

PROCEEDINGS.

SUMMER MEETING.

THE first excursion of the season was held in Galloway, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, June 24th, 25th and 26th, 1925. The committee for local arrangements consisted of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, Mr. R. C. Reid, Mr. J. F. Curwen, the Rev. Dr. King Hewison, Mr. W. T. McIntire and Mr. Edward Wilson. Among those who took part during the three days were, Mr. W. G. Collingwood and Miss Ursula Collingwood, Coniston; Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson and Miss Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. J. F. Curwen and Mrs. Curwen, Heversham; Ven. Archdeacon Campbell, Chancellor of Carlisle; the Rev. and Mrs. Donald Jones, Mealsgate; Mr. and Mrs. Johnstone, Lazonby; Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Fletcher, Workington; Mr. W. T. McIntire, Heversham; Miss Thompson, Workington; Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Dudgeon, Stainburn; Mr. and Mrs. P. H. Fox, St. Bees; Mr. J. McKay, Cockermouth; Mr. J. R. Mason and Mr. H. Valentine, Workington; the Rev. Dr. King Hewison, Thornhill; Mrs. Walker, Whitehaven; Mr., Mrs. and Miss Graham, Wetheral; Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Dent, Grange; Mrs. Saunders, Wetheral; Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Martindale, Wetheral; Mrs. Gordon, Whitehaven; Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Reid, and Mrs. and Miss Abercrombie, Cleughbrae; Mr. A. Heaton-Cooper, Ambleside; Miss D. V. Highmoor, Mrs. Ratcliffe and Mr. T. W. Ridley, Kirkbythore; Commander C. S. Jackson, Yanwath; Mr. W. Gill, Stainton; Mr. W. N. Ling, Wetheral; Mr. and Mrs. Llewellyn, Arnside; Mr. and Mrs. E. Lindsell Hunt, Carlisle; Mr. and Mrs. J. Backhouse Beckton and Mrs. Roberts, Carlisle; Mrs. Donald, Mealsgate; Mr. H. Lonsdale, Rosehill; Mr. T. J. Stordy, Thurstonfield; the Misses Heneage, Wetheral; Mrs. Harold Carr, Carlisle; Mr. and Mrs. Sewell, Gretna; Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Carson, Abbey Town; Mr. Arnold M. Beaty, Mr. C. W. Robinson, Carlisle; Mrs. Bewley, Rosley; Mr. Edward Wilson, Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Wilson, and Mr. E. Geoffrey Wilson, Kendal. Others met or accompanied the visitors at various points making the total strength of the "Invasion of Galloway," as local newspapers called it, about 200, when on the

second day the party was joined by a number of members of the Dumfries and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Society. The weather was exceptionally fine throughout the first two days; on the third slightly overcast at times, but with sunny intervals. Beside the usual programme, a twelve-page pamphlet by "W. G. C. and R. C. R." describing the route was supplied to those who took tickets for the meeting.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24th.

Leaving Dumfries station at 11-45 in two of Percival's large motor-coaches and a number of private cars, we reached New Abbey at 12-15, where we were welcomed by Major and Mrs. Stewart of Shambellie and Miss Stewart, and the Rev. William Sutherland, minister of New Abbey. A paper was read by Mr. M. H. McKerrow of Dumfries, of which the following is an abstract.

SWEETHEART ABBEY.

The sources of the information here given are:—"The Book of Caerlaverock"; Anderson's unpublished "History of Scotland" in the Advocates' Library; the writings of the late Rev. Dr. Wilson of this parish, "Devorgilla, Lady of Galloway, and her Abbey of Sweetheart," by Wentworth Huyshe (1913); the proceedings of the Ayrshire and Wigtownshire Archæological Society for 1899; "Report of the Ancient Monuments Commission relative to Galloway." The Spottiswoode papers, if they still exist, would be a great find; but it is to be feared that most of the ancient documents were burned at the Reformation at the Market Cross of Dumfries as popish relics.

The chroniclers state that Sweetheart Abbey (*Abbas Dulcis Cordis*) was founded in 1273 by the lady Devorgilla, daughter of Alan, lord of Galloway. She was lady of half Galloway in her own right and of the other half at the death of her sister, and thus one of the richest heiresses in Scotland. She married John de Balliol of Barnard Castle in Yorkshire; their son John reigned king of Scotland as the creature of Edward of England, and was succeeded by his not more fortunate son, Edward Balliol. Their daughter Marjory married the Black Comyn and bore him a son, the Red Comyn. Devorgilla, born in 1215, lived for the most part at Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire, and not infrequently at Barnard Castle and at Buittle Castle in the Stewarty of Kirkcudbright; it was at Fotheringay that she met John de Balliol. She was not only good, as the chroniclers tell us, but rich, pleasant and of "beaute," and was married in 1228 when she was fifteen

years of age. Her father Alan died soon after, and John's father also died, leaving the young people possessors of what was probably the largest estate in the country. They remained forty years man and wife, and when in 1269 John died, she caused his body to be embalmed, and his heart to be enclosed in a casket which she carried with her. Whenever she sat down to meals it was placed where he used to sit, and whenever she entered a room she paid low obeisance to the heart of her dear husband.

Six years after his death she fixed on the site of Sweetheart, and gave orders that the best architects should rear there a Cistercian abbey worthy to commemorate him, to contain also her own tomb before the high altar. She ordered that the casket containing the Sweetheart should be laid on her breast so that they who were lovely and loving in their lives, in death should not be divided. That is how this beautiful ruin came to be known as Sweetheart Abbey.

The invading troops of Edward I brought destruction to the abbey's property, but not, apparently, to its fabric. In 1299 the abbot petitioned the English king for a grant of the abbey lands, as the convent had been so impoverished by unlawful requisitions that the monks were not able to maintain themselves in the services of God. Their wool, deposited at Holm Cultram, had been seized by an English knight, and their loss through destruction and burning amounted to £5,000. Their petition was granted in part, though they do not appear to have received compensation. The principal offender was Sir John St. John, who had obtained an English grant of the Balliol lands.

In 1301 a spy reported to King Edward that the future Edward II was on a pilgrimage to St. Ninian's shrine at Whithorn. The monks there, fearing the English approach, removed the miracle-working image of the Saint to New Abbey for safety. Next morning they found that it was gone, having miraculously transported itself back to Whithorn. The spy added that he ought to have his money paid from one day to another; but it is to be hoped that King Edward did not pay highly for this kind of news.

By 1383 the abbey had suffered not only from the inroads of Edward II but also in the fighting when the Douglasses expelled the Balliols from Galloway. The abbey was accidentally destroyed in a fire caused by lightning, and it might be thought that its life was at a low ebb; but just at this moment one of the monks, Thomas de Kirkcudbright, who had recently been made a papal chaplain, received from the abbey a pension of £10 for five years

to enable him to study at a university. He held the vicarage of Lochindeloch, and "desired to acquire the pearl of knowledge." History does not record whether Thomas found the riches he sought.

At the Reformation the lands were feued out, and the fabric was allowed to perish. Until 1779 it served as a quarry, when through the efforts of its enlightened minister, Mr. Wright, this pillage ceased. In recent years it has been preserved with loving care as one of the noblest and most beautiful monastic remains in the country.

The Rev. William Sutherland then took the party round the ruins, describing in a very lucid manner the remaining features of the regular Cistercian plan. One of the facts he pointed out was the absence of ordinary symmetry in details, which no doubt contributes to the singularly artistic charm of the design.

The thanks of the Society were returned to the speakers by Mr. J. H. Martindale, F.S.A.

Travelling thence by Loch Kindar and round Criffell, past Kirkbean; Arbigland, the birthplace of Paul Jones, "Father of the American navy"; Preston Mill, celebrated in a song by Allan Cunningham on Jean Walker, "the lovely lass of Preston Mill" and afterwards his wife; then by Mainsriddle near the site of Wreaths Tower, said to have been built by the Regent Morton, executed in 1581; Southwick, Auchenskeoch Castle, Dalbeattie and Orchardton House, where stands (though we did not see it) one of the few round towers of Scotland, we arrived at Dundrennan.

In the absence of the Rev. Alex. H. Christie, B.D., minister of Rerrick and author of *The Abbey of Dundrennan* (Dalbeattie, 1914), his notes on the Cistercian Abbey were read by Mr. W. G. Collingwood. The following is an abstract.

DUNDRENNAN ABBEY.

The records have disappeared and details have to be found from external sources. It is believed that the abbey was founded by King David I and Fergus, lord of Galloway; the Melrose Chronicle dates it 1142. Mr. Christie gives the names of twenty-three abbots and commendators, from Sylvanus, a monk of Rievaulx who returned thither in 1167 to succeed the famous Ailred. The most distinguished of the list was Thomas Livingston, who represented the Scottish church at the Council of Basel in 1433 and took a leading part in the deposition of Pope Eugenius IV. In

1584, Mary, Queen of Scots, is said to have taken refuge here after her defeat at Langside, guided by John Maxwell, lord Herries, father of the commendator at the time: and on May 16th she took boat for Workington at a creek which Mr. Christie identifies with Burnfoot Bay. In 1606 the abbey was suppressed and the lordship of Dundrennan was given to John Murray, the last commendator.

The revenues can only be inferred from scattered notices. In 1299 the monks petitioned Edward I for £8,000 damages in consideration of loss by war. In 1305 he granted them free warren in many estates. In 1328 land of theirs in co. Meath had been seized by the English in Ireland, and in spite of the king's orders it was not returned to them. But later they received considerable properties from Robert Bruce and David II.

After the dissolution the derelict abbey is said to have supplied stone for building the Courthouse of Kirkcudbright in 1642 and was again robbed in 1684. When bishop Pococke saw it in 1760, he found the ruins much as they now are, though encumbered with débris. By 1789 the (old) manse and other houses had been built out of its stones. In 1838 the earl of Selkirk began clearing the rubbish and making some repairs, and after 1841 further work of this kind was done. H.M. Office of Works started in 1906 to remove the ivy, find the floor-levels, and mend the fabric. Mr. Christie himself has made explorations in the garden of his manse and discovered the buildings south of the cloister-garth.

