Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall

Lawrence Keppie

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Chapter 6

The early 18th century: rebellion and aftermath

At Glasgow College, Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics from 1712 to 1761 (illus 58),[1] was a correspondent of Jurin, Gordon, and Horsley (see pp. 64, 74, 78). In 1744 Alexander 'Jupiter' Carlyle, then a student at Glasgow and later Minister of Inveresk, recorded in his journal that Simson 'liv'd entirely at the small Tavern opposite the College Gate, kept by a Mrs Millar ... and paid no Visits but to Illustrious or Learned Strangers, who wish'd to see the University.[2] On such occasions he was always the Cicerone. He shew'd the Curiosities of the Colledge which consisted of a few Manuscripts, and a large Collection of Roman Antiquities from Severus's Wall or Grahams Dyke in the Neighbourhood, with a Display of much Knowledge and Taste'.[3]

Illustration 58
Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics at Glasgow College, engraving by A Baillie, 1776, after a portrait by Peter de Nune (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

Simson was instrumental in expanding the College's collection of inscribed stones by the acquisition of material from Shirva, Ardoch, Kirkintilloch and Dunnottar.[4] It was surely Simson who initiated a project to engrave them.[5] Under 9 June 1767 its Faculty recorded that: 'The meeting orders the Inscriptions and Ornaments upon the Roman Stones to be engraved on Copper under the Direction of Dr Simson and Mr Muirhead [the professor of Latin]; the Copper Plate is to be kept by the Clerk and no Copies to be sold without an Order from the Meeting.'[6] There were 20 plates in all, engraved by the College's printers, the Foulis Press (illus 59). A small number of sets were bound up and presented to benefactors and distinguished visitors.[7] In 1788 the College decided to print more copies, augmented by the new discoveries, making a total of 32 plates. Unlike its predecessor this was intended from the first as a bound volume, entitled *Monumenta Romani Imperii* ('Memorials of the Roman Empire'). The College's financial records detail the costs involved in drawing, engraving, and in binding the print-run of 102 copies.[8]

William Maitland

In the 1740s and 1750s William Maitland was assembling materials for a comprehensive study of the *History and Antiquities of Scotland*.[9] He began by distributing 'a large set of queries, with a general letter, and transmitted both to every clergyman in Scotland. However, the return fell so very far short of his expectation, that he laid aside his design in disgust'.[10] In fact he persevered, himself undertaking extensive fieldwork. Roger Gale hoped that Maitland would prove to be a second Camden;[11] but according to Richard Gough he was 'self conceited, credulous, knew little, and wrote worse',[12] and this verdict has been endorsed by subsequent commentators.[13]

Maitland traversed the Wall from east to west, taking copious notes. He was pernickety in his

Illustration 59
Distance slab of the Twentieth Legion from Old Kilpatrick recording construction of 4,411 feet of the Wall, presented before 1684 to Glasgow College by the 3rd Marquess of Montrose, as engraved in 1768. The slab shows Victory reclining in the manner of a river-god, surely an allusion to the adjacent River Clyde.

comments on his predecessor antiquaries,[14] but the account remains valuable for its picture of the Wall corridor at a fixed date. We learn from Maitland of the continued dismantling of stonework at the forts, for example at Mumrills, Castlecary and Balmuildy, and the presence of Roman building stones in farms and houses along its route (see p. 26). He saw stonework in the River Kelvin at Balmuildy, perhaps of piers of the Roman bridge, which people were using to cross the river.[15] More attention has attached to his comment, on a stretch of Ditch uncut through hard dolerite on Croy Hill, that 'I am for certain reasons (too long to be inserted in this place) of opinion that rocks vegetate, the rock here, by its form, must have sprung up since the making of the said ditch; which is the only mean I can think of, to secure the wall at this place without a fort'.[16]

The destruction of Arthur's O'on

The enigmatic domed structure which had stood since antiquity overlooking the River Forth near Larbert north of Falkirk, on the land of the Bruces of Stenhouse, was abruptly wakened from its sleep in 1743 when the then baronet, Sir Michael Bruce, dismantled it, to use its building stones in a mill-dam. This act of wanton vandalism sent the antiquaries into paroxysms of rage, reflected in the correspondence of Sir John Clerk, William Stukeley and Roger Gale.[17]

The matter came before the Society of Antiquaries in London, drawn to their attention by Sir John Clerk in a letter of 22 June 1743 to its Vice-President, Roger Gale. 'I believe you may have heard of a heavy shock that Antiquaries in this country have received, by Sir Michael Bruce, proprietor of the grounds about

Arthur's Oven, for he has pulled it down, and made use of all the stones for a miln-dam, and yet without any intention of preserving his fame to posterity, as the destroyer of the Temple of Diana had.[18] No other motive had this Gothic knight, but to procure as many stones as he could have purchased in his own quarrys for five shillings. There was no cement in the work, so he found it easy to pull down and carry off the stones; we all curse him with bell, book, and candle, but there is no remedy, except what we have from some accurate descriptions given thereof by Dr Stukeley and others.'[19]

On 5 August Clerk penned a second letter to Gale, providing for us some details not otherwise reported. 'In pulling those stones asunder, it appeared there had never been any cement between them, though there is lime-stone and coal in abundance very near it. Another thing very remarkable is, that each stone had a hole in it,[20] which appeared to have been made for the better raising them to a height, by a kind of forceps of iron, and bringing them so much the easier to their several beds and courses. First it was given out that a tempest had over-turned this fabrick; but in a week or two after, the very foundation stones were raised; and thus ended so far as I can conjecture the best and most entire old building in Britain.'[21]

In September 1743 Stukeley wrote to Gale about Sir Michael, that he 'would propose in order to make his name execrable to all posterity, that he should have an iron collar put about his neck like a yoke; at each extremity a stone of Arthur's Oon to be suspended by the lewis in the hole of them; thus accoutred, let him wander on the banks of Styx, perpetually agitated by angry daemons with ox-goads, Sir MICHAEL BRUCE wrote on his back in large letters of burning phosphorus'.[22] Stukeley drew an accompanying cartoon (illus 60).[23]

Much later George Paton in Edinburgh observed to Richard Gough that 'the late Engineer and Surveyor the Master of Elphinston[24] made it a rule if within a few miles of the Place to compel all the people he met to accompany him to the Spot where the Building stood, there forming a Circle on their bare knees, he in the midst solemnly pronounced a heavy Malediction on Sir Michael Bruce'.[25] The 'milldam' did not long survive. In the summer of 1748 it succumbed to the force of the River Carron amid thunder and lightning.[26] As Thomas Pennant later remarked, 'the *Naiades* [water nymphs], in resentment of the sacrilege, came down in a flood and entirely swept [it] away'.[27]

Illustration 60
Sir Michael Bruce as 'stonekiller' of Arthur's O'on, drawn by William Stukeley, reproduced from *The Antiquarian Repertory* iii, 1780 (© Glasgow University Library).

The antiquarian leanings of the Clerk family did not come to an end with the death of Sir John at an advanced age in 1755. His eldest surviving son Sir James Clerk, the 3rd baronet, remodelled Penicuik House on Palladian principles in 1761, and in 1767 built a replica of the O'on to surmount the stable block; it functioned as a doocot (illus 61).[28] The existence of the antiquarian collection at Penicuik House was well known locally, but attitudes to it were not always positive. In March 1779 a mob demonstrating against the repeal of anti-Catholic laws threatened to burn the House down; their reasons according to John Clerk of Eldin, Sir James' brother, included the presence of 'many Roman altars in his house, and therefore he must either be a papist or a favourer'.[29]

Illustration 61
Doocot built in 1761 by Sir James Clerk, 3rd Baronet, set atop the stable block at Penicuik House, Midlothian, replicating Arthur's O'on (© L Keppie; courtesy of Sir Robert Clerk of Penicuik, Bt).

General Robert Melville

Much of Scotland had keenly felt the tumult and dislocations caused by the Jacobite Rebellions in 1715 and 1745–6. Their aftermath brought to Scotland career military officers tasked with establishing firm control over the Highlands and improving the communications network needed to link the new garrison posts. Many had served with distinction in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–8) and during the suppression of the Jacobites in 1746. These officers carried with them to Scotland knowledge of Roman authors, military institutions and tactics, which gave them an advantage in locating ancient sites and assessing the campaigns attested by the Roman historians.[30]

Robert Melville of Monimail in Fife (1723–1809), long-serving officer and colonial governor, was an avid enthusiast of Roman history.[31] In 1751 he was inspired by the sight of a supposed Roman sword in the collection of Sir John Clerk at Penicuik to make, while on duty in Scotland, a special study of Agricola's campaigns north of the Forth, identifying on the ground the upstanding remains of marching camps in Angus, which he associated with these campaigns.[32] His work was used by William Maitland and had a place in Richard Gough's revised edition of Camden's *Britannia*.[33] In 1754 Melville walked the length of the Wall, tracing it 'with all its castella', in the company of two of Sir John Clerk's sons, John Clerk of Eldin and Lt Matthew Clerk who was to die four years later in the assault on Fort Ticonderoga, New York State.[34] Well versed in classical authors, Melville wrote a treatise on the Roman Legion,[35] and on a much later visit abroad in 1774–6 attempted to trace Hannibal's route through the Alps.

In 1779 while en route from Fife to Carron, Melville encountered at Bo'ness a son of the mining engineer Dr John

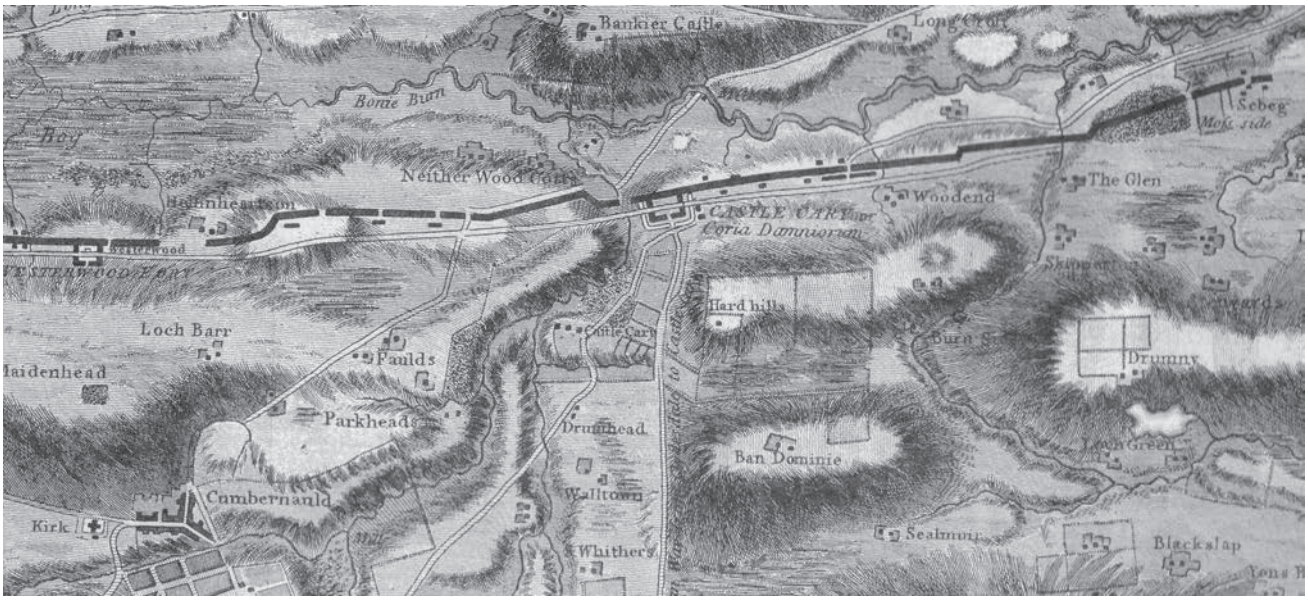


Illustration 62
Detail from General William Roy's map of the Wall showing its line between Westerwood and Seabegs, published in his *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain,* 1793.

Roebuck, travelling in a post-chaise. Melville's party was persuaded to visit the Roebuck home at nearby Kinneil House, where they were entertained by the family to 'music, singing etc'. Roebuck showed Melville the Roman Ditch in the grounds of the House.[36]

General William Roy: the great surveyor

Among Melville's protégés was William Roy (1726–90), from Carluke in Lanarkshire, who was taken on the staff of Lieutenant-Colonel David Watson in 1747 to assist in the comprehensive mapping of Scotland, which resulted in his *Great Map*.[37] In 1755 Roy had a fresh survey made of the course of the Wall, with 'more accurate drawings of such stations as formerly had been only slightly sketched'.[38] The resulting large, fold-out map at a scale of 1:36,000 valuably supplies a detailed picture of settlement patterns and road networks between Forth and Clyde in 1755, before some of them were swept away, or interrupted, by the Forth & Clyde Canal (illus 62).

