silt. The presence of such an accumulation was startling. It seemed to imply that this ditch (and the fort associated with it) had lain abandoned for a considerable time before the beginning of the occupation represented by the successive elements previously known. If, as we had been assuming, the Agricolan sequence of occupation began with North Fort I., then the presence of this earlier fort had implications of major import, separated as it appeared to be from the Agricolan sequence by an appreciable lapse of time; it could mean only one thing, namely that Roman troops had been in south Scotland before the date hitherto accepted; more than that, they had been there not merely on campaign, but under circumstances involving the establishment here of a fort at least of semi-permanent nature.

In addition to the ditch of this fort, another ditch, likewise unrelated to the other structures, was found. This, of shallow W-form and containing in one section a firmly planted stake of wild cherry, ran north and south within the annexe, whose south ditch, clearly later in construction, cut across it. Except for the fact that this ditch ran on southwards, no further information about it was gleaned.

Such, then, was the extent of our knowledge of the middle field at the opening of the 1950 season, during which we hoped (1) to clear a good stretch of the oblique ditches where they lay sealed under their gravel filling within the annexe, determine the nature of the material under the filling, whether indeed it was wholly silt, or, if not, to what extent silting was present, and collect as many dateable finds as possible from under the filling; (2) to track the oblique ditch and define fully the fort associated with it, establishing at the same time the nature and size of its rampart; (3) to find how the odd length of ditch of oblique ditch fitted in; (4) to examine the evidence for the previous existence of a Fort to which the annexe defences, in whole or in part, had originally belonged.



Weather defeated our hopes completely. Our first and third projects as defined above proved impossible; even in fine weather water poured in long before we could reach the necessary depth, and conditions deteriorated rather than improved as the weeks passed. The same cause prevented us from making anything like the progress we had hoped with the other two projects, and the results of the season amount to a miscellaneous collection of information gathered where and as digging was possible.

Fortunately we were able, before the weather became really calamitous, to examine the south-west corner of the defences of North Fort II., where they cut across the oblique ditch. In the previous season we had found that the outer ditch of North Fort II. ceased just short of the oblique ditch, whereas the inner continued. It now became apparent that during the occupation of North Fort II. the oblique ditch had been utilised where it ran on beyond the corner. No attempt had been made to clean it out, but a layer of clayey natural soil had been laid over the accumulation of silt in the ditch bottom and built up to form an artificial slope southwards. At the same time a new north lip had been cut, so that the ditch as now remodelled was shallower and ran a few feet off the line of its former course. At some time, probably not at the outset, the ditch had been completely filled near North Fort II. corner, and a lightly surfaced road led across. In its remodelled form the ditch disappeared into the adjoining field, where it could not be pursued because of crop. The conclusion seems inevitable that the ditch was thus retained to enclose an annexe on the west side of North Fort II., which must then have had at least two annexes, one on the west and one on the south. Moreover, as there was no evidence of the disuse of the ditch, we must assume that both annexes had existed simultaneously.

The behaviour of the oblique ditch in its original form was interesting. At the time of its digging the first intention had been to turn it southwards along the face of the slope, and a start was actually made to give effect to this intention. But before the corner even was completed, the plan was

changed; the piece which had been dug was filled in with clean upcast, and the ditch was carried on to the foot of the slope before the turn was made. The corner, lying in the north field, could not be examined.

The west front was tested in a series of cuts, in all of which the most prominent feature was the base of a turf rampart twenty-two feet wide. As shown on the plan, the line of the rampart is angled markedly south of the gateway. North of the gateway, even in the previous summer, no satisfactory section of the ditch had been possible because of water, and the attempt this year proved even less successful. The termination of the ditch at the gateway, however, was defined with certainty. South of the gateway an unusual profile was established at three points. In each the scarp was steep and the counter-scarp long and gentle, so that it is difficult to give an exact measurement of width. In all sections the ditch contained grey sandy rampart-wash in which reeds had been growing before the body of the rampart was tumbled in. The rampart material lay as a spread in decreasing thickness outwards for about forty feet. Each of the cuts was continued both outwards, to test for other ditches, and inwards to test for structures. No other ditches were found nor did we encounter any evidence of structures, which is unfortunate; we did, however, find what at first sight looked like rather deep sleeper trenches running perpendicular to the rampart down the slope. Two at least of these continued under the rampart and must be interpreted as drain courses associated with the fort. Anyone familiar with the site will appreciate their utility. Their presence is an indication of a certain completeness of internal arrangement which argues an intention of more than very temporary occupation, an intention which is further argued by the substantial rampart.

In the course of our cuts in this area we also settled the nature of the well-marked ditch which appears on the air-photograph.<sup>7</sup> This ditch, for all its clarity on the photograph, turned out to be a trifling three foot palisade trench

<sup>7</sup> Pl. III., No. 2.

without any associated ditch. Its contents indicated that its palisade had fallen and rotted *in situ*. Over a great extent of its length along the west front it had been cut through the ruined rampart base. The air-photograph and excavation confirm each other in establishing the acute angle of the south-west corner. Just what area the trench enclosed is uncertain, for it became increasingly difficult to trace the palisade eastwards in the flat water-logged ground away from the slope. It certainly included part of the area of the south annexe of North Fort II., and the impression is that it is later than the annexe, though the condition of the ground when we tried to settle the matter makes a firm conclusion difficult. At the moment one is inclined to regard it as belonging to the final phase of occupation, perhaps a corral for traction beasts in the time of the Antonine road post. One remembers that the timber gateway of the road post fell and rotted where it lay, just like the timber of this palisade.

Repeated attempts to extract information within the North Fort Annexe failed except in one detail. The W-ditch which we found in 1949 was tracked northwards for 100 feet. Its course brought it first partly and then entirely under the paving of the road which crosses the site and passes through the north and south gates of North Fort II. Deduction here must be cautious. The road in its present form quite certainly is Antonine from two sets of circumstances; the position and frontage of the Antonine road-post imply the road and, as we shall presently see, the actual course of the loop which connected it with the post was determined; in the second place, excavation in 1947 and 1948 showed that the road in its present form overlies the gate structures and even the ditch-ends at the north and south gates of North Fort II. While we can be certain, therefore, that a Flavian road originally followed the same line, a fresh layer of bottoming had been laid by the Antonine troops and the road had been widened. Flavian pottery lay on the Flavian road beneath the latest cobble layer. The W-ditch must then antedate the Flavian road and North Fort II. which it served. Beyond

that deduction we cannot at present go. We had hoped to track this W-ditch and establish its relationship with the oblique ditch which we found to cease as for a gateway close to the point where the W-ditch must pass. The whole of this area proved impossible because of water—most unfortunately, because it is here that critical evidence must lie.

Conditions were fortunately more favourable for a time along the line of the west ditch of the annexe. Here evidence was needed to settle the question whether at one time the annexe in whole or in part had had a separate existence as a fort whose north front used one or both of the south ditches of North Fort II. Some ground was given to the suspicion that this was so by the presence of what appeared to be a rampart kerb backed by the fragmentary remains of the base of a turf rampart immediately to the south of the outer lip of the outer ditch of North Fort II. Those appearances were overlaid by an occupation layer with hearths, pottery (still consistently Flavian), blue paste beads and a leaden loom weight of the usual circular perforated type. Cuts in the present season confirmed this troublesome stratification. The occupation surface extends to the very lip of the North Fort II. ditch and at points is firmly cobbled; the large stones which had been suspected to mark a rampart kerb are intermittently but significantly present; they are backed southwards under the occupation surface by material which might well represent ruined rampart remains.

Yet, if we proceed to what is a reasonable deduction and assume that the north front of a fort once lay here, later obliterated and occupied as an annexe of North Fort II., we have the insuperable obstacle of the behaviour of the west ditch of the annexe at its junction with the outer North Fort II. ditch. The hypothesis of a pre-existing fort demands that the two ditches, the annexe west ditch and the outer North Fort II. ditch, formed part of the defence system of our hypothetical fort and that they curved to form the corner. Previous excavation had indicated no curve but an almost right angled junction. We suspected, however, that this arrangement might be secondary and that an

original curved corner might lie concealed. This year settled the matter. No original curved corner lies concealed; the junction is almost right angled and never was anything else. Nor had the west ditch ever been carried northwards to effect a regular curved junction with any unit of the defences either of North Fort I. or II.; it runs into the outer North Fort II. ditch in the manner described, and the platform between the North Fort II. ditches opposite the junction is undisturbed natural soil. Moreover, the west ditch for most of its course is punic in section, while the North Fort ditches are regular V-shape, and the west ditch even at the junction does not reach the full depth of the ditch it joins.

One explanation alone suggests itself as fitting the discordant evidence. If we suppose that, while the North Fort II. was under construction, the working party accommodated itself in a temporary fortified structure in the area immediately to the south, then there may have been a temporary rampart forming the north front of that fortified structure where afterwards no rampart was required. We may suppose further that the builders, knowing the course of the future North Fort II. defences, dug the ditches of that fort to suit both their own immediate purpose of defence and the future purpose of the defence of North Fort II., purposes which would be served well enough by a right angled join but not by a curve. It may even be that the annexe was from the first an integral part of the plan, in which case the junction as they made it was natural.

Southwards from the junction the west ditch for a time held a straight course, accompanied by the remains of the cobbled base of an associated rampart about twenty feet wide. Then occurred a slight but definite change of direction; at the point of change the outer lip of the ditch curved inwards for two feet as if the ditch had once stopped there, presumably for an entrance. We should have a satisfactory explanation if we supposed that the two ditches on either side of this original entrance had not been in strict alignment, and that, when the entrance was disused, the two ditches were linked up by cutting through the intervening wedge of

natural soil. No time gap was suggested by the ditch contents, which were uniformly the purplish-grey silt characteristic on this site of Nature's obliteration of man's work.

We approached the corner with interest, knowing that the west ditch was thirteen feet wide and punie, whereas the south ditch, which should be its continuation, was nearly eighteen feet wide and of shelving V-shape. What we actually found was both unexpected and extraordinary. Though we were working under most difficult conditions and unable anywhere to go as deep as we should have wished, we believe that our observations give a correct picture. The west ditch did not link up with the south ditch at all, but contracted to a four foot channel, roughly rectangular in section and two feet deep. In this form it accompanied the south ditch for sixty feet at least, remaining quite distinct and separate on the outer, that is the south side, of the south ditch. The south ditch itself, approaching the corner, with scarcely a trace of deviation for a turn, ceased abruptly, two feet short of the west ditch. The intervening baulk, so far as we could examine it, appeared to be quite genuine, undisturbed natural soil. Moreover, the contents of the two ditches were utterly different. Whereas the west ditch contained the purplish-grey material, the south ditch was full to humus level of black peaty deposit, gobbets of decayed turf, and stones, some of them large. The whole corner was covered by the heavy cobbling associated with the gate area and road of the Antonine fortlet.

Hazardous though it may be, again let us suppose. Had the west and south ditches been continuous, the natural fall would carry any water which accumulated in the west ditch into the south one to be dammed up against the ditch end where the road came through. Suppose that the officer in charge was aware how water can accumulate on this site (and his experience of the site need not have been long for him to learn the lesson), what is more reasonable than that he should have deliberately dug the two stretches of ditch without connection and have provided an overflow channel which

would carry off water not only from the west ditch but from the North Fort II. ditch with which it was connected? The west ditch, then, would remain tolerably dry even when the site was abandoned and its silting would be normal. The stretch of the south ditch, on the other hand, between the corner and the gate would become full of stagnant water without outlet. Finding it thus, the Antonine troops (let us suppose) tossed in sufficient of the old rampart to fill it. The resultant mixture would be such as we found.

An objection must, however, be recorded. Where the road passed over the south ditch the heavy cobbling had sunk as if the ditch had originally been carried continuously past this point. Water made a sure conclusion impossible but the probe confirmed suspicion. And if the ditch was once continuous, what then? It is as sure as can be that the Flavian road followed the line of the Antonine one. The ditch, therefore, cannot have been continuous when the Flavian road was in use. Either it was dug without break at this point originally, any entrance on this side being elsewhere; or the old Flavian road passing out on undisturbed soil may have been broken through by the Antonines to drain away the water from the adjoining stretch of ditch before it was filled in, the break being then repaired and the Antonine road laid across. The latter hypothesis seems to fit better.

In the whole matter of this enclosure we are indeed still in much doubt except for its use as an annexe of North Fort II. As for its previous history, there is no evidence for its ever having been a regular fort; on the other hand, it clearly had a previous history of some sort, and the suggestion made above that it was a working camp of the builders of North Fort. II. seems, on present evidence, the only acceptable one. At the same time one admits that there are other possibilities which further excavation under happier conditions alone can test. Meantime it may be pointed out that, although the area defined by known defences extends eastwards to the extreme limit of the possible ground, evidence of occupation is largely confined to the western half of that area, especially west of the road. This area contains two distinct sets of

sleepers foundations, the scheme of which we have not yet worked out. In the eastern part there may be a bath-house, if we may draw any deduction from a single hypocaust tile which turned up there.

The year's excavation cleared up one point about the road system which had troubled us. Because at some points the road across the site had disappeared very completely, and because we had found a by-pass road in the hollow to the west and its point of divergence north of the North Forts, we had considered the possibility that the by-pass road was the one in use in Antonine times and that the road over the site had been robbed for its construction. The orientation of the Antonine fortlet thus became anomalous. That difficulty is removed. The Antonine fortlet is served by a loop road which left the main road to the south of the fortlet and rejoined it close to the former gate of North Fort II. Both the main road and the by-pass must have been used by the Antonines. Whether the by-pass goes back to Flavian times we do not yet know. The occasional disappearance of the main road must be due to other and later causes, probably agricultural, the cover of soil nowhere being great.

Finally, we tested the defences of an enclosure which appears in the air photograph in the southmost field and overlaps with its north front into the middle field.<sup>8</sup> Two cuts were taken which revealed a seven foot ditch with no evidence of rampart but a three foot trench which cannot but represent a palisade. The ditch contained a small amount of silt, about three inches, and was filled on top of the silt with clean gravel. No objects were found in association. The air-photograph indicates two gates, each with *tutulus*, and the dimensions appear to be 400 by 500 feet within the ditch. The enclosure is obviously a temporary camp, and the form and circumstances suggest a Flavian origin, probably early in the general sequence.

