

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH relating to the origin of a family, or as to the meaning of a surname, is always interesting and the Carruthers family provides no exception to this statement. The name is Celtic in origin and is formed from the words *Caer-Rhydderch* (the fort of Ruther). The question immediately arises as to who was Ruther? The answer takes one back to the Sixth Century when the Romanised Britons either were being gradually driven westwards, or absorbed as serfs, by the Teutonic tribes which invaded British shores following the final departure of the Romans. At this period the British territory covered the country now comprised in the modern counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Gloucester, Monmouth, Hereford, Shropshire, Cheshire, all the Welsh counties, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland and the west-central portion of Southern Scotland, with the exception of the counties of Wigtown and Kirkcudbright; the more northerly portion, extending from the Derwent (possibly Dunmail Raise was the boundary) to Dumbarton on the Clyde, being known as Strathclyde and embracing Cumbria, now the modern Cumberland, for the tide of invasion had pushed back the Celtic tribes from the East Coast and in southern Lancashire had definitely severed the northern from the southern Celts.

Ruther, called "the Liberal", figures prominently in the legends woven around St. Kentigern (or St. Mungo) and appears to have been the leader of a small section of the Britons of Strathclyde who still maintained Christian traditions, although, following the withdrawal of the Romans, the majority of the Celts had reverted to their original cults.

In the year 573 a decisive battle was fought at Arthuret, near Longtown, between the Christian and non-Christian forces, resulting in a victory for the former with the result that the capital was removed from Carlisle to Alclyt, or Dumbarton, known to the Gaels as *dùn Bretann*. The interesting feature of this engagement, however, lies in the fact that for some time before the conflict the Christian tribes, led by Ruther, may have been

established in the ancient earthwork on a hill, in the modern parish of Middlebie, which later became known as Caer-Ruther. (It is possible to trace the remains of an encampment on the hill above the farm of Carruthers at the present day.)

Tradition ascribes a Celtic origin to the Carruthers family, but decisive proof is lacking. In the centuries that immediately followed, Strathclyde was assailed by Saxons, Danes and Norsemen and these undoubtedly effected settlements, as is witnessed by place-names such as Denby, Middlebie, Mouswald, &c. At a later date Anglo-Norman Barons and Knights were, as elsewhere, granted lands in this district. The language, in spite of these various settlers, remained Celtic until its absorption into the Scottish kingdom about 1018 when the Saxon tongue with a Norse admixture gradually began to predominate.

It is impossible to trace the ancestry of the family to Ruther and likewise it cannot even be stated from which of the races the family was derived. At the time that surnames came into gradual use in Scotland, i.e. during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, the family living at Carruthers undoubtedly adopted it as its surname and accordingly the race to which the "first Carruthers" belonged cannot be ascertained. It is interesting to notice that at a comparatively early date the name is to be found in England in the counties of Cumberland, Durham and Yorkshire. Whilst in Scotland the commonest and usual spelling was Carruthers (with slight variations), in England it became disguised as Carrothers, Carrodus and Cruddas (in Yorkshire), Croudace (in Durham), &c. There were many other variations in the spelling and it is interesting to speculate as to the reason that caused the name to cross the Border. In this book no attempt has been made to trace any early English branch of the family, and research has been confined to the Carruthers families dwelling in Dumfriesshire. Not only is the origin of a family interesting, but in order properly to understand its history it is necessary to know something of the conditions and customs which prevailed in the country or district in which the family dwelt.

The Carruthers Clan lived within Annandale, and were chiefly located at Mouswald and Holmains and numerous other adjacent places. This district was situated in what was known as the West March of Scotland. An attempt may be made to give a brief outline of the laws and customs which obtained in that part of the Scottish Border. First of all, however, it is necessary to see how it came about that a people of the same race, but living on opposite sides of the Border, were constantly fighting or raiding each other. It has been shown that Strathclyde extended on both

sides of what is now known as the Border and that the inhabitants spoke the same language. When Strathclyde became part of Scotland the Scottish Border therefore lay considerably to the south of its present position, and it was not until the reign of William II of England that Carlisle was established as an English town and the Castle founded. For over 100 years thereafter the Scottish kings alternately possessed and were dispossessed of Cumberland and the adjacent counties of Northumberland and Durham, but these were finally lost to Scotland with the capture of William the Lion in the year 1174. William the Lion vainly endeavoured to recover this territory from Richard I of England and his brother and successor, John, but without result.