Over many years Roy worked on preparing a monograph, *The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*. The text was complete by 1773 but, with Roy constrained by increasingly onerous duties in the south of England, the volume was not published until 1793, three years after his death, by the Society of Antiquaries of London.[39] Roy's chapter on the Wall began with an assessment of its geographical setting, a critique of earlier investigators and the methods employed to survey it anew 'by running a suite of stations along its whole course'. The relatively short description of its actual remains is clearly based on personal observation, from a military perspective.

In 1769 Roy was able to examine and draw the newly exposed bath-house at Castlecary (see p. 94), which he describes as 'a very elegant plan of a house, in the style of Palladio, with a sudarium, or warm bath, belonging to it' (illus 63).[40] From the discovery in it of 'human bones', and of burnt wheat outside the fort to the north-west, found during quarrying of stone for the Canal, Roy concluded that the fort at Castlecary had 'been taken by storm', at the hands of the Caledonians. Among the *Appendices* to his monograph was a report by Professor John Anderson (see p. 96) on inscribed stones found as a result of construction works on the Canal, which he had sent to Roy and was preserved among his papers.

Another officer in Scotland in this period was General Sir Adolphus Oughton (1719–80), who had served in Flanders, and later in battle at both Falkirk (1746) and Culloden (1746). In 1767 he became Deputy Commander-in-Chief for North Britain,

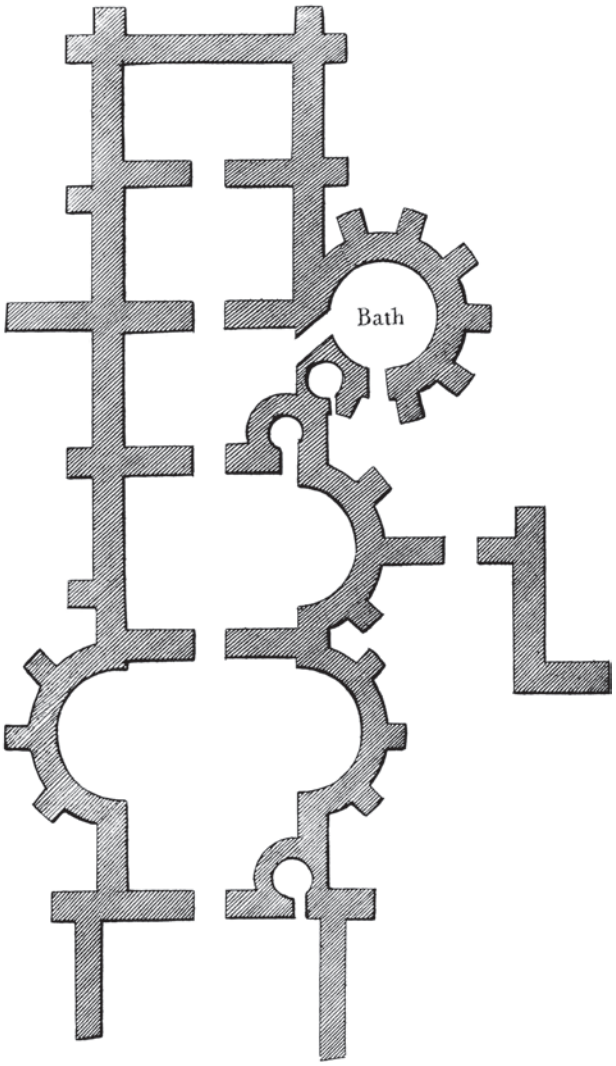


Illustration 63
'A very elegant plan of a house, in the style of Palladio.' The bath-house at Castlecary fort, drawn in 1769 by General William Roy, published in *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, 1793.

and then Commander-in Chief from 1778 until his death.[41] A classical scholar in his youth, he composed simple Latin inscriptions set into newly built bridges in the Highlands. He was the recipient of one of the few bound copies of the engravings of its Roman stones prepared in 1768 by Glasgow College.[42]

Agricultural improvements and industrial revolutions

General William Roy's map of Scotland shows the countryside as it was in the mid-18th century, with narrow strip-field cultivation using the rig-and-furrow system (see p. 23). However, this was an era of agricultural 'improvement', during which strip-fields were being combined and enclosed by hedges or stone dykes.[43]

The landowning families of central Scotland did not all endure the buffetings of political events in the 17th and 18th centuries. Sometimes land and titles were forfeit to the Crown, to be bought up by new proprietors. The Livingstons of Callendar and of Kilsyth lost their lands. Nouveaux riches merchants and industrialists arrived on the scene. Sir Lawrence Dundas of Kerse (1712–81), 'The Nabob of the North', who had made a very considerable fortune as a contractor supplying the British army, first in Scotland then on the Continent during the Seven Years War (1756–63), came to own swathes of land along the Wall's course between Bo'ness and Castlecary. In 1783 a copper merchant, William Forbes, bought the one-time Livingston estate at Callendar.

The central belt of Scotland was found to harbour, below its surface, vast reserves of iron ore and coal. A group of entrepreneurs initiated the development of the Carron Ironworks to the north of Falkirk. Communities established to house workers engaged in the new industries included 'New Camelon, which hath lately been reared up',[44] and Laurieston east of Falkirk, named after Sir Lawrence Dundas. Laurieston overlay the Wall; one street mirrors its alignment.[45]

The building of ironworks and the sinking of mineshafts was to impact on the Scottish countryside between Forth and Clyde, especially in the valley of the River Carron. The Wall lay luckily just to the south of the worst excesses. Farther west William Dunn established textile mills along the Duntocher Burn below the fort on Golden Hill. Much later, the Gartshore family at Twechar gave way to the steelmaking Whitelaws who sank numerous coal-pit shafts on their lands around Bar Hill. Refuse tips from such workings are on occasion still present, though the associated colliery buildings have disappeared.

We rarely gain any insight into the attitude of such entrepreneurs to the Wall on their lands. However, in August 1787, when William Forbes of Callendar sent from London minute instructions to his brother Robert to ensure the most efficient use of the workforce on the estate, he advised: 'In trenching and delving the Roman Wall I would wish you to consider it as common Land for the purpose of producing Grass only, and therefore not to bestow any extra Labour in order to give it a smooth-like surface … In joining

the Meadow to the Walk at the Foot of the Roman Wall it will also be proper to have no extra work.'[46] This could suggest a benevolent attitude to the Roman earthwork, but in another letter soon after he instructed his brother: 'In clearing the surface of the Roman Wall and other Grounds I suppose you will get as many Stones as will compleat our Works. If this is so, the sooner you set the quarriers off work from the quarry in the Wood the better.'[47]

From sea to sea: the Forth & Clyde Canal

The idea of linking the estuaries of Forth and Clyde by a navigable canal had long been mooted.[48] In the 1680s John Adair worked on such a survey (see p. 56), and in 1719 John Strachey saw clear economic benefits.[49] It was when engaged on a survey in 1726 that Alexander Gordon learnt of the discoveries at Shirva (see p. 76). From the depiction on Clement Lempriere's map of Scotland (1731) of what is likely to be Gordon's proposed route, we can see that it involved a sequence of long straight stretches and sharp turns, from the mouth of the River Carron in the east to the vicinity of modern Clydebank in the west. The scheme was not implemented; dissenting voices viewed it as lacking obvious economic advantages. In 1741 we find Sir John Clerk inviting the architect William Adam, who had gone over the ground with Gordon in 1726, to comment on a new proposal.[50]

As the Industrial Revolution gathered pace, the impetus returned, led by the iron- and coal-masters of the Forth Valley, who aimed to speed the westwards movement of raw materials to the Firth of Clyde, and of manufactured goods to new markets in North America. In 1763 the route was surveyed afresh by John Smeaton.[51] Finance was raised by subscriptions and landowners were assuaged by promises of monetary compensation. Sir Lawrence Dundas, whose estates at Kerse (Grangemouth) and Castlecary (including Seabegs) lay conveniently along its route,[52] became chairman of the Committee overseeing the construction work.[53] John Smeaton was appointed Engineer-in-chief, Robert Mackell Engineer Resident,[54] and Mr Laurie Surveyor.[55]

Construction began at Grangemouth on the Forth, where in June 1768 Sir Lawrence Dundas dug out the first spadeful of earth.[56] The Minute Books of the Committee provide a closely dated commentary on

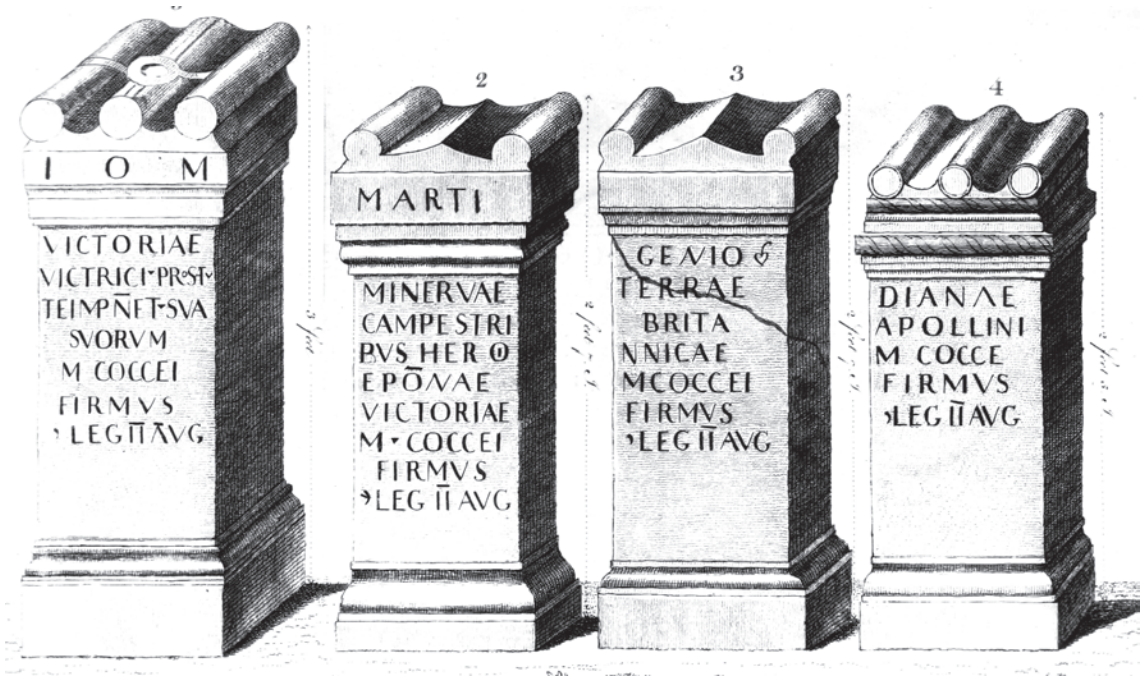


Illustration 64
Altars found at Auchendavy fort in 1771, during construction of the Forth & Clyde Canal, engraved by James Basire, published in *Archaeologia* iii (1775).

progress which was beset with difficulties over physical obstacles such as the Dullatur Bog and by landowning disputes. In July 1790 its completion was marked by a ceremony at Bowling, where the then chairman of the Committee emptied into the Clyde a hogshead of seawater filled at Grangemouth.[57] Building the canal involved a number of locks, basins and viaducts, with associated buildings for lock- and bridge-keepers and the stabling of horses.[58]

The canal crossed the Forth–Clyde isthmus from sea to sea (illus 12), as the Wall had done 1,600 years earlier, interrupting north–south communications. Swing-bridges were installed, and a number of 'pends' permitted pedestrians and animals to pass under it, the latter often en route southwards from the Highlands for the great cattle market known as the Falkirk Tryst.[59] The route chosen closely mirrored that of the Antonine Wall, especially in the central sector, coming close to it at Seabegs, Twechar, Auchendavy and Cawder, and cutting through it several times, as well as severing the north–south causeway linking the fort at Camelon to Watling Lodge.