#### The Finds.

For the amount of excavation done the harvest of finds has been sparse, a circumstance from which it would be unsafe

<sup>8</sup> Pl. III., Nos. 2, 3.



to draw deduction. All that it may mean is that we have not been fortunate enough to light upon the disposal places of camp rubbish. Moreover, the site is extraordinarily corrosive of pottery which frequently occurs as a hopelessly disintegrated paste. There is no sound reason to suppose that the occupation was other than normal for forts of the size of those occurring here. In the case of the second North Fort at least the occupation deposits argue an occupation of a fair number of years.

In comparison with coarse pottery, Samian has been relatively abundant, perhaps because of the more resistant quality of the South Gaulish ware generally involved. Glass vessels occurred with marked frequency in association with North Fort II. Metal, except lead, seldom survived in recognisable form. One coin fragment corroded to a green smudge was found.

**Samian Figured.**—The form Dr 29 was represented by three fragments, all in association with North Fort II. In none was the decoration present, the type being recognisable by the rouletted rim. The ware in each case was fine and thin, with bright, cherry glaze: South Gaulish origin.

(In what follows upon figured Samian the writer is under debt to Mr Eric Birley, whose notes are substantially reproduced with his permission.)

The form Dr. 37 was represented by forty-three fragments, most of them in too poor shape to be useful as evidence. Those capable of being reproduced are (see fig. 19):

(1) A very early example of the type, neatly modelled foot-stand, the curve of the body beginning almost at once; the bowl was first suspected as being a rare or variant form, but the composite ornament (much destroyed by soil corrosion) in the lower concavity of the large winding scroll which forms the basis of the decoration seems identical with one used on a large number of bowls by, or assignable to, Vitalis, e.g., Knorr, 1919, pl. 83 E (on Dr. 29 from Vindonissa). The ornament has not been traced on any bowl, for which a different maker seems in question. Knorr assesses the working life of Vitalis as c. 65-80; the contour of the bowl is such that one would wish to date it as close to the beginning of the potter's activity as possible. From the sealed ditch of the oblique fort within the south annexe.

(2) Eight fragments of one bowl; ovolo as used by BIRAGILLVS, MERCATO, and Vitalis, with wavy line beneath. Below that a straight wreath formed by repetition of a leaf (as Rottweil, 1907, pl. iv. 12, and 1912, pl. vii. 1 and 2; it is used on a vessel with stamp MERCATO, Knorr, 1919, fig. 47, but with different ovolo). Another wavy line separates the straight wreath from the main zone of decoration, in which hare and hound chase one another across the field; beneath the hound are conventional tufts of grass as often in Flavian South Gaulish bowls; from the wavy line above hangs an arrow head or a spear head on a curving stalk, the attachment to the wavy line masked by a rather formless rosette. Though there are affinities with the work of SEVERVS and CALVVS as well as BIRAGILLVS and MERCATO, it seems best on balance to assign to VITALIS. Found in occupation layer of south annexe.

(3) Three pieces; lower basal wreath of large trifid leaves to left is matched on a bowl from Aislingen (Knorr, Aislingen pl. xii. 3 and p. 41; cf. also Knorr Rottweil, 1907, pl. iii. 1 on Dr. 29 by MEDILLVS and pl. xv. 7 on Dr. 37 by BIRAGILLVS, from Cannstatt). A coarse wavy line separates it from a narrower straight wreath formed by repetition of a small shell-like leaf, as on a Dr. 29 by BASSVS or COELVS from Vindonissa (Knorr, Aislingen, pl. xviii. 3). Traces only of the main zone are left. On balance, a date between 80 and 90 seems likeliest, and BIRAGILLVS seems the most probable maker. Found in occupation layer South Annexe.

(4) Ovolo similar to (2) above; below, panel decoration with (i.) St. Andrew's Cross motif; (ii.) concentric circles with figure standing to right with hand raised as if in greeting; spear heads on curved stems fill the upper quarter of the panels. Typical Flavian work to be matched on bowls attributable to ALBINVS, COELVS, CRISPVS, IVCVNDVS, IVSTVS, MEDDILLVS, MOMMO, SECVNDVS, SEVERVS, and VITALIS. Found under the Antonine Road, South Annexe.

(5) Fragment with ovolo as (2); perhaps BIRAGILLVS or MERCATO. Found beside granary, North Fort II.

(6) Scrap of an Antonine 37, showing the familiar winding scroll pattern with large vine leaves. CINNAMVS is the commonest of a number of potters who might be the maker. Found in humus south annexe; clearly a stray from the Antonine occupation of the road-post.

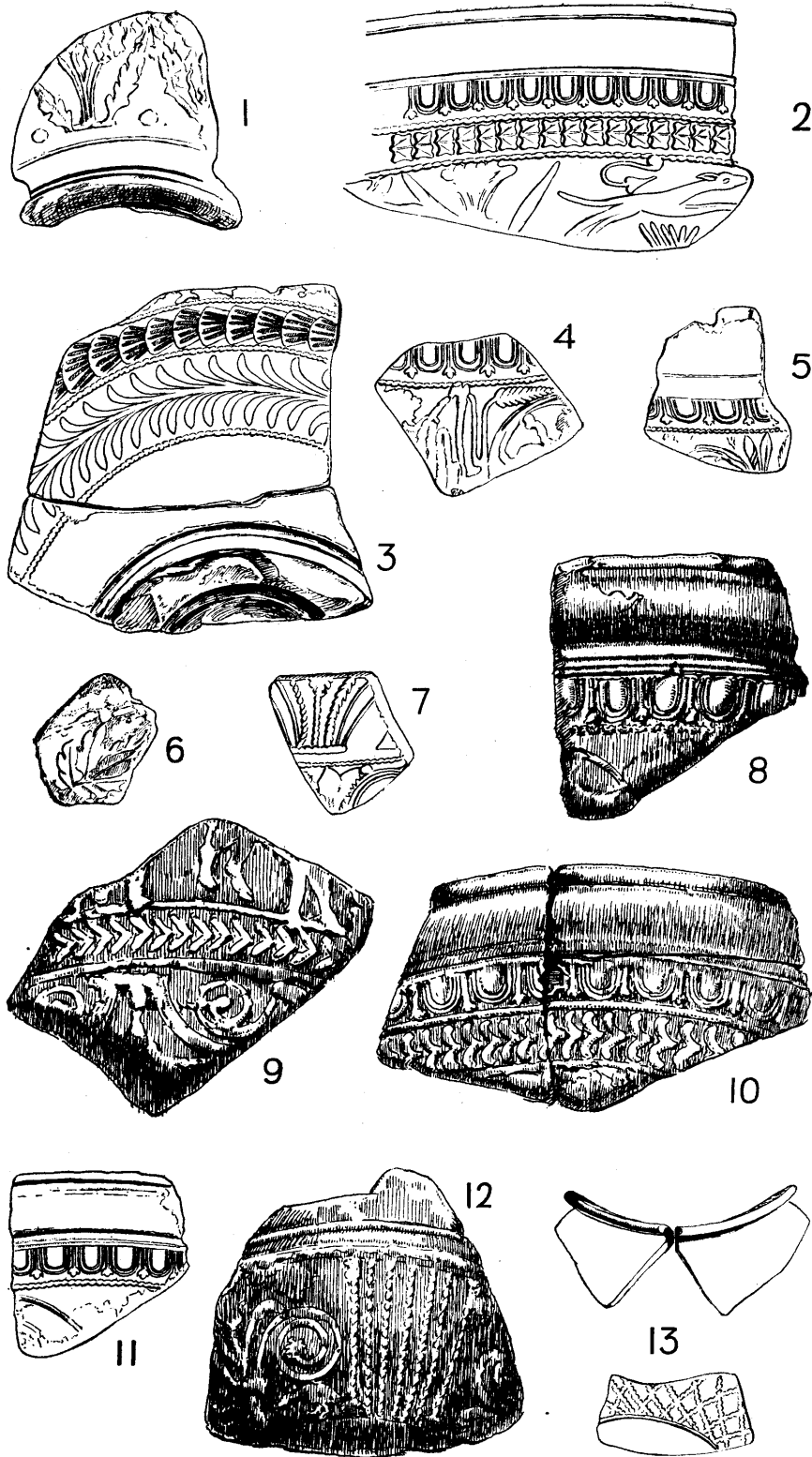


Fig. 19—FIGURED SAMIAN FROM MILTON.

(7) Fragment of a bowl with decoration in two zones separated by wavy line; in each zone there has been a festoon pattern, apparently without figures. Stylistically the bowl seems likely to belong to the period before rather than after 80 A.D. Found in inner ditch of North Fort I., south-west.

(8) Rim fragment showing ovolo and wavy line beneath and (it seems) part of a winding scroll. South Gaulish. South annexe, humus.

(9) Part of a bowl which seems typologically the latest of the South Gaulish pieces of the series. The main zone contains a *bestiarius* (closest to D.595 bis or O.1088) attacking stag to right (D.850 or O.1709); a coarse wavy line separates the main zone from a straight wreath of simple chevrons, below which comes another wavy line and lastly a festoon pattern. The bowl seems at best assignable to the successors of Germanus, and its date can hardly be much earlier than 100 A.D. Found in humus immediately east of Via Principalis North Fort II.

(10) Ovolo similar to (2); wavy line beneath, then a straight wreath formed by repetition of a bifid leaf in chevron-form; below that another wavy line. Cf. Newstead (*Archaeologia* LXIV. Pl. xxiv. 50) and Walters, BMC pl. xxxiii. 16. *MEDILLVS*, *SEVERVS*, and *VITALIS* are all possibilities; so, perhaps, is *SECVNDVS*. Found in south ditch of North Fort II.

**Form Dr. 30.** (11) One rim fragment only with the moulding above ovolo degenerated to narrow groove; very fine groove internally corresponding; hardly earlier than 90; found in barrack area, North Fort II.

**Form Dr. 67.** (12) A small jar with decoration of panels in which "Nile geese" bow at the base of a complicated conventional tree. Typical South Gaulish ware. Found in occupation litter behind south rampart of North Fort II.

(13) A similar jar with decoration of cross hatching with wavy lines; no close parallel has been noted, but it is South Gaulish work. Found in occupation layer of North Fortlet, embedded 1½ inches down.

**Samian Plain.** Thirty-three pieces were recovered, nearly all of form Dr. 27. Some of them were of very fine ware with extremely bright red glaze. Two examples of Dr. 18 occurred, one with a potter's stamp so corroded unfortunately as to be illegible.

**Conclusions.**

The question upon which any interpretation of the site hinges is this: Which structure or structures are we to equate in time with the Agricolan invasion as presented in the pages of Tacitus? The balance of probability inclines us to regard one or more of the temporary camps as connected with the campaigning period of the invasion, and North Fort I. as the first permanent structure once resistance had been cowed. On that interpretation North Fort I. would represent one of the *praesidia* referred to in the twenty-second chapter of the *Agicola* as having been constructed in the summer of 81 A.D. North Fort II. would follow, and we should have a sequence exactly parallel with that revealed at Loudoun Hill (*J. R. S.*, xxxix., 98), and parallel, so far as permanent structures are concerned, with that now known at Newstead (*J. R. S.*, xxxviii., 82), or at Cappuck (*J. R. S.*, xl., 95). The weight of these parallels is very considerable. Yet, if the parallel be accepted, we have still to account for the oblique fort at least, as a permanent or semi-permanent structure preceding North Fort I. by an appreciable gap of years. We are forced to assume that the Romans penetrated thus far during the Brigantian campaigns, for that seems the only occasion on which such a penetration can have taken place; more than that, they established here a considerable fort with intention to occupy it for a period—which is not conduct consistent with a mere raid. Let us remember that Agricola, as a general under Cerialis' command, may have already been revolving schemes of Scottish conquest. If that is so, it is strange that Tacitus is silent in a matter which could have been turned to the family glory.

If, on the other hand, we reject this hypothetical incursion, the oblique fort must mark the beginning of the occupation of the site after Agricola became Governor. We then have a sequence of occupation without parallel elsewhere and with a time-gap between the first element of the sequence and the second, which is very difficult to accept in a nodal site on a main route.

Moreover, if we seek to escape from difficulty thus in the opening phase, we precipitate ourselves into other difficulties in the later phases. We can scarcely fit in the oblique fort, a time-gap of a good few years, North Fort I. and North Fort II., the occupation of the last being of considerable duration, without postulating the presence of Roman troops here beyond the turn of the century. And we find ourselves in this position with the fortlet, apparently Flavian in origin, still to account for.

Weighing these difficulties and being fully aware that the evidence is very far from conclusive, we nevertheless feel that an early date for the oblique fort offers the most reasonable solution. It may be that some adjustment of ideas may be necessary also in considering the end of the first Roman period in Scotland as well as of the beginning. The end may not prove to be clean cut. To the excavators at least the north fortlet is the most troublesome element of all, with its hint of Roman activity in south Scotland at a time when we believed there was none. At the very least it pushes the final date of the first period to the turn of the century. The evacuation of the second Flavian fort at Loudoun Hill cannot have been more than a year or two before 100 A.D., since a coin of 94 had already found time to circulate thither (*J. R. S.*, xxxix., 98). If our North Fort II. is comparable, as seems most probable, we have an approximate date close to 100 A.D. for its evacuation. And the North Fortlet followed.

Finally, the evidence of Milton teaches a lesson. Flavian sites should be approached with a very open mind, without the expectation that they will produce simple plans of one or two phases of occupation. Quite obviously the period was one of movement and vicissitude, despite the vaunted thoroughness of Agricola's conquest.

. . . . .

The work was conducted, as in the three previous seasons, as a Summer School of Archæology for University students under the auspices of the Scottish Field School Committee of the Scottish Group, British Council for

Archæology. Contributions in support of Scottish students were made by all four Scottish Universities, and financial support was given directly on a generous scale by the Carnegie Trustees, supplemented by grants through the Scottish Field School Committee from the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the County Council of Dumfriesshire; the last-named body also loaned tools and other most useful equipment. Grateful acknowledgment is now made to all these bodies for their assistance. Mr R. C. Reid was, as always, indefatigable in his resourceful good offices, and Mr Scott of Milton Farm was accommodating and helpful as in former years.

The names of those who took part are: Graham Jardine, B.Sc.; John M'Lennan, M.A.; Ian Stewart, M.A.; Hal Liddle, M.A.; W. Minto, Ian M'Leod, A. M'Dougall, C. Scobie (Glasgow University), R. Fiddes (Edinburgh University), F. Lyall (St. Andrews University), Dorothea Gill, Jean Mackay, Austin Berry, W. Cowie, D. Esslemont (Aberdeen University), John Fiddes, M.A.; Keith M'Callum, M.A., Beatrice Blance.