The plan is, of course, that of all Cistercian houses. The present entrance, by the great west door of the church, has been much rebuilt, and the north and south walls of the church have been partly restored. The quire-screen ran across the nave at the fifth of the seven pairs of piers, and tradition has it that the tower was 200 feet high, an unlikely statement in view of the restraint in tower-building imposed on the Cistercians. The north transept shows 12th century work below, passing into First Pointed above; and though the upper parts were much damaged by the storm of 1839, the round-headed windows of the clerestory can be seen to have been reduced in height by the addition of the triforium. Both transepts had eastern aisles, divided up into chapels with groined roofs, and shut off by wooden screens. The effigy under a round arch in the north transept is believed to be that of Alan, lord of Galloway, buried here 1234; he was present at the signing of Magna Carta at Runnymede, 1215, and was father of Dervorgilla, founder of Sweetheart Abbey. The corresponding niche, with a pointed arch, is supposed

to have held the effigy of his wife. In the transepts and quire are many post-Reformation graves, and two doorways and some patching of the walls hereabouts are modern; but the very hard stone, from Netherlaw in this parish, still retains much nail-head and other detail in a crisp condition.

Passing through the south doorway of the south transept we enter a small room usually called the Sacristy, or a slype (corresponding to what Sir W. St. John Hope plotted at Furness as a book-closet) and thence to the cloister-garth. The corbels in the wall of the church on this side have been found and inserted recently; they may represent arches over the monks' seats, of which foundations are traceable. In front of the doorway to the chapter house is a slab to Prior Blakomor, *c.* 1305; the chapter house itself is apparently a late 13th century rebuilding of an earlier structure. It contains grave-slabs to abbots of the 12th to the 14th century and the matrix of a fine brass to a knight and a lady. Above the chapter house was the Scriptorium, of which part of a window can be seen.

Only a buttress remains of the infirmary, removed in 1843 to build intended offices to the manse. The day-room, over which was the dormitory of the monks, is also represented only by a fragment abutting on the cloister; but Mr. Christie has found a great fireplace in it, from which he concludes that it was used as the calefactory. He also has found in his garden the footings of the frater, of which only the large doorway is visible, and behind it what he took to be the kitchen.

On the west of the cloister the cellarer's buildings are well preserved, with the floor of the dormitory above. Alterations have been noticed showing traces of earlier buildings (perhaps of the conversi, who died out as a class after the middle of the 14th century: see these *Transactions*, *o.s.* xvi, 277). And returning to the entrance we notice monuments now inserted there;—a 13th century effigy of an abbot; a slab to [*? Sibylla q[uo]ndam domina Orche* [*? Orchardton*], *d.* 1440; one to Patrick Douglas, cellarer, 1480; and one to Sir William Livingstone of Culter, dated 1607, though he was actually living in 1611.

Mr. J. F. Curwen followed with appreciation of the very beautiful design and proportions of the buildings as considered from an architect's point of view; and with thanks to the Rev. A. H. Christie. Thanks are also due to H.M. Office of Works, Edinburgh, by whose courtesy a free pass was furnished to this party visiting this and other sites under its care.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

At Kirkcudbright, tea was taken at the Royal Hotel and at 5.0 Mr. R. C. Reid gave an address in the Greyfriars Chapel on the landmarks of early history, still to be seen in the town. There was the circular camp, he said, with its earthen rampart crowning the crest of the hill where lived the early Britons. Then there was the crannog or island home of our forbears when Angles were settling in the district, followed by the Norman settlement in the 12th century with its Mote—sure hall-mark of the feudalism that came with it. The mote was followed by the grim Edwardian castle at the Castledykes, the site of which was excavated about twelve years ago. It again gave place to the 16th century castle of the MacClellans. The ecclesiastical antiquities of Kirkcudbright were just as interesting as its civil remains. He then referred to the visit of Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, on the feast of St. Cuthbert, when a bull, offered in oblation to the saint, was tied to a stake and baited by the students. Ailred was "shocked at such unclerical barbarity and rebuked the young men, one of whom, telling him to mind his own business, was straightway gored by the bull." The traces of this early church, granted by Fergus, lord of Galloway, to Holyrood, could still be found in St. Cuthbert's churchyard. Beyond the bounds of the burgh was the site of the Priory of St. Mary's Isle. The church in which they were was on the site of the Norman mote. The flattened summit of the mote, known as the Mote Brae, gave no indications of its original height and proportions and, from its name, it must have had a much more imposing appearance. The Edwardian castle did not appear to have survived the War of Independence. It was lying waste in 1336, and became a quarry for new buildings, so that nothing now remained but the mounds, in one of which exploration showed a tower that ranks among the largest known towers in Scotland. At the Reformation, Sir Thomas MacClellan of Bombie received a crown charter of the monastery and its possessions, on a portion of which he erected his town house, now known as the Castle of the MacClellans; its roofless ruin is the most conspicuous landmark in the town. Mr. Reid then gave extracts from the burgh records, illustrating life in the 16th century, and described the MacClellan tomb in the last remaining portion of the ancient church, which had been almost entirely demolished in 1730, to make way for the present structure. After 1837 it ceased to be the parish church, and became a school, later coming into possession of its present proprietors, the Greyfriars Episcopal congregation.

Mr. Reid then conducted the company to MacClellan's castle, built in 1582, and described its architectural features, and to the Tolbooth, built in 1625 and at subsequent intervals. Previously St. Andrew's church, the site of which is occupied by the County and other buildings, was used as the Tolbooth. Mr. Reid directed attention to the tower, built of stones from Dundrennan abbey, the cells, the cross and the joughs or pillory still *in situ*. Mr. J. F. Curwen proposed the hearty thanks of the visitors to Mr. Reid, and remarked on the architectural interest of the old Tolbooth. Mr. Collingwood, in seconding, mentioned the additional pleasure derived from the presence of the celebrated artist, Mr. E. A. Hornel of Kirkcudbright, himself also an antiquary and the collector of a valuable library of old local books.

From Kirkcudbright the route lay past the site of the Cistercian abbey of Tongland and through Twynholm and Gatehouse-of-Fleet, passing the ruins of Cardoness castle, a stronghold of the McCullochs, and the Green Mote of Boreland, to Anwoth Old Church, where in the picturesque ruin a paper was read by Mr. R. C. Reid of which we give an abstract.

ANWOTH CHURCH.

The ruined church, dated over the entrance 1627, replaces a pre-Reformation building of which the site is mentioned in the twelfth century, when David, son of Terri (see these *Transactions*, N.S. xv, 186; xvii, 219, 224) gave the church of Anwoth and the chapel of Cardiness to the abbey of Holyrood. The family of David probably lived at the Green Tower Mote on the farm of Borland, and this gift must have been prompted by the example of the overlords, Fergus of Galloway and his son Uchtred, who had given to the same abbey the churches of Dunrod, Galtway, and St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright, Tongland, Tyname, Kelton, Kirkandrews and Kirkcormac. Two hundred and fifty years later, the perpetual vicar of Anwoth was William de Kirkcaldis, non-resident, who delegated his duties to Alexander de Kinglasey. But in 1433 the bishop of Whithorn ordered Kirkcaldis back to his parish, and on his failure to comply, collated his own chaplain, Stephen Forest, to the vicarage; on which Kinglasey appealed to the pope, who ordered an inquiry by the provost of Lincluden. This seems to have gone against Kinglasey, who a year or two later was presented to the living of Musselburgh. In 1538 Alexander McCulloch of Cardiness was charged with an attack on Archibald Cairns and his son Henry and effusion of blood in Anwoth church. The early cross-slab, found in the churchyard

some twenty years ago, has been ascribed by Mr. Collingwood to about 1100 (*Dumfries and Galloway N. H. and A. Soc., Transactions*, 3rd series, x, 229). The tomb of the family of Gordon of Cardiness, of early seventeenth century date, is the finest monument of the early Renaissance in Galloway. On the central panel between the gablets is a shield bearing three boars' heads erased, for Gordon. The same arms figure on the other side of the panel with the initials of John and William Gordon. On the main panels are the arms of Gordon and Muir, with the initials of William Gordon and Marion Muir, "goodwyfe of Cullindach, departed this life, anno 1612." and verses to her memory. The central shield bears the Gordon arms impaling two chevrons for MacLellan, and the initials of John Gordon and "Margaret Maclellane, good wife of Ardwell; departed this life, 2 Aprile, 162-, aetatis suae 31," also with a rhymed epitaph. The third shield also bears the Gordon arms with initials for John Gordon and "Christian Makcaddam, Lady Cardiness, departed 16th January, 1628, aetatis suae 33," and her epitaph in verse. Another monument called the Covenanters' Stone belongs to the period to be described by the next speaker.

The following is an abstract of Dr. King Hewison's address.

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

Samuel Rutherford, a most distinguished minister of the Church of Scotland, was born in Roxburghshire about the year 1600, and graduated Master of Arts in Edinburgh in 1621. On account of his proficiency in classical literature he was appointed professor of Latin in 1623. On account of some irregularity in his marriage with Euphame Hamilton he had to resign that position. After studying theology he was appointed minister of Anwoth in 1627. There his young wife and his mother died. Opposition to the "Articles of Perth" and to Arminianism brought him into conflict with Sydserff, Bishop of Galloway, who caused his deposition and his exile to Aberdeen. There he entered into successful disputation with the Aberdeen Doctors, and wrote a learned work against Arminianism. Appointed in 1638 a delegate to the General Assembly of Glasgow which abolished Episcopacy in the Scottish Church, he thereafter returned to his duties in Anwoth for a year, when he was appointed to the Church of St. Andrews and the professoriate of divinity in St. Andrews University. He was succeeded in Anwoth by John Mein son of John Mein and Barbara Hamilton—the latter

being reputed to be the "Jenny Geddes" who hurtled the stool on the St. Giles' Riot. In 1640 he married again. In 1643 he was appointed a member of the famous Westminster Assembly and became one of its most notable debaters, and composer of the famous Confession of Faith.

His pen was never idle. Among his many publications his "Lex Rex," proving that all persons in the kingdom, from the monarch to the peasant, were amenable to the Law of God, and also to the Civil Law of the realm, was considered to be treasonable and was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. Other learned polemic works in favour of Presbyterianism and the Divine Right of Church Government, and Liberty of Conscience followed. In 1649 he was appointed Principal of the New College of St. Andrews and afterwards Rector.

At the Restoration, 1661, Rutherford, considered to be treasonable, was deprived of his office, and was summoned before Parliament, but died on 29th March, 1661, before the royalist, episcopal government could bring him to judgment. While dying his last words were "I shall live and adore Him (Christ). Glory, Glory to my Creator, and my Redeemer for ever. Glory shines in Immanuel's land." The last words form the basis of the beautiful hymn of Mrs. Cousin, entitled 'The sands of Time are sinking,' which thus concludes:—

"Where glory, glory dwelleth
In Immanuel's Land."