The discovery of Roman antiquities in the course of the work is recorded several times in the Minute Books of the Committee. At Castlecary the canal passed across low ground some 300m north of the fort, but the quest in 1769 for building materials included the robbing of stonework from it. 'On the night of Friday the 20th [October] Mr Clerk having been informed that a party of the Companys men who were ordered to look for Stone Quarries had fallen upon some Roman Buildings or Walls near Castlecary Bridge [over the Red Burn], he went there with Mr Mackell on Saturday morning, and having observed that they had discovered and were pulling to pieces some fine Buildings, he ordered them to take down no more of the Walls, But to continue to remove the rubbish above till the sense of this Committee should be known. The Stones in this Building are very proper for the purpose of the Canal and easily got. But it would be great pity to pull them to pieces till they are seen by the Curious and Sir Lawrence Dundas the proprietor wrote to on the subject.'[60] It was a decision that allowed General Roy to draw a plan of the structure soon after.[61] Finds included 'vessels of Terra Cocta which are as beautiful as our modern Stafford-shire tea pots,[62] and not far from them a number of bones which are plainly the tusks of boars'. The Revd William Nimmo saw pillars standing erect in one of the rooms, about 0.6m long with marks of fire, evidently the basement of a hypocaust system. Buildings in the centre of fort were also revealed. In August 1771, burnt wheat, iron wedges and hammers were found while workmen were quarrying for stones near the fort.[63]

In May 1771, at Auchendavy east of Kirkintilloch, 'in the very middle of the tract' of the canal,[64] workmen chanced upon what had been a large pit, 2.6m deep, with a diameter of 2.1m at ground level tapering to 0.9m, from which a number of altars were recovered (see p. 96), just outside the fort to the south (illus 64).[65]

At Cawder the canal, which had been following the east–west line of the Wall, a little to its north, turned sharply southwards at right angles across it, along the west side of the as yet unrecognised fort. 'The top of an altar together with an upper and the half of a nether milnstone' were found in 1773 'several feet under ground' and soon presented to Glasgow College.[66] Stones decorated with diamond-broaching,

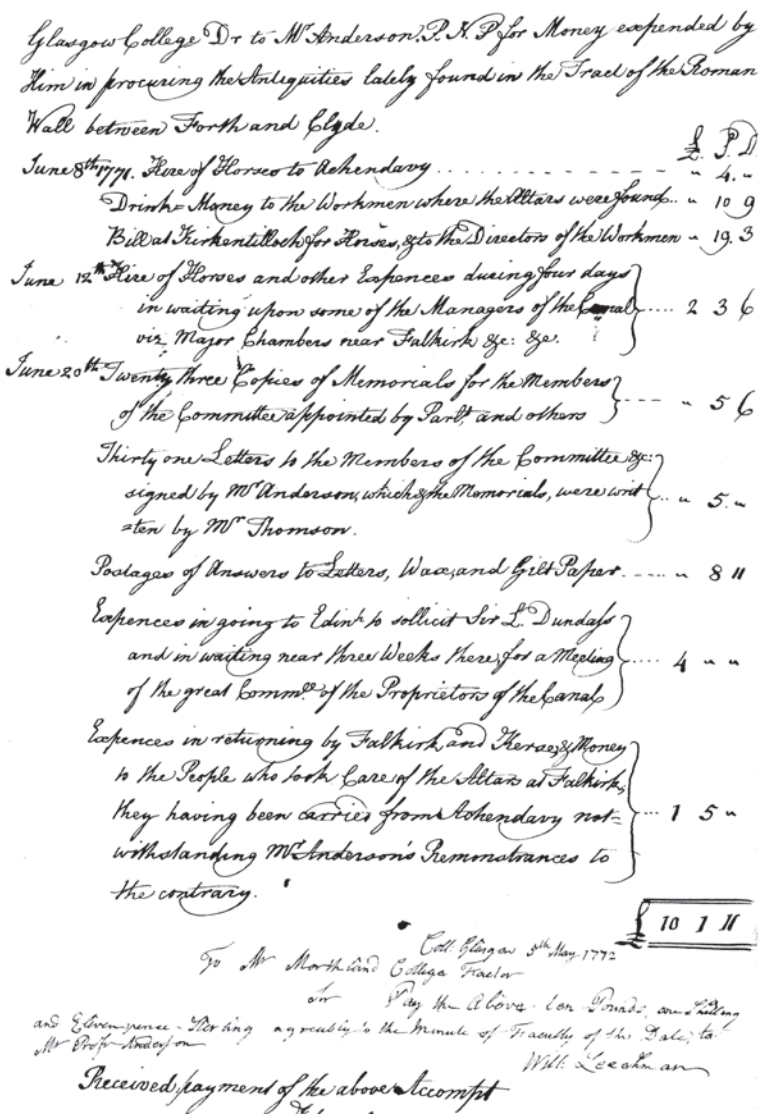
Illustration 65
Professor John Anderson with some of his inventions. Engraving by William Kay, 1792 (© University of Strathclyde Archives).

presumably from one or more buildings at the adjacent fort, were used to revet the horse-path on the north side of the canal.[67]

In 1790 the canal cut through the Wall at Ferrydyke, between what we now know was the site of the fort at Old Kilpatrick and the River Clyde, in one of the last stretches to be completed before it reached its western terminus at nearby Bowling. The workmen encountered a stone-built structure whose discovery, which goes unmentioned in the Minutes of the Committee, was recorded some years later by John Millar Morison, a local tenant farmer.[68]

'In the year 1790 when they were cutting the Great Cannal at the South end of the Sufield park the property of the right Honrbl Lord Blantyre between Portpatrick and the Ferry Dyke Drawbridge they fell in with A subteraneous Building surrounded with A wall Built with freestone and Lime. In the inside they were a good many partitions about two feet Sundrey and arched above with Brick about Nine inches Long and as Broad and covered above with flat brick about Inch and a half thick of the same Size. In the inside and at the bottom there was found a good many pieces of Silver coin with the Figure of a crowned head on the one side & a proper inscription on it perfectly legible, but I have omited to set it Down. There was nothing in the inside of the urns but earth. Mr Davison then mi[ni]ster got a good Deall of the Coin and Sir Archbald Edmeston being then at the maunse got a good many of them and Mr Colquhoun Suptenit of the Cannal Got a good many of them which I suppose is still in the Great Cannal office. I got one of the coin which I gave to my uncle the celbrated John Knox, which he Said to me afterwards that he Deposited into the Scots Antequirian Sosoitey London.[69] Mr John Clerk overseer of the Canal has told me since that him and some of the boys in Kilpatrick went to the place after the men had give over work and Diged and got a good many of them, which he told me afterwards. There is one of the pieces of coin In the cochney house. I think I know within a few yards wher the building was found.'

The recipients of coins included the Revd John Davidson, Minister of Old Kilpatrick, Sir Archibald Edmonstone, a local landowner, Mr Colquhoun, Superintendent of the canal, and John Hamilton of Barns at Cochno House near Duntocher (see p. 58). The 'celbrated John Knox' was a native of Old Kilpatrick, and later a bookseller in London, who wrote extensively on the need to develop the Scottish economy, especially through fisheries.[70]



Glasgow College Dr to Mr Anderson P. P. for Money expended by Him in procuring the Antiquities Lately found in the Tract of the Roman Wall between Forth and Clyde.

£ s. d

June 8th 1772. Hire of Horses to Auchendavy ..... " 4. "
Drinkt Money to the Workmen where the Altars were found ... " 10 9
Bill at Kirkintilloch for Horses &c to the Directors of the Workmen " 19 3
June 12th Hire of Horses and other Expences during four days in waiting upon some of the Managers of the Canal viz. Major Chambers near Falkirk &c: &c: 2 3 6
June 20th Twenty three Copies of Memorials for the Members of the Committee appointed by Parl. and others ..... " 5 6
Thirty one Letters to the Members of the Committee &c: signed by Mr Anderson, which & the Memorials, were writ=ten by Mr Thomson. ..... " 5. "
Postages of Answers to Letters, Wax, and Gilt Paper ..... " 8 11
Expences in going to Edinr to solicit Sir L. Dundas and in waiting near three Weeks there for a Meeting of the great Commrs of the Proprietors of the Canal ..... 4 " "
Expences in returning by Falkirk and Horses & Money to the People who took Care of the Altars at Falkirk, they having been carried from Auchendavy not=withstanding Mr Anderson's Remonstrances to the contrary. ..... 1 5 "

£ 10 1 11

Coll. Glasgow 5th May 1772

To Mr Northland College Treasr

Pay the Above Ten Pounds one Shilling and Eleven=pence Sterling agreeably to the Minute of Faculty of the 5th Inst. to Mr Prof. Anderson

Wm Leechman

Received payment of the above Accompt

Illustration 66
Travel and subsistence claim submitted in 1772 by Professor John Anderson for 'procuring the Antiquities lately found' at Auchendavy fort (UGAS, The University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 58282).

The discovery came at a time when the fort at Old Kilpatrick had yet to be pinpointed, antiquaries then believing that it lay some distance farther west, on Chapel Hill. The navvies had evidently uncovered the basement of a hypocaust with brick-built pillars and covering tiles. That the building was a bath-house was not understood. The canal must also have cut through the Wall and its accompanying ditch, and the ditches of any annexe enclosing the area between the fort and the River Clyde.[71] The coins, which were surely from a hoard and presumably contained originally in the aforesaid urns,[72] have been adjudged medieval and thus unconnected with the function of the building in Roman times.

The financial records of the canal company provide the useful detail that John Millar Morison was a tenant of Sir Archibald Edmonstone, and farmed on the line of the canal, probably between Old Kilpatrick and Duntocher;[73] we know that he received compensation for damage caused. The Revd Davidson, whose manse and glebe lay next to the canal, was also the recipient of several sums, for fencing, the cutting of a drain and building a stone dyke.[74]

John Anderson: 'Jolly Jack Phosphorus'

An ebullient figure in the politics of Glasgow College in the second half of the 18th century, John Anderson (1726–96) had served in the government cause in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745–6.[75] In 1754 he was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages (Hebrew) and in 1757 transferred to the chair of Natural Philosophy (Physics) which he held until his death (illus 65). Cantankerous but visionary, Anderson entertained Benjamin Franklin on the latter's visits to Glasgow in 1759 and 1771.[76] Exactly how or when Anderson became interested in the Wall is unknown, but he was in effect the worthy successor to Robert Simson in cherishing and augmenting the College's collection of inscribed stones, newly engraved by the Foulis Press (see p. 87).

In May 1771 when a group of altars was found at Auchendavy during the construction of the Forth & Clyde Canal (see p. 94), Anderson was tasked by the Professors with procuring them. 'They appoint Mr Anderson to go and endeavour to obtain these Stones for the College, or any other antiquities that may be found in carrying on that Work.'[77] Subsequently he submitted a 'travel and subsistence' claim to the College which illustrates the practicalities of acquisition and retrieval of the stones (illus 66):

Glasgow College Dr [= debit] to Mr Anderson P N P [Professor of Natural Philosophy] for Money expended by Him in procuring the Antiquities lately found in the Tract of the Roman Wall between Forth and Clyde.

	L. S. D.
June 8th 1771	
Hire of Horses to Achendavy	0–4–0
Drink-Money to the Workmen where the Altars were found	0–10–9
Bill at Kirkentilloch for Horses, & to the Directors of the Workmen	0–19–3
June 12th	
Hire of Horses and other Expences during four days in waiting upon some of the Managers of the Canal, viz. Major Chambers[78] near Falkirk, &c., &c.	2–3–6
June 20th	
Twenty three Copies of Memorials for the Members of the Committee appointed by Parl[iamen]t, and others	0–5–6
Thirty one Letters to the Members of the Committee &c. signed by Mr Anderson, which & the Memorials were written by Mr Thomson.	0–5–0
Postages of Answers to Letters, Wax, and Gilt Paper	0–8–11
Expences in going to Edin[burg]h to sollicit Sir L. Dundass and in waiting near three Weeks there for a meeting of the great Comm[itt]ee of the Proprietors of the Canal	4–0–0
Expences in returning by Falkirk and Kerse,[79] & Money to the People who took Care of the Altars at Falkirk, they having been carried from Achendavy notwithstanding Mr Anderson's Remonstrances to the contrary.	1–5–0
	£10–1–11

The document, signed by Anderson and endorsed by the College's Principal,[80] provides, together with another account submitted in 1774 (below), a valuable picture of his work in the field. That he could recover his expenses at all might be a surprise, and that he could spend three weeks in Edinburgh awaiting a decision of the 'Great Committee' in June 1771 gives an insight into the duties of Glasgow Professors at the time, whose lecturing commitments each year finished in April.