For several centuries there lay between the kingdoms of England and Scotland a stretch of ground known as the Debatable Lands. These lands came to be occupied by what were known as "broken men", i.e. men originally of good family, but who, owing to force of circumstances, had become little beyond common thieves. In 1552 after the invasion of Annandale and district a Commission met and the contested territory was divided between the two countries, the northerly part, Canonbie, being added to Scotland and the southerly part, Kirkandrews, becoming part of England.

Apart from local quarrels the Borderers seemed to have enjoyed comparative quiet for over a hundred years after the capture of William the Lion. It is to the rapacity of Edward I of England that nearly three centuries of Border raids and warfare must be charged.

After the tragic death of Alexander III in 1286 Margaret, the Maid of Norway, became heir to the Scottish Throne and it was at this time that Edward I's opportunity to interfere in Scottish affairs arrived. Edward, with great sagacity, having decided that in order to further his ambitions regarding France it was essential that Scotland be at peace with England, sought to effect this by an amalgamation of the Crowns. His intention was to acquire Scotland by peaceful means, namely, the marrying of his young son, Prince Edward, to the Maid. Unfortunately for his scheme, Margaret died on the way to Scotland and the Throne was left open to thirteen competitors, of whom there were three in chief, viz. John Balliol, Robert Bruce and Hastings. The dispute which followed was referred to King Edward (who was acknowledged Lord Paramount of Scotland) for arbitration and the result was that John Balliol was rightly declared King and crowned on St. Andrew's Day, 1292. The fatal admission of suzerainty was made with effects soon to appear, though at the time apparently unforeseen.

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The War of Scottish Independence does not fall to be discussed here and it is sufficient to mention that, owing to difficulties arising out of the acknowledged superiority of Edward, Balliol renounced his homage to the English King and made an alliance with Phillip, King of France, then at war with England. The fighting which was to devastate the Borders for nearly three centuries had begun.

The Borderers are not to be blamed for being known as "Border Thieves", they were the victims of circumstance. Intermittent warfare and the consequent passing of armies, both English and Scottish, made tilling of the ground and agricultural pursuits useless. There was no object to be gained in sowing crops which in all probability would be trampled or burnt down before the harvest. Cattle, therefore, became their principal property, which was always liable to be carried off by the enemy. The Border folk had to exist and if suddenly they were bereft of their means of subsistence they rather naturally regarded their enemies' cattle as fair plunder; robbing thus assumed an appearance of fair reprisal. The unfortunate privilege under Border Laws of pursuing raiders into their own country, for the recovery of property stolen, often led to skirmishes and bloodshed. These continual depredations unsettled the Borderers and they came to look upon what we should now call common thieving as a normal mode of subsistence, accounted honourable and lawful. When there was peace between England and Scotland this petty warfare continued and was a source of annoyance to the Kings of both countries.

It was with the object of attending to the settlement of grievances and the better "policing" of the Border that this district was divided into three separate jurisdictions on both sides of the Border, viz. the West March, East March and Middle March. It is the West March, however, that is of particular interest in connection with the Carruthers family. This district comprised Nithsdale, Annandale, Eskdale, Ewesdale and Wauchopedale, i.e. the Stewartry of Annandale, with the Sherifffdom of Dumfries. To this was added the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, though it enters but little into the picture. The most important town was Dumfries situated on the River Nith, whilst Annan and Lockerbie were also fair-sized towns. Carlaverock, Lochmaben, Annan and the Thrieve were the most important strongholds, the second named being a Royal Castle. The Warden, the Deputy and the Sheriff were stationed at Dumfries, the Deputy being entrusted with the withstanding or offence of England. A Captain, who was known as the Keeper of Annandale, was stationed at Langholm and the remainder of the wardenry was defended by the families resident therein.