The thanks of the Society were returned to the speakers by Chancellor Campbell, vice-president, and Mr. W. G. Collingwood mentioned that he had recently received, by the kindness of Lady Ardwall, a rubbing of a cross-slab on Ardwall Island at the mouth of the Fleet. This new cross was similar in many respects to that in Anwoth Old Church and seemed to belong to a series with which he had tried to deal in the Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Antiq. Soc. (third series, vol. x, pp. 227-229). Time did not allow of a visit to the vitrified fort on the hill above, with the stones bearing curious Pictish symbols like those of N.E. Scotland (figured in Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, i, plate 97, and J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, fig. 507) but on this tour we could only hope to sample a district so extremely rich in ancient remains.

Passing Cardoness House, in the grounds of which are two late crosses from High Auchenlarie; Kirkclaugh, where is another late cross from the mote on the shore of Wigtown Bay (for both see *D. and G. Ant. Soc. Trans.* as above); the ruins of Barholm

Castle, usually identified with Scott's "Ellangowan" in *Guy Mannerling*, and the cave which suggested the refuge of Dirk Hatteraick in the same novel (now difficult of access to a large party); passing also Carsluith Castle, owned in 1364 by the Bruness, scions of Brun de la Ferté well known in Cumberland, the granite quarries and Creetown, we arrived about 8-30 at Newton-Stewart. Accommodation was found for two nights at the Crown, Creebridge House, Galloway Arms, Grapes and Black Horse hotels; and no evening meetings were held.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25th, 1925.

Before starting, a Council meeting was held at the Crown Hotel. It was agreed to hold the next meeting early in September with the special object of seeing the explorations at Willowford Roman bridge and to invite the Dumfries and Galloway Society to take part in the excursion. A donation of £5 was voted to one of our vice-presidents, Mr. F. G. Simpson, towards the expenses of digging at Aesica.

At 10-30 the combined party of members of the Dumfries and Galloway Society and our own started for Wigtown. The weather continued very fine and warm throughout the day. In front of Wigtown Old Church, Mr. R. C. Reid, on behalf of the local society, welcomed the visitors and gave the address of which the following is an abstract.

PRE-REFORMATION WIGTOWN.

Of the early history very little is known. In 1296 the name was spelt *Wygeton*. Like Kirkcudbright and Dumfries it had its church and castle, perhaps also its monastery, outside the town, which was not defensively walled, although it had two narrow "ports," more useful for levying custom than for defence. The castle, down on the flat land by the river, was undoubtedly meant to protect the harbour in days when shipping came up so far. In 1341 Sir Malcolm Fleming received a grant of Wigtownshire including this burgh as his principal manor. His grandson sold his whole rights in 1372 to Archibald Douglas for £500, and thus both parts of Galloway became united; but Wigtown still remained a burgh of regality. In 1455 the Earls of Douglas were overthrown and Galloway was annexed to the crown; two years later Wigtown became a royal burgh. The last reference to the castle is in 1451, by which time it was no doubt ruinous, but in 1291 it was important enough to be held by Walter de Corrie under Edward I. An account of its retaking by Wallace has been preserved by

Blind Harry and we are told that a Scottish garrison was placed in it under Sir Adam de Gordon, ancestor of the Gordons of Lochinvar. It is probable that it was destroyed by Bruce in conformity to his usual practice. In 1830 Capt. Robert McKerlie made some excavations and found a drawbridge and moat; the walls had been robbed for building houses, but mortar remained; so that it was probably a stone castle of the thirteenth century.

The monastery of Dominican or Blackfriars has also disappeared and even the site is not certainly known. Wyntoun says it was founded by Devorgilla, founder of Sweetheart abbey; less authoritative is the date 1267. The Exchequer Rolls record the payment of ten merks a year from the burgh fermes to the monks and they had a number of small annual rents in the burgh; also Monkhill, the site of the present manse, and fisheries in the river Bladenoch. The names of four of their priors are known; and as this was a stopping-place for the many royal and other pilgrims to Whithorn, a grant was made out of the Exchequer in 1528 of £10 towards the repair of the buildings. At the Reformation the friars' land passed to the Earl of Galloway.

The old church, now ruined, is the rebuilt pre-Reformation church, of which part of the east wall, with buttresses and string-course of the First Pointed period, still remains. It was dedicated to St. Machutus (bishop of St. Malo in A.D. 627) and it had chapels to the Virgin Mary and to St. Ninian founded in 1495. The church was a rectory in 1308 when the monks of Sweetheart Abbey asked Edward II for it in compensation for their losses in the wars; but in 1312-18, Edward Bruce, lord of Galloway, granted it to Whithorn priory, which held it until the close of the fifteenth century, when it appears again as a rectory and in lay patronage.

THE WIGTOWN MARTYRS.

Dr. King Hewison said that he felt honoured in being asked to that sacred spot to say a few words regarding these noble martyrs who gave their lives not merely because they were patriots or Presbyterians, but still more because they believed in the private rights of individuals. They knew quite well the history of the maladministration which took place in the seventeenth century after the restoration of King Charles to the throne of England and Scotland, and how the spirited Presbyterians resisted the imposition of Episcopacy on the country from the time of the Reformation. In consequence of there being no statute law to put

down Conventicling and the meeting together of religious persons it was necessary for the Privy Council to make edicts of their own.

The edicts of the Privy Council of Scotland (they were not laws) by which the two Wigtown martyrs, Margaret Lauchlison and Margaret Wilson, were put to death, are these:—(1) Consequent on the publication of the "Society People's Declaration" by the Renwickian party authorising the punishment of their persecutors, the Privy Council, on 23rd November, 1684, gave the Justiciary Commission of the Southern and Western shires more powers than the usual "fire and sword" used against Conventiclers, authorising trial on the spot before a jury and instant execution of those who would not disown that Declaration. Further, on 13th January, 1685, the following addendum was authorised:—"But at this time you are not to examine any women but such as has been active in those courses in a signal manner, and these are to be drowned. (Sd.) Perth, Cancellr. Queensberry, Douglas, Wintoune, Linlithgow, Southesque, Tweeddale, Balcarres. Testibus—Geo. Mackenzie, W. Drummond, J. Grahame, William Hay, I. Wedderburne." Their trial, or examination, on 13th April, was no doubt regular, and both refused the Abjuration Oath. Petitions for reprieve were lodged with the Privy Council, which met on 30th April, 1685, nineteen councillors and no military being present. They resolved as follows:—"The Lords of his Majesties Privy Council doe hereby reprove the execution of the sentence of death pronounced by the Justices against Margaret Wilson and Margaret Lauchlison until the ——— day of ———, and discharges the magistrates of Edinburgh for putting of the said sentence to execution against them untill the forsaid day, and recommends the saidis Margret Wilson and Margret Lauchlison to the Lords Secretaries of State to interpose with his most sacred Majestie for his Royal remission to them." (The judges were Colonel James Douglas, Grierson of Lag, Major Winram, and Wm. Coltran of Drummoral and Capt. Strachan.)

The question arises, why was the reprieve not acted upon? Probably because the execution took place on the 2nd of May, before news of the reprieve could arrive at Wigtown. Both in his MS. "Scotia Sub Cruce," and his printed "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland" (1721), Woodrow indicates that the 11th day of May, 1685, was the date of the Wigtown tragedy using the numeral letters "ii" to indicate this date; yet, in his manuscript, when referring to the execution of Andrew Hislop "on the same day," he uses the letters "ii" indicating

the 2nd May. This gives rise to the suggestion that, after all, the "11" refers to the second, not to the eleventh day of May.

After the papers had been read, the Rev. Gavin Lawson, Wigtown, conducted the party round the churchyard, and pointed out the graves of the two women Covenanters who were drowned in the bay within sight of the burial ground, and also of those men who were hanged for adherence to the faith in which they believed.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood pointed out the shaft of a tenth century cross of the Whithorn pattern, preserved in the Old Church, and thanked the speakers in the name of the visitors.

Arriving at Whithorn Priory a little before scheduled time, we were met by the Rev. W. Arnold Reid, minister of Whithorn; and on the grass lawn to north of the crypt a paper was read by Mr. W. G. Collingwood on

CANDIDA CASA.

Others have told the story of St. Ninian as it is handed down by tradition and coloured by legend. But we are here as students of history. Three hundred years after the event, Bede wrote (Hist. Eccl. iii, §4) that Ninias was a Briton who studied in Rome and converted the Southern Picts; he built and named after St. Martin the White House, a church of stone which was not usual among the Britons. Of late years Professor Watson has told us that there were no Picts in Galloway for Ninian to convert. We must take it that Bede made a mistake in the name. But, if so, did he make a mistake in other statements?

The date is given as A.D. 397, because Ailred of Rievaulx (twelfth century) says that Ninian heard of the death of St. Martin while he was building Candida Casa. That was the time when the *Pax Romana* was finally broken. Hadrian's Wall was no longer defended. Evidence from archæology shows ("Roman Evacuation of Britain," by R. G. Collingwood, *J.R.S.*, 1922) that after Maximus took away the garrisons of the Wall and of Wales, Stilicho re-organised, about 395, some of the military forces. But he did nothing to refit Northumbria and Cumbria as a barrier against Picts and Scots. Was not Galloway the very place most exposed to attack? Why should Ninian choose to come here and be at the mercy of the first band of Picts from the North or Scots from over the Irish Sea? This is the difficulty that stands in the way of beginning our story: but I think it vanishes if we look a little closer.

One of the results of this recent archæological study is that precisely at this time, Scottish raids from Ireland ceased in these

northern parts. If they had been rife Stilicho would have regarrisoned Cumberland, as he did not: and yet Carlisle survived. The Picts came South through Redesdale to York. On the west, however, there was less to reward their raids; at any rate, they did not wipe out Carlisle. The chief enemies at that time were the Saxon pirates on the East coast, and the latest Roman governors of Britain threw all the weight of their defensive forces into the arrangements for repelling these Saxons. There was no Roman military or civil settlement in Galloway for enemies to attack. It has been supposed that the Rispaia fort near Whithorn was Roman, but that idea is not justified. Their military network of outposts never reached west of Birrens, on the other side of Dumfries; and that station had been abandoned for 200 years.

On the other hand the great attraction to the Irish Scots had latterly been Wales, where they not only raided, but settled during the fourth century. From Wales they went on to plunder the rich South of England. Bannaventa, the birth-place of St. Patrick, is the Roman name of the station near Daventry, in the very centre of the Midlands; and strange as it may seem to find the Scots there, this is what archæology suggests as possible. To approach the point from another side, we may note that the Irish King who was chiefly concerned in these attacks, Niall of the Nine Hostages (379-405), "was slain by Eochaidh, son of Enna Ceinnseallach, at Muir n'Icht, i.e., the sea between France and England"; these are the words of the Four Masters. They mean that Scots—this king and rival pirates—were ravaging the South coast of what is now England.