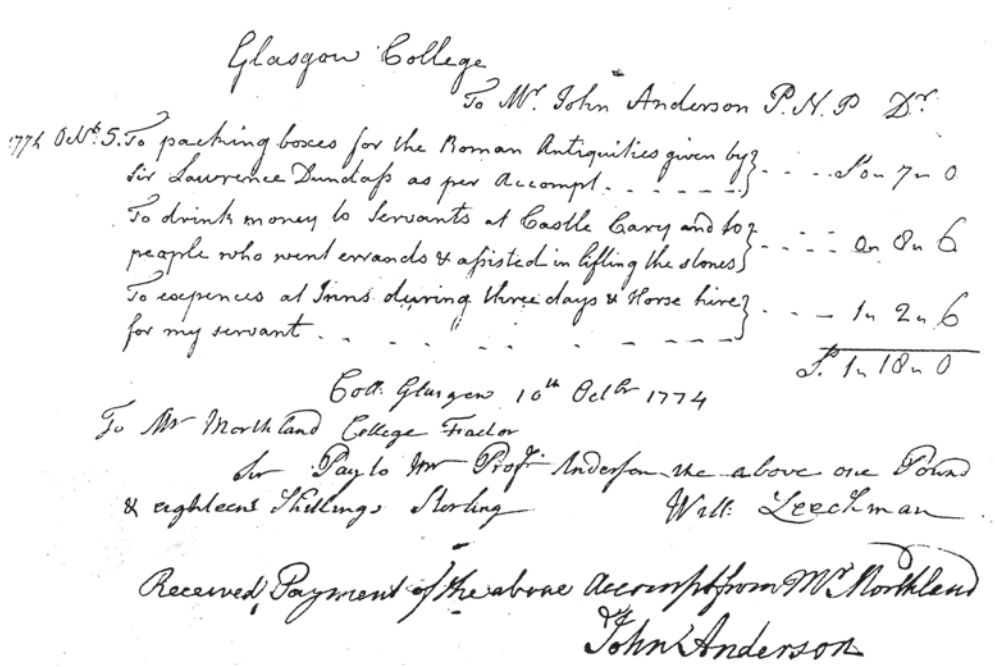
In 1770–3 Anderson delivered a series of 'Discourses' under the title *Of the Roman Wall between*

the Forth and Clyde, and of some Discoveries which have been lately made upon it.[81] Anderson is the earliest antiquary known to have lectured about the Wall, not to students at Glasgow College but in the context of the Glasgow Literary Society, to which most of the Professors belonged. The first lecture, as we know from that Society's Minutes, was delivered in December 1770; drawing heavily on Gordon and Horsley, it provided an historical outline.[82] 'The low ground between the Forth and the Clyde has been destined for great Works. A few years ago some very noble manufacturing Machines were erected upon it, and in all probability their number will increase very fast. At present a Canal with Locks is carrying on, which in beauty and workmanship will be superiour to every one of the same extent in Europe. And about sixteen hundred and seventeen years ago,[83] a military Bulwark was made in the same place, which was so magnificant that a minute Survey of it will not diminish the high Idea which is commonly entertained of Roman greatness.'[84] Anderson proposed to restrict himself to discussing the 'uncouth Objects of Sculpture among the Antient Romans', their 'Religious Principles of Toleration', their 'Modesty with regard to the Sexes', and their 'great Vallums or Lines of Posts, as a branch of the military Science'.

Anderson had a map to hand with which to illustrate his talks. 'There is no having a complete Idea of this Wall but by riding upon its tract from Clyde to Forth or by studying Gordon and Horseley [*sic*] with Accuracy. To such as have done neither I will now describe it by means of this map … The map was made by Mr Laurie for the Proprietors of the great Canal and to it I have added the Roman Vallum.'[85] The manuscript description of the Wall, from west to east, is profusely annotated, as Anderson became more familiar with its course.

At Shirva he observed in section a cut across the Antonine Ditch. 'As it is not difficult for Workmen to distinguish earth that has been moved from Natural Earth even after many Centuries, I endeavoured to get the exact size.' He records the Ditch there as being 60 feet [18m] wide and 30 feet [9m] deep.[86] At Castlecary he viewed the 'the base of the [fort] Rampart, which the Country people are just now pulling down for building Walls and houses'.[87]

The lectures also include an account of the Roman inscribed stones at the College. Regarding the distance slab long preserved by the Earls Marischal at Dunnottar Castle and later held at Marischal College, Aberdeen (see pp. 38, 59),[88] which had recently been presented to Glasgow College, Anderson observed


Glasgow College

To Mr. John Anderson P.N.P Dr.

1774 Octr. 5. To packing boxes for the Roman Antiquities given by Sir Lawrence Dundas as per Accompt. - - - - - £0 7s 0

To drink money to Servants at Castle Cary and to people who went errands & assisted in lifting the stones - - - - 0s 8s 6

To expences at Inns during three days & Horse hire for my servant - - - - - - - - - - - - 1s 2s 6

£ 1s 18s 0

Coll. Glasgow 10th Octr 1774

To Mr Northland College Factor

Sir Pay to Mr Prof. Anderson the above one Pound & eighteen Shillings Sterling Will. Leechman

Received Payment of the above Account from Mr Northland

John Anderson

Illustration 67
Travel and subsistence claim submitted in 1774 by Professor John Anderson for retrieving inscribed and sculptured stones found at Castlecary fort (UGAS, The University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 58284).

that 'the [5th] Earl Marischall being an Admirer of such remains of Antiquity had caused the Letters to be gilded (see pp. 38, 59). It is proper to take notice of this lest it should be imagined that this foppery was added to it since it came into Glasgow College, which in the eyes of a true Antiquarian is as great a blunder tho' in a different way as the scouring of a shield or Medal'.[89] This is followed by a description of the new epigraphic finds, whose Latin texts are discussed.

A supplementary lecture, describing the newly found material at greater length, was delivered in the last quarter of 1773, wherein Anderson expounded his views on Roman military institutions, including training, weaponry and morale, with examples drawn from contemporary armies, especially those of Frederick the Great of Prussia and Marshal Saxe of France.[90] He took the opportunity to defend the Wall as an effective military barrier against contemporary detractors: 'it is fashionable at present not only for Antiquarians and other literary men to ridicule this wall, but even for soldiers and for those who have made lines of posts their particular study'.[91]

In 1774 Anderson secured for the College inscriptions and relief sculptures found at Castlecary in 1764–9.[92] Again we have his 'travel and subsistence' claim, illustrating once more the practicalities of stone acquisition (illus 67).[93]

Glasgow College. To Mr. John Anderson P.N.P., Dr. [= debit]

1774 Oct. 5th	
To packing boxes for the Roman Antiquities given by Sir Lawrence Dundas as per Accompt	£0–7–0
To drink money to Servants at Castle Cary and to people who went errands & assisted in lifting the stones	0–8–6
To expences at Inns during three days and Horse hire for my servant	1–2–6
	£1–8–0

In the manner of the times Anderson established a museum in his house at the College.[94] It contained natural history specimens and a substantial number of coins.[95] In the *Descriptive Catalogue* published in 1831 to coincide with the opening to the public of a building to display the collection, Case 3 is stated as containing 'Roman coins, exhibiting specimens of the great, middle and small brass, consular and imperial denarii and aurei. Several of these coins were discovered at Bar Fort, near Kilsyth, and purchased from the country people by Professor Anderson'.[96] He also possessed a 'beautiful gold coin of Antoninus Pius found on Grames Dyke'.[97] Regrettably the best pieces were stolen in 1877 and never recovered.[98]

In his later years Anderson became increasingly embroiled in disputes with his academic colleagues, whom he found lacklustre and unadventurous. The antipathy is reflected in his will, dated 7 May 1795, which banned the Professors from attending his funeral and detailed fixtures to be removed from his house, if they could not be proved to be the property of the College.[99] Anderson bequeathed his possessions to found an alternative, populist university in Glasgow which continues to this day, incorporated into the University of Strathclyde which celebrates him as its founder.[100] In his will Anderson specified that chairs at his College should include a Professor of Roman Antiquities, the intended postholder named as John McEwen, a Glasgow lawyer.[101]

A Codicil to his will included the instruction, 'To get from Mr Gartshore of Gartshore my Essay on Roman Antiquities and any other stones he may have found.'[102] The 'Essay' is presumably some or all of the lecture texts described above. The implication is that John Gartshore, landowner at Bar Hill, had recently discovered an inscribed or sculptured stone,[103] and that Anderson had loaned him his Essay for background reading.

The Forth & Clyde Canal was not the only waterway built across Central Scotland. The Union Canal, so-called because it linked Edinburgh to Glasgow, was begun in 1818, this time to bring the coal supplies of north Lanarkshire to the city of Edinburgh. Delayed by arguments over the route and its precise eastern terminus, it was finished in 1822.[104] The junction between the Union Canal and the lower-lying Forth & Clyde Canal west of Falkirk was achieved at the Wall's expense: a sequence of 11 locks, interspaced with basins, cut across its line at Glenfuir, immediately east of Watling Lodge, facilitating a drop of 33m from south to north.

Fast passenger boats cruised the canals between Edinburgh and Glasgow, which were judged preferable to uncomfortable stagecoaches. Facilities on board might include a small library, and the pleasures of alcohol, gambling, dining and dancing to musical accompaniment were to be enjoyed. There were even overnight 'sleepers'.[105] A slim booklet, *The Canal Passengers Companion*, published in 1823 soon after the Union Canal opened, described the scenery between

Edinburgh and Glasgow and several times took notice of the Wall running parallel.[106]

The productive life of the canals lasted until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.[107] Thereafter, pleasure craft remained active along their routes, but eventually both canals were closed. The locks at Glenfuir were infilled in 1933 and later built over. When the two canals were reopened to regular traffic by a 'millennium project' in 2000–1, a new link between them farther west at Tamfourhill involved a north–south tunnel below the Wall. The Falkirk Wheel, which lowers and raises boats from the Union Canal to the Forth & Clyde Canal, in succession to the locks at Glenfuir, is justifiably lauded as a remarkable feat of engineering and is an admired local landmark.

From the rational to the romantic

Richard Gough (1735–1809), who owned an estate at Enfield, Middlesex, corresponded with other antiquaries during preparation firstly of his *Anecdotes of British Topography* (1768),[108] and later his editions of Camden's *Britannia* (1789 and 1806).[109] Gough's surviving correspondence allows us a uniquely full picture of antiquarian contacts in these years. From 1771 to 1797 he was Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and founded its journal *Archaeologia*, to facilitate publication of antiquarian research.[110]

George Paton (1721–1807), the son of an Edinburgh bookseller, was a long-serving clerk in the Customs House, Leith, a position from which he finally retired in 1801 at the age of 80. A sociable member of Edinburgh's literary scene in the latter half of the century, he amassed a sizeable library, though on limited funds, and cherished a wide circle of correspondents to whom he commended himself by his promptness and reliability. He also built up a small collection of antiquities including Roman pottery and tiles from recent excavations at Inveresk, Midlothian. He was memorably described in 1785 by the Earl of Buchan as 'the modest and industrious George Paton who is one of a little flock in Scotland who resemble learned men in England'.[111]

In the summer of 1771 Richard Gough made a visit to Edinburgh where he met Paton, and travelled to Glasgow to see the collection of inscribed stones at the College, shown to him by John Anderson; he was presented with a set of the recently prepared engravings.[112] Gough promptly read a paper on the newly found altars from Auchendavy to the Society of Antiquaries of London, which was soon published in *Archaeologia*.[113]

Paton's correspondence with Gough, covering the years between 1771 and 1804, is preserved at the National Library of Scotland.[114] They corresponded on a variety of topics, at times on an almost daily basis. The subject-matter was generally historical and bibliographical, with Paton seeking out and despatching to Gough books and engravings. Paton put in order some of Timothy Pont's and John Adair's maps in which Gough was interested,[115] and kept him informed of recent archaeological discoveries. Paton's letters are lengthy and closely written. Gough's replies are generally brief, in an untidy hand. Paton wrote to Gough about discoveries on the Wall at Duntocher (see p. 102), Auchendavy,[116] Castlecary[117] and Camelon,[118] as well as at Cramond[119] and Inveresk.[120] Paton was aware that much more must remain hidden from view, as he lamented to Richard Gough in November 1783. 'Were attentive Searches made, especially, alongst the course of the Roman Wall here, many similar Remains might be opened, but most of these thro' the ignorance of day Labourers and want of attentive superiors.'[121] Gough sent to Paton some proofs of the second edition of his *British Topography* for his scrutiny and correction.[122]

Thomas Pennant, the traveller

The naturalist Thomas Pennant (1726–98) is chiefly remembered for his travelogues of extended visits to Scotland in 1769 and 1772. The narratives were intended from the first for publication as a travel guide for visitors.[123] After distributing questionnaires to Ministers in the time-honoured fashion,[124] he rode in 1769 from Newcastle to Edinburgh, then into the Highlands, subsequently down the Great Glen via Argyllshire to Glasgow. This was, he later wrote, 'a journey to the remotest part of *North Britain*, a country almost as little known to its southern brothers as *Kamtschatka*' in Siberia. As a result of his describing Scotland, 'it has ever since been *inondée* with southern visitants'.[125] At Glasgow he was presented with a set of the engravings of the College's Roman inscribed stones.[126] Thereafter he proceeded to Edinburgh via Stirling, the site of Arthur's O'on, and Falkirk, where he viewed the Wall in Callendar Park.