The Warden had great powers and appointed deputies, clerks, ser-

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geants and dempsters. The Castles of Lochmaben, Langholm, Annan and the Thrieve were in his charge and he could call out the full armed force of the wardenry for the invasion of the opposite realm. He had power to make truces with the English Warden and in peace time one of his chief duties was to meet on certain days for the settling of disputes and the granting of redress for crimes committed. The Warden was bound to expel all thieves and trespassers and to prevent their return, and had to answer for those within his wardenry. He could hold Justice Courts for the trial of Scottish subjects under his jurisdiction and could compel the attendance of nobles, barons and landed gentry who were bound to present before him their tenants and servants when their names came before the court. The discomfiting of unruly Borderers was left to the Lieutenant, who had command of considerable forces and who, when advised by the Council, could proceed with fire and sword against all rebellious persons and demolish their dwelling-houses and castles.

Besides the laws in force in both the Kingdoms of Scotland and England there were customs on the Border which in time became law owing to ancient use and practice. The laws were from time to time added to and altered but the treaties amending them did not include laws unaltered, so that as time progressed there were an increasing number of clauses not all of which could be found in any one treaty. If completely collected, there would probably be nearly fifty different sections, but some were of minor importance though making clearer current practice. Reference may be made to some of the more important clauses.

Should a subject of one realm murder a subject of the opposite Kingdom and complaint be made to the Offender's Warden, the latter had to endeavour to arrest him and bring him to a day of Truce where, if convicted, he was to suffer punishment by death at the hands of the opposite Warden, and his goods delivered to the wife and children, or other heir, of the deceased for their use. Murderers caught in the act might be immediately executed, but this usually caused trouble with their kinsmen.

The penalty for wounding a person of the opposite realm was estimated by a jury, consisting of six Englishmen and six Scotsmen named by their respective Wardens, and was then doubled. If the aggrieved person had been maimed or mutilated, the aggressor was apprehended and suffered six months' "streight prison".

Persons who committed the crime of "burning or spoyling of goods" had to make redress of the principal, together with twice the value thereof. This was known as "double and sawfie". The latter was the charge incurred in making the enquiries and searching out the offender.

Other clauses were designed to prevent, and attached penalties to, the crimes of Hunting and Pasturing Cattle in the opposite realm, cutting down trees, &c. Another crime was that of "Baughling and Reproving": this consisted of the carrying of a glove or picture, on the point of a spear, of an offender who had broken his word at a day of truce. The family of one who had thus sullied the honour of the clan would sometimes slay such a person in order that the stain on their family might be removed. In 1563 it was agreed that an offender who was proved guilty on three occasions should incur the penalty of death.

Should a person over swear the value or number of goods or cattle stolen, the Warden with six Scotsmen and six Englishmen might diminish the price or number of the goods or cattle over sworn. If anyone complained for goods not stolen, he was to be delivered to the opposite Warden for punishment. An aggrieved person was not allowed to avenge his own cause (though this was often done) and anyone so doing stood in danger of losing his case and being punished.

One of the most interesting clauses related to the custom known as "hot-trod" (the tracing of stolen goods). Should a subject of one country commit depredations within the territory of the other and afterwards return to his own country, the person injured might immediately, or within six days from the time of the attempt, without letters of safe-conduct, follow the malefactor within the March to which the thief had fled, or, within the said six days, appeal to one of the opposite Wardens for redress. The aggrieved person was allowed to follow his lawful trod with hound and horn, and with hue and cry and other customary manner of pursuit for the recovery of his stolen property. He had, however, to proceed unarmed, likewise it was deemed advisable to approach the nearest habitation in the opposite kingdom and inform the inhabitant of the reason for his visit to the country. None was allowed to molest the person following "hot-trod" and if he did he was liable to make good the losses incurred. The person following the trod could call on all whom he met in the opposite realm to help him, and those refusing could be punished. Sir Walter Scott states that "the pursuit was maintained with a lighted piece of turf carried on a spear". Sometimes the Warden himself directed a raid to recover the stolen property.

Deadly feuds were occasionally stopped by the Wardens arresting the persons at feud and delivering them to the opposite Warden. Whilst this might serve with isolated and small cases, such laws were of no avail if a clan such as the Scotts, Elliotts, Maxwells, Armstrongs or Johnstones were at deadly feud.

Enough has been said to give an indication of the peculiar Laws of the Scottish Border. There were also internal laws, the principal of which dealt with March Treason.