Mr Truckell, Curator of Dumfries Museum, rendered much practical assistance.

## Proceedings, 1949-50.

**21st October, 1949.**—The Annual General Meeting was held in the Ewart Library on this date, 47 members and friends being present. The Accounts of the Hon. Treasurer were adopted and the list of Office-Bearers recommended by the Council was confirmed. The retiring President, Dr. Burnett, then gave his Presidential Address, entitled "Drops and Bubbles," duly demonstrating his remarks by blowing soap bubbles. Mrs M'Lean gave a brief but interesting address on some exhibits of Miss Young relating to Wm. Richardson, shoemaker, Dumfries (see "Dumfries Standard," 26th October, 1949).

**11th November, 1949.**—Mr Bernard de Bear Nicol, M.A., contributed in an address of value a critical survey of the Dumfries Mechanics' Institute, 1825-1908 (see Article 4).

**25th November, 1949.**—Two films, on the Golden Eagle and the Birds on the Scar Rocks, were shown by Mr J. H. Stainton Crosthwaite, with a running commentary that revealed that the Golden Eagle can live as long as 100 years (see "Dumfries Standard," 30th November, 1949).

**16th December, 1949.**—Two short addresses were delivered: (1) "The Structure of the Primitive House," by Mr Bartholomew, County Architect, with special reference to the cottage in Torthorwald where the Rev. John G. Paton was born (see "Dumfries Standard," 21st December, 1949); and (2) "Zimbabwe," by Mr MacLean, illustrated with slides. It is hoped to reproduce Mr Bartholomew's address, fully illustrated, in the next volume of "Transactions."

**12th January, 1950.**—The Rev. J. M. M'William took as the subject of his lecture, "Bird Population; and why they weigh young Robins," a thesis relating to the food supply of birds, which aroused considerable critical discussion. (see "Dumfries Standard," 21st January, 1950).

**27th January, 1950.**—Mr J. P. Gillam, M.A., of Durham University, with a quota of slides, successfully achieved the difficult task of popularising a technical subject—"The Methods of Dating the Finds on Roman Sites" (see Article 19).

**10th February, 1950.**—Mr J. G. Jeffs described and demonstrated the technique of silhouette cutting, with special reference to Auguste Edouard, a Frenchman, who settled in England after the Napoleonic Wars, and until 1825 made a living by making portraits in dog and human hair. From 1825-1839 he cut no less than 50,000 silhouettes in England, most of which were lost in shipwreck off the Channel Islands.



**24th February, 1950.**—Mr James Irvine, B.A., gave a lecture on "Some Aspects of Plant Reproduction," tracing the evolution of sexual production amongst ferns and other plants.

**10th March, 1950.**—Dr. Elsie Conway, Warden of Queen Margaret Hall, Glasgow University, delivered a stimulating lecture on "Some Aspects of the Spread of Bracken" (see "Dumfries Standard," 22nd March, 1950).

**24th March, 1950.**—Mr C. A. Raleigh Radford, M.A., F.S.A., delivered an illustrated lecture on the excavations carried out by him for the Ministry of Works at Whithorn in July, 1949 (printed in full in D. and G. "Transactions," Vol. XXVII.).

**14th April, 1950.**—The Annual Conversazione of the Society was held on this date in the Unionist Rooms, when, by the courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries, a film on the Broch of Mid Howe, Shetland, was shown. It was followed by a film on Coelenterata and Hydroidea that reproduced the methods of feeding of jelly-fish and sea anemones. Mr MacLean also showed a colour film of the water gardens of Serinagar and the grandeur of the Himalayas. There was a large selection of exhibits relating both to Natural History and Archæology (see "Dumfries Standard," 24th April, 1950).

## Field Meetings.

**13th May, 1950.**—This early date for the first Field Meeting was selected in order to view the rhododendrons at Castle Kennedy. A halt was made for lunch at Castle of Park, where Mr George Bartholomew was the speaker. The house was built in 1590 by Thomas Hay of Park on ground originally belonging to Glenluce Abbey and gifted to Thomas Hay by Lord Cassillis in recognition of services rendered to the Earl by his father, the last Commendator. The plan was the usual L shape with entrance in the re-entrant angle, and a large banqueting hall on the first floor. It is not known when the House of Park ceased to be a residence, but it would appear that certain panelling and fittings were removed to Dunragit, probably about 80 years ago, though there is evidence that some were still in position in 1912. The Ministry of Works has now taken over the building, and intends to demolish the modern outbuildings and restore the remainder.

**10th June, 1950.**—In the absence of Mr R. C. Reid the duties of speaker at Caerlaverock were taken over at the last minute by Mr Wilkie, who in his description of the Castle followed Dr. Douglas Simpson's authoritative analysis in these "Transactions." The meeting being a half-day, the Society then proceeded to

Brocklehurst to attend a garden party given to the Society by Professor Balfour-Browne as President. Miss Burnand and the President most hospitably and very heroically entertained the huge party to tea at Brocklehurst, and their guests were glad to relax in the comfort of the spacious hall lounge and make disappear in the course of half an hour cakes which it must have taken the cook many hours to prepare. After tea it was a great pleasure to walk in brilliant sunshine in shrubberies and gardens bright with flowers and enjoy the conversation of new acquaintances or old friends, or study the abundant bird and insect life which the various habitats within Brocklehurst support.

**8th July, 1950.**—On this date a numerous party set out on the long run to Wigtownshire, the first stop being at Cruggleton Church, where they were met by Mr Raleigh Radford, who was engaged in excavations at St. Ninian's Cave and elsewhere. The church belongs to the first half of the 12th century, though restored by the Marquess of Bute late in the 19th century. From his great experience Mr Radford deduced that its Romanesque work was carried out by the same masons who were employed at Whithorn Cathedral, the ornament suggesting a connection with Irish-Norse work (see Article 7). The party then proceeded to St. Ninian's Cave, being met by Mr and Mrs Johnston Stewart of Physgill. Mr Raleigh Radford once more was the speaker, and described the history of the Cave and purpose of the excavations (see Article 8). Returning to Physgill House, the party were welcomed by Mr Johnston Stewart, and Mr R. C. Reid spoke on Physgill House and its owners (see Article 9). Before departure the Society enjoyed the privilege of a walk through the large walled gardens.

**19th August, 1950.** — This was a purely Natural History Excursion to Portling and Portowarren, where Mr Cunningham pointed out the butterflies of interest. The variety of species noted was considerable, the outstanding find being a Clouded Yellow. The following butterflies were seen and commented on: "Megæra," "Semele," "Jurtina," "Pamphilus," "Aglaia Cardni," "Iophlocas," "Brassicæ," "Rapæ," "Napi," and "Croceus," the last being a surprise in view of the cold and wet weather. The party then proceeded to Carsethorn, and passed along the shore to hear Mr Arthur Duncan give a lovely description of the birds encountered. The highlight was the observance of four yellow wagtails. The black-tailed godwit had unfortunately just passed on up the coast. Other species noted were the ringed plover, golden plover, redshank, oyster-catcher, shoveller and mallard duck, young sheld duck, turnstone, dunlin, common sand-piper, curlew, Arctic tern, black-headed gull, herring gull, lesser black-headed gull, goldfinch, wheatear, whinchat, stonechat, and pied wagtail.

## Presentations.

11th November, 1949.—

- (1) Two old guinea bank notes of the Dumfries Commercial Bank, issued 1805, and the Galloway Banking Co., 1807. The first Bank failed in four years with a deficiency of 10 shillings in the £1; the second survived for 15 years and met its liabilities in full. Presented by Mr Forrest.
- (2) Brass medal cast to commemorate the trial and acquittal of the Seven Bishops. This English medal has not been struck but cast. Had it been struck the background of the faces depicted on it would have had a machine-like finish, whereas the background of this specimen is rough and unpolished. A similar medal in silver, definitely cast, and, like this brass example, without inscription on the edge, is in the National Museum of Antiquities. These medallions were made by George Bower in London in 1688 and copied in Stockholm without edge inscription by Daniel Waron. Waron's work is extremely rare. The acquittal of the Bishops aroused immense enthusiasm. A great number of casts of the medal were made to suit poorer purchasers, and were worn round the neck, sometimes openly, sometimes concealed, by numerous clergymen and laymen who prized the principles which the badge recorded. It was often worn by successive generations (see Nos. 37-39, Vol. I., p. 623, of "Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain," by Edward Hawkins, F.R.S., F.S.A.). On one side is depicted Archbishop Sancroft; on the reverse, portraits of six Bishops around that of Compton, Bishop of London. Presented by Mr Albert Finlayson.
- (3) Flat piece of rough sandstone, 8 in. x 4 in., on which is crudely cut I W K 1761

E.25

On two other places on the face the letter E has been scratched. Found buried with a skull which was destroyed by the pick when digging the foundations of a new Radio Station a few months ago on the highest point of the Lowther Hills, 800 feet above Wanlockhead. There was no sign of a cairn, and no other bones, save the skull, were found. Presented by the contractors, Messrs Robison & Davidson.

- (4) A Mauchline snuff-box. Mr Cyril Wallis of the Royal Scottish Museum provides the following note: "About 1820 a Mr Stiven of Laurencekirk invented an improved type of wooden snuff-box with an 'invisible wooden

hinge,' by means of which the lid was made to close tightly, so that air was excluded from the snuff and snuff from the pocket of the user. The hinge of one of these boxes having been broken, the owner, an Ayrshire man, took it to an Auchinleck blacksmith named Crawford, who not only repaired it but discovered how the hinge was made; the secret soon became known to several persons, and boxes with the Laurencekirk type of hinge began to be manufactured at Auchinleck, Cumnock, and Mauchline. The boxes were cut out of the solid wood (either elm or plane), only the ends being glued on. One set of men made the boxes, another set were responsible for the designs, while women and children were employed in varnishing and polishing. The process of varnishing occupied three or six weeks, according as to whether the varnish employed was spirit or copol. After varnishing, the surface was polished with ground flint, when the box was ready for market." Presented by Lady M'Culloch of Ardwall.

- (5) Dumfries Trades' punch bowl—a valuable addition to the set already at the Museum. Presented by Miss Barbour.

**25th November, 1949.**—18th century wine bottle which had been a symbol of conviviality at Burns dinners in Dumfries for a long period. Presented by Major Myrseth.

**16th December, 1949.**—An old-time vertical pit-saw fixed in a rectangular wooden frame with handles at each end. Presented by Mr Murray, Glebe Street.

**13th January, 1950.**—Some papers relating to the family of Comrie in direct line from William Comrie, tacksman of Glascorry, near Crieff, c. 1760, who claimed descent from the ancient family of Comrie of that Ilk. One of his sons, William Comrie, was Supervisor of Excise in Dumfries, and married Janet, daughter of Robert Jackson, Provost of Dumfries and founder of the "Dumfries Herald." Their son, James Comrie, at one time with the banking firm of Maitland, Phelps & Co., New York, purchased the estate of Gaitgill, in Borgue parish, and died in 1885. The principal item is a pedigree chart of the family and their recorded arms. Presented by Mr A. C. Stevenson, Blantyre, Nyasaland, a great-grandson of William Comrie, the Supervisor.

**10th February, 1950.**

- (1) Two food vessels from a tomb in Mull, dating from the Bronze Age, one containing a fine leaf-shaped arrow-head. Purchased at a sale at Rosneath Castle, and presented by Mrs MacLachlan and Mrs Myrseth.

- (2) Halfpenny trade token, dated 1792, issued by John Ker-shaw, mercer and draper, of Rochdale, Lancs. This is English, for tokens were only introduced into Scotland at a later date. Front—a shield with obliterated coat-of-arms crowned with a lamb. Legend—[Roch]dale Halfpenny. Back—a handloom weaver at work. (Dalton & Hamer, p. 85.) Presented by Mr Adam Birrell.

**10th March, 1950.—**

- (1) A Mauchline snuff-box made from a burr and bearing on the flat side a coat-of-arms, for long in possession of the donor's family. The arms may be bogus, there being no record of them in the Lyon Office. The only person known to have used the motto is Bebb of Donnington Grove, Berks. (Fairbairn's Book of Crests), for whom no arms are on record. The Lyon King suggests that the female (sinister arms) do suggest a Cunninghame connection in the base, a person whose family was related to Cunninghame but who was not herself a Cunninghame. The supporters—with strange objects on top of the lances—are peculiar, so peculiar that they could only have been granted in most exceptional circumstances. The arms have probably been "assumed." Presented by Mr R. C. Reid.
- (2) A Bronze Age stone mould for casting a chisel and perhaps a small mirror, a stone axe, and some pieces of Roman flue-tile, from the Canonbie area. Presented by Captain J. G. Milne Home.
- (3) A coin, 1820-50, of the Indian State of Bikanir, found on Bardristan Farm, near Creetown. Presented by Mr J. Murray Hannah.
- (4) Powder horn of Swedish origin, bearing the date 1698, beautifully decorated, now in the Dumfries Museum.

### Exhibits.

- 11th November, 1949.**—Correspondence relating to the pension of Mrs Burns, widow of the Poet, which had been lent to the Museum by the London Literary Society.
- 25th November, 1949.**—Collection of fragments of pottery excavated from the ditch of Carzield Roman Fort by a party of boys and masters from the High School—now at the Museum.
- 16th December, 1949.**—Copper medal found in Lady Jane Montgomery's cottage, Auchinleck, bearing the head of Queen Victoria and the inscription: "Longitudo dierum et in dextra ejus et in sinistra gloria." Exhibited by Mr Wright.

**10th February, 1950.**—A live female of the small Eggar moth, "*Eriogaster lanestris*," of Sussex origin though the species is recorded for the Dumfries area. Exhibited by the Hon. Secretary.

**24th February, 1950.**—

- (1) Two cheese tasters, one of ivory and the other silver with an ivory handle. Exhibited by Dr. Burnett.
- (2) Some items from the Japanese Collection presented to the Museum by Miss Helen Murray, Glasgow.
- (3) A double-barrelled percussion pistol found at Summerhill, and now at the Museum.

**10th March, 1950.**—

- (1) The earliest Burgh Court Book, 1515-37, repaired and re-bound (see "*Dumfries Standard*," 7th April, 1950). Exhibited by Mr R. C. Reid.
- (2) Small stone axe from Duloch, near Stranraer (see Article 17). Exhibited by Mr R. C. Reid.