However, aware that the Hebrides had escaped his attention in 1769, he set about planning a second tour, undertaken in 1772.[127] In advance he distributed a questionnaire 'to every Gentleman desirous to promote the Publication of an Accurate Account of

the Antiquities, Present State, and Natural History of Scotland'. He asked for information on 'mounts, intrenchments, druidical circles, pillars, or stones, crosses, grave-stones, monuments, inscriptions', as well as 'ancient weapons, stone or iron; adder-stones, or glass-beads, brotches or the like'.[128] From the survival of his correspondence with Richard Gough, and, separately, with George Paton, we can establish his reading list, identify explanatory notes he carried with him on the journey and document his progress. Pennant corresponded with Paton on a regular basis before, during and after his second *Tour*, on natural history, on obtaining views of the principal medieval monuments which might illustrate his book, on Highland customs and while preparing his manuscript text for publication.[129]

Pennant's itinerary in 1772 took him northwards through Dumfriesshire and Clydesdale to Glasgow, where he described some of the Roman stones preserved at the College, after which he inspected Duntocher fort and Old Kilpatrick, before turning northwards into Argyll. On his return journey southwards through Perthshire, he viewed Roman forts and noted the survival of the north–south Roman road at Torwood, north of Falkirk, before passing the site of Arthur's O'on. After again observing the Wall at Callendar Park, he headed east to Cramond, then to Edinburgh in September or early October, where he met Paton. He did not visit Camelon, surprisingly perhaps, but subsequently hoped that Gough could give him an account of it.[130] As he did not follow the line of the Wall across the waist of Scotland, he did not see the central forts. In 1774 he was able to tell Paton that he had been in touch with 'Colonel William Roy [who] has behaved to me with great politeness and has been very communicative'; Pennant was hoping to get a sight of some of Roy's maps before their publication.[131]

In later life William Stukeley became engrossed with Druidism and succumbed to the blandishments of the counterfeit *De Situ Britanniae et stationum quas Romani ipsi in ea insula aedificaverunt,* translatable as 'On the situation of Britain and the stations the Romans built in that island',[132] supposedly written in the 14th century by a monk, Richard of Westminster, soon renamed Richard of Cirencester after the well known medieval chronicler.[133] In fact the work of schoolmaster Charles Bertram at Copenhagen, it was

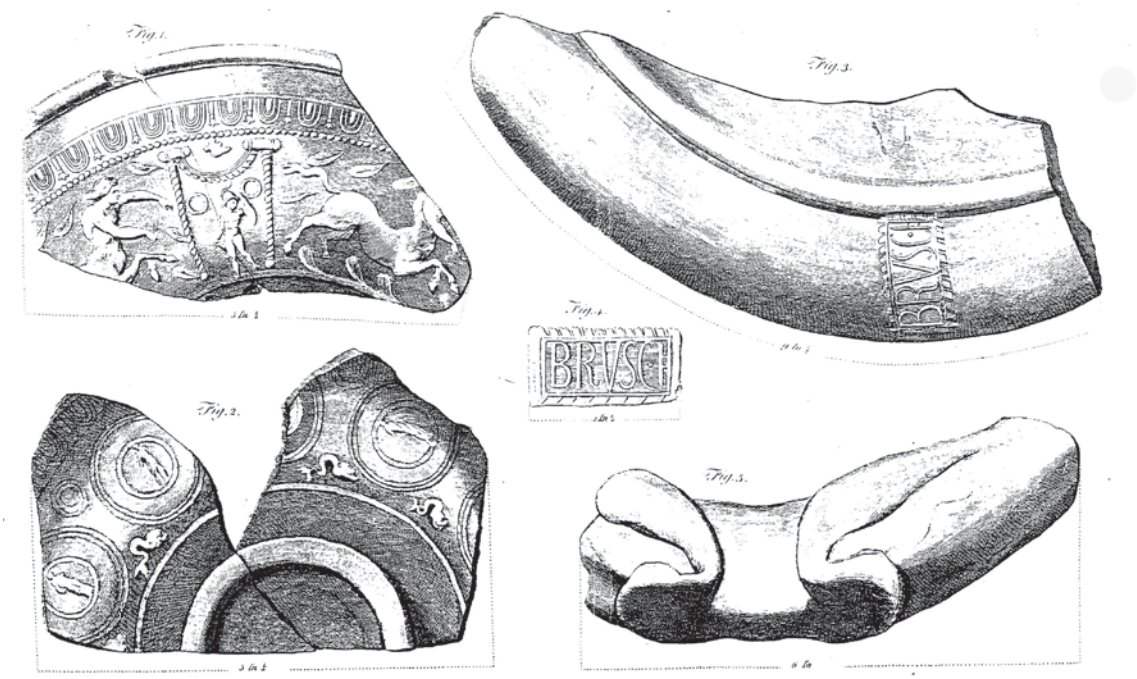


Illustration 68
Pottery found at Duntocher, 1775–8, engraved by James Basire, as published in Richard Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 1789, volume 3.

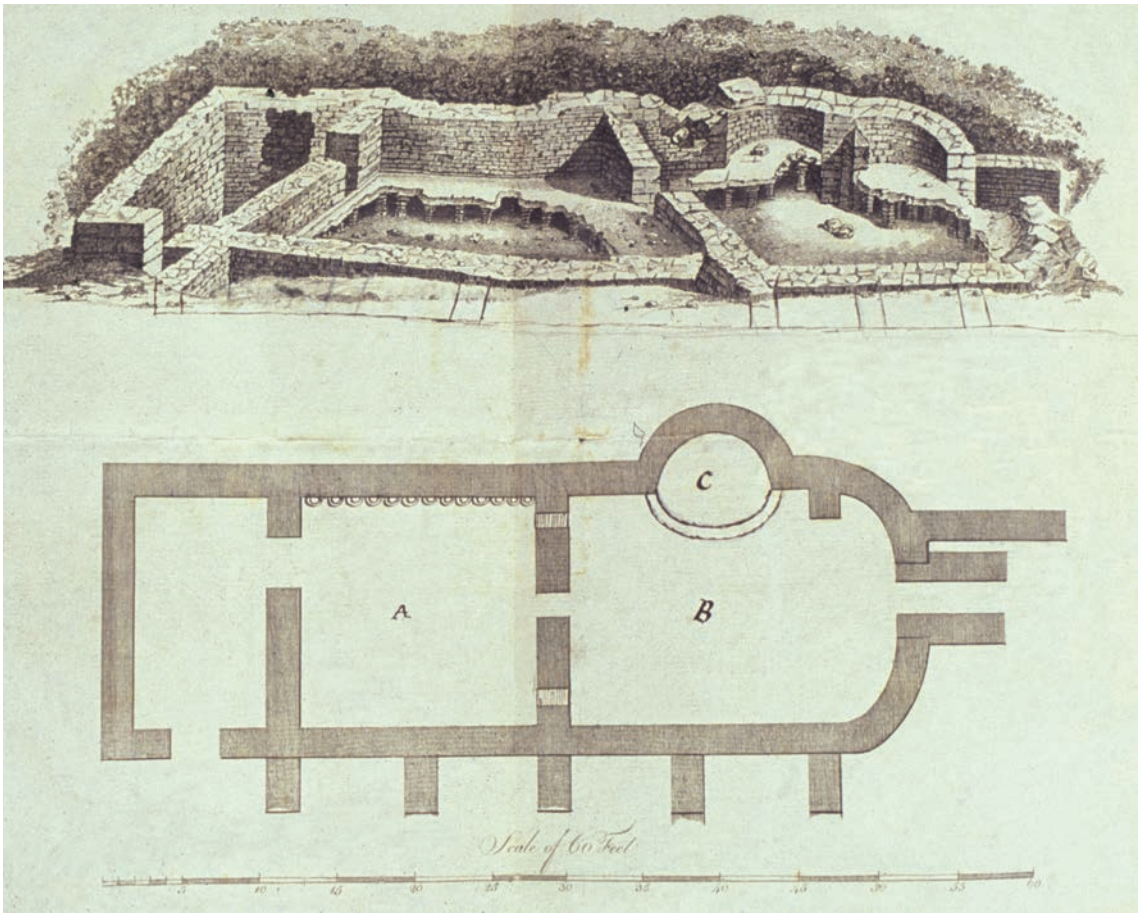


Illustration 69
The bath-house at Duntocher fort, engraved *c* 1778 by an unknown artist (© The Society of Antiquaries of London, Minute Book XVI).

to bedevil antiquarian studies for nearly a century. It drew upon the place-name sources, with liberal additions by its author. Stukeley promptly published a commentary on it.[134] The treatise was believed genuine by William Roy, who devoted a lengthy chapter to assessing what he believed was Richard's significant contribution to knowledge,[135] by Richard Gough,[136] and by George Chalmers in his multi-volume *Caledonia*.[137] Stukeley also enthused over the Ossianic poems of James Macpherson on their publication in the 1760s.[138] Ossian's 'War of Caros' described the exploits in central Scotland of Caros, 'King of Ships',[139] evidently the usurper Carausius, who took refuge behind the 'gathered heap' of the Antonine Wall.[140]

Pennant's volumes were much used, and several times reprinted; descriptions in it were paraphrased in subsequent guidebooks. Travellers published many accounts of visits to Scotland, which often included brief notices of the Wall. 'Here we see the Caledonian trampling upon the ruins of Roman ambition' wrote one author, 'and unfettered commerce occupying the seat of imperious usurpation'.[141] Not all visitors found the remains impressive or memorable. Travellers included John Loveday in August 1732,[142] the peripatetic Bishop Richard Pococke in 1747 and 1760,[143] and Henry Penruddoke Wyndham in July 1758.[144] The Polish Princess Izabela Czartoryska records in her diary under August 1790 that 'Then [after Linlithgow] we go to Carron where there is a gigantic manufacture of iron. On the way we passed the ruins of the ramparts made by Antoninus'. At Glasgow College she saw the collection of inscribed stones and met 'the Professor

of Physics, a fat and very humorous man, who looked at my feet a lot', easily identifiable as Professor John Anderson (see p. 96).[145]

The compilation of county histories was much in vogue in England at this time; Scottish manifestations included a *General History of Stirlingshire,* by the Revd William Nimmo, Minister at Bothkennar on the Forth north-east of Falkirk,[146] which was published in 1777. His is a full account in an age when the Wall and its forts were under threat from new industrial enterprises. The Wall was also depicted on general maps in Scotland produced in the 18th century,[147] as well as those prefixed to the works of Thomas Pennant and William Nimmo.[148] Its course can also be found marked, on occasion, on estate maps.

Francis Grose (1731–91) a former army officer who had served in Flanders, travelled in Scotland in 1788–90; his well illustrated two-volume *Antiquities of Scotland* concentrated on medieval castles and abbeys.[149] Though there is no evidence in his published work of an interest in the Wall, a surviving drawing credited to him depicts two otherwise unknown 'Brazen Horns found in the Roman Wall, Scotland'.[150]

A bath-house at Duntocher

In the summer of 1775 a Roman bath-house was accidentally discovered on the south-west slope of Golden Hill, Duntocher, west of Glasgow.[151] The economist John Knox (see p. 95) reported that 'some professors in the University of Glasgow, and other gentlemen, having unroofed the whole, discovered the appearance of a Roman hot bath'.[152] Presumably the removal of *opus signinum* flooring had revealed the basement of a hypocaust. The discovery came to the attention of Charles Freebairn, an architect and leadmine owner on the island of Islay, who had the remains cleared at his own expense over the next three years. George Paton in Edinburgh (see p. 99), learning of the find through newspapers, kept Richard Gough informed of progress, obtained several site-drawings from Freebairn, and had the few small finds despatched to London where they were exhibited at