The form of a Day of Truce, or "diet" as it was called, is interesting. A set day and place of meeting was agreed upon by the Wardens and the inhabitants of the March were informed by proclamation in the towns on either side of the Border of the arrangement. Persons who had received injuries from subjects of the opposite realm summoned the parties responsible. The summons or "bill" was presented to the opposite Warden in order that he might summon the culprit. The Warden called upon all nobles, knights, barons and others to attend him with servants and a sufficient number of their tenants, mounted on their best horses, as was suited to the occasion.

When the Wardens met—usually on the actual border or just in Scotland¹—four or five of the English gentlemen of repute rode forward for the purpose of demanding that assurances might be kept until the sunrise of the day following. After these had been granted, the Scots also sent four or five gentlemen to demand the same from the English Warden. This having been satisfactorily completed, the Wardens held up their hands as a token of faith for observance of the truce and to remain peaceful, the Scottish Warden dismounted and the English Warden approached and, after salutations, commenced the business of the day.

An assize consisting of six Scotsmen and six Englishmen was named by the two Wardens, the oath being given by the English Warden to the Scots and vice versa. The Wardens and their clerks then proceeded with the bills to be dealt with, the most recent being taken first. When there was any doubt as to guilt, the case could be tried either (i) by honour of the Warden; (ii) by assize; or (iii) by vower, i.e. by an umpire belonging to the country of the accused party and mutually chosen by the plaintiff and the defendant. Bills were marked in the margin "foule" or "cleare" as the case might be, and justice was done. The jury system, however, did not work very well on account of the fear of deadly feud should the jury find against their own countrymen.

While the assize tried the cases the Wardens examined the books for such bills as had been "fyled" at a previous meeting for the purpose of delivering the offenders to the Warden of the March where the complainant

¹ The time-honoured place of meeting was at Clochmaban Stone, a few yards from the edge of the Solway where it was crossed by the ancient sulwath or muddy ford (vide G. Neilson's Annals of the Solway).

dwelt. Should the defendant not be present, pledges could be given until such time as he could be secured.

The business in hand being completed, joint proclamation was made of the things accomplished and at the same time of a date and place for the next meeting. After salutations the Wardens withdrew with much ceremony.

One of the customs prevalent on the Border was the payment of blackmail by a small and weak family to a powerful clan, the chief of the latter being pledged to cease not only from plundering its lands, but to defend it against other would-be plunderers. In Scotland this system was known as "manrent" and was legally recognised, the weaker party giving a bond to the stronger to be his man and assist him in all things against anyone save the Crown, whilst the stronger undertook to protect the weaker. This must, of course, be distinguished from pure blackmail.

Another curious custom was one known as "handfasting". Formerly a fair was held, at a place called "Handfasting Haugh" at the junction of the White and Black Esk, to which young people of both sexes used to resort and between whom engagements were made by joining hands or "hand-fasting". The connection so made was binding for one year only and at the end of that period either party was at liberty to withdraw, or in the event of both being satisfied the "hand-fasting" could be renewed for life. Should children have been born, the party withdrawing was bound to support and care for the offspring. As far as was possible marriage and intercourse between the subjects of the opposite realm were rigidly suppressed.

During their raids the Borderers were always careful not to shed the blood of those opposed to them. When, however, blood was shed it was generally in revenge for the death of some member of the family. A feud thus might become more and more ramified and persons of the same name ruthlessly killed, however innocent of, or remotely connected they might be with, the original incident. Sometimes these feuds were terminated by intermarriage in the families concerned, or the chiefs were sent on pilgrimages to distant shrines to offer prayers for those who had fallen on either side. Another way, but prohibited after 1600, was for six or more of each family to fight, to the death. At the junction of the streams Liddel and Kershope there is a place called Turneyholm where these combats used to take place.²

² The commonest form of legal settlement of a feud was by "assythement". Interested parties on both sides got together, often with a third party, assessed the damages arising out of the slaughters and prevailed on the parties to accept their