**24th March, 1950.**—A specimen of the moth, *Xylocampa Areola*, the Early Grey, an addition to the Kirkcudbright List. Exhibited by the Hon. Secretary.

### List of Exchanges, 1951.

Aberdeen. University Library.

Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Science House, 157-161 Gloucester Street, Sydney.  
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Belfast: Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, The Museum College.  
The Library of the Queen's University.

Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society.

Berwick-on-Tweed: Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 12 Castle Terrace, Berwick-on-Tweed.

Cambridge: University Library.

Cardiff: Cardiff Naturalists' Society, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.

Carlisle: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Tullie House, Carlisle.

Carlisle Natural History Society.

Edinburgh: Advocates' Library.

Botanical Society of Edinburgh, 5 St. Andrew Square.

Edinburgh Geological Society, India Buildings, Victoria Street.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street.

- Glasgow: Andersonian Naturalists' Society, Technical College,  
George Street.  
Archæological Society, 207 Bath Street.  
Geological Society, 2 Ailsa Drive, Langside, Glasgow, S.2.  
Natural History Society, 207 Bath Street.  
University Library, The University, Glasgow.
- Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotian Institute of Science.
- Hawick: The Hawick Archæological Society, Wilton Lodge,  
Hawick.
- Isle of Man: Natural History and Antiquarian Society, The Haven,  
Hillberry Road, Onchan.
- London: British Association for the Advancement of Science,  
Burlington House.  
Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House.  
British Museum, Bloomsbury Square.  
British Museum (Natural History), South Kensington.
- Lund, Sweden: The University of Lund.
- Oxford: Bodleian Library.
- Toronto: The Royal Canadian Institute, 198 College Street,  
Toronto.
- Torquay: Torquay Natural History Society, The Museum.
- 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, Mass.: Harvard College of Comparative Zoology.
- Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of American Archæology  
and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge.
- 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.
- St. Louis, Mo.: Missouri Botanical Garden.
- Washington: Smithsonian Institute, U.S. National Museum.  
United States Bureau of Ethnology.  
United States Department of Agriculture.  
United States Geological Survey.
- Upsala, Sweden: Geological Institute of the University of Upsala.
- Yorkshire: Archæological Society, 10 Park Lane, Leeds.
- Cardiff: National Library of Wales.
- Dumfries: "Dumfries and Galloway Standard."
- Glasgow: "The Glasgow Herald."
- Edinburgh: "The Scotsman."

# Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society

## Membership List, April 1st, 1951.

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

### • LIFE MEMBERS.

Aitchison, Sir W. de Lancy, Bart., M.A., F.S.A., Coupland Castle, Wooler, Northumberland ... ..	1946
Allen, J. Francis, M.D., F.R.S.E., Lincluden, 39 Cromwell Road, Teddington, Middlesex ... ..	—
Balfour-Browne, Professor W. A. F., M.A., F.R.S.E., Brocklehurst, Dumfries ... ..	1941
Bell, Robin M., M.B.E., Roundaway, Waipawa, Hawkes Bay, N.Z. ... ..	1950
Birley, Eric, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Hatfield College, Durham ... ..	1935
Blackwell, Philip, F.B., Lt.-Commander, R.N. (Ret.), Down Place, South Harting, near Petersfield, Hants....	1946
Borthwick, Major W. S., T.D., 92 Guibal Road, Lee, London, S.E.12 (Ordinary Member, 1936) ... ..	1943
Breay, Rev. J., Kirkandrews-on-Esk, Longtown, Carlisle ...	1950
Brown, J. Douglas, O.B.E., M.A., F.Z.S., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright ... ..	1946
Buccleuch and Queensberry, His Grace the Duke of, P.C., G.C.V.O., Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill, Dumfries ...	—
Buccleuch and Queensberry, Her Grace the Dowager Duchess of, Bowhill, Selkirk ... ..	—
Burnand, Miss K. E., F.Z.S.Scot., Brocklehurst, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1941) ... ..	1943
Bute, The Most Hon. the Marquis of, M.B.O.U., F.Z.S., F.S.A.Scot., Kames Castle, Port Bannatyne, Isle of Bute ... ..	1944-45
Carruthers, Dr. G. J. R., 4A Melville Street, Edinburgh, 3 (Ordinary Member, 1909) ... ..	1914
Cunningham, David, M.A., 42 Rae Street, Dumfries ...	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



# LIST OF MEMBERS.

231

Kennedy, Alexander, Ardvoulin, South Park Road, Ayr (Ordinary Member, 1934) ... ..	1943
Kennedy, Thomas H., Blackwood, Auldgirth, Dumfries ...	1946
Lockhart, J. H., Tanlawhill, Lockerbie ... ..	1948
M'Call, Major W., D.L., Caitloch, Moniaive, Dumfries ...	1929
M'Culloch, Walter, W.S., Ardwell, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
M'Kie, John H., M.P., Auchencairn House, Castle-Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire ... ..	1943
Mansfield, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.Z.S., M.B.O.U., J.P., Comlongon Castle, Ruthwell, Dumfries ... ..	1939
Muir, James, Midcroft, Monreith, Portwilliam, Newton- Stewart, Wigtownshire ... ..	1925
Paterson, E. A., c/o Messrs Jardine, Skinner & Co., 4 Clive Road, Calcutta ... ..	1945
Perkins, F. Russell, Duntisbourne House, Cirencester, Glos.	1946
Phinn, Mrs E. M., Hillowton, Castle-Douglas (Ordinary Member, 1938) ... ..	1943
Skinner, James S., M.A., 77 Drumlanrig Street, Thornhill...	1950
Spencer, Miss, Warmanbie, Annan ... ..	1929
Spragge, T. H., Commander, Monkquhell, Blairgowrie, Perthshire (Ordinary Member, 1931) ... ..	1947
Stuart, Lord David, M.B.O.U., F.S.A.Scot., Old Place of Mochrum, Portwilliam, Wigtownshire ... ..	1948
Thomson, Miss N. M., formerly of Carlingwark, Castle- Douglas ... ..	1929
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.

Airey, Alan Ferguson, Silver Howe, 87 South Promenade, St. Annes-on-Sea ... ..	1951
Aitchison, Mrs M., Hoyland, Annan Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Allan, John, M.R.C.V.S., 14 Queen Street, Castle-Douglas...	1926
Anderson, D. G., 12 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries ... ..	1936
Armour, Rev. A. J., Manse of Hoddum, near Ecclefechan...	1948
Armstrong, Col. Robert A., Bargaly, Newton-Stewart ...	1946
Armstrong, Mrs R. A., Bargaly, Newton-Stewart ... ..	1946
Armstrong, Thomas, 41 Moffat Road, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Armstrong, William, Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries ... ..	1946
Armstrong, Mrs W., Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries ... ..	1946
Austin, W., Osborne House, Dumfries ... ..	1948
Bailey, W. G., B.Sc., F.R.I.C., North Laurieknowe House, Dumfries ... ..	1947

Bailey, Mrs, M.A., B.Sc., North Laurieknowe House, Dumfries	1947
Baird, Peter, Curriestanes, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1950
Balfour-Browne, Miss E. M. C., Goldielea, Dumfries	1944
Balfour-Browne, V. R., J.P., Dalskairth, Dumfries	1944
Ballantyne, John, West Roucan, Torthorwald Road, Collin, Dumfries	1946
Barr, J. Glen, F.S.M.C., F.B.O.A., F.I.O., 9 Irving Street, Dumfries	1946
Barr, Mrs J. F., 9 Irving Street, Dumfries	1951
Bartholomew, George, A.R.I.B.A., Drumclair, Johnstone Park, Dumfries	1945
Bartholomew, James, Glenorchard, Torrance, near Glasgow	1910
Bayetto, Ronald A., 55 South Street, Epsom, Surrey	1946
Beattie, Miss Isobel H. K., A.R.I.B.A., Thrushwood, Mous- wald, Dumfries	1947
Beattie, Lewis, Thrushwood, Mouswald, Dumfries	1947
Benzies, Wm. C., M.A., Schoolhouse, Minnigaff, Newton- Stewart	1946
Biggar, Miss, Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Biggar, Miss E. I., Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Birrell, Adam, Park Crescent, Creetown	1925
Black, Miss Amy G., Burton Old Hall, Burton, Westmore- land	1946
Blair, Hugh A., New Club, Edinburgh	1947
Bone, Miss E., Lochvale, Castle-Douglas	1937
Bowden, Charles, Screel, Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie	1943
Bowden, Mrs Charles, Screel, Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie	1944
Brand, George, Parkthorne, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	1942
Brand, Mrs George, Parkthorne, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	1941
Brooke, Dr. A. Kellie, Masonfield, Newton-Stewart	1947
Brown, G. D., B.Sc., A.M.I.C.E., Largie, Rotchell Road, Dumfries	1938
Brown, Mrs M. G., Caerlochan, Dumfries Road, Castle- Douglas	1946
Brown, William, J.P., Burnbrae, Penpont, Dumfries	1944
Brydon, James, 135 Irish Street, Dumfries	1929
*Burnett, T. R., B.Sc., Ph.D., F.C.S., Airdmhoire, Kirkton, Dumfries (President, 1946-49)	1920
Caird, J. B., M.A., H.M.I.S., 38 George Street, Dumfries	1948
Caird, Mrs, M.A., 38 George Street, Dumfries	1948
Caldwell, A. T., L.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.A.S., "Aymid," Kirk- cudbright	1944
Calvert, Rev. George, The Manse, Mouswald, Dumfries	1945
Cameron, D. Scott, 4 Nellieville Terrace, Troqueer Road, Dumfries	1945

Campbell, John, Buccleuch Street, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Campbell-Johnston, David, Carnsalloch, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Cannon, D. V., 3 Kenwood Gardens, Ilford, Essex ... ..	1949
Carlyle, Miss C. H., Templehill, Waterbeck, Lockerbie ...	1946
Carlyle, Miss E. M. L., Templehill, Waterbeck, Lockerbie...	1946
Carruthers, Mrs L., 43 Castle Street, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Charleson, Rev. C. J. Forbes, Hillwood Cottage, Newbridge, Midlothian ... ..	1930
Clarke, John, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., The Grammar School, Paisley ... ..	1947
Clavering, Miss M., Clover Cottage, Moffat ... ..	1948
Cleghorn, H. B., Walnut Cottage, Annan Road, Dumfries...	1943
Cochrane, Miss M., Glensone, Glencaple, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Copland, R., Isle Tower, Holywood ... ..	1950
Copland, Mrs R., Isle Tower, Holywood... ..	1950
Cormack, David, L.L.B., W.S., Royal Bank Buildings, Lockerbie ... ..	1913
Cossar, Thomas, Sen., Craignee, Maxwelltown, Dumfries ...	1914
Crabbe, Lt.-Col. J. G., O.B.E., M.C., L.L., Duncow, Dum- fries ... ..	1911
Craig, Bryce, Deansgate, Nelson Street, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Craigie, Charles F., The Schoolhouse, Crossmichael ... ..	1947
Craigie, Mrs, The Schoolhouse, Crossmichael ... ..	1947
Cross, Mrs Evelyn, M.N., Earlston, Borgue, Kirkcudbright	1946
Crosbie, Alan R., Sandyknowe, Troqueer Road, Dumfries...	1946
Crosthwaite, H. M., Crichton Hall, Crichton Royal Insti- tution, Dumfries ... ..	1943
Cunningham, Mrs David, 42 Rae Street, Dumfries ... ..	1948
Cunynghame, Mrs Blair, Broomfield, Moniaive ... ..	1948
Cuthbertson, Capt. W., M.C., Beldcraig, Annan ... ..	1920
Dalziel, Miss Agnes, L.D.S., Glenlea, Georgetown Road, Dumfries ... ..	1945
Davidson, Dr. James, F.R.C.P.Ed., F.S.A.Scot., Linton Muir, West Linton ... ..	1938
Davidson, J. M., O.B.E., F.C.I.S., F.S.A.Scot., Griffin Lodge, Gartcosh, Glasgow ... ..	1934
Davidson, R. A. M., Kilness, Moniaive, Dumfries ... ..	1938
Denniston, J., F.E.I.S., Mossgiel, Cardoness Street, Dum- fries ... ..	1943
Dickie, Rev. J. W. T., The Manse, Laurieston, Castle- Douglas ... ..	1951
Dickson, Miss A. M., Woodhouse, Dunscore, Dumfries ...	1930
Dinwiddie, J. S., M.A., Galloway Hill, Terregles Street, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Dinwiddie, N. A. W., M.A., B.Com., Newall Terrace, Dum- fries ... ..	1937
Dinwiddie, W., Craigelvin, 39 Moffat Road, Dumfries ...	1920

Dinwoodie, Miss I., Watling Street, Dumfries ...	...	...	1949
Dobie, K. L., Pennyfai, Ardwall 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
Douglas, James, 3 Rosevale Street, Langholm ...	...	...	1933
Drummond, Gordon, Dunderave, Cassalands, Dumfries ...	...	...	1944
Drummond, Mrs Gordon, Dunderave, Cassalands, Dumfries	...	...	1946
Drummond, Miss M., Marrburn, Rotchell Road, Dumfries...	...	...	1949
Drysdale, Miss J. M., Edinmara, Glencaple, Dumfries ...	...	...	1946
*Duncan, Arthur B., B.A., Lannhall, Tynron, Dumfries (President, 1944-1946) ...	...	...	1930
Duncan, Mrs Arthur, Lannhall, Tynron, Dumfries ...	...	...	1945
Duncan, Mrs Bryce, Castlehill, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries	...	...	1907
Duncan, Walter, Newlands, Dumfries ...	...	...	1926
Duncan, Mrs Walter, Newlands, Dumfries ...	...	...	1948
Ebbels, Miss, C.T. Department, Crichton Royal Institution...	...	...	1949
Ewart, Edward, M.D., Crichton Royal Institution, Dum- fries ...	...	...	1946
Farries, T. C., 1 Irving Street, Dumfries ...	...	...	1948
Fellows, Miss Elizabeth H., 19 Moat Road, Annan ...	...	...	1950
Firth, Mark, Knockbrex, Kirkcudbright ...	...	...	1946
Fisher, A. C., 52 Newington Road, Annan ...	...	...	1949
Flett, David, A.I.A.A., A.R.I.A.S., Herouncroft, Newton- Stewart ...	...	...	1947
Flett, James, A.I.A.A., F.S.A.Scot.,, 3 Langlands, Dum- fries ...	...	...	1912
Flett, Mrs J., D.A.(Edin.), 3 Langlands, Dumfries ...	...	...	1937
Flinn, Alan J. M., Rathan, Marchhill Drive, Dumfries ...	...	...	1946
Forman, Rev. Adam, Dumcrieff, Moffat ...	...	...	1929
Forrest, Mrs J. H., Ashmount, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	...	...	1950
Fox, Lieut.-Colonel J., Glencrosh, Moniaive ...	...	...	1950
Fox, Mrs J., Glencrosh, Moniaive ...	...	...	1950
Fraser, Brigadier S., Girthon Old Manse, Gatehouse-of- Fleet, Castle-Douglas ...	...	...	1947
Fraser, Mrs, Girthon Old Manse, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	...	...	1947
Gair, James C., Delvine, Amisfield ...	...	...	1946
Galbraith, Mrs, Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan ...	...	...	1949
Galloway, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Cumloden, Newton- Stewart, Wigtownshire ...	...	...	1945
Gaskell, Mrs W. R., Auchenbrack, Tynron, Dumfries ...	...	...	1934
Gillan, Lt.-Col. Sir George V. B., K.C.I.E., Abbey House, New Abbey ...	...	...	1946
Gillan, Lady, Abbey House, New Abbey ...	...	...	1946
Glendinning, George, Arley House, Thornhill Road, Hudders- field ...	...	...	1942
Goldie, Gordon, The British Council, The British Embassy, Rome ...	...	...	1947