With these facts before us, let us merely consider the map and ask: What place in Britain was so likely to be quiet and fit for a monastic settlement as Whithorn?

But was not the country too barbarous for the reception of such a mission? We have said that there were no Romans in Galloway, but that does not preclude some leavening of its inhabitants with the Roman culture that was certainly prevalent in Cumberland. After the long three centuries of Roman influence they must have learnt something more than the rude Selgovæ and Novantæ knew in the days of Agricola. Carlisle could hardly be in peace, and the Romano-British people of Cumberland would hardly have survived, as they did, if there had been hostile savages within so short and easy a distance. It would be the business of their local governors to see that Galloway was no menace. That, at first, may have been the work of the fleet of M. Maenius Agrippa at Maryport; but, later on, this fleet disap-

pears, which seems to indicate that it was not needed. All this suggests a friendly kindred over the Solway and the legend that St. Ninian was the son of Christian parents in Galloway may have some truth underlying it.

The earliest monument at Whithorn is to one named Latinus; not a Roman, for it was set up by the family of Barrovados, a Brythonic name. It can hardly be later than the fifth century; possibly it is of the lifetime of St. Ninian; and it indicates the kind of people who were his neighbours, not his monks, because Latinus had a little daughter who was buried in the same grave. This tombstone was found at the Priory, and gives a reason to believe that the site of pilgrimages in after years was the true site of St. Ninian's church and abbey. The chapel at the Isle-of-Whithorn is thirteenth century; it may, like the Priory, be the successor to a previous foundation. There must have been outlying chapels from an early period, and the Isle was probably the port of the settlement. St. Ninian's cave, by the evidence of its monuments, cannot be proved to be of the primitive Christian times; but it may very well have been the Saint's occasional retreat. His abbey, if he began with a monastic settlement, was, of course, like Columba's, a collection of wooden houses; the church alone was of masonry. Bede writes of a "stately church" at Whithorn, but that was probably a work of a later time, for the Angles—with such churches as St. Wilfrid's at Hexham—were well able to improve upon the "little white house" of three hundred years earlier, and to build a suitable church for their bishop. But this anticipates.

It is a view often expressed that Ninian's foundation died out; that his work failed and found no one to continue it. That view is hardly tenable if we give weight to a few scraps of history that can be collected, and to the evidence of the monuments. If Ninian himself died about 430 we have no hints of his immediate successor; but soon afterwards there must have been at Whithorn a man celebrated in his time as the teacher of many notable saints, Manchan, who was called Nennio, or Mo-Nenn, as the representative of St. Ninian. He was followed by a second Mo-Nenn whose name was Mugint, hardly less celebrated. This carries us on into the sixth century, and towards the time when Columba's Iona would have superseded the school of Candida Casa, by then no doubt, beginning to be antiquated as a centre of learning. There was also, about the early part of the sixth century, a famous abbess, St. Medana, also called Mo-Nenna, as connected with the Ninian church. It was not unusual for nunneries to be founded

in connection with abbeys or monks; and we have her name in the Kirkmaiden in Fernis, the cave a little to north of St. Ninian's, which may have been hers. To her name also are other Kirkmaidens, whether founded in her lifetime or not. After this the centre of religious interest in Galloway shifts to Kirkmadrine for a time. An abbey seems to have existed there before and after A.D. 600, when we have neither monuments nor notices of Whithorn. And yet there was some sort of continuity, which is shown by the use of the same Chrismon or Chi-Rho design—a mark of the Roman primitive church—on the stone inscribed "The place of St. Peter the Apostle."

This stone is later than the monuments of Kirkmadrine, and the fact of its dedication to St. Peter, whose cult came into Scotland early in the eighth century, suggests its date. It means that by this time the Northumbrian Angles had begun to make their settlement here, bringing the dedication with them, but not wiping out the ancient traditions of the place. The stone has the old design with the new name. It tells us that Ninian's church was still there, but was now (about 700) reformed according to the Roman usage introduced by St. Wilfrid.

A generation after 700 the Angles were so numerous here that Bede, writing at the time, says they had a bishop of their own. To him a series of bishops succeeded, all of Anglian names, until 802; which shows the continuance of the colony. And even after the last bishop had left his see—no doubt frightened away by the great attack of Vikings upon Iona in that year—we know that the Anglian colony at Whithorn held its ground, because there is a series of ninth and early tenth century monuments in the style of the Northumbrians. Two of these (one at St. Ninian's cave) are inscribed in the Anglian language and runic writing; and these seem to be as late as the tenth century, to judge by the patterns they bear, compared with the late Anglian art of Yorkshire. Round about, in various parts of Galloway, the Scots had already settled and founded their churches to Gaelic saints; but in Whithorn itself the old Candida Casa, renewed under the Angles, still kept its identity.

One interesting episode of history confirms this. About 887 the Lindisfarne and Carlisle clerics, who were trying to save the relics of St. Cuthbert from the invading Danes, are reported to have fled from place to place until they found a refuge at Whithorn while the storm blew over. This seems to imply that they found a welcome among people of their own kind, Anglian clerics.

About the middle of the tenth century, cross-carving fell into

the hands of one man and his school, who developed their art on the lines of Anglo-Cumbrian work, apparently introduced by a carver from Cumberland. This school produced the large group of disc-faced monuments of a unique type.

In the tenth century the Norse came, for there are Norse place-names round about Whithorn. It is very commonly said that wherever they came they destroyed the churches; and indeed, at their first arrival a century and a half earlier they did so. But by this time many of them had become Christians, and, of the rest, few were without a wholesome dread of interfering with sacred things. There is no trace of Viking devastation at Whithorn.

This explains the still-continued survival of Candida Casa, as shown by its monuments, of which there is a series that can be dated throughout the tenth century and onward into the eleventh. But by this time the old style of Anglian abbey was out of date; such foundations seem to have become, in some cases, churches with a kind of college of secular canons; in others, simple churches served by a chaplain. The number of them increased, for great landholders established their proprietary chapels. This was the transition to the system of parishes which we do not find in being until the twelfth century. So not only do we see the disc-faced crosses at various sites round about Whithorn, but a little farther afield we see monuments of a new type, the Scottish—as at Glenluce, Kirkcolm and Minnigaff. And the dedications are Gaelic at all these churches or chapels, showing that Candida Casa was no longer the paramount ecclesiastical authority in Galloway or no longer purely Anglian. And yet it certainly survived and maintained its connection with Northumbria. When the new bishopric was formed early in the twelfth century, under King David, it was placed under the Archbishop of York, although Galloway was by then thoroughly united to the Kingdom of Scotland, and though its first bishop, Gilda Aldan, bore a Gaelic name.

Before 1161, Fergus, Lord of Galloway, founded a Premonstratensian house here. Of the canons' work remains the shell of their thirteenth century church and parts of the buildings. The plan must be that of other priories of the order, such as Cockersand and Shap, differing a little, but not very greatly, from the plan of Cistercian abbeys like Sweetheart, Dundrennan and Furness. The great distinction of this priory was its long-continued vogue as a shrine of pilgrimage. It was visited many times by King James IV. In 1524, King James V wrote to the Pope, "As the church of Whithorn is much visited by the English and Irish on

account of the miracles of St. Ninian, and is situated at the extremity of the kingdom, it requires a man who will both show hospitality to pilgrims and protect the country from piratical assaults." For which reason he urged the claim of the son of his favourite Lord Maxwell to hold the priory. Queen Mary was another royal visitor, but in 1581 all such pilgrimages were stopped and Whithorn became protestant.

Even so, divine worship continues. It is not without thought that one can stand here and reflect that of all our churches this has the longest history. Silchester church may be earlier, but it fell when Candida Casa was in its youth. No Irish, nor even Welsh church can be traced so far back. Canterbury is a much younger sister. If age is venerable, adding to the sense of consecration, there is no place in these Islands so worthy of the name of hallowed ground.

Chancellor Campbell moved a vote of thanks to the Rev. W. Arnold Reid for his welcome to them, and for letting them look at the venerable ruin. The name of Candida Casa, he said, had been famous to him, but he had never had an opportunity of visiting the place before. He felt, as one of the Cathedral clergy of Carlisle, that he was fulfilling a duty and enjoying a privilege in coming on a pilgrimage to that ancient shrine. When Mr. Collingwood began he felt almost that he was going to wipe out St. Ninian altogether; but it was a relief that, after the full investigation, the St. Ninian tradition survived. He thanked Mr. Reid for his welcome, and hoped that members of the Society on that side of the Border would return the visit, when they would show them something in return for what had been shown to them.

The Museum adjacent claimed the attention of the visitors, who showed interest in the many antiquities there, recalling the early days of Christianity in the country.

Thanks are due to H.M. Office of Works, Edinburgh, for free passes to the Museum, the Chapel at the Isle of Whithorn and to St. Ninian's Cave; also to Mr. Matthew Stewart and Captain Stewart for kind assistance at the Priory.

After an interval for lunch the drive was continued to the Isle of Whithorn, where we were met by the Rev. R. S. G. Anderson, B.D., F.S.A.Scot., who addressed us on the hill overlooking St. Ninian's chapel.

THE ISLE OF WHITHORN.

Mr. Anderson said—It gives me great pleasure to welcome your Society here to-day. My only regret is that your stay is so

short. I shall be brief in my remarks to suit your necessities. The Isle contains four antiquarian points of interest. The most recent is a seventeenth century castle. It is of the familiar L shape, and of a late type as the battlements have degenerated into mere ornament. You will catch a glimpse of it as you cross the bridge on leaving the village. It is visible on your right.

The next object of interest is the Isle itself. You will notice that the Isle is a peninsula. It has been so for about 90 years, vessels coming for cargo having been made to dump their ballast in the old tidal gap that separated the Isle from the Mainland. A few thousand years before that the Isle was twins. There were two Isles, separated by a narrow gap, which was later closed by the twenty-five-foot beach. You will cross the remains of this as you go towards the point. A bronze axe and the memory of a round cairn on the outer Isle are all the relics of the Bronze Age.

The chief interest of the Isle is its association with St. Ninian. It was here that he landed about 396 A.D. It was probably here that he built Candida Casa. St. Ninian's Kirk—the ruins that you see here—belong in all likelihood to the thirteenth century. They are dissembled under a nineteenth century restoration. The eastern window is of the First Pointed period. There are no other points of particular interest about the building. This chapel was probably built in connection with the priory of Whithorn for the benefit of the community here. It is 37 feet 6 inches long by 22 feet broad. All the dressed stones were removed by modern vandals, and some of them may be detected in the village houses by their simple carving.