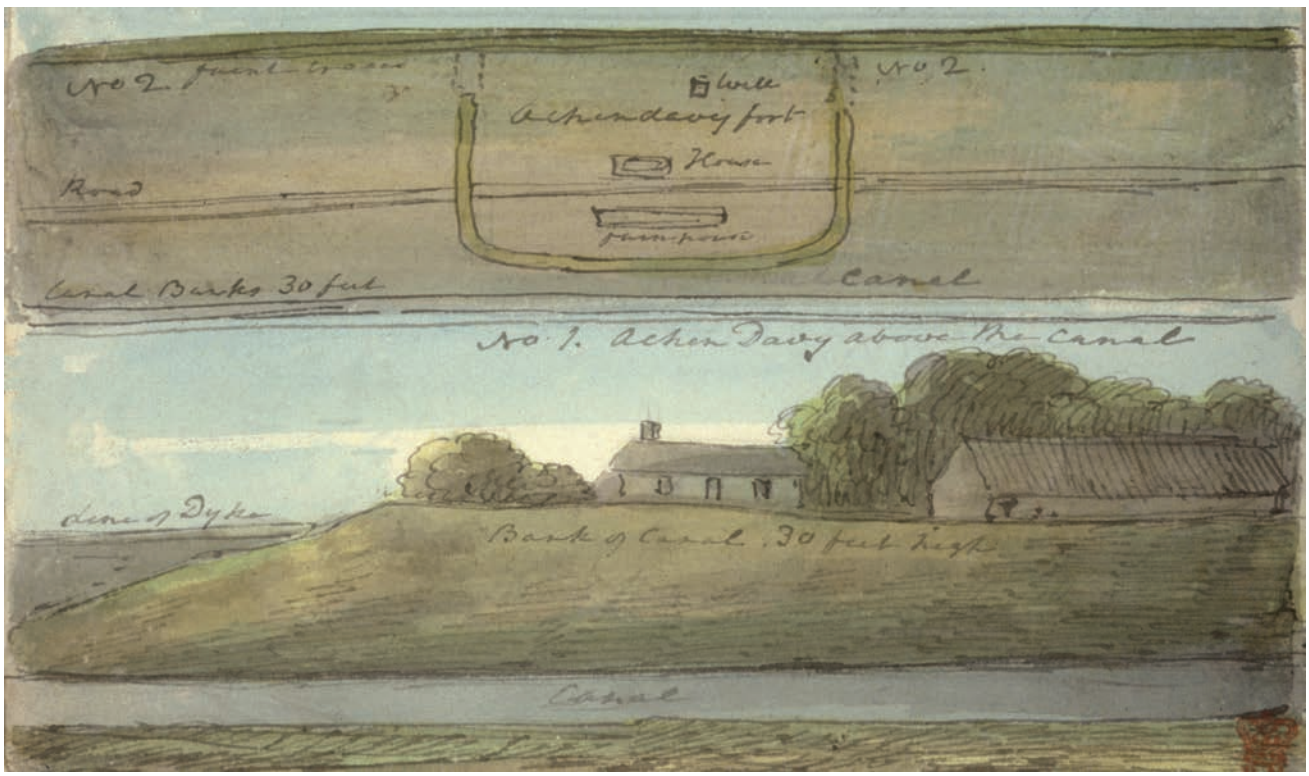


Illustration 70
Auchendavy fort, seen from the south side of the Forth & Clyde Canal, as sketched by the Revd John Skinner, 1825 (© The British Library Board, Add MS 33686, fig 372).

the Society of Antiquaries (illus 68).[153] But for Paton's perseverance in obtaining details about the work from reluctant correspondents, we should know very little. An unknown artist was engaged to draw the excavated bath-house, which was engraved on copper. One of the prints from it was sent to the Society of Antiquaries of London, and bound in with its Minutes, where it lay unrecognised until recently (illus 69). It provides a graphic image of the newly excavated site.[154] Some thought was given to enclosing it for public viewing, but the cost of a fence and a gate was considered prohibitive. In his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1789) Richard Gough included a report on the site and reproduced several of the Freebairn's simple sketches, thus bringing the discovery to a wider audience. He did not include the engraving itself, as Paton had advised him of its shortcomings, and he chose to wait, in vain, for a better visual record. Paton tells us that the copper plate itself had come into the possession of John Anderson (see p. 96),[155] who must surely have been among the Professors involved in 'unroofing' the building in 1775,[156] and who seems to have intended to publish the results of the work.[157] Freebairn himself died soon after, and the building faded from public consciousness. By 1800 'the stones which composed this bath, as we were informed, were removed by the tasteless decree of the owner of the ground, to build a miserable cottage'.[158] What little remained was found again by chance in 1978.[159]

Foundation of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

In Edinburgh, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in its early days variously titled in contemporary notices, came into being in 1780–1, the result of lobbying by David Stuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan (1742–1829).[160] Early members included John Anderson, the economist John Knox, General Robert Melville, George Paton and Thomas Pennant. Papers sent to

Illustration 71
Part of an inscribed slab, and a small sculptured stone 'in the wall of the barn', as sketched at Auchendavy by the Revd John Skinner, 1825 (© The British Library Board, Add MS 33686, fig 373).

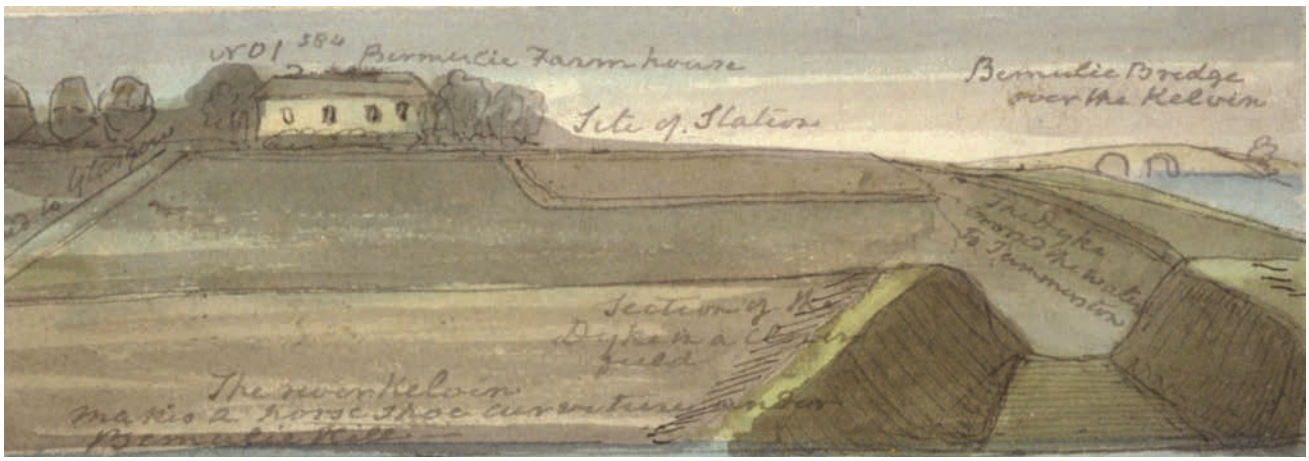


Illustration 72
Balmuildy fort and the Ditch at Summerston seen from the north, as sketched by the Revd John Skinner, 1825 (© The British Library Board, Add MS 33686, fig 385).

its Secretary were published in *Archaeologia Scotica* (1792–1890) and, later, in the *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (from 1851 to the present day). The Wall is absent from the early volumes, an indication of changing fashions and new enthusiasms. However, donations to the Society's fledgling museum included in 1782 a 'Roman cinereal urn with the ashes in it which was dug up without injury in the Tract of the Roman Wall between the two Firths'.[161]

From his own correspondents: Sir John Sinclair and The Statistical Account

Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster in Caithness, landowner and agricultural improver, conceived in the 1780s the idea of gathering together a comprehensive account of Scotland's economic resources and population, arranged by parishes.[162] The project was advertised in the Press, and a lengthy questionnaire sent to every Minister. Among Miscellaneous Questions were 'Are there any Roman, Saxon, Danish, or Pictish castles, camps, altars, roads, forts, or other remains of antiquity? And what traditions or historical accounts are there of them? Have there been any medals, coins, arms, or other pieces of antiquity dug up in the parish? When were they found? And in whose custody are they now?'; and 'Are there any barrows or tumuli? Have they been opened? And what has been found therein?'[163]

As might have been expected, some responses were sent in more expeditiously than others, and were of varying lengths. The Wall was a feature in nine parishes, from Carriden in the east to Old Kilpatrick in the west. In some cases the reports were valuable and up-to-date assessments of what could be seen; in others the Ministers merely recited long-held traditions. The account of Old Kilpatrick was contributed by the Revd John Davidson who had recently acquired coins from the bath-house revealed during the construction of the Forth & Clyde Canal (see p. 95); he makes no mention of the discovery, though he was aware of the traditional site of a Roman fort on nearby Chapel Hill (see p. 43) and alludes to the bath-house found at Duntocher in 1775–8.[164]

Sir Walter Scott and the romance of Scotland

The 18th century was the great era of the antiquary and the pre-eminence of his passion for Romano-British antiquities.[165] With Pennant we find the rational giving way to the romantic.[166] The tradition of scholarly antiquaries at Glasgow College fades; Professor John Anderson had no virtuoso successors. The Wall was but one of many attractions featured in the burgeoning genre of travel guides, their authors often repeating outdated information.[167] Edinburgh and Glasgow acquired new roles as staging posts in an extended tour of the mysterious Highlands. Many travellers, especially from Europe in the aftermath of the Napoleonic War, were inspired by the novels of Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) to visit localities featured in his manifold works.[168] In his house at Abbotsford, overlooking the Tweed with the Eildon Hills rising behind, Scott assembled a wide-ranging

Illustration 73
Small sculptured slab from Croy Hill fort, showing three legionaries (© National Museums Scotland).

collection of antiquities,[169] many gifted by admirers, including the famous Torrs chamfrein (pony-cap), Bronze Age weapons, an Etruscan ash chest, knick-knacks of Scottish heroes including William Wallace and Rob Roy, and even some ethnographic material from the South Seas. Scott's antiquarian interests were wide-ranging, as reflected in his many novels.[170] Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns, in Scott's novel *The Antiquary*, treasured his copy of Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium*.

While posted at Kirkintilloch and subsequently at Falkirk in 1820–4, the exciseman Joseph Train sent Scott a supposed Roman iron tripod-pot, in reality a medieval Scottish cooking utensil, 'turned up by the plough in a field immediately adjoining Grames Dike at Croye', as well as a sword from 'the Peel at Kirkintilloch', and a 'brass plate found in the ruins of Castlecary about the year 1775 [*sic*], by one of the labourers in cutting through the ruins of that Roman fort to make part of the bed of the great canal which passes that way'.[171] Built into the garden wall at Abbotsford are a series of sculptured panels from the Roman fort at Old Penrith, Cumbria,[172] and a reworked building stone recording construction work by the legion XXII *Primigenia*, long based on the Rhine frontier at Mainz but known to have sent a detachment to Britain, on perhaps more than one occasion, during the 2nd century AD.[173] This stone had been on view at Callendar House, Falkirk, in the 1790s, presumably taken from a fort on the Wall, but how it reached Abbotsford is a mystery.[174] Additionally a small inscribed altar of unknown provenance sits atop a mantelpiece in one of the rooms at Abbotsford.[175]

George Chalmers, the author of the multi-volume *Caledonia* (1807), considered the Wall and its forts only briefly, in the context of Roman occupation of Scotland and the road network.[176] The narrative was

Illustration 74
Nethercroy farmhouse, as sketched by the Revd John Skinner, 1825, showing two Roman stones (including illus 73) built into its facade (© The British Library Board, Add MS 33686, fig 363).

chiefly based on wide consultation with interested individuals whose responses to his queries are often cited in the footnotes.[177]

Of particular value in providing a detailed picture of the Wall in the early 19th century is the journal of the Revd John Skinner, Anglican vicar at Camerton in Somerset.[178] The much travelled Skinner walked the length of the Wall, from east to west, over a five-day period in September 1825, as part of a tour of Scotland which saw him journey into the Highlands. He wrote up his notes nightly at inns along his route, and invaluably made numerous pencil sketches of what he saw, providing for us a visual record of the Wall at a fixed date, in an era preceding the invention of photography. Later he worked up the drawings as watercolours (illus 70, 72, 74; see also illus 18, 21, 39). Skinner noted several otherwise unknown inscriptions and sculptures at farmhouses en route (illus 71).[179]

In 1832 a proposal to compile a new *Statistical Account of Scotland* was adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; the resulting essays were published in 1834–45.[180] For most parishes along the Wall the reports were at greater length than their predecessors of 40 years before. The accounts reflect the impact of agricultural and industrial changes, and sometimes preserve details of recent finds.

The bound volume of Professor John Anderson's manuscript lectures (see p. 96) contains an eight-page written record of the Wall, signed and dated 1834, by a certain John Hart who had access to Anderson's written accounts by virtue of his post as a long-serving Trustee and Manager of Anderson's College in Glasgow from the 1820s onwards.[181] 'It is perhaps not proper to take the liberty of writing any remarks on the blank leaves of one of our venerable Founder's own essays, but as I am a native of that particular part of the Country where he seems to have been little acquainted and where he has had erroneous information respecting this part of the wall, I thought I could not do better than insert my own observations here to put the reader to right on this subject but least it should be wrong I have wrote it in pencil so that it can be rubbed out.'[182]

Hart discussed the course of the Wall east of Falkirk and the enduring problem of its eastern terminus. He also noted an otherwise unrecorded cut across its line at Kirkintilloch; the ditch there had a width of 18 feet (5.5m) and a depth of 14 feet (4.3m). Hart observed the layering of its fill. Despite his avowed intention of filling gaps in Anderson's account of the Wall, Hart is more informative about other periods, including Bronze Age burial cairns recently opened in the Kinneil–Bo'ness area.