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

235

Gordon, Miss A. J., Kenmure, Dumfries ... ..	1907
Gordon, Major Stephen, Gezina, Marquand, O.F.S., S. Africa ... ..	1947
Gordon, Miss Bridget, Gezina, Marquand, O.F.S., S. Africa	1947
Gourlay, James, Brankston House, Stonehouse, Lanarkshire	1934
Graham-Barnett, N., Blackhills Farm, Annan ... ..	1948
Graham-Barnett, Mrs N., Blackhills Farm, Annan ... ..	1948
Graham, Mrs Fergus, Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Lockerbie ... ..	1947
Graham, C., c/o Faithfull, 52 George Street, Dumfries ...	1945
Graham, Mrs C., c/o Faithfull, 52 George Street, Dumfries	1945
Greeves, Lt.-Col. J. R., B.Sc., A.M.I.E.E., Coolmashee, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down ... ..	1947
Grierson, Thomas, Royston, Laurieknowe, Dumfries...	1945
Grierson, Mrs Thomas, Royston, Laurieknowe, Dumfries ...	1946
Grieve, Mrs R. W., Fernwood, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Haggas, Miss, Terraughtie, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Haggas, Miss E. M., Terraughtie, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Halliday, T. A., Parkhurst, Dumfries ... ..	1906
Halliday, Mrs, Parkhurst, Dumfries ... ..	1906
Hannay, A., Lochend, Stranraer... ..	1926
Hannay, Miss Jean, Lochend, Stranraer ... ..	1951
Harper, Dr. J., Crichton Hall, Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries ... ..	1947
Haslam, Oliver, Cairngill, Colvend, Dalbeattie ... ..	1927
Henderson, James, Claremont, Dumfries ... ..	1905
Henderson, Mrs James, Claremont, Dumfries...	1927
Henderson, Miss J. G., 6 Nellieville Terrace, Dumfries ...	1945
Henderson, Miss J. M., M.A., Claremont, Newall Terrace, Dumfries ... ..	1945
Henderson, John, M.A., F.E.I.S., Schoolhouse, Borgue, Kirkcudbright ... ..	1933
Henderson, Thomas, The Hermitage, Lockerbie ... ..	1902
Henderson, Mrs Walter, Rannoch, St Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries ... ..	1948
Hendrie, Miss B. S., Cassalands Cottage, Dumfries ...	1944
Henryson-Caird, Major A. J., M.C., Cassencarie, Cree-town ... ..	1946
Herries, Col. W. D. Young, Spottes Hall, Castle-Douglas ...	1924
Hetherington, Johnston, B.Sc., Dumgoyne, Dryfe Road, Lockerbie ... ..	1946
Hetherington, W. K., B.A., 5 Ballochlan Road, Auldgirith...	1949
Hickling, Mrs N., Drumpark Mains, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Higgins, Hugh L., Arendal, Albert Road, Dumfries ...	1947
Hislop, John, Manse Road, Lochrutton ... ..	1945
Hopkin, P. W., Sunnyside, Noblehill, Dumfries ... ..	1948
Hunt, Miss, Fellside, Moffat ... ..	1947

Hunt, Miss Winifred, Fellside, Moffat ... ..	1947
Hunter, Mrs T. S., Woodford, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries...	1947
Hunter, Miss, Mennock, Park Road, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Hunter-Arundell, H. W. F., Barjarg, Auldgirth, Dumfries...	1912
Inglis, John A., Achad na Darrach, Invergarry, Inverness-shire ... ..	1951
Irvine, James, B.Sc., 10 Langlands, Dumfries ... ..	1944
Irvine, W. Fergusson, M.A., F.S.A., Brynllwyn Hall, Corwen, North Wales ... ..	1908
Irving, John, 22 Victoria Avenue, Maxwelltown ... ..	1947
Jameson, Col. A. M., J.P., D.L., Gaitgill, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... ..	1946
Jameson, Mrs A. M., Gaitgill, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... ..	1946
Jamieson, Mrs J. C., St. George's Manse, Castle-Douglas...	1930
Jardine, J. R., 15 Rae Street, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Jebb, Mrs G. D., Brooklands, Crocketford, Dumfries ...	1946
Jenkins, Miss Agnes, Mouswald Schoolhouse, Mouswald, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Jenkins, Ross T., 4 Carlton Terrace, Stranraer ... ..	1912
Jensen, J. H., Roxburgh House, Annan Road, Dumfries...	1945
Johnson-Ferguson, Col. Sir Edward, Bart., T.D., D.L., Springkell, Eaglesfield, Lockerbie ... ..	1905
Johnston, Miss Anne, College Mains, Dumfries ... ..	1947
Johnston, F. A., 11 Rutland Court, Knightsbridge, London, S.W.1 ... ..	1911
Johnston, R. Tordiff, Stenrieshill, Beattock ... ..	1948
Johnston, Mrs R. T., Stenrieshill, Beattock ... ..	1948
Johnstone, Miss E. R., Cluden Bank, Moffat ... ..	—
Johnstone, Major J. L., Amisfield Tower, Dumfries ...	1945
Johnstone, R., M.A., Schoolhouse, Southwick ... ..	1947
Kirkpatrick, W., West Gallaberry, Kirkmahoe ... ..	1948
Kirkpatrick, Mrs W., West Gallaberry, Kirkmahoe...	1948
Laidlaw, A. G., 84 High Street, Lockerbie ... ..	1939
Landale, Mrs D. F., Maryfield, Auldgirth ... ..	1949
Lauder, Miss A., 90 Irvine Road, Kilmarnock ... ..	1932
Laurence, D. W., St. Albans, New Abbey Road, Dumfries...	1939
Laurie, F. G., Elsieshields Tower, Lochmaben ... ..	1946
Law, Rev. Harry, St. Ninian's Priory, Whithorn ... ..	1949
Lepper, R. S., M.A., LL.M., F.R.Hist.Soc., Elsinore, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down, Ireland ... ..	1918
Leslie, Alan, B.Sc., 34A The Grove, Dumfries ... ..	1949
Lethem, Sir Gordon, Johnstone House, Johnstone-Craigheugh, Eskdalemuir, Dumfriesshire ... ..	1948
Liverpool, The Countess of, Merkland, Auldgirth, Dumfries	1946
Lodge, Alfred, M.Sc., 39 Castle Street, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Lodge, Mrs A., 39 Castle Street, Dumfries ... ..	1946
M'Burnie, James, 111 Princes House, Kensington Park Road, London, W.11 ... ..	1950

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

237

M'Caig, Mrs Margaret H., Barmiltoch, Stranraer ... ..	1931
M'Connell, Rev. E. W. J., M.A., 171 Central Avenue, Gretna, Carlisle ... ..	1927
M'Corkindale, Wm., M.A., 3A Dunbar Terrace, Dumfries ...	1949
M'Corkindale, Mrs W., 3A Dunbar Terrace, Dumfries ...	1949
M'Cormick, A., Walnut House, Newton-Stewart, Wigtown- shire ... ..	1905
M'Culloch, Major-General Sir Andrew, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., D.C.M., Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Castle- Douglas ... ..	1946
M'Culloch, Lady, Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Castle- Douglas ... ..	—
Macdonald, H. H., Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries ...	1951
Macdonald, W. M. Bell, Rammerscales, Hightae, Lockerbie	1929
M'George, Mrs A. G., Dhucorse, Dumfries ... ..	1944
M'Intosh, Mrs, Ramornie, Terregles Street, Dumfries ...	1946
Macintyre, Canon D., M.A., The Rectory, Dumfries ...	1946
Mackay, J. Martin, M.A., LL.D., Helensburgh ... ..	1947
Mackay, Mrs, Helensburgh ... ..	1948
M'Kerrow, Arthur, Rickerby, Lochanhead ... ..	1950
M'Kerrow, Mrs Arthur, Rickerby, Lochanhead ... ..	1950
*M'Kerrow, M. H., F.S.A.Scot., Dunard, Dumfries (Presi- dent, 1930-1933) ... ..	1900
Mackinley, H., Kilmahew, 65 Terregles Street, Dumfries ...	1917
M'Knight, Ian, 4 Montague Street, Dumfries... ..	1948
M'Knight, Mrs, 4 Montague Street, Dumfries... ..	1948
M'Laren, R. P., B.Sc., Newton House Hotel, Dumfries ...	1948
M'Lean, A., B.Sc., West Laurieknowe, Dumfries ... ..	1944
M'Lean, Mrs M., West Laurieknowe, Dumfries ... ..	1944
M'Lean, Mrs M. D., Ewart Library, Dumfries ... ..	1946
MacMaster, T., F.C.I.S., F.S.A.Scot., 190 Grange Loan, Edinburgh ... ..	1926
M'Robert, Mrs F., 2 Stewartry Court, Lincluden ... ..	1948
M'Wharrie, Mrs D. Quiney, Closeburn Castle, Dumfries- shire ... ..	1945
M'William, Rev. J. M., The Manse, Tynron, Dumfries ...	1944
M'William, Mrs J. M., The Manse, Tynron, Dumfries ...	1945
Maguire, Charles, 5 St. Ninian's Terrace, Isle of Whithorn	1947
Malcolm, Mrs S. A., c/o Mrs Grierson, 3 Stewart Hall Gardens, Dumfries ... ..	1920
Marshall, Dr. Andrew, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries	1947
Martin, John, Ivy Bank, Noblehill, Dumfries ... ..	1945
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
Maxwell, Major-General Aymer, C.B.E., M.C., R.A., Kir- kennan, Dalbeattie ... ..	1946

Maxwell, G. A., Abbots Meadow, Wykeham, Scarborough ...	1937
Maxwell, Miss Jean, Corselet Cottage, Castle-Douglas ...	1950
Maxwell, Jean S., Coila, New Abbey Road, Dumfries ...	1947
Maxwell-Witham, Robert, Kirkconnell, New Abbey, Dumfries ...	1911
Mayer-Gross, Dr. W., Mayfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries...	1945
Millar, James, M.A., B.Sc., The Rectory, Closeburn ...	1949
Millar, Mrs J., The Rectory, Closeburn ...	1949
Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 13 Heriot Row, Edinburgh, 3 ...	1908
Miller, S. N., Damhill Lodge, Corehouse, Lanark ...	1946
Milne, Sheriff C., K.C., 9 Howe Street, Edinburgh ...	1949
Milne, John, Dunesslin, Dunscore, Dumfries ...	1945
Milne, Mrs J., Dunesslin, Dunscore, Dumfries ...	1945
Mogerley, G. H., Rowanbank, Dumfries ...	1948
Morgan, Gerard, Southfield House, Wigtown... ..	1948
Morgan, Mrs H. M. A., Rockhall, Collin, Dumfries ...	1945
Morgan, R. W. D., Rockhall, Collin, Dumfries ...	1945
Morton, Miss, Moat Hostel, Dumfries ...	1947
Murray, Miss J. J., The Schoolhouse, Drumsleet, Dumfries ...	1945
Murray, Captain Keith R., Parton House, Castle-Douglas	1950
Murray, Miss Mary, 5 Murray Place, Dumfries ...	1946
Murray, William, Murray Place, Dumfries ...	1945
Murray-Usher, Mrs E. E., J.P., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
Myrseth, Major O., County Hotel, Dumfries ...	1944
Ord, Dr G. E., 43 Castle Street, Dumfries ...	1951
Ord, Mrs, 43 Castle Street, Dumfries ...	1946
O'Reilly, Mrs N., c/o Messrs Coutts & Co., 44 Strand, London, W.C.2 ...	1926
Osborne, Mrs R. S., 54 Cardoness Street, Dumfries...	1946
Park, Miss Dora, Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries ...	1944
Park, Miss Mary, Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries ...	1944
Paterson-Smith, J., The Oaks, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1948
Paterson-Smith, Mrs, The Oaks, Rotchell Park, Dumfries...	1948
Paulin, Mrs N. G., Holmlea, New-Galloway ...	1950
Penman, James B., Mile Ash, Dumfries ...	1947
Penman, John S., Airlie, Dumfries ...	1947
Peploe, Mrs, North Bank, Moffat ...	1947
Piddington, Mrs, Woodhouse, Dunscore ...	1950
Porteous, Miss M., 125 Balmoral Road, Dumfries ...	1949
Prentice, Edward G., B.Sc., Pringleton House, Borgue, Kirkcudbright ...	1945
Prevost, W. A. J., Craigieburn, Moffat ...	1946
Pullen, O. J., B.Sc., Granta House, Littlebury, Essex ...	1934
Rainsford-Hannay, Col. F., C.M.G., D.S.O., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946