On the knoll to the north of the chapel you will see the mound showing the foundations of a building, probably of the same period. A fragment of the S. doorway remains, showing the same shell lime with which the chapel was built. Two steps of a stair leading up from the chapel also remain. Nine or ten were once visible, but some are now buried under the grass. The original Candida Casa may have occupied the site where the chapel now is. From my observations, Scott's theory that Ninian followed the three-fold arrangement of his headquarters which had obtained at Tours under St. Martin, who had copied it from his master, St. Hilary, fits the conditions here best. His Church would be in Whithorn, his cell at Physgill Glen, and his community would be in the Isle. The Church and the cell are evidenced by the relics remaining. As Scott says, "If the muinntir was located at the Isle, as I think, few traces would be left except in a place name or two." But these cannot be looked for, because of

the changes that have taken place in this particular district. May it not be significant that the ruins on the knoll above the chapel were locally known as the College? May this not be a recollection of the days when St. Ninian instructed here his disciples who were to plant the Christian Church from the Isle as far as Shetland? And at St. Hilary's headquarters his White Hut was associated with the Community. Rosnat, the monastery to which students were sent from Ireland, is a name evidently taken from the point of this Isle—the promontory of Ninian. But this might be looked on as referring to the whole island.

The fourth object of antiquarian interest is an old British fort. About 170 feet from the seaward end of the Isle defences are carried across the peninsula. There are two ramparts between three trenches. The inner trench is 26 feet in width, the intermediate 22 feet, and the outer 8 feet, while the two inner mounds measure at the base 20 feet and 16 feet respectively, and the outer much less. The inner mound has either been faced with stone or surmounted with a parapet, as shown by the débris. The débris at the base of the inner scarp indicates a like feature. At the east side there are remains of a structure of some kind, and there are indications of foundations on the plateau. Walls have been carried round most of the seaward edges.

Professor Scott Elliot proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Anderson for his paper, and said he was sure they had all been struck by the lucid and masterly way in which they had described to them the history of the Isle-of-Whithorn. There they had the very beginnings of Christianity in Scotland. There they had one of the most important seaports, practically equivalent to the Liverpool of the time, and he did not think they quite realised that when St. Ninian came there it was an adventure which they could hardly compare to anything in their own time. The way Christianity had spread over the whole of Scotland and became in time firmly established was greatly due to the admirable way in which the foundations were laid by St. Ninian. They were exceedingly indebted to Mr. Anderson for his very interesting sketch of the history of the Isle-of-Whithorn..

After visiting the ramparts of the British fort, we drove to Kirkdale farm, Physgill, and walked down the wooded glen and along the shingly beach to

ST. NINIAN'S CAVE.

Here we were met by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., the senior Honorary Member of our Society, who said:—

Ladies and gentlemen—or shall I say fellow pilgrims?—I won't detain you very long, but I may explain the part that I had the honour of taking in the excavation of this cave. Nothing but the tradition existed, and no proof of any carving or inscription in the cave was found until the year 1871, when the late Dean Stanley, who was then writing his lectures on the history of the Church of Scotland, came to Monreith, and hearing of the tradition which associated this cave with Bishop Ninian, came down here. In his company was the late Mrs. Maxwell of Carruchan, and it is to her credit that the first cross was discovered, a small Latin cross on a rock on my right. That was in 1871.

Two years later Mr. Nicholson of Kidsdale undertook some voluntary work in the cave, and discovered a very interesting carved cross, which is in the cave now. Then in 1884 the late Dr. Cochrane-Patrick, a fellow member of Parliament, and myself spent the Whitsun holidays in excavating the cave. The roof had fallen in; you, ladies and gentlemen, are standing on the rubbish we brought out of the cave. We found a certain number of crosses. The rubbish was several feet high. The water you see falling from the rock above was carried away in a carefully built drain, which is now covered up. Of course, there is no indication of the date of that drain, but there was indication of successive occupation of the cave. We excavated it to ten feet, and found successive layers of wood-ashes, bones and other evidence of occupation. As you see by looking into the cave, we came down to a pavement, but the date of it is not known. We did not like to disturb it. Access is given to the cave by three steps down, and the lowermost of these was the cross which now stands at the far end of the cave. That indicated that the date of the wall was long subsequent to the work of the sculptor who wrought the cross.

I do not know that I have anything more to say, except that there was nothing but tradition to connect this cave with the name of Ninian. It was always known as St. Ninian's cave, but, as you know, Bishop Ninian was a disciple of Bishop Martin of Tours, and Sulpicius Severus, a contemporary biographer of Bishop Martin, describes how he and his brethren used to retire for prayer and meditation to caves on the banks of the Loire. It is not therefore improbable that Ninian adopted that practice and retired here for prayer and meditation.

Of human remains we found one complete skeleton within the walls on the right side at a depth of about eight feet in the rubbish. On the top of the skeleton was a huge boulder, and the body was

doubled up, the head being between the knees, so that it is possible the man was killed by a fall of the rock. Besides that we found remains of two children and another adult, bones of oxen and horse, and horns of red deer. I think that comprised all the animal remains we found. There was evidence of successive falls of the rock. I do not think I have any more to say which may throw light upon the date of the occupation of the cave.

Mr. Collingwood thanked Sir Herbert Maxwell for his presence and address, and for the invitation he had given to the party to visit him later in the day at Monreith. In looking round this highly interesting cave, some of the party took note of the small cross in a circle, outside the gate, recently cleared and described by the Rev. R. S. G. Anderson (*Proceedings S. A. Scot.*, fifth series, xi, 162).

At Portwilliam, tea had been prepared in the Maxwell Hall by the landlord of the Monreith Arms. Afterwards the visitors met Sir Herbert Maxwell again and saw the remarkable tenth century cross of Whithorn type which stands on the lawn in front of his residence, and the wonderful gardens and woods, most beautiful in the evening light. Very hearty thanks were expressed to Sir Herbert Maxwell by the president of our Society and by Mr. McBurnie, Sheriff-clerk of Dumfries, after which we drove back to Newton-Stewart, and the Dumfries members returned home by train after supper.

FRIDAY, JUNE 26th, 1925.

Making a start at 9-30 a.m., we halted at Minnigaff churchyard, where a highly interesting paper was read by Mr. R. C. Reid. This paper, with others read during the excursion, will be found in full in the *Transactions* of the Dumfries and Galloway Society; we give only the substance of what was said.

MINNIGAFF.

Here we find both church and fortress on the summit of a hill, and the village below. We do not know who the Norman settler was, but we may be almost certain that his mote-hill or motte was still inhabited in 1297. The church is recorded in 1209, but the two early crosses are dated by Mr. Collingwood to some time about 1100, so that the Norman who built the mote probably had his chapel adjacent. It was a rectory in the 13th century but later it was granted to the abbey of Tongland, and its last pre-Reformation vicar is named in 1602. The old building was disused in 1836, but its ruins contain monuments of interest. A heraldic

mural tablet bears the inscription "Hic jacet Patricius McKe de Cālodā [Cumloden]. . . me fieri fecit." Another has no coat of arms but a crest of two ravens transfixéd with a dart and the initials of Patrick McKie with date 164-. The first has been brought here in recent years from the Hermitage at Kirroughtree, and it bears the lion rampant crowned of the McDowalls and the three boars' heads of Gordon. At the close of the sixteenth century two Patrick McKies of Largs married heiresses of these families. The stones therefore must refer to Sir Patrick and his son Patrick who was killed at the battle of Newcastle in 1640 immediately after his capture of the Royalist standard. The crest refers to the story of the widow of Craigencallie and her three sons who showed to Robert Bruce their skill with the bow—the first by transfixing two ravens, the second by bringing down a raven on the wing; and afterwards advised Bruce in the stratagem which won for him the fight at Raploch Moss where the King's Stone (seen later, near Clatteringshaws) marks the site. After Bannockburn the widow and her sons received a grant of the lands between Palnure and Penkiln, and originated the families of McKie of Larg, Murdoch of Cumloden and McLurg of Kirroughtree. In the deerpark of Kirroughtree there are remains of the battle of 1308 in which Edward Bruce defeated Sir Ingelram de Umfraville and Sir John de St. John and made them take refuge in Buittle Castle.

The mote-hill, on the steep eminence between the Cree and the Penkill Burn, has been strengthened by a deep fosse, 50-60 feet wide, between it and the church. On the summit are traces of buildings, for in Scotland such sites were occupied until the 15th century. But this is probably the place mentioned by Blind Harry as the scene of a famous exploit of William Wallace, when he took the English by surprise and stormed their fort in 1297, slaying the sixty men of the garrison and leaving only two women and a priest, afterwards demolishing the timber stockade and the drawbridge over the fosse. The identification, now practically certain, was suggested by a hint from Mr. McCormick of Newton-Stewart, worked out by Mr. Reid.

At the close of the visit Mr. W. G. Collingwood proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Reid and Mr. McCormick whose absence from home at the time he regretted. The crosses mentioned are figured and described in the article on the Early Crosses of Galloway already referred to (*D. and G. Trans.*, ser. 3, vol. x).

Returning to Creebridge we took the road through the hills, passing Kirroughtree House on the left, Larg Tower on the right,

and after a while, the monument to Alexander Murray, D.D., born at Dunkitterick 1775, who died 1813 professor of Oriental Languages at Edinburgh. At the Bridge over the Black Water of Dee, near Clatteringshaws, we halted and sitting by the riverside discussed

THE DEIL'S DYKE.

A little way above the bridge a cairn on a rock in the river shows where the Old Edinburgh road, the *sacra via* to Whithorn also, crossed the stream. Traces of an ancient bridge are seen on the banks: About a mile westward the dyke is seen alongside of the old road. To the party seated by the brink of the river Dr. King Hewison gave a short account of the track of the Dyke from its starting point on Loch Ryan, to its alleged terminal at Britton Wall on the Solway shore in Dumfriesshire, opposite Bowness. It had been discovered and first traced by Joseph Train, who was in the Customs Service, and sent an account of it to Chalmers for his "Caledonia." It had various names: "The Deil's Dyke," "The Picts' Dyke," "The Celtic Dyke," "The Roman Dyke," and "The Auld Head Dyke of Scotland." This "Dyke" means ditch. It is a rampart constructed in parts of earth only, in other parts having a core of stones covered with soil (like fences in Cornwall) and in other parts built of loose stones entirely, with a trench on either side, the trench being deepest on the northern and eastern sides. It had several peculiarities. It ran almost entirely on very high levels across the hill ranges, but sometimes descending through meads and morasses, yet very seldom on the tops of ridges, thus indicating it was not a defensive wall, but a boundary either of a knight's territory, a tribal boundary, or some such limit. The height varies now from 1 foot to 7 feet; the trenches vary from 6 feet to 10 feet. Its irregular course extends to about 100 miles.