The method of defending the towers, or peels as they were called, is interesting, but it is necessary first of all to describe such a tower. In the earliest times they were probably built of wood, but at a later period the head of each family probably dwelt in a strong tower having stone walls of great thickness. The remains of such are still to be seen in many places in Southern Scotland and Northern England. The towers varied in shape and size but were commonly square or rectangular. In the Sixteenth Century the entrance was on ground level, but in the Fifteenth Century access was gained on the first floor by a ladder which could be drawn up at night and in times of danger. The staircase was usually in a corner and of the well type, ascent being round to the right, the object being to give free play to the defender's sword-arm, whilst inconveniencing the attacker. By descending this stair the vaulted chamber in the basement was reached where the cattle killed and salted in the autumn were kept for winter food supply. The staircase usually gave access to a living-room which would have small windows, probably with seats on either side, and a fireplace. Above would be another room with a fireplace, and above this there might be a further room or an attic, from out of which a door would open on to the parapet. The actual furniture was negligible and was usually built into the tower. The Wills of Borderers rarely recorded carpets, rugs or beds, though feather beds are occasionally mentioned. The inhabitants possessed little beyond stores of food and arms and their stock of clothing was usually entirely on their backs.

Raids rarely lasted for more than a few hours, or, at the very most, three days. On warning being given, a Borderer might decide to defend his tower, or he might gather his cattle together and drive them to an inaccessible place, such as Tarras Moss, there to await events. In the latter case, before departing he would take the precaution to fill his peel with peat, which was always to hand, and set it alight. The peat would smoulder for perhaps three days and the fumes and heat therefrom would be sufficient to keep any attackers at bay should they desire to cast down the stronghold. After the raid the owner could return, clean out his tower and again take up residence. The defence was simple and efficient.

Should the Borderer be taken by surprise he might not be so fortunate. He could use boiling water or lead, or stones from the parapet, or, at a

arbitration. The terms of settlement were embodied in "Letters of Slains" of which many examples are still extant. In addition to the payment of damages the actual murderers were called on to perform a picturesque penance (vide Adams, History of the Douglas Family of Morton, Appx. A, No. 30). It is, however, not clear whether "kinbute assythement" was recognised in Border Law.

later date, guns through loopholes, but, if his ammunition ran out, the attackers might manage to make a gap in the base of the wall, fill the vault with damp straw, set it alight and smoke the inhabitants into surrender.

The poorer people's houses were built of sods of earth or wattle and thatched with straw or branches. They were without windows and a man could hardly stand upright when inside. It was not worth an enemy's time to cast down such hovels, for they could be reconstructed in a few hours. Before evacuating these wretched huts in face of an approaching enemy it was the custom to burn the thatch in order that it might not provide provender for the horses.

Cattle, as has been stated, was the chief possession of the Border folk, and the man who could safely drive a herd through bogs and morasses and over hills was esteemed a valiant leader. In these more enlightened days the descendant of a Border family might not feel so proud of his ancestors if he was to meet with them: they lived roughly and were extremely simple in their habits. Men wore less than they do now,—a shirt, a leather jacket with plates of iron for protection, breeches, hose and shoes and a steel cap were the principal items. Nightshirts are rarely mentioned. Underclothes, if ever worn, seem to have been sewn on and only removed when absolutely necessary. Personal cleanliness does not appear to have ranked as one of the chief virtues. Pictures or tapestries were unknown except in the dwellings of the wealthy. Civilisation in these parts was at a low ebb, books are not mentioned and few, if any, possessed a Bible.

The people lived simply. Their food consisted chiefly of flesh, milk, and boiled barley. Bread was practically unknown except to the upper classes. The Borderers were temperate and hardly ever drank beer or wine. They were very musical and fond of poetry, and this is witnessed to by the ballads relating to the exploits of their ancestors which have been handed down.

Religion on the Borders was purely nominal and the Reformation hardly reached these parts until the early part of the Seventeenth Century. The Churches were dilapidated and in many cases roofless. Under Roman Catholicism the Holy Offices had fallen into the hands of sons or relations of the Patron, and were often men of evil repute. Services were rarely held and in fact practised religion might be said to be entirely absent. The people, however, were deeply religious. They believed in fairies, bogles and kelpies, but they nominally clung to the Old Faith and Bishop Lesley states, "They never said their prayers more fervently, or

had more devout recurrence to the beads of their rosaries than when they had made an expedition, as they frequently did, of forty or fifty miles for the sake of booty."

Football was one of the chief sports, but unfortunately such assemblies were often the place where desperate exploits were planned. Hunting was another popular pastime and was, of course, carried out on horseback.

Much that has been said of the Borderers may be considered unlovely, but they had one great redeeming feature and that was good faith. A dweller of the Border country always kept his word. When in raids prisoners were captured they were hardly ever taken into actual custody, all that was required of them being their word that they would meet at some place and treat about the ransom to be paid.