The growth of institutional collecting

In earlier generations inscribed and sculptured stones were generally retained by landowners (see see p. 57), or passed into the hands of acquisitive collectors or to the colleges in Glasgow or Edinburgh where they might be put on show in libraries, along with other curiosities. Pottery and small finds were reported, but few survived. It was some time before formal museums evolved. In Edinburgh the Faculty of Advocates was long the home to a small collection;[183] rather later, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland received numerous donations.[184] In the course of the 19th century the Society's holdings developed into a national collection, funded by the state, with a much wider remit. In 1857 Sir George Clerk of Penicuik, 6th baronet, donated to it the stones held at Penicuik House.[185] The Hunterian Museum at Glasgow College, housing the bequest of former student William Hunter, which comprised anatomical and natural history specimens, artworks, ethnography and coins, opened to the public in 1807 (illus 78). The College's existing collection of Roman stones was soon transferred to a room in the new museum's basement. Numerous accessions accrued to it in subsequent decades, but few were of Roman date.[186]

William Richardson (1743–1814), the popular Professor of Humanity (Latin) at Glasgow College, published in 1811 a short handbook for his students entitled *Heads of Lectures on Roman Antiquities, and Roman Literature, delivered in the Humanity Class*; the content demonstrates that his interests extended beyond language and literature. The Roman army and its institutions featured strongly; among 'Preparations for waging War', Richardson, clearly aware of the College's collection of material from the Wall, observed that 'the subdivisions [of legions] were called "Vexillationes", as appears by the inscriptions on Roman stones, dug out of the track of the Canal between the Forth and the Clyde, in the course of the Roman Forts erected by Agricola, or rather of the wall erected in the reign of the Emperor Antoninus'.[187]

Illustration 75
Modern inscriptions cut on one face of the Carrick Stone, a Roman altar near Cumbernauld (© Margaret J Robb).

Individual inscribed or sculptured stones continued to turn up along the Wall during agricultural activity. Not all were to survive. In 1803 a distance slab was found on the farm of Low Millichen, between Balmuildy and Bearsden, 'in the formation of a deep drain'.[188] The stone 'was long in the possession of a Glasgow schoolmaster named James Reekie … After his death the tablet passed into the hands of his relative, a weaver in Calton, Glasgow, in whose loom-shop it lay for many years as a foot-rest. Thence it was rescued about 1824, by the good taste of James Ewing, Esq. … who placed it carefully in a conspicuous part of his mansion-house, Queen-Street, now the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Station [at Glasgow], where it long formed a well-known object to the citizens.'[189] The stone was subsequently taken to his country house, Levenside near Dumbarton.[190]

Illustration 76
Plaster cast of a distance slab found in 1865 at Hutcheson Hill, west of Bearsden, made before it was shipped to the United States. The colouring is modern (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

A small sculptured panel showing three legionaries and an inscribed slab, both taken from farm buildings on Croy Hill about 1802, were walled up in nearby Nethercroy House (illus 73); in 1825 the Revd John Skinner (see p. 106) needed a ladder to view them (illus 74).[191] An inscribed altar from the same fort was then standing in its garden.[192] In 1825 a fragmentary slab with an inscription set within a laurel wreath was seen 'thrown and neglected in the farm yard' at Auchendavy by Skinner who drew it, the only record we have (illus 71);[193] it was soon lost sight of.[194]

A small altar found in 1829 while cutting drains on the farm of Easter Duntiglennan north of Duntocher fort was placed in the gable-end of the miller's house at Duntocher.[195] In 1849 Lord Blantyre refused the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland permission to remove it; however, after the demolition of the house shortly after, the altar was acquired by the Glasgow antiquary John Buchanan (see p. 117),[196] who presented it to the Hunterian Museum in 1871.

A large Roman Altar, on which no Latin lettering can now be discerned, standing on what appears to be its original stone base, was first reported in 1845 on high ground at Carrickstone, now a suburb of Cumbernauld,[197] 1.3km south of the fort at Westerwood. It remains there, in the corner-angle of a field; presumably it was found close by (illus 75).

A distance slab ploughed up on Hutcheson Hill, west of Bearsden in 1865 was acquired for £2 from the farmer, and briefly placed on view at a solicitor's office in Glasgow, but soon sold on to Professor Joseph Henry McChesnay, US Consul at Newcastle (illus 76).[198] Despite the remonstrances of John Buchanan and others, McChesnay promptly shipped the stone to Chicago where it was destroyed in the great fire which engulfed that city in October 1871.[199] Fortunately a number of casts had been made in Newcastle by J Collingwood Bruce (see p. 120). The bizarre story is testimony to contemporary indifference and the absence of any legal protection.

Illustration 77
Sculptured stone found at Arniebog near Westerwood fort, 1868, showing a bearded Triton and a bound captive (© The Hunterian, University of Glasgow).

In 1868 two fragments of a finely carved commemorative tablet found on the line of the Wall between Castlecary and Westerwood were reported in the press (illus 77). 'An interesting relic of antiquity was, on Friday 12th instant, discovered on the farm of Arniebog in the parish of Cumbernauld on the line of the old Roman Wall of Antoninus which runs across that farm. On the day mentioned, the farmer, Mr William Chalmers, and several of his family, were collecting and removing the stones from a field under potatoes, bounded on the north by "Grim's Sheugh" as it is colloquially called,[200] which at this spot appears to be in the state in which it was left by the Romans 1,500 years ago and on the very top of the agger, or "gathered heap" as Ossian the Caledonian bard contentiously called it [see p. 100]. One of the daughters turned over a large stone which had been loosened by the plough for the purpose of getting it lifted into the cart, when she discovered something upon its undersurface which excited her curiosity, and after scraping away the adhering earth, she called out to her father that she had found a man. The stone, on being removed to the farm and cleaned, proved to be part of an ancient altar stone on which was beautifully and most artistically sculptured in *alto relievo*, within a square moulding, the naked figure of a Caledonian hero in captivity, bending on one knee in a suppliant attitude, with his hands tied behind his back. ... We trust that a photogram will be taken of the figure.'[201] A second, adjoining fragment was found soon after. The stones, which may well be part of a distance slab, were kept for a while in the milk-house at Arniebog farm before being donated to the Hunterian Museum in 1872.[202]

Royal Visitors: Victoria and Albert

In September 1842 Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, travelling by carriage southwards from Perthshire en route to Edinburgh, passed Ardoch,[203] their brief halt permanently commemorated on a stone tablet beside the public road. Prince Albert described Ardoch fort as 'this interesting memorial of the "Mother of Dead Empires" '.[204] Farther south, they halted for four minutes in the grounds of Callendar House, Falkirk, the home of William Forbes, MP for Stirlingshire, the son of the copper merchant, for a change of horses, to the acclaim of cheering crowds and much pageantry.[205] Subsequently the cut through the Wall directly in front of the House, which we know was made about 1680 (see p. 42), was ascribed in local tradition to this William Forbes, allegedly to

Illustration 78
Façade of the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow College, which opened to the public in 1807, photographed *c* 1870 by Thomas Annan, reproduced from W Stewart (ed), *The University of Glasgow Old and New*, 1891.

enable the Queen to view his house from the public road.

In August 1849 Victoria and Albert made a visit to Glasgow College, with very little advance notice given. A committee was formed to make the necessary preparations. 'The Committee could not lose sight of the possibility of Her Majesty, or of Her Royal Consort, extending their inspection somewhat farther, and particularly of the possibility of their paying a visit to the Museum. Here, likewise, therefore, some preparations required to be made, particularly in the way of cleaning, of laying down a stair carpet, and of having the chairs and settees in the Cupola room renovated. The Roman Stones were also taken out, thoroughly washed and arranged around the Museum Court, as an object likely to interest the Prince Consort should he pay a visit to the Museum' (illus 78). However, it was all to no purpose. The royal couple spent only a few minutes at the College before continuing to Queen Street railway station, for the onward journey by rail to Balmoral.[206]

Notes

1 Trail 1812; Coutts 1909: 194.
2 One such visitor was Bishop Richard Pococke in 1747 (Pococke 1887: 3).
3 Kinsley 1973: 41.
4 Keppie 1998: 18.
5 University of Glasgow 1768.
6 UGAS, the University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 26643, p. 225. Some of the copper plates survive.
7 Keppie 1998: 22.
8 University of Glasgow 1792. See Keppie 1998: 30.
9 Maitland 1757.
10 Gough 1780: 572; Emery 1959.
11 NRS GD18/5030/88.
12 Gough 1780: 572.
13 Macdonald 1934: 78.
14 For example, on its course east of Bar Hill and at Castlehill (Maitland 1757: 177, 181). On the other hand he was correct to highlight the incorrect siting of Camelon on two of Horsley's maps (Maitland 1757: 173).
15 Maitland 1757: 179. For the 'steps of Balmilly' see above p. 43.
16 Maitland 1757: 176.

17 Brown 1974; 1980: 32. The O'on stood only about 200m from the towerhouse built by Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse in 1622. We must be grateful that this earlier Bruce did not then dismantle the adjacent O'on for building materials.

18 In 356 BC Herostratus set fire to the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

19 *Antiquarian Repertory* 3 (1780): 74. See also SAL Minute Book IV, p. 16 (meeting of 21 July 1743).

20 A lewis hole.

21 *Antiquarian Repertory*, loc cit. See SAL Minute Book IV, p. 171 (meeting of 27 October 1743).

22 *Antiquarian Repertory* 3 (1780): 75.

23 *Antiquarian Repertory* 3 (1780): opposite p. 75. The Latin quotation, taken from Virgil (*Georgics*, iii.38), spells out the severe punishments Bruce would endure in the Underworld.

24 John Elphinstone (1706–53), the mapmaker, who lived at Airth north of Falkirk.

25 NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (iii), fol 59. For accounts of the O'on postdating its destruction, see Maitland 1757: 208; Gough 1780: 721.

26 For the date see NRS GD18/5027/7. In popular tradition destruction followed almost immediately, rather than after an interval of five years.

27 Pennant 1774a: 243.

28 Brown 1987b; 1987c; 1995; Colvin 1995: 255. George Clerk, the third son, then a Commissioner of Customs and later fourth baronet, identified Roman sites at Milton and Torwood in Dumfriesshire, after being asked by William Roy in 1754 to make a search of the area (Roy 1793: p. viii fn; Macdonald 1921: 90).

29 NRS GD18/4213/1. In 1729 the Revd John Horsley had observed to Roger Gale that the antiquary Dr Christopher Hunter of Durham 'told me pleasantly he would threaten the people of Corbridge with a prosecution from the spirituall Court for keeping a pagan altar in their churchyard' (Lukis 1887: 97).

30 Roy 1793: p. v.

31 Balfour-Melville 1917; Macdonald 1939.

32 Gough 1789: 414*; Balfour-Melville 1917: 122; Jones & Maxwell 2008. In the 1720s Alexander Gordon was inspired by a supposed Roman sword at the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh (above p. 71).

33 Gough 1789: 414*.

34 Macdonald 1917: 169.

35 Melville 1773.

36 NRS GD126/30.

37 Roy 2007.

38 Roy 1793: p. vi; Macdonald 1917: 171; Adamson 1977; O'Donoghue 1977; MacGregor 2003; Hingley 2008: 139; www.nls.uk/maps/Roy/index.htm.

39 Roy 1793.

40 Roy 1793: 161, pl xxxix; cf Macdonald 1917: 186.

41 For his burdens and responsibilities in these years, see Prebble 1975: passim.

42 Keppie 1998: 23.

43 Graham 1812; McGuire 1988; Gibson 2007.

44 Nimmo 1777, 11; Roy 1793, pl xxxv.

45 Roy 1793: 162; Macdonald 1911: 138; 1934: 120; RCAHMS 1963: 318 no 267.

46 Forbes of Callendar Papers, Falkirk Archives, A727.271/5.

47 Ibid A727.271/7.

48 Nimmo 1777: 468; Wilson 1797: 88; Vasey 1992.

49 Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/SH/5/382, p. 40.

50 NRS GD18/4736; cf NRS GD18/5850, 5851.

51 Smeaton 1768. The 'Roman Wall' features on Smeaton's general map.

52 *Apollo* 86 (1967): 168.

53 Port Dundas in Glasgow, Dundas Cottages near Castlecary and Laurieston near Falkirk take their names from the family, as did the *Charlotte Dundas*, the world's first working steam tug, built in 1800 for use on the Canal.

54 Lindsay 1968b.

55 On Laurie see p. 97.

56 Wilson 1797: 89. See Scott 1994: 80.

57 Pratt 1922: 106; Lindsay 1968a: 32.

58 RCAHMS 1963: 436.

59 Haldane 1968: 138; Nimmo 1880: 135; Scott 1994: 68. The environs of Rough Castle served for a time as a gathering ground for the cattle; hence the place-names Achnabuth (field of tents) west of Rough Castle, and Tentfield Plantation eastwards from it (Reid 2009: 313). A plan dated 1786 shows a pend near Camelon leading south to a cattle market just south of the Wall at 'Grames Dyk' (Original held at Falkirk Archives, A727.4292). Later the Tryst moved to Stenhousemuir north of the Canal.

60 NRS BR/FCN/1/2, p. 115. One of Sir John Clerk's sons viewed the 'ground opened' there (NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (ii), fol 233).

61 Roy 1793: pl xxxix.

62 SUA OA/5/5 fol 44; Anderson 1793: 200. Presumably samian ware is meant.

63 Nimmo 1777: 6. The quarry is shown on an estate plan of the later 18th century (*c* 1784) now held by Perth Museum and Art Gallery; copy at NMRS (STD/13/6 P).