Another peculiarity about it is that it runs near places whose names begin with the letter "P," and notably among the relics of ancient populations, such as prehistoric villages, graves, cairns, and standing stones—these being indicative of early Brito-Pictish settlers.

Opinions vary as to its date of origin and purpose—such as Roman, to shut in the Picts; Pictish, to ward off the Britons or Scots; Strathclyde-British to hold back the Picts; and others have thought it a medieval wall. There is no certainty as to its origin or purpose. Its very name has different meanings. "Deil" may have nothing to do with the supposed work of the Devil,

In Keltic the word may mean "southward" (*deiseil* or *dessel*) because it mostly faces southward; or it may be a term composed of the Keltic word "di" signifying "double," and "ail" (Latin *vallum*) signifying "wall"; thus "Di-ail" (for Di[*fh*]ail), equal to ditch and wall. Where all is conjecture nothing can be settled regarding the origin and use of this mysterious work, save that it does not seem to be a work of defence.

Mr. Collingwood said that he thought the names "Teufelsmauer" and "Devil's Bridge" were perhaps sufficient explanation of a work which seemed more than human; and if this work was not defensive but intended as a boundary, the question was—what territory could it ever have limited? It was a case of finding the owner's foot for Cinderella's slipper. It was not medieval because its area did not coincide with the bishopric or earldom of Galloway; not eleventh century, because Earl Thorfinn's Norse and the Gallgael of Argyll did not—so far as he could find—build such dykes round their land; not of the Strathclyde-Cumbrian kingdom, nor of the Angles, because it would not fit the map of their territories. But if Professor W. J. Watson was right, in a paper recently given to the Dumfries and Galloway Society, there was an earlier realm of Britons (not Pictish) which might perhaps be called the northern Reged, flourishing in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., and this dyke might have been its limit. The part the speaker knew was like a miniature Roman Wall, and the British homestead at Ewe Close near Crosbyravensworth showed that the natives imitated Roman plans and fashions in building, to some extent. He suggested that the Deil's Dyke had been undertaken as a boundary in imitation of the Roman Wall, which itself was not strictly defensive but a limit of territory. The fifth and sixth centuries, however, formed a very dark period; no confidence could be placed in Nennius and the chroniclers, and only archæological exploration would throw light on the problems of that age.

Leaving Clatteringshaws, the King's or Bruce's Stone was noticed on the left hand of the road, which led over the moor to New Galloway and Kenmure Castle, where we were received by General MacEwen, and a description of the castle was given by Mr. R. C. Reid.

KENMURE CASTLE.

The remains as they stand represent the work of several periods not earlier than the sixteenth century. No doubt there was a castle here before that date; possibly a motte in the knoll south-

east of the present site, as local tradition suggests. But the building was originally designed on the E-plan, which makes it later than the usual rectangular tower. The ground floor of the older part is vaulted, but as the walls in modern times showed signs of bulging, granite buttresses have been added to support the structure. The present doorway was the original entrance, but had been built up until the last tenant re-opened it and converted the doorway then in use into a window. The cable-moulding carried round the window-heads and along the face of the main building is said in local legend to commemorate the dragging up of the whole castle from the knoll below by the devil, in the service of the Gordons of Lochinvar; but, with the enrichment of the wall-head by a series of small dentil-like corbels, it fixes the date of this frontage to the seventeenth century. The south-western tower, however, may be of the sixteenth century. A similar tower once stood at the south-east corner, as shown in the illustration by Grose to his *Antiquities of Scotland* (1787) but it was blown down with gunpowder and masses of its masonry are still seen at the foot of the rock. Since Grose's time another floor has been added to the eastern wing and this wing incorporated into the main building. In the garden, General MacEwen has found the medieval graveslab, noted by the Commissioners in their report on Ancient Monuments, but since missing; and the font which they failed to find is set up there on a pedestal which looks like part of a cross-shaft. The sundial is said to be the second oldest in Scotland, bearing the date 11 Dec., 1623; and therefore the work of Sir Robert Gordon, shortly to be mentioned.

In the fourteenth century William de Gordon first appears in Galloway as proprietor of half the lands of Glenkens, believed to have included Lochinvar and Kenmure. This was the young Lochinvar of the well-known ballad, adapted by Sir Walter Scott from a number of versions in some of which the hero is named Lemington or Lauderdale, and none mentions the Grahams of Netherby, nor is the romantic love-match matter of history. But the tower on the island of Lochinvar, still traceable, was the first seat of the family, which removed to Kenmure probably in the sixteenth century. In 1563 Mary Queen of Scots was entertained here after a pilgrimage to Whithorn, and the Gordons supported her cause; their Place of Kenmure was destroyed by the Regent Morton after the battle of Langside. The next owner, Sir Robert Gordon of Glen, was a violent and unscrupulous character who, after a narrow escape from the consequences of murder he had

committed, went to America as the founder of a colony. He became a baronet of Nova Scotia and the tracts he wrote on the subject are now bibliographical rarities. He held letters of marque; fitted out a ship at Kirkcudbright and, impatient of legitimate success, seized a friendly Dutch vessel off the coast of Waterford, for which he got into trouble with the Privy Council. His son, the first Viscount Kenmure, was the friend of Samuel Rutherford, a very different man from Sir Robert. The fourth viscount, a Royalist, was besieged by the Parliament forces at Kenmure in 1650; the fifth was expelled from the castle by Claverhouse, and the sixth was beheaded for his share in the rising of 1715. The estate remains with descendants of the family although the title is now dormant.

Thanks to General MacEwen for his kind permission to view the interior of the castle and the gardens, and to Mr. R. C. Reid for his description, were offered by Mr. Collingwood. Before leaving Kenmure the following new members were elected:—Mrs. A. E. Cutforth, Sawbridgeworth; Mr. G. N. Higgin, Kendal; Mrs. A. E. Ryder, Wetheral; Mr. and Mrs. James Court Brown, Carlisle.

Thence passing Balmaclellan and its conspicuous mote, and crossing the Lochinvar Burn two miles south of the Loch which has the site of Lochinvar Castle on an island in its waters, the drive was continued to Moniaive where Dr. King Hewison gave a short account of the ancient cross there, and alluded to the local history of Annie Laurie of Maxwellton, heroine of a well-known song, and to various relics of antiquity in the neighbourhood. The thanks of the visitors were warmly accorded to Dr. King Hewison for his addresses and helpful contributions to the amenities of the excursion. Dumfries was reached in good time for the journey homewards after a very successful tour, on which the Committee for arrangements are to be congratulated; among them the chief credit is due to Mr. R. C. Reid, whose local knowledge and unremitting labours made possible these three days of pleasure and instruction.

AUTUMN MEETING.

The second excursion of the season was held in the Carlisle district on Thursday and Friday, September 10th and 11th, 1925, in conjunction with members of the Dumfries and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Society and the Ancient Monuments Society (Manchester). Committee for local arrangements:—Mr. J. F. Curwen, F.S.A., The Lady Dorothy and the Hon. F. R.

Henley, Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson, Mr. J. H. Martindale, F.S.A., Mr. W. T. McIntire, Mr. H. Penfold, Mr. F. Gerald Simpson, Hon. F.S.A.Scot. and Mr. E. Wilson, Hon. Secretary. Attendance tickets were taken by Mr. and Lady Dorothy Henley and party, Askerton Castle; Mr. W. G. Collingwood, Coniston; the Rev. R. Percival Brown, Kirkby Lonsdale; Colonel Parker, Clitheroe; Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Dent, Grange; Mr. H. Valentine, Workington; Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Nelson, Stratheden; Miss Sewell, Cockermouth; Mrs. and Miss Hodgson and party, Newby Grange; Mrs., Miss and Mr. F. Lanchester, Cambridge; Mr. C. Collison, St. Bees; Mr. Saunders, Mrs. N. M. Saunders, Rev. E. G. and Mrs. Auden, Wetheral; Mr. and Mrs. A. Smith, Keighley; Mr. W. N. Ling, Wetheral; Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Cowper, Hawkshead; Mrs. and Miss Ryder, Wetheral; Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Collingwood; Mr. J. Sharpe, London; Mr., Mrs., and Miss Hudleston, Hutton John; the Misses Hindshaw, Manchester; Dr. MacInnes, Bishop in Jerusalem; Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Fletcher, Workington; Mr. H. Duff and Mr. E. Glaister, Aspatria; Mr. A. M. Beaty, Carlisle; Mr. C. W. Robinson, Gretna; Miss B. M. Halton and Mr. E. Halton, Carlisle; Mrs. W. P. Walker, Whitehaven; Mr. and Mrs. W. T. McIntire, Milnthorpe; Mr. T. Cann Hughes, Miss Kirkland and Mr. Dewhurst, Lancaster; Colonel and Mrs. Green-Thompson, Bridekirk; Mrs. and Miss Thomson, Penrith; Mr. and Mrs. L. Tolson, and Dr. Woodhead, Barton; Mrs. Burrows, Windermere; Mrs. Horrocks, Salkeld Hall; Mrs. and Mr. P. Shorland Ball, Langwathby; Mrs. Leyborne Popham, Johnby Hall; Lady E. McDonnell, Greystoke Castle; Mr. and Mrs. A. Hutchinson, Culgaith; Mr. and the Misses Pattinson, Kendal; Mr. and Mrs. T. D. Shepherd, Mr. R. W. and Miss E. Shepherd, Penrith; the Misses Gilchrist and Mrs. Swainson, Lancaster; Mr. C. and Mrs. A. Wilson, Thornthwaite; Mr. and Mrs. U. J. Vipond, Penrith; Mr. P. V. Kelly, Barrow; Mrs. MacInnes, Carrock; Mr. C. S. Jackson, Yanwath; Mr. and Mrs. E. Wilson, Mr. E. G. Wilson and Miss M. Wilson, Kendal; Mr. S. H. le Fleming, Rydal Hall; the Misses MacInnes and Miss Drysdale, How Mill; Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Hulbert, Rydal; Mr. J. F. Curwen, Heversham; Mr. R. C. Reid, Cleughbrae; Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Hunt, Carlisle; Mr. D. Scott, Penrith; Mrs. Hollins, Mrs. Blakelock, and Miss C. Wilson, High Westhouse; Mr. A. C. S. Postlethwaite and party, Whitehaven; Mrs. Martin Smith, Miss Pamela Martin Smith, Miss Cecilia Martin Smith, Mrs. Bevan, Mrs. Bonser, Mr. and Mrs. Mowbray Howard, Naworth Castle; Mr. and Mrs. Townley, Carlisle; the Rev. C. J. C. Wright, Dalston; Mrs. Parkin-Moore,



NAWORTH CASTLE: STEPS IN THE COURTYARD.