Rainsford-Hannay, Mrs F., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... ..	1946
Rainsford-Hannay, Miss M., 107B Sutherland Avenue, London, W.9 ... ..	1945
Raven, Mrs Mary E., Ladyfield Lodge, Glencaple Road, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Readman, James, at Dunesslin, Dunscore ... ..	1946
Reid, Alex., Governor's House, H.M. Prison, Dumfries ...	1951
Reid, Mrs Alex., Governor's House, H.M. Prison, Dumfries	1951
*Reid, R. C., F.S.A.Scot., Cleughbrae, Mouswald, Dumfries (President, 1933-1944) ... ..	1917
Richardson, George, 47 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries ...	1947
Richardson, Mrs, 47 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries ... ..	1947
Richmond, Gavin H., 55 Eastfield Road, Dumfries...	1947
Roan, William, 24 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries ... ..	1945
Robertson, J. P., Westwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Robertson, Mrs J. P., Westwood, Dumfries ... ..	1933
Robertson, James, 56 Cardoness Street, Dumfries ... ..	1936
Robson, G. H., 2 Terregles Street, Dumfries ... ..	1911
Robson, Mrs J. H., 60 Broom's Road, Dumfries ... ..	1949
Russell, Edward W., A.M.I.C.E., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... ..	1946
Russell, Mrs E. W., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... ..	1946
Russell, I. R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., Park House, Dumfries ...	1944
Scott, John, Milton, Beattock ... ..	1945
Service, Mrs E. L., Glencaple Village, Dumfries ... ..	1932
Shaw, Dr. T. D. Stuart, Rosebank, Castle-Douglas ... ..	1946
Shields, Miss, Newtonaids, Dumfries ... ..	1951
Silvey, Miss M., M.A., Minerva, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries ... ..	1949
Sime, I. F., Radar Station, Wanlockhead ... ..	1950
Sime, Mrs I. F., Radar Station, Wanlockhead ... ..	1950
Simpson, A. J., The Schoolhouse, Kirkconnel ... ..	1945
Sinclair, Dr. G. H., The Green, Lockerbie ... ..	1934
Smith, Adam, Holmhead, Mouswald ... ..	1946
Smith, C. D., Albert Villa, London Road, Stranraer ...	1944
Smith, E. A., M.A., Hamewith, Ardwall Road, Dumfries...	1946
Smith, Miss Eugene, Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries...	1949
Stewart, Alex. A., M.A., B.Sc., F.E.I.S., J.P., Schoolhouse, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... ..	1946
Stewart, Mrs Johnston, Physgill, Whithorn ... ..	1950
Sydserrf, Peter, 71 College Street, Dumfries ... ..	1950
Symington, Wm., Elmsmore, 72 Cardoness Street, Dumfries	1947
Syms, Major R. Hardy, F.R.I.C.S., L.R.I.B.A., M.I.P.I., 32 Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.1 ... ..	1927
Tayleur, Mrs, La Sainte Baume, New Abbey ... ..	1949
Taylor, James M.A., B.Sc., The Hill, Southwick Road, Dalbeattie ... ..	1933

Taylor, Robert, St. Maura, Gartcows Crescent, Falkirk ...	1950
Thomson, J. Marshall, Arnish, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries ... ..	1945
Tindal, Mrs. Cargen, Dumfries ... ..	1948
Truckell, A. E., 12 Grierson Avenue, Dumfries ... ..	1947
Urquhart, James, M.A., 5 Braehead Terrace, Rosemount Street, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Walker, A., The Cottage, Borgue ... ..	1950
Walker, Lieut.-Col. George G., D.L., Morriston, Dumfries	1926
Walker, Rev. Maurice D., M.A., M.C., St. Ninian's Rectory, Castle-Douglas ... ..	1949
Walker, Mrs. Maurice D., St. Ninian's Rectory, Castle-Douglas ... ..	1951
Wallace, J., 14 Broomfield, Dumfries ... ..	1948
Wallace, Robert, Durham Villa, Charnwood Road, Dumfries ... ..	1947
Walmsley, Miss A. G. P., 4 Albany, Dumfries ... ..	1951
Waugh, W., Palace Knowe, Beattock ... ..	1924
Williamson, Miss Joan D., Glenlochar House, by Castle-Douglas ... ..	1948
Wilson, John, M.A., Kilcoole, Rae Street, Dumfries ...	1947
Wright, Robert, Glenurquhart, Castle-Douglas Road, Dumfries ... ..	1947
Young, Arnold, Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Young, Mrs A., Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries...	1946
Young, Mrs W. R., Ronald Bank, Dumfries ... ..	1946

## JUNIOR MEMBERS.

Anderson, Miss Elizabeth, Laneshaw, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ... ..	1947
Armstrong, Miss Margaret, Whitefield, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... ..	1946
Armstrong, Miss Sarah, Whitefield, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
Black, Robert, Strathspey, Georgetown Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Blance, Miss Beatrice, The Plans, Ruthwell Station, Dumfries ... ..	1950
Bowden, Craig, 17 Galloway Street, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Brand, George A. M., Parkthorne, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ... ..	1945
Brown, Andrew J. M., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright...	1948
Brown, David D. S., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright ...	1948
Campbell, Kenneth, The Schoolhouse, Drumsleet ... ..	1945
Cliffe, Charles, The Rectory, Wallace Hall Academy, Closeburn ... ..	1950
Cockburn, George, St. Michael's Manse, Dumfries ... ..	1951
Coid, John, Abiston, Park Road, Dumfries ... ..	1946

# LIST OF MEMBERS.

241

Dickson, Tom, Locharview, Locharbriggs ... ..	1950
Dobie, Alec, Annan Road, Dumfries ... ..	1950
Fox, Miss Jane, Glencrosh, Moniaive ... ..	1950
Gair, John, Delvine, Amisfield, Dumfries ... ..	1945
Hay, Bruce, Strathisla, Glasgow Street, Dumfries ... ..	1947
Irvine, James, Jun., 10 Langlands, Dumfries ... ..	1945
Landale, David, Maryfield, Auldgirth ... ..	1949
Landale, Miss J., Maryfield, Auldgirth ... ..	1949
Landale, Miss L., Maryfield, Auldgirth ... ..	1949
M'Intosh, Miss Brenda, M.B.O.U., Ramornie, Terregles Street, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Manning, John, Forensic Science Laboratory, Bishopgarth, Wakefield ... ..	1947
Marshall, Robert, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries ...	1947
Muir, Eric, 18 M'Lellan Street, Dumfries ... ..	1947
Murray-Usher, James N., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of- Fleet ... ..	1946
Osborne, Graham, 54 Cardoness Street, Dumfries ... ..	1946
Robertson, James J., 56 Cardoness Street, Dumfries ...	1946
Rowan, Martin, Annan Road, Dumfries ... ..	1950

# SUBSCRIBERS.

Aberdeen University Library ... ..	1938
Dumfriesshire Education Committee, County Buildings, Dumfries (H. Somerville, M.C., M.A., Education Officer) ... ..	1944
Glasgow University Library ... ..	1947
Kirkcudbrightshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Castle-Douglas (John Laird, B.Sc., B.L., Director of Education) ... ..	1944
Mitchell Library, Hope Street, Glasgow ... ..	1925
New York Public Library, 5th Avenue and 42nd Street, New York City (B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd., 28-30 Little Russell Street, British Museum, London, W.C.1 ...	1938
St. Andrews University Library ... ..	1950
Wigtownshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Stranraer (Hugh K. C. Mair, B.Sc., Education Officer)	1943

# Statement of Accounts

## For the Year ended 31st March, 1950.

### GENERAL REVENUE ACCOUNT.

#### RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand as at 1st April, 1949—

In Bank on Current Account ...	£257	3	1	
In hands of Treasurer ...	24	1	4	
				£281 4 5

Members' Subscriptions—

Current Year's ...	£143	10	6	
Arrears ...	2	15	0	
Year 1950 51 paid in advance ...	3	10	0	
				149 15 6

Interests—

On £230 3½ per cent. War Stock ...	£4	0	6	
On Deposits, Dumfries Savings Bank ...	9	13	9	
				13 14 3

Publications—

Sale of "Transactions" and Off-Prints ...	4	15	4	
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Excursions—

Sale of 'Bus Tickets (116) ...	£57	5	6	
Car Passengers (37) ...	1	17	0	
				59 2 6

Miscellaneous—

Conversazione, 8th April, 1949—				
44 Tickets at 3s, 3 at 1s 6d ...	£6	16	6	
Donation to Society's Funds ...	2	2	0	
				8 18 6
				£517 10 6

## PAYMENTS.

## Excursions—

Hire of 'Buses and Tips	...	...	£54	0	0
Advertising, etc.	...	...	4	1	6
					<hr/> £58 1 6

## Publications—

Issue of Volume XXVI. of "Transactions"	...	187	3	11
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## Miscellaneous—

Conversazione	...	...	...	£13	8	7
Printing, Stationery, and Postages	...	32	17	2		
Advertising	...	...	...	20	3	0
Caretaker	...	...	...	3	2	6
Insurance	...	...	...	1	6	0
A. E. Truckell (Excavation)	...	...	...	2	2	0
Scottish Regional Group Council for						
British Archæology	...	...	...	2	4	6
Scottish Field Studies Council	...	...	...	1	1	0
Refund: Subscription paid twice	...	...	...	0	15	0
Lecturer's Expenses	...	...	...	1	10	0
Bank's Commission and Cheque Book	...	...	...	0	6	2
						<hr/> 78 15 11

Balance on hand for year ending 31st	...	...	...	£324	1	4
March, 1950—						

In Bank on Current Account	...	£192	4	8	
In hands of Treasurer	... ..	...	1	4	6
					<hr/>
					193 9 2
					<hr/>
					£517 10 6

## CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

## RECEIPTS.

## Balance on hand as at 1st April, 1949—

In 3½ per cent. War Stock at cost	...	£218	10	0
In Dumfries Savings Bank	...	322	2	3
				<hr/> £540 12 3

Life Membership Fees	...	...	...	...	14	14	0
							<hr/> £555 6 3

## PAYMENTS.

## Balance on hand as at 1st April, 1950—

In 3½ per cent. War Stock	...	£218	10	0
Dumfries Savings Bank	...	336	16	3
				<hr/> £555 6 3

## INDEX.

- Adhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury ..... 80  
 Aerschodt, Felix Van, bell founder 75  
 Agnew of Lochnaw, Sir Stair ... 102  
 Agricola, Calpurnius ..... 194  
 Airylick, Cross at ..... 52  
 Aitken, W. C., brassfounder ... 70, 73  
 Altar slab (Mochrum) ... 47, 48, 63  
 Amuligane, Thomas, in Bennan ... 136  
 Anderson, Dr John ..... 64  
 Animals, Distribution of ..... 9  
 Antarctica, a lost continent ..... 10  
 Anthun, son of Maxim ..... 81  
 Armagh, Bell at ..... 78  
 Armoria (Wales) ..... 81  
 Arnott, M. C. .... 120  
 Atlantis, a lost continent ..... 10  
 Ayr Douglas Bank ... 135, 146, 147  
 Balfour-Browne, Professor ... 9, 224  
 Bank Notes ..... 225  
 Barbrochane (Mochrum), lands of, 54  
 Barhapple, Monastery at ..... 52  
 Barjarg, MSS. .... 104  
 Bartholemew, George ..... 222, 223  
 Beads, found at Castle Loch ..... 62  
 Beauclerk, Lord George ..... 120  
 Bede ..... 79, 80, 81  
 Bell, David, spouse of Agnes Laurie, 142  
 Bellibocht, lands of ..... 105  
 Bennane, Nethersyde of ..... 136  
 Bersu, Dr Gerhard ..... 106  
 Bird population ..... 222  
 Birkbeck, Dr George ..... 65  
 Birkshaw, Mote of ..... 106, 107  
 Birley, Eric ..... 188  
 Birrell, Adam ..... 227  
 Bishops, Trial of Seven ..... 225  
 Black, Rev. William, minister of  
     Closeburn ..... 104, 112  
 Blackwood, Wm., Elder in Sanquhar,  
     166  
 Blair, Helen, daughter of William B.,  
     miller ..... 167  
 — Wm., miller at Euchar, Elder  
     in Sanquhar, spouse of Mary  
     Colvin ..... 166, 172, 173  
 Boghouse (Mochrum), farm ..... 51  
 Bogrie, lands of ..... 146  
 Bracken, spread of ..... 223  
 Bridell, Monastery at ..... 85  
 Brittu, son of Cattegirn ..... 86  
 Britu, son of Vortigern ..... 88  
 Broch of Mid Howe ..... 223  
 Brocmayl, son of Cincen ..... 86, 87  
 Brougham, Henry ..... 65, 66, 72  
 Brown of Inglistown ..... 107  
 — Rev. John, minister of Glencairn,  
     144  
 — Mary, spouse of Mr Thomas  
     Montgomery ..... 161  
 — Sarah, daughter of Rev. John  
     Brown, and spouse of Thomas  
     Grierson, younger, of Barjarg, 144  
 — William, minister of Glencairn, 107  
 Browne, Dr W. A. F., president of  
     Mechanics' Institute ..... 71  
 Brychan ..... 82  
 Brydon, James, in Tinlego ..... 148  
 Burns, Robert, son of Poet ..... 69  
 — Mrs, pension of ..... 227  
 Butterflies and Moths of Solway Area,  
     150  
 Burgerhuys, Evert ..... 77  
 Burgh Court Book, Dumfries ..... 228  
 Burnett, Dr ..... 222  
 Caerlaverock Castle ..... 223  
 Campbell, Wm., W.S. .... 146  
 Candida Casa ..... 79  
 Caradog, Fraichfras, spouse of  
     Enhinti ..... 82  
 Carmichael of Corss, Robert, spouse of  
     Margaret Wilson ..... 145  
 — Rev. Peter, Cameronian minister,  
     167  
 Carruthers of Whitecroft, Janet, 148  
 — Beatrice, spouse of Gilbert Grierson  
     son of Dalton ..... 138  
 — Mary, spouse of Ebenezer Wilson,  
     148  
 Carsethorne, birds at ..... 224  
 Carzield, pottery from ..... 227  
 Castle Kennedy ..... 223  
 Catel Durnluc, King of Powys,  
     86, 87, 88  
 Cattegirn, son of Catel Durnluc,  
     86, 87, 88  
 Caulfield, Major ..... 131  
 Caw of Pictland ..... 82  
 Celtic homesteads ..... 28  
 Cerialis, Q. Petilius ..... 60, 219  
 Chadwick, Mrs ..... 81, 83  
 Chapel Finnian (Mochrum), excavation  
     of ..... 28, 51  
 — masonry of ..... 36  
 — mortar at ..... 36  
 Charteris of Amisfield, Elizabeth, 145  
 Churches, thatching of ..... 35  
 Cinen, son of Brocmayl ..... 86, 87  
 Cincen, son of Maucant ..... 86, 87  
 Clarke, John ..... 199  
 Claythock, Nether, lands of ..... 146