64 SUA OA/5/5 fol 45.

65 NRS BR/FCN/1/2, p. 182; Keppie 1998: 25.

66 SUA OA/5/5, unpaginated; NRS BR/FCN/1/2, p. 344; Keppie 1998: 29.

67 Ireland 1881: 10.

68 Soc Antiq Scot MS 626. See Macdonald 1911: 154; 1934: 333. I have inserted some punctuation but have otherwise left the spelling and grammar unaltered. John Bruce, the Helensburgh antiquary (see p. 131), subsequently had custody of the manuscript which he later presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

69 Otherwise unknown.

70 In 1775 Knox carried off to his house in Richmond, Surrey the 'Nero' stone from Duntocher (above p. 73); it is now lost (see Knox 1785: 611; RIB 2202; Keppie 2004: 181, 210 with fig 21).

71 Macdonald 1934: 338, fig 50. Stuart 1844: 290 writes that a 'length of base was removed'.

72 Bruce 1893: 36 states this as a fact.

73 NRS BR/FCN/1/96, p. 146.

74 NRS BR/FCN/1/96, pp. 147–54.

75 Muir 1950; Wood 1995; Butt 1996.

76 Murray 1927: 55; Nolan 1938: 74, 190.

77 UGAS, the University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 26690, pp. 29–30; cf NRS BR/FCN/1/2, p. 182: See Keppie 1998: 25.

78 Major Chalmers of Camelon.

79 The home of Sir Lawrence Dundas near Grangemouth.

80 UGAS, the University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 58282.

81 SUA OA/5/5.

82 Minute Book of the Glasgow Literary Society (now in the Royal Faculty of Procurators, Glasgow; transcription in Glasgow University Library (MS Murray 505, p. 37).

83 Actually 1,628 years.

84 SUA OA/5/5 fol 1.

85 SUA OA/5/5 fols 21–22. For Laurie see above p. 93. The map does not appear to survive.

86 SUA OA/5/5 fol 21. His measurements probably included the upcast mound, as so often in antiquarian accounts.

87 SUA OA/5/5 fol 27.

88 *RIB* 2173.

89 SUA OA/5/5 fol 40.

90 SUA OA/5/5, unpaginated.

91 For such criticism see Roy 1793: 156.

92 *RIB* 2146, 2150, 2155 = *CSIR* 80; *CSIR* 76 (Keppie 1998: nos 18, 27, 28, 54).

93 UGAS, the University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 58284.

94 Butt 1996: 62; Hamilton 1996: 24.

95 SUA OB/1/1/5, p. 373.

96 Anon 1831: 15. As the coins go unmentioned in his lectures of 1770–3, perhaps Anderson acquired them subsequently.

97 Minute Book of the Managers and Trustees of Anderson's Institution (SUA OB/1/1/1, p. 122).

98 SUA OB/1/1/5, pasted in at p. 376.

99 Muir 1950: 153.

100 It was known as Anderson's College or Anderson's Institution. Muir 1950: 129 has the text of Anderson's will.

101 Marjory Stewart, Librarian of the Royal Faculty of Procurators, Glasgow, kindly supplied details of his life.

102 Muir 1950: 157.

103 It can be identified as *RIB* 2171 (Keppie 1998: 32, 91 no 19).

104 Baird 1813; Pratt 1922: 155; RCAHMS 1963: 438 no 553; Lindsay 1968a: 66; Bailey 2000a. As William Forbes of Callendar would not allow his house to be visible from it, the Canal was rerouted to the south-west and tunnelled below Prospect Hill.

105 Massey 1983: 21.

106 Anon 1823.

107 Lindsay 1968a: 49; Dowds 2003: 72.

108 An enlarged edition was issued in 1780 under the title *British Topography*.

109 Badham 1987; Sweet 2001; Sweet 2004: 61.

110 Gough 1770.

111 Bod Lib MS Gough Gen.Top. 46, fol 71; cf NLS Adv MS 29.5.8 (iv), fol 100.

112 The engravings are preserved among the Gough papers at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Bod Lib MS Gough Maps 40, fols 10–12).

113 Gough 1775.

114 NLS Adv MS 29.5.6, 29.5.7. The letters are originals on both sides of the correspondence.

115 Gough 1780, 576, 589; NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (ii), fols 52, 80, 83.

116 NLS Adv MS 29.5.6 (i), fol 8.

117 NLS Adv MS 29.5.6 (i), fol 147.

118 NLS Adv MS 29.5.6 (i), fols 16, 36.

119 NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (iii), fols 2, 14.

120 NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (iii), fol 227.

121 NLS Ad. MS 29.5.7 (iii), fol 227.

122 Doig 1971; Piggott & Robertson 1977: no 52.

123 Moore 1997.

124 Emery 1959. For two of the responses, see Pennant 1774a: 269.

125 Pennant 1793: 11.

126 Pennant 1774a: 232.

127 Pennant 1774b.

128 *Scots Magazine* April 1772: 173.

129 NLS Adv MS 29.5.5 (i), fols 10. 14, 16, 29, 31; Bod Lib MS Gough Gen.Top. 43, fols 194, 243.

130 Bod Lib MS Gough Gen.Top. 43, fol 223. Gough asked Paton to supply Pennant with the necessary information (NLS Adv MS 29.5.6 (i), fol 36).

131 NLS Adv MS 29.5.5 (i), fol 90; see Walters 1976: 123.

132 Piggott 1935; 1937; 1985: 126; Sweet 2004: 175.

133 Bertram 1757.

134 Stukeley 1757.

135 Roy 1793: 91.

136 Gough 1780: 561.

137 Chalmers 1807: 126, 132; cf Stuart 1844: 97, 147.

138 Piggott 1985: 149.

139 Caros was viewed as having given his name to the River Carron. See also Nimmo 1817: 18.

140 For the text see Stafford 1988.

141 *Travellers Guide* 1798: 156.

142 Loveday 1890: 119.

143 Pococke 1887: 52, 60, 209.

144 'Tho' I had now pass'd the Roman wall twice, and had diligently search'd for the remains of it, yet I saw none' (Sher 1991: 153).

145 Czartoryski Library, Cracow, MS XVII/607, translated by Agnieszka Whelan; see Keppie 1998: 31.

146 Maclaren & Bain 1980.

147 By Clement Lempriere (1731), Herman Moll (1745) and John Elphinstone (1745).

148 Pennant 1774a; Nimmo 1777, the latter from a survey by William Edgar who had been serving in the Duke of Cumberland's army in 1745–6.

149 Piggott & Robertson 1977: no 60; Farrant 1995.

150 NMS MS 476, fol 40. They belong to the Late Bronze Age (information from Trevor Cowie, NMS).

151 Keppie 2004.

152 Knox 1785: 611.

153 Gough 1789: 362, pl xxvii; Keppie 2004: 190, 212 fig 22. They are now lost.

154 SAL Minute Book XVI, pp. 330–37; Keppie 2004: 197 fig 13.

155 NLS Adv MS 29.5.7 (iii), fol 68.

156 It does not seem to have been among Anderson's possessions at his death.

157 Keppie 2004: 189.

158 Garnett 1800: 9.

159 Keppie 2004: 202.

160 Smellie 1792; Cant 1981; Piggott & Robertson 1977: nos 48–50. For an earlier attempt at the formation of a national body, see above p. 47.

161 NMS Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Minute Book 22 January 1782, p. 150. The urn, presumably from a Bronze Age burial cairn, was presented by Mr Hamilton of Orbiston, who owned land around Old Kilpatrick; the urn is not now identifiable (information from Trevor Cowie, NMS).

162 Geddes 1959; Mitchison 1962; Broadie 1997: 558.

163 Withrington and Grant 1983: 46, Questions 146–8.

164 Davidson 1793.

165 Sweet 2004.

166 Piggott 1978: 44; Piggott 1989: 123.

167 Cruttwell 1801: 268; Chapman 1812: 212. De Buzonnière 1832: 216; Anon 1838: 51; Durie 2003.

168 Gold & Gold 1995; Grenier 2005.

169 Cheape, Cowie & Wallace 2003.

170 For Scott as the youthful excavator of an Iron Age vitrified fort at Fettercairn, Kincardineshire, see Cheape, Cowie & Wallace 2003: 54.

171 NLS MS 3277, p. 132; Macdonald 1911: 179; 1934: 294; Cheape, Cowie & Wallace 2003: 66.

172 *CSIR*, Appendix (a).

173 *RIB* 2216 = *CSIR* 72; cf *RIB* 3486.

174 A gift of it to Scott by William Forbes of Callendar is most likely, *pace* Macdonald 1934: 406 fn 3. If the stone is not from the fort at Falkirk, it might have come from either Mumrills or Camelon; both lay within Forbes' extensive landholdings. Scott had, in local tradition, enjoyed the hospitality at Falkirk of the Minister, the Revd James Wilson (Love 1908: 55), who had reported the stone in his account of the parish in *The Statistical Account* (Wilson 1797: 110); perhaps Wilson alerted Scott to its presence. On Wilson see Scott 1994: 73.

175 *RIB* 3489. However, it is worth noting that John Buchanan (see p. 117) alludes to an altar from Auchendavy, which he was told had long since been taken off to Edinburgh by Sir Walter Scott 'and is, I believe, in the Antiquarian Museum' (*Glasgow Herald* 3 March 1858); no such item can now be traced.

176 Chalmers 1807: 118; Cockcroft 1939: 179, 201.

177 See also NLS Adv MS 16.2.17.

178 BL Add MS 33686. Keppie 2003 published the text and a selection of his sketches.

179 He wrote a paper on the new epigraphic and sculptural finds for the journal *Archaeologia* (Skinner 1827).

180 Geddes 1959.

181 Hamilton 1996: 24. His brother Robert Hart was prominent in the Glasgow Archaeological Society in its early years.

182 SUA OA/5/5, unpaginated. Hart may have belonged to a Bo'ness family (information from G B Bailey).

183 Brown 1989.

184 See the various papers in Bell 1981.

185 *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 3 (1857–60): 37.

186 Laskey 1813; Keppie 2007: 68. Before 1900 its Roman collections consisted solely of stones, quernstones and a bronze jug found at Lesmahagow in 1807.

187 Richardson 1811: 7. In fact only one inscribed stone (*RIB* 2146) with the term *vexillatio* was found in the course of that work.

188 Macdonald 1911: 298 no 13; 1934: 376 no 7; *RIB* 2194 = *CSIR* 138.

189 Stuart 1852: 315 fn; Keppie 1979: 7.

190 Stuart 1844: 309. It is now in Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove.

191 *CSIR* 90; *RIB* 2163 = *CSIR* 91. Skinner believed that the former depicted the emperor Severus and his sons, Caracalla and Geta, who had campaigned in Scotland in the early 3rd century (see Skinner 1827) The stone was presented to the then National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1910.

192 *RIB* 2160. The stone was presented to the then National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1922.

193 *RIB* 2179 = *CSIR* 116. See Davies 1976; Keppie & Walker 1985.

194 Stuart 1852: 332 fn.

195 *RIB* 2201; Keppie 1998: 108 no 42.

196 Stuart 1852: 300 fn.

197 Watson 1845: 141; Donelly 1897. The stone bears several barely discernible modern inscriptions, in English. See also *Britannia* 34 (2003): 303.

198 *RIB* 2198; see Buchanan 1883a; Macdonald 1911: 280 no 8; 1934: 383 no 10; Keppie 1998: 35.

199 In 1872 Daniel Wilson penned a short article for the *Toronto Daily Globe*, which confirmed that the stone had indeed been destroyed, and is not currently lurking in any of the present-day museums in Chicago (Wilson 1872). Wilson had been in direct contact with McChesnay who informed him that 'it was with my other collections over Mr Grigg's book store'; he had not totally given up hope, until the moment 'when the debris was removed, that it might be preserved on account of the comparative fire-proof quality of the stone'. (I obtained the text of Wilson's article from Tony Park, through the good offices of James J Walker.)

200 'Sheugh' is a Scots word for ditch.

201 *Glasgow Herald* 15 June 1868; Maclagan 1872.

202 Buchanan 1872; Keppie 1998: 89 no 17.

203 Buist 1842: 203. Queen Victoria recorded the visit in her diary. 'Soon after this we came to a very extraordinary Roman encampment at Ardoch, called the "Lindrum". Unsurprisingly it was Prince Albert who evinced an interest. 'Albert got out, but I remained in the carriage, and Major Moray showed it to him. They say it is one of the most perfect in existence' (Duff 1994: 35).

204 Buist 1842: loc cit.

205 Buist 1842: 219; Duff 1994: 36; Bailey 1993.

206 UGAS, the University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 26701, pp. 193, 199; Keppie 1998: 34; Keppie 2007: 73.