Photo. by Mr. Hugh R. Hulbert.

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Mr. A. W. and Miss M. E. Parkin-Moore, Whitehall; Rev. R. S. G. Green and Miss Green, Talkin; Mrs. Harold Carr, Millbrooke; Dr. Parker and Mrs. Haythornthwaite, Rowrah; Dr. and Mrs. Quin, Frizington; Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Hodgson, Workington; Mrs. Walton, Tirril; Mrs. Gatey, Ambleside; Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Rumney, Skinburness; Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Binning, Stanwix; Mr. and Mrs. J. Noble, Penrith; Miss Parker, Wetheral; Mr. and Mrs. T. Gray, Carlisle; Mr. W. T. Carson, Abbey Town; Mr. J. S. Yeates, Penrith; Mr. J. Sewell and Rev. J. E. Matthews, Gretna; the Rev. E. W. and Mrs. Savage, Raughton Head; Miss Makant, Windermere; Messrs. and Miss Leigh, Heaton Mersey; Chancellor and Mrs. Campbell, Carlisle; Mrs. R. Johnston, Miss Latimer, and Mrs. Charlesworth, Armathwaite; Mr. J. A. Twemlow and Dr. Martin, Liverpool; Mr. T. E. Jones, Wallasey; Mrs. Gordon, Dr. and Mrs. Goodchild, Whitehaven; Mr. A. Heaton Cooper, Ambleside; Colonel and Mrs. Pringle, and the Misses Ridley, Knorren; Mr. William James, Brampton; Mr. H. E. Ayris, Carlisle; Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Martindale, Wetheral; Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Beckton, Carlisle; Mrs. Roberts, and Mr. Kennedy, Newton Stewart; Mr. L. E. Hope, Carlisle; Mr., Mrs. and Miss Irwin, Cockermouth; Mrs. and Miss Brown, Dalbeattie; the Rev. L. G. and Mrs. Bark, Penrith; Mr. C. F. Archibald, Rusland; Mr. J. W. Shepherd, Sedbergh; Mr. and Mrs. H. Whitaker, Mrs. and the Misses Bottomley, Blackburn; Miss Pole and Mr. R. Pole, London; Mrs. Mounsey-Heysham, Castletown; the Rev. N. A. Walton, Whitfield; Mrs., Mr. J., and Mr. P. W. Appleby, Dalston; Mr., Mrs. and Mr. H. B. Lester, Penrith; Mrs. Bewley, Miss Cowan, and Mrs. Storey, Rosley; Miss Day, Rosley Vicarage; Mr. and Mrs. Rodgers, Lanercost; Miss Manley, Brampton; Mr. H. Penfold, Brampton; Dr. and Mrs. Hopwood, Carlisle; Mr. R. Morton Rigg, Penrith; Mr. C. C. Hodgson, Carlisle. The party included fifty members of the Dumfries and Galloway Society and the Ancient Monuments Society.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th, 1925.

Leaving Carlisle at 10 a.m. by cars, the first halt we made was at Naworth Castle, 10-40, where about 240 visitors saw through the castle by permission of the Earl of Carlisle and Mr. and Mrs. Martin Smith. From the steps in the courtyard Lady Dorothy Henley gave a very lucid and comprehensive account of the successive periods of this building and the more remarkable of its ancient inhabitants. As the address was extempore we are unable to report it as we could wish, but refer to the late Mr.

Charles J. Ferguson's article in these *Transactions*, o.s. iv, 486-495, and Mr. J. F. Curwen's *Castles and Towers*, 213-218 and 503. The thanks of the audience were accorded to Lady Dorothy Henley with acclamation on the proposal of the president.

From the gate opposite Gilsland School the site of the Roman bridge at Willowford was reached in a walk of rather over half a mile along the line of the Wall. Standing within the fence which now encloses the remains excavated in the autumn of 1924, Mr. R. G. Collingwood explained the discoveries made by Mr. R. C. Shaw, F.R.C.S., who was detained on this occasion by professional duties in Manchester (Art. XXIII).

After a halt at Gilsland for refreshments we followed the Stane-gate to the turn for Great Chesters and walked up to Aesica, where Mr. F. Gerald Simpson kindly took us over the recently opened trenches where he was superintending the work of the Durham University Excavations Committee. That morning the first find had been made; part of Hadrian's Wall which was built over a previous ditch—the inner ditch of the earliest fort—was seen to have subsided into the hollow which underlay half of its breadth. Subsequent finds will no doubt be fully reported, but up to the time of writing the only account printed is an article in *The Vasculum* (Andrew Reid and Co., Ltd., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1s. 6d.), vol. xii, no. 1, Oct., 1925, pp. 19-22 with plan, and in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, fourth series, vol. ii, pp. 197-202, by Mr. M. R. Hull. In returning thanks to Mr. Simpson the president reminded his hearers that the small sum voted by our Society as such, towards this very important exploration, would need to be supplemented by individual gifts in order to make the work satisfactorily effective. See also p. 544 of this volume.

The next stop was at Triermain, where Mr. W. T. McIntire read a paper on the history of the castle (Art. VI); and at Lanercost Mr. J. H. Martindale sketched the history of the priory (Art. VII). In proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Martindale, Mr. Hugh S. Gladstone of Capenoch, F.R.S.E., F.S.A.Scot., etc., president of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, expressed the gratification of his members in sharing this excursion.

After dinner the Annual General Meeting was held at the Crown and Mitre Hotel, Carlisle, the president in the chair. The officers of the Society were re-elected, with the addition to the Council of Lady Dorothy Henley as representative of the northern part of our district. Mr. W. G. Collingwood resigned the editorship after twenty-five years service, and a vote of thanks to him was proposed by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., seconded by Colonel Haswell,

C.I.E., and supported by the Ven. and Worshipful Archdeacon and Chancellor Campbell, and carried unanimously. As editors of these *Transactions*, Mr. R. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A. London and Scot., was re-elected, and Mr. T. H. B. Graham, M.A., and Mr. W. T. McIntire, B.A., were nominated by the Council and elected by the Society.

The following new members were elected:—

Mrs. Kathleen Shorland Ball, Burton-in-Kendal; The Countess of Carlisle, Naworth Castle; Mr. J. S. Eagles, Carlisle; Mrs. Helen Fox, Keswick; Mrs. Margaret Gatey, Ambleside; Mr. William Glyn, Dalston; Dr. W. Goodchild, Blencathra; Miss Frances H. Harwood, Dalton-in-Furness; Mr. Oliver S. Holt, Newby Brow; Mr. Richard McVittie, Penrith; Mr. R. Mowbray Howard, Godalming; Brigadier-General North North, Newton Hall; Mr. Isaac Barber Wilson, Grange-over-Sands.

Mr. J. H. Martindale made a brief statement on the discovery of Roman remains in excavating a pipe track near Wigton.

Reports by Miss M. C. Fair on a portion of Roman Road running N.E. from the northern side of the fort at Ravenglass and on the exploration of St. Catherine's well, Eskdale, were submitted by Mr. R. G. Collingwood (see *Addenda*).

Mr. L. E. Hope, F.L.S., described a helmet of the seventeenth century, an axe-hammer, etc., exhibited by the Rev. W. S. Sykes and presented by him to the Carlisle Museum.

Mr. Charlton spoke on Roman remains found close to the Crown and Mitre Hotel, and Mr. T. E. Jones of Wallasey exhibited tiles of the twentieth legion from Chester.

A paper on the monastic bridge at Furness Abbey, etc., was submitted by Mr. Paul V. Kelly (Art. VIII), and a calendar of Hawkshead documents from the Rydal Hall papers was contributed by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A. (Art. IX).

The president briefly described the contents of papers printed in this volume as Articles X to XVII, and three documents about Plumbland, kindly sent by the Rev. H. E. Salter, M.A., of Dry Sandford, Abingdon, and printed below. On Richard le Brun, mentioned therein as sheriff, he remarked that although he is not found on the usual lists of sheriffs, Richard seems to have acted as deputy under Thomas de Multon in 1234-36. He signs as "tunc vice-com. Karl." or "Cumb." the Wetheral charters nos. 97, 112, 113, 114, 156, 158, 201, and 202. In following Dr. Prescott's notes to these charters in the *Register of Wetherhal* it is interesting to see how he worked out the conclusion to which he came—no doubt the true statement of Richard's position. Richard

le Brun was a justice to hold a special assize at Carlisle in 1237, and Sir Richard le Brun was bailiff of Egremont *c.* 1230 (these *Transactions*, N.S., xvi, 245). From this it appears that he was understudy to Thomas de Multon in more ways than one.

Three papers about Plumblund in Cumberland from Miscellaneous papers at Shirburn Castle.

1. (valde antiqua). Omnibus Christi fidelibus etc., Thomas de Muleton salutem in dno. Noveritis me concessisse etc., deo et sancte marie et beato Andree apostolo Priori et canonicis de Hextildesham in puram et perpetuam elemosinam totam partem meam in molendino de Plumlund, que me jure hereditatis Ade sponse mee contingit cum secta recta et debita dicto molendino ubicunque fuerit omnium hominum qui dictum molendinum et secundum quod dictum molendinum tam in operibus quam multuris et omnibus aliis sequi debent, pro salute anime mee et Ade sponse mee et antecessorum nostrorum et successorum ad pitantiam quolibet anno vigilia beati Barnabe apl., quo die anniversarium dicte Ade sponse mee caritative celebrabunt. Et ego et heredes mei ex eadem Ada provenientes predictam elemosinam dictis Priori et canonicis f'warrantizabimus ex hereditate dicte Ade vel de terris quas dictis heredibus In hereditatem adquisivi. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum feci apponi. Hiis testibus, Lamberto de Muleton, Alano de Muleton, Radulpho de feritate, Ricardo lebrun, tunc vicec., Hugone de Cassingthorp, Willo. de Berneres, Jordano de Kyma, Alano Buche, Waltero persona de Uluesbi, tunc offic., Gilberto de feritate, Petro vicario ecclesie de Burg, tunc decano, Johe. de Lamore, Roberto de Wathelpol, Ada filio Derinam, Radulpho Walensi, Alano de Winemerebi, et aliis.