- Clelland, Mr George, minister of  
     Durisdeer ..... 142  
 — Mr George, minister at Morton and  
     spouse of Jean Wilson ..... 142  
 Clone pass (Glencairn) ..... 104  
 Clone (Mochrum), lands of ..... 54  
 Clontarf, battle of ..... 95  
 Cockburn, Lord Henry ..... 64  
 Colvin, Mary, spouse of William  
     Blair ..... 167  
 Comrie of Gaitgill, James, banker son  
     of William C., supervisor ... 226  
 — William, supervisor of Excise, Dum-  
     fries, spouse of Janet Jackson, 226  
 — William, tacksman of Glascorry,  
     226  
 — family papers of ..... 226  
 Comyn, John, Earl of Buchan ... 94  
 — Marjorie, daughter of Alex., Earl  
     of Buchan, and spouse of Patrick,  
     8th Earl of Dunbar ..... 53  
 Conversazione, 1950 ..... 223  
 Conway, Dr Elsie ..... 223  
 Cooper, Mrs Omer ..... 14  
 Corferding, lands of ... 135, 139, 140  
 Coitis, Agnes, spouse of Andrew Wilson  
     in Laggan ..... 137  
 Cormilligane, lands of ..... 140  
 Corsane, John, in Maxwellton ... 111  
 Cornwall farm ..... 51  
 Craiginsolace, lands of,  
     137, 138, 142, 144  
 Crichton of Bellibocht, Ninian ... 137  
 — Charles (Carco) ..... 167  
 — Helen, daughter of Robert C., in  
     Craigmuy, and spouse of James  
     Wilson of Strawmilligane ... 141  
 — Robert, in Craigmuy ..... 141  
 — Thomas, chamberlain to Duke of  
     Buccleuch ..... 165  
 — William, Lord ..... 111  
 Crosbie, John, in Land ..... 148  
 Cruggleton Church ..... 92, 224  
 — masonry at ..... 36  
 — mortar at ..... 36  
 Culhweh and Olwen, a tale ..... 83  
 Cunedda Wledig ..... 84  
 Cunynghame of Birkshaw, Marjory, 110  
 — Robert ..... 110  
 — of Craganes, Alexander ..... 139  
 — of Glengarnoch, Sir James ... 111  
 — David, M.A. .... 150, 224  
 — Sir William, spouse of Margaret  
     Danielstoun ..... 105  
 Cynfor Cadcaethuc ..... 87  
 Cyngen, King of Powys ..... 88  
 Dalrymple of Dunragit, John, younger,  
     120  
 — Malcolm ..... 110  
 Dalswinton Castle ..... 112  
 Dalwhat, lands of ..... 138  
 Dalzell, Margaret, daughter of Earl of  
     Carnwath, and spouse of John  
     Wilson (3) of Croglin, 142, 143  
 Danielstoun of Glencairn, Margaret,  
     spouse of Sir William Cunyng-  
     hame ..... 105, 109  
 — Robert ..... 108  
 Darnangill, lands of,  
     107, 108, 109, 110, 119  
 Davidson, Dr ..... 147  
 Denune of Creichane, David, son of  
     Peter ..... 139  
 — Peter ..... 139  
 Dibbieg, Lieut. Hugh, of Engineers,  
     133  
 Dibunn, daughter of Glywys, and  
     spouse of Meurig ..... 82  
 Dogfael, son of Cunedda ..... 84  
 Douglas of Craiginwy, John ..... 110  
 — of Drumlanrig, Sir James, 137, 140  
 — Archibald, Earl of ..... 94  
 — George, brother to John D. of  
     Craiginwy ..... 110  
 Dowalton, Loch ..... 50  
 Druchtag, Mote of ..... 51  
 Drumboy (Dunscore), lands of ... 146  
 Drumskeoch (Mochrum), lands of, 54  
 Dumfries, cholera at ..... 68  
 — Old Prison of ..... 74  
 — Trades Punch Bowl ..... 226  
 Dunbar of Cumnok and Mochrum,  
     Patrick ..... 53  
 Dunbar of Kilconquhar and Mochrum  
     Loch, Andrew ..... 54, 55  
 — Patrick 3rd of, spouse of Janet  
     Dunbar ..... 54  
 — Patrick IV. .... 54  
 — Patrick V. .... 54  
 Dunbar, Janet, daughter of Patrick D.  
     of Cumnok and Mochrum, and  
     spouse of Patrick Dunbar of Kil-  
     conquhar ..... 53, 54  
 — Margaret, daughter of Patrick D.  
     of Cumnok ..... 53  
 — Patrick, 8th Earl of, spouse of  
     Marjorie Comyn ..... 53  
 Duncan, Arthur ..... 224  
 — Dr Henry ..... 66  
 — Rev. T. T. .... 67  
 Eagle, the Golden ..... 222  
 Earl Malcolm at Cruggleton ..... 95  
 Edzar of Ingliston, Uchtre ..... 107  
 — William ..... 107  
 Edouard, Auguste ..... 222  
 Eidinet, son of Anthon ..... 81  
 Elena, Countess of Winchester ... 94  
 Elrig, crosses at ..... 52

- Emrys Wiedig (Arbrosius) ... 90, 91  
 Enhinti, daughter of Erb ..... 82  
 Erb, King, great-grandfather of St.  
   Dubricius ..... 81  
 Erbic, son of Meurig ..... 82  
 Faustus, Abbot of Lerins, son of  
   Vortigern ..... 91  
 Feachem, Richard ..... 188  
 Fector, John M. .... 106, 119  
 Fergusson of Craigdarroch, Alexander,  
   ..... 141  
   — John, spouse of Agnes Grierson, 138  
   — Sarah, spouse of Mr John Wilson of  
     Strawmilligane ..... 141  
 Finland, Robert ..... 147  
 Finlayson, Albert ..... 225  
 Food Vessels from Mull ..... 226  
 Forbes, Edward, geologist ... 9, 11, 25  
 Ford, Dr E. B. .... 24  
 Forrester of Kiddisdale, William ... 99  
 Fox, Samuel Quaker ..... 64  
 Fraser, Major Andrew ..... 124  
 Futerna (Whithorn) ..... 40  
 Gaitgill (Borgue), lands of ..... 226  
 Galloway, Alan, Lord of ..... 94, 95  
   — Fergus, Lord of ..... 95  
   — Roland, Lord of ..... 95  
   — Roman road in ..... 121  
   — superstition in ..... 184  
 Gerontius, King ..... 80  
 Ghein, Peter van der, bell founder, 75  
 Gibson, Andrew, at Glengyre ..... 186  
 Gilchrist, Dr ..... 147  
 Gillam, J. P. .... 60, 190, 222  
 Giraldu, Cambrensis ..... 52  
 Gladstone, Miss Joan ..... 104  
 Glencairn Castle and Maxwelton ... 104  
 Glencairn Castle ... 104, 109, 110,  
   ..... 112, 113, 119, 139  
   — 3 baronies of ..... 108  
   — Castle wards of ..... 108  
   — Motes in ..... 106  
   — Alexander, Earl of ..... 110  
   — Cuthbert, Earl of ..... 109  
   — James, Earl of ..... 105, 111, 139  
   — William, Earl of, spouse of Janet  
     Gordon ..... 110  
 Glentriploch (Mochrum) lands of ... 54  
 Glywys ..... 82  
 Goodman's Croft ..... 179  
 Gordon of Blacat, John, spouse of  
   Agnes Grierson ..... 138  
   — of King's Grange, Major Patrick.  
     ..... 145  
   — of Lochinvar, Sir John ..... 105  
   — of Lochinvar, Sir Robert ..... 111  
   — of Shirmirs, Alexander, spouse of  
     Marion Wilson ..... 145  
   — of Troquhane, George ..... 146  
 Gordon, Isabella, daughter of George  
   Gordon of Troquhane, and spouse  
   of Walter Wilson of Croglin, 146  
 Graham of Netherby, Mr (1756),  
   ..... 121, 127  
 Grensted, Professor L. W. .... 14  
 Grierson of Barjarg, Thomas, younger,  
   spouse of Sarah Brown ..... 144  
   — of Dalton, Gilbert, spouse of Beat-  
     rice Carruthers ..... 138  
   — of Lag, Sir Robert ..... 144  
   — of Lag, Roger ..... 138, 144  
   — Agnes, spouse of John Laurie of  
     Maxwelton ..... 118  
   — Agnes, relict of John Gordon of  
     Blacat and Thomas Wilson of  
     Croglin, and spouse of John Fer-  
     gusson of Craigdarroch ..... 138  
   — Jean, daughter of Thomas Grier-  
     son, younger of Barjarg, and  
     spouse of William Murray of  
     Murraythwaite ..... 144  
   — Sarah, daughter of Thomas Grier-  
     son, younger of Barjarg, and  
     spouse of William Wilson of  
     Croglin ..... 144  
 Gwladus, daughter of Brychan, and  
   spouse of Gwynllyw ..... 82  
 Gwrgan, Mawr ..... 82  
 Gwynllyw, son of Glyfys ..... 82  
 Hair, Alexander, mason in Sanquhar,  
   ..... 162  
 Hale's regiment ..... 130  
 Hamilton, Gavin, Bishop of Gallo-  
   way ..... 77  
 Hannay of Bargally, William ..... 124  
 Hardy, Professor A. C. .... 15, 16  
 Harkness, John, elder in Holestane, 147  
   — William, in Kirkconnell ..... 148  
 Harrison, Professor Heslop ... 19, 23  
 Hastings, Mr, minister at Wanlock-  
   head ..... 169  
 Hathorn of Over Aries, John, spouse  
   of Agnes Stewart ..... 100, 101  
 Hay of Park, Thomas (1590) ... 223  
   — Thomas, Commendator of Glenluce,  
     ..... 223  
 Helena, mother of Constantine ... 89  
   — wife of Maximus ..... 88, 89  
 Henderson, Mr John, schoolmaster at  
   Sanquhar ..... 165, 168  
 Hewetson, William, in M'Querstoun, 148  
 Hillsborough, Lord ..... 128, 129  
 Horne, George, factor to Ayr Douglas  
   Bank ..... 147  
 Hughan, Alexander, at Ferrytown, 130  
 Hunter-Arundell of Barjarg, W. F., 104  
 Hunting in Wigtownshire ..... 101  
 Hyslop, James, in Blackcraig ..... 164



- Iddon, son of Ynyr Gwent ..... 82  
 Inglis, Mr John, minister at Sanquhar, 173  
 Ingliston, Mote of ... 106, 107, 108  
 Inscribed stone from Wanlockhead, 225  
 Irvine, James ..... 223  
 Jackson, Janet, daughter of Robert Jackson, Provost of Dumfries, and spouse of William Comrie of the Customs ..... 226  
 — Robert, Provost of Dumfries, and founder of "Dumfries Herald," 226  
 Jarbruck ..... 107  
 Jeffs, J. G. .... 222  
 Johnston of Dunsckellie, Sir James, 139  
 — of Holmshaw and Netherplace, William ..... 149  
 — of Lochhouse, John ..... 139  
 — of Straiton, James ..... 102  
 — David ..... 147  
 — Margaret, daughter of James Johnston of Straiton, and spouse of Stair H. Stewart ..... 102  
 — Sarah, granddaughter of William Johnston of Holmshaw ..... 149  
 — Stewart of Physgill, Mrs ..... 224  
 Kari, Solmundarrson ..... 95  
 Kennedy, James, Sanquhar poet ... 166  
 — James, Elder ..... 172, 173  
 Kerintrac, Mekill, lands of ..... 54  
 Kerr, J., mason in Kirkcudbright, 126, 127  
 — Sophia ..... 147  
 Kershaw, John, draper of Rochdale, 227  
 Killmark (Tynron), lands of ..... 141  
 Kirk of Bogrie, John ..... 146  
 Kirkconnell (Tynron), lands of ... 147  
 Kirkcudbright, Church of ..... 94  
 — Nether, lands of ..... 111, 113  
 Kirkpatrick of Auchincell, Major John, 144  
 — of Closeburn, Sir Thomas ..... 140  
 — of Kirkmichael, Sir Alexander, 135  
 — of Knok, Roger ..... 135  
 — Janet, spouse of Matthew Wilson (2) of Croglin ..... 139  
 — Margaret, daughter of Major John Kirkpatrick of Auchincell, and spouse of William Wilson of Croglin ..... 144  
 — Marion, spouse of John Wilson (1) of Croglin ..... 137  
 Kyndaf, father of Meugan ..... 86  
 Laing, James, missionary in South Africa ..... 174  
 Land (Tynron), lands of ... 144, 147  
 Laurie of Maxwellton, John, spouse of Agnes Grierson ..... 112, 118  
 — Robert ..... 113  
 — Sir Robert ..... 104, 105, 106  
 — Stephen ..... 105, 107, 111  
 — Agnes, spouse of David Bell ... 142  
 — Alexander, bridge builder, 123, 125, 126, 127, 131, 133, 134  
 Lawsone of Cairnsmure, John ... 149  
 — Captain James, brother to John Lawsone of Cairnsmure, and spouse of Janet Wilson of Holmshaw, 149  
 Leask, H. G. .... 28, 38  
 Leighton's regiment ..... 122  
 Lennox's regiment ..... 131  
 Leslie, John, Bishop of Ross ... 111  
 Lindsay, Ian G. .... 113  
 — Mr John ..... 105  
 Llanbadarnfawr Church ..... 52  
 Llywarch, son of Nynio ..... 82  
 Lollius, Urbicus ..... 197  
 Lowther, Sir James ..... 133  
 M'Call, James, church officer at Sanquhar ..... 161  
 — William, in Ulzieside ..... 164  
 M'Culloch of Ardwell, Lady ..... 226  
 — Walter W. S. .... 124  
 — Patrick, slain ..... 54  
 M'Diarmid, John, editor ... 66, 68, 71  
 M'Dowell of Spottis and Physgill, Andrew ..... 99  
 — of Spottis and Physgill, James, 99  
 M'Ergo of Logan, Mr ..... 125  
 Maclean, George ..... 148  
 M'Lean, Mrs ..... 222  
 M'Millan, Rev. John, Cameronian minister ..... 167  
 — Rev. W. .... 161  
 MacTier, J., in Cornwall ..... 28  
 M'Turk of Croglin, James ..... 148  
 M'Whistien, John, in Glenluce, mason, 125  
 M'William, Rev. J. M. .... 222  
 Machernmore, lands of ..... 99  
 Macrinus, Roman Emperor ..... 85  
 Maelgwn Gwynedd, King ..... 85  
 Maitland of Auchingassill, John ... 139  
 Malzie, Water of ..... 42  
 Man, Andrew, sorcerer ..... 181  
 Marcellus, Ulpius ..... 194  
 Marquhirne, lands of ..... 137  
 Maucan, Bishop of Silchester ... 85  
 Maucant, son of Vortigern ..... 88  
 — son of Pascent ..... 86, 87, 88  
 Mauchline, snuff boxes ... 225, 227  
 Maximus, Emperor, spouse of Helena, 88, 89  
 Maxim, Wletie ..... 81

- Maxwell of Fourmerkland, Quintigern,  
spouse of Margaret Wilson ... 142  
— Helen, spouse of John Wilson (2)  
of Croglin ..... 140, 141  
— Marion ..... 137  
Maxwellton House, description of, 113  
— lands of ..... 105  
— Mote of ..... 106  
— sketches of ..... 118  
— Annie Laurie's boudoir in ... 117  
May (Mochrum), cross at ..... 52  
Mechanics' Institute, Dumfries,  
64, 222  
— library of ..... 72  
Medals ..... 225, 227  
Merlin ..... 85  
Meurig, son of Caradog ..... 82  
Military Road to Portpatrick ... 120  
Milne Home, Capt. J. G. .... 227  
Mochrum, Castle Loch, finds on,  
41, 55  
— barony of ..... 53  
— Kirk of ..... 51  
— Old Place of ..... 41, 53  
— Park, lands of ..... 53  
Mons Bannog ..... 83  
Montgomery of Auchentibber, Robert,  
161  
— Mr Thomas, minister at Sanquhar,  
son of Robert Montgomery of  
Auchentibber, and spouse of Mary  
Brown ..... 161  
Mounthooly (Tynron), school at ... 147  
Mugint of Candida Casa ..... 39  
Muir, Andrew, in Newton-Stewart,  
130, 132  
Mundell, Dr. of Wallace Hall ... 148  
Murray, Colonel T. H. M., road sur-  
veyor ..... 28  
Napier's regiment ..... 122  
Neil, Samuel, Rector of Moffat Acad-  
demy ..... 71  
Nennius, brother to Cassibellaunus, 83  
Nicol, W. B. de Bear ..... 64, 222  
Ninian, who was? ..... 79  
Nynio, son of Erb ..... 82, 83  
Orr, Mr James, schoolmaster at San-  
quhar ..... 168  
Otto, James, in Newark ..... 164  
Oven at Castle Loch ..... 49  
Palmeacastle ..... 91  
Park, House of ..... 223  
— Robert, Provost of Sanquhar,  
spouse of Margaret Wilson ... 145  
Pascent, son of Cattegirn, 86, 87, 88  
Paton, Rev. John S. .... 222  
Pecthelm, Bishop of Whithorn ... 80  
Peetwine, Bishop of Whithorn ..... 80  
Peibio, son of Erb ..... 82, 83  
Physgill ..... 99, 224  
Pistol, double barrelled (Summerhill),  
228  
Pitsaw, vertical ..... 226  
Plants, distribution of ..... 9  
— reproduction of ..... 223  
Porter, John, in Strawmilligane ... 136  
Postal service in Galloway (1764), 133  
Powder horn, Swedish, 1693 ..... 227  
Radford, C. A. Raleigh, 28, 41, 54, 62,  
63, 92, 96, 158, 223, 224  
Rae, James, merchant in Dumfries, 147  
Rankine, Elizabeth, spouse of William  
Wilson of Strawmilligane ... 141  
— Rev. William, minister of San-  
quhar ..... 161  
Reid, R. C. ... 28, 41, 42, 47, 53,  
94, 99, 135, 158, 224, 227  
Rennie, Mr James ..... 42  
Richardson, Dr James S. .... 102  
— William, shoemaker, Dumfries, 222  
Richmond, Professor ..... 193  
Rickson, Major William ..... 120  
Riddell, Jean, spouse of Sir Robert  
Laurie of Maxwellton ... 114, 118  
— John, advocate ..... 104  
Road bridges in Galloway ..... 121  
— estimates for ..... 126  
Roman Pottery of 2nd Century, dating  
of ..... 190  
— finds at Castle Loch ... 56, 60, 61  
— fort at Broomholm ..... 188  
— fort at Gilnockie ..... 188  
— forts at Milton (1950),  
199, 200, 215  
Rorieson, Gilbert, slain ..... 139  
Rosnat (see Whithorn) ..... 84  
Ross of Balkail, Mr ..... 130  
Rowatt, Rev. Thomas, Cameronian  
minister ..... 167  
Ruthwell, early cross at ..... 158  
St. Cadog ..... 82, 85  
St. David ..... 85  
St. Dubricius ..... 81, 82  
St. Fillan, Bell of ..... 78  
St. Finnian of Moville ..... 39, 40  
St. Fridianus, Bishop of Lucca (see  
St. Finnian).  
St. Germanus ..... 86, 90, 91  
St. Gildas, son of Caw ..... 82  
St. Iltud ..... 82  
St. Joseph, Dr ..... 200  
St. Lua's Oratory, Killaloe ..... 38  
St. Martin of Tours ..... 97  
St. Maucannus (see St. Meugan), 85  
St. Meugan (Mawgan), in Kemes, son  
of Kyndaf ..... 84, 85, 86  
St. Ninian's Cave ..... 96, 224

- St. Patrick's Chapel, Whitesands, 35, 40
- St. Patrick ..... 79
- St. Samson of Dol ..... 81, 82
- Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, 225
- Sanquhar, Bible Society at ..... 174
- Cameronian Church at ..... 167
- Church in 19th Century ..... 161
- Old Church, description of ... 162
- the Disruption in ..... 169
- Fairs at ..... 176
- new manse at ..... 164
- list of Heritors of ..... 163
- list of Kirk Session (1835) ... 168
- stipend of ..... 164
- Good Templar Lodge at ..... 175
- Temperance Society at ..... 175
- Townhead of ..... 164
- Mr Wilson's Inn ..... 161
- Scar Rocks, birds on ..... 222
- Scots Fusiliers at Dumfries (1764), 131
- Scott, Sir Walter ..... 94
- Selim, son of Cinan ..... 86, 87
- Sevira, daughter of Maximus and spouse of Vortigern ..... 88, 89
- Shancastell, lands of, 105, 108, 109, 111
- Dune of ..... 112
- Sherman, J. W., junr. .... 16
- Silhouettes, cutting ..... 222
- Simpson, Dr Douglas ..... 223
- Singleton, William, Methodist ... 64
- Sitlington of Stanehouse, John, spouse of Susanna Wilson ..... 142
- Skelston (Dunscore), lands of ... 146
- Smallwood, Mr James, architect, Drumlanrig ..... 164
- Smith, William, in Auchenskeoch, 164
- Snade, Place of ..... 107
- Somerled, father of Fergus ..... 95
- Stainton, Mr J. H. .... 222
- Stevenson, R. B. K. .... 41, 62, 186
- Stevenson, A. C. (Nyasaland) ... 226
- Stewart of Ballydrane, John, spouse of Anna Wilson ..... 142
- of Cairnmore, George M'Leod, 103
- of Garlies, Alexander ..... 136
- of Glasserton, Stair Hathorn, and spouse of Margaret Johnston, 102
- of Physgill, Agnes, spouse of John Hathorn ..... 100, 101
- of Physgill, Alexander (d. 1645), 99
- of Physgill, John, W.S. .... 99
- of Physgill, Robert H. Johnston, 102
- of Physgill, William ..... 101
- of Tonderghie, Hugh ..... 101
- Stewart—continued
- Agnes, daughter of Thomas S. and spouse of John Stewart of Physgill ..... 100
- John, parson of Kirkmahoe ... 99
- Thomas, Provost of Wigtown, 100
- William, road contractor ... 124
- Stone Axe from Duloch ... 186, 228
- Stone mould, Bronze Age ..... 227
- Strommilligane, lands of, 136, 140, 141
- Stuart, Lord David ..... 28, 41
- Sturgeon of Torrorie, Andrew ... 141
- Sweetman, Mrs ..... 71
- Symson, Rev. Andrew, 28, 77, 78, 105
- Tagartstoun, lands of ..... 137
- Thackeray in Dumfries ..... 71
- Theodosius, Count ..... 88
- Thomson of Woodhouse, Provost, 67
- Mr James, architect ... 162, 164
- Thomson [ ], spouse of Ann Wilson ..... 146
- Tintagel, monastic buildings of ... 35
- Tipulinae of Solway Area, list of, 157
- Trade token (1792) ..... 227
- Train, Joseph ..... 94
- Truckell, A. E. .... 197, 198
- Tutagual (Tudwal), King of Man, son of Eidinet ..... 81
- Tutgild, daughter of Brychan ..... 87
- Vaus of Barnbarroch, Sir Patrick, 54
- Veitch of Elioek, James, younger, 165
- Henry ..... 162
- Vortigern ... 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91
- Vortiporius, King of Dyfed ..... 90
- Walker, William C., in Cornwall ... 28
- Wallace Hall ..... 148
- Water beetles ..... 13
- Watson, George, M. A. .... 179
- Wells, John, in Skelston ..... 148
- Whithorn, Bells of ..... 75
- Cathedral of ..... 84, 93, 94
- chapel at Isle of ... 36, 39, 47
- masonry of ..... 36
- Wightman, Alexander, in Dalpeddar, Elder in Sanquhar ..... 166, 172
- Wigtown Church, masonry of ... 36
- Wilkes, John M. P. .... 122
- William the clerk (1220) ..... 95
- Williamson, Katharine, spouse of John Porter in Strommilligane ... 136
- Samuel, in M'Querstoun Park ... 148
- Wilson of Benbreck, Gilbert ..... 136
- of Benbreck, Thomas ..... 136
- of Craigsolace, John, son of Andrew ..... 137
- of Croglin, James, son of William and spouse of Elizabeth Gordon, 144, 145

## Wilson—continued.

- of Croglin, John (1), spouse of Marion Kirkpatrick ... 136, 137
- of Croglin, John (2), son of Matthew (2) and spouse of Helen Maxwell, 139, 140, 141
- of Croglin, John (3), son of John (2), spouse of Margaret Dalzell, 141, 142
- of Croglin, Matthew (1) ..... 135
- of Croglin, Matthew (2), spouse of Janet Kirkpatrick, 138, 139, 144
- of Croglin, Thomas, son of John (1), and spouse of Agnes Grierson ..... 136, 137
- of Croglin, Walter (1), son of James, and spouse of Isabella Gordon ..... 145, 146, 147
- of Croglin, Walter (2), son of Walter (1) ..... 146
- of Croglin, William, son of John (3), and spouse of (1) Sarah Grierson; (2) Margaret Kirkpatrick; (3) Mariota Wishert, 142, 143, 144
- of Drumcowe, Alexander ... 144
- of Holmshaw, Janet, daughter of William Wilson of Holmshaw, and spouse of Captain James Lawsons ..... 149
- of Holmshaw, William, son of William Wilson, in Wanlockhead, 149
- of Kirkconnell, Matthew ..... 135
- of Land, William ..... 142
- of Stronmilligane, James, son of John Wilson (2) of Croglin, and spouse of Helen Crichton, 141, 144
- Stronmilligane, Mr John, son of James and spouse of Sarah Fergusson ..... 141
- of Stronmilligane, William, son of Mr John Wilson, and spouse of Elizabeth Rankine ..... 141
- Mr Alec ..... 135
- Alexander, son of Mr John Wilson of Stronmilligane ..... 141
- Andrew, in Laggan, spouse of Agnes Coittis ..... 137
- Anna, daughter of John Wilson (2) of Croglin, and spouse of John Stewart ..... 142
- Ann, daughter of Walter Wilson (1) of Croglin and spouse of [ ] Thomson ..... 146
- Christian, daughter of Thomas Wilson of Croglin ..... 138

## Wilson—continued.

- Ebenezer, bookseller and bailie of Dumfries, spouse of Mary Carruthers ..... 148
- Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Wilson (1) of Croglin ..... 146
- Francis, writer in Edinburgh, son of William Wilson of Holmshaw, 149
- Francis W. S., son of Ebenezer Wilson ..... 148
- Gavin, son of William Wilson of Croglin ..... 145
- George, son of John Wilson (2) of Croglin ..... 141
- Gilbert in Corferding and in Bennan ..... 136
- Isabel, daughter of Walter Wilson (1) of Croglin ..... 146
- James, son of Mr John Wilson of Stronmilligane ..... 141
- Janet, daughter of Thomas Wilson of Croglin, and spouse of Gilbert Grierson ..... 138
- Jean, daughter of John Wilson (2) of Croglin, and spouse of Mr George Clelland ..... 142
- John, son of John Wilson (3) of Croglin ..... 143
- John, son of William Wilson of Croglin ..... 144
- John, brother to James Wilson of Stronmilligane ..... 141
- John, merchant in Dumfries, 146
- Katharine, daughter of Thomas Wilson of Croglin ..... 138
- Margaret, daughter of John Wilson (2) of Croglin, and spouse of Quintigern Maxwell ..... 142
- Margaret, daughter of William Wilson of Croglin, and spouse of (1) Robert Carmichael of Corss and (2) Robert Park ..... 145
- Margaret, daughter of Walter Wilson (1) of Croglin ..... 146
- Marion, daughter of James Wilson of Croglin, and spouse of Alex. Gordon of Shirmers ..... 145
- Robert, son of James Wilson of Croglin ..... 145
- Robert, son of John Wilson (2) of Croglin ..... 141
- Robert, son of William Wilson of Croglin ..... 144
- Susanna, daughter of John Wilson (2) of Croglin, and spouse of John Sitlington of Staneshouse ... 142
- Rev. Thomas, minister of Tynron, 147

Wilson—continued.

— William, in Wanlockhead, spouse of Sarah Johnston .....	149
— William, in Barnwells .....	147
— William, mason in Sanquhar, 162	
Wine bottle, 18th Century .....	226

Wishert, Mariota, daughter of William Wishert, and spouse of William Wilson of Croglin .....	144
— William, merchant, Burgess of Irving .....	144
Ynyr Gwent, son of Caradog .....	82
Ysfael, son of Cunedda .....	84

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A Bibliography of the Parish of Annan, by Frank Miller, F.S.A. Scot., 7s 6d.

Mr Flinn, Clydesdale Bank, Dumfries, will answer enquiries regarding the above, and may be able to supply numbers *out of print*.