2. Thomas fil. Thome de Muleton salutem. Noveritis me concessisse etc., deo et Sce. Marie et beato Andree apl., Priori et canonicis de Hextildesham in puram et perpetuam elemosinam illud donum quod pater meus illis dedit in molendino de Plumlund cum suis libertatibus et pertin., sicut in ipsius carta plenius continetur, pro salute anime sue et Ade de Morvilla sponse sue matris mee, et antecessorum nostrorum et successorum ad pitantiam quolibet anno vigilia Sci. Barnabe apl., quo die anniversarium dce. Ade matris mee karitative sunt celebraturi. Insuper et concessi etc., deo et ecclesie Sci. Mich. de Yshale et ejusdem ecclesie rectoribus pro salute animarum predict. illas decimas de Parcho de Yshale quas dictus Thomas pater meus eis concesserat, scilicet de nutrimentis animalium et bestiarum secundum quod in carta dicti



SCALEBY CASTLE.

Photo. by Mr. W. L. Fletcher.

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Thome patris mei continetur. His Testibus, Dno. Thoma de Muleton, patre meo, Alano fratre ejus, Alano de Muleton fratre meo, Ric. Le Brun, Hugone de Cassingthorp, Alex. de Kirkeby, Willo. de Berners, Rico. fil. Anketini, Petro vicario de Burgo, Ric. Mala terra, I. de Dreg et aliis.

3. Report of a case tried die Jovis prox. post fest. Sci. Pet. ad vincula 48 Ed. III, at the assizes in Cumberland.

The Prior of Hextildesham complains that he has been disseised of his freehold in Plumland, a fourth part of a watermill, by Thomas de Plumland and Alan Stamper. They do not appear but send their bailiff, Adam Rede. The Jury say it is the Prior's freehold in right of his church of St. Andrew, and belonged to him and previous priors for a hundred years. The damage to him 40s. Thomas alone had disseised him. Verdict damage 40s. Thomas is at mercy. Also the Prior for false claim against Alan, who is quit of the said disseisin.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11th, 1925.

The weather on Thursday had been fair, with only a slight shower at Aesica. Friday was rather more rainy, and the number of visitors on our excursion was only about a third of those on the previous day. In Rockcliff churchyard and at Arthuret church papers were read by the president (Art. XVIII). At Liddel Strength Mr. R. G. Collingwood was the chief speaker (Art. XIX). After an interval for lunch Scaleby Hall was visited by kind permission of Jos. Mitchell, Esq., and described by Mr. J. F. Curwen (Art. XX).

Thanks are due to the local committee, and especially to Mr. Edward Wilson, Hon. Secretary, for the excellent arrangements which enabled so large a party to share in these interesting excursions.

SPRING MEETING.

This meeting was held at Tullie House, Carlisle, on Thursday, April 22nd, 1926. The President announced that the summer meeting would be held in the Penrith and Stainmore district, and that it was proposed that the autumn meeting should be held in the West Cumberland district, with headquarters at Whitehaven.

The Secretary reported that the new edition of the late Dr. Parker's history of the Gosforth neighbourhood would be ready for issue as an Extra Series volume in a week's time, that "Records of Kendale," Volume III, was nearing completion for issue as a

volume in the Record Publication Series, and that Mr. W. G. Collingwood's index of the last 13 volumes of the New Series *Transactions* would be commenced shortly.

The President reported that the transcript of the Registers and Records of Holm Cultram was now completed and would be ready for publication as soon as the opportunity occurred.

The following new members were elected:—Mr. John Chippindall, Grange; Sir Matthew H. G. Fell, Ulverston; Mr. Edward Walker Hargreaves, Arnside; Mr. Thomas Jackson, Workington; Mr. C. A. Linley, Braithwaite, Keswick; Mr. Arthur John Hodgson, Ealing.

Mr. F. G. Simpson read a paper on

RECENT WORK AT GREAT CHESTERS.

Mr. Simpson, in describing with lantern illustrations the excavations recently carried out under his supervision at Aesica on Hadrian's Wall, pointed out that ever since 1895 the central problem for all explanations of the Wall had been the Turf Wall found in that year at Birdoswald. This structure diverged from the line of the Stone Wall near Appletree and rejoined it at Harrow's Scar, after cutting across the area of Birdoswald fort. But it was not certain whether the ditch traversing the fort was the ditch of the Turf Wall or the north ditch of an early and small fort, up to whose northern corners the Turf Wall had been brought. On the former hypothesis the Turf Wall and the small fort would be contemporary; on the latter, the small fort would originally have been an isolated structure and the Turf Wall would have been a subsequent addition to the plan. The evidence which, properly investigated, would decide this point was doubtless concealed beneath the soil at Birdoswald. Before investigating it, however, Mr. Simpson had wished to study the evidence at Aesica, which very closely resembled the southern part of Birdoswald and was apparently an almost identical duplicate of the supposed early fort at that site. It had been believed that the four ditches on the west side of Aesica ran underneath Hadrian's Wall, which was known to have collapsed into at least one of them; and it was therefore thought that Aesica had originally been an isolated work. Similarly at Housesteads there was evidence suggesting that the fort had originally been isolated and that the design was modified by moving the N.E. corner tower when the Wall was built. These facts led Mr. Simpson and other students to entertain the hypothesis that all the forts, with a few exceptions in special cases, were built as isolated structures. The recent work at Aesica was designed to put this hypothesis to the proof.

It was found that the four western ditches, instead of running right under the Wall, ran under its southern face and came to a butt-end underneath its foundations. Its southern face had accordingly collapsed into these ditches owing to the subsidence of the soil with which they had been filled, but its northern face stood firm on undisturbed soil. This proved that the ditches were earlier than the Wall but had never surrounded an isolated fort. The apparent contradiction was explained by the discovery that parallel to the Wall and immediately to the north of it lay a strip of cobbles founded on flags, recognisable without difficulty as the foundation of a now destroyed earth or turf rampart. This earthwork or turf work must have been older than the stone Wall; indeed, half a mile to the west its foundation was seen to converge with the Wall and run underneath it. The ditch of the Wall must be contemporary with this older work and not with the stone Wall; and the same seems to be true of the four ditches of the fort and therefore of the fort itself.

This older foundation suggests the hypothesis of a turf or earth Wall extending from sea to sea and later supplanted by the stone Wall. A similar hypothesis was suggested in 1895 by the discovery of the Birdoswald turf Wall; but that hypothesis fell to the ground because it was assumed that the turf Wall was built by Hadrian and the stone by Severus, and it was later proved that the stone Wall belonged to the reign of Hadrian. The new hypothesis is not free from difficulties. The foundation of the earlier work, which owing to the nature of its superstructure is necessarily broader than the foundation of the stone Wall, may be recognised in the well-known "broad foundation" on which the stone Wall is in many places built; e.g. throughout the Gilsland sector, between Winshields and Peel, immediately east of Castle Nick milecastle (where it begins abruptly at the northern gate), at Steel Rigg, and elsewhere. This broad foundation resembles in size and character the newly-discovered foundation at Aesica, and suggests that in many sectors the earlier work was demolished and the stone Wall built on its foundation. But Mr. Simpson pointed out that the broad foundation was by no means a constant feature, and that at Chesters, where ditches of the fort had been found coming to a butt-end under the Wall as at Aesica, the Wall stood on the broad foundation and not, as at Aesica, clear of it; so that at Chesters the fort ditches seem to be earlier than the broad foundation, not, as at Aesica, contemporary with it.

[The foregoing outline has been put together at Mr. Simpson's request, from notes taken during his address. He further asks

for some editorial comment. Little can be usefully added at this stage, however; though it may be remarked that Dr. Shaw's results at Willowford, described in this volume, also point to an early earth or turf Wall standing on a broad foundation and removed to make room for a stone Wall, at a date not very much later than its original construction. But it would be premature to assume that Hadrian's frontier in its original form was an earth or turf work having forts attached to it behind and a ditch in front, all of one build, like the Antonine Wall, and that the hypothesis of a series of isolated forts is completely mistaken. The Housesteads evidence still points as strongly as ever towards an original isolated fort at that site; and the Chesters evidence, if it does not conclusively prove an original isolated fort, seems almost conclusively to disprove a strict parallelism between Chesters and Aesica. It was to be hoped that further knowledge would serve to simplify a problem whose complications have in late years become almost intolerable; but no simplification is yet in sight; these latest results, whose genuineness is vouched for not only by Mr. Simpson's recognised pre-eminence in excavations of this type but also by the unanimous opinion of many experts who visited the diggings in order to form an independent opinion, rather add to the complications. The possibility must be faced that what is true of one fort may not be true of another; that they may have been built not all together as parts of a single plan, but in groups or singly, the plan modifying itself as the work went forward; thus some may have been originally isolated structures, and others (of which Aesica may be one) may have been added to the scheme as part and parcel of the Wall, of earth or turf at first and later of stone, which was built to link them up. Such a suggestion will distress those who wish the Romans to have thought out their whole system before cutting a single sod; but the facts as already known to us were so recalcitrant to this demand, that a further increase in '*Planlosigkeit*' is not to be dismissed as intolerable. It must also be remembered that we are not yet acquainted with the peculiar habits of the different labour-gangs among whom the work was certainly divided; this factor may account for certain small anomalies which at first sight are very disconcerting.—Ed.].

Mr. Curwen exhibited a gold coin (solidus) of Valentinian I, reverse RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE, London mint. It was found at Grayrigg, near Kendal. Mr. R. G. Collingwood pointed out that it was in very fresh condition, almost mint condition, and was of interest as adding another specimen to the series of late fourth-

century gold coins circulating in the period when even depreciated copper was beginning to be rare and when silver coinage was ceasing to be struck. In the early fifth century a coin like this, whose freshness would be due to the care with which it was handled, might well represent the whole monetary wealth of its owner.

Mr. J. H. Valentine exhibited a sealing-wax impression of a gold coin (aureus) of Nero, recently found at Siddick, three-quarters of a mile from the Roman site of Burrow Walls near Workington. Reverse, IVPITER (CVSTOS).

Papers were communicated by Mr. John Dobson on "The Sunbrick disc-barrow"; by Mr. W. G. Atkinson on "Explorations at Bonfire Scar Cave, Furness"; by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A. on "A thirteenth century copy of the Epistolae of St. Augustine, formerly belonging to Conishead Priory"; by the Rev. R. Percival Brown, M.A., on "The ancient chantries of the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale"; by Mr. T. H. B. Graham, M.A., F.S.A., on "Vills of the Forest, Part III," and "Stanwix and Crosby"; by Mr. C. Roy Hudleston on "The Marriage of Charles West and Mary Hudleston in 1677"; and by the Rev. S. Taylor, M.A., on "A Flookburgh Glossary." These papers are held over for printing in our next volume.