Property was held from a Superior who in the first case was the King. Grants of lands were usually made for services rendered, for example, repelling invaders or for services in battle. Rent for these lands was nominal and might be the payment of a silver penny when asked for, or a white rose on a Feast Day. In many cases the Superior was a Lord of vast possessions (who held his lands direct from the Crown), and the Laird or Minor Baron was granted lands for military support when called upon. Bonds of "man-rent" were entered into, the persons entering into these Bonds being bound to support their Superiors in all lawful causes and in turn were usually protected by them from injury by others—the protection often being more moral protection than actual (the powerfulness of the Superior deterring would-be plunderers).

The Clans on the Border were based on the old Celtic family, though with an admixture of the feudal system due to the incoming of Normans in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. The most insignificant Borderer claimed relationship, however distant it might be, to the head of the family and looked to him for protection, while the chief in turn expected absolute loyalty and support from his dependants.

A curious survival of Celtic times was the use of to-names or nick-names. Some of the families living on the Border were large and the land occupied by them extended over a number of parishes,—of such were the Maxwells, Johnstones, Irvings, Carruthers, Bells and many others—and names such as John, George, William, Thomas, Robert, &c., often recurred. In a clan of any considerable size, where three generations might be co-existing at the same period, there might be as many as a hundred Johns or Georges, especially as certain names for hereditary or family reasons were favoured above others. Accordingly a great number of the people dwelling on the Marches had to-names and these were not

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always complimentary to the owner, usually taking the form of reference to some bodily disfigurement, some event in the person's life or other well-remembered feature. Examples will illustrate this: "Lang-nebbit Will", "Bastard Jok", "Christie's Will", "Half-hangit Johnnie", &c. In other cases they were known of their tower or dwelling-place, for example, "Jok o' the Syde", "Will o' the Shaws", &c. The Laird, or head of the family, was always known by his territorial designation, for instance,— "Irving of Bonshaw" was known as "Bonshaw", "Carruthers of Holmends" as "Holmends", &c.

By the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in 1603, through the accession of James VI of Scotland as James I of England, the Borders became the "middle shires", but Border raiding did not forthwith cease and it was many years before the Border folk learned to live peaceably at home cultivating the land and earning their sustenance by honest toil. As a result of the Union the laws peculiar to the Border became obsolete, but customs died hard. The Union of the Parliaments at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century was not favourably looked upon by many on the Border and an outcome was, for many years, the smuggling of contraband articles.

The Industrial Revolution wrought further great changes in this district which rapidly became depopulated as a result of its inhabitants removing to the towns or emigrating to the Dominions, and the present-day population must be considered small when compared with the number who previously dwelt in the West March of Scotland.

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CHAPTER II

CARRUTHERS AND MOUSWALD

ACCORDING to Dr. Robert Clapperton the first mention of the Carruthers family in mediæval times is in the reign of Alexander II (1215-45), when William de Carruthers made a donation to the Abbey of Newbattle. Among those who swore fealty to Edward I of England in 1296 was Simon Carruthers, parson of Middlebie.¹ Carruthers, now in the parish of Middlebie, once was, like Pennersaugh (Pennersax), a separate parish, but both were united with Middlebie in 1609. It is stated by Bain that the Carruthers family were Stewards of Annandale and keepers of Trailtrow Preceptory and guardians of the "Old Kirk Ford" of Hoddam under the Bruces when Lords of Annandale.²

The family were loyal supporters of King Robert Bruce and accordingly were rewarded for their services, receiving, about the year 1320, a charter, granted to Thomas the Clerk, son of John of Carruthers, of all the lands of "Musfald et de Appiltretwayt cum pertinenciis". This Thomas would appear to have married one of two heiresses of Applynden, for in the same year he was granted a charter of half of all the lands, with pertinents, which belonged to "Roberti de Applingdene in valle Anandie" in right of his spouse Joan.³

Thomas's loyalty to the Bruces does not seem to have stood the test of time, for in the year 1334 he accepted office under King Edward III of England; ⁴ his brothers appear, however, to have remained faithful to the Scottish king and possibly Thomas only bent before the storm. One of these brothers, William, is mentioned both in the Book of Pluscarden and in Wyntoun's "Cronykil".⁵

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm., 6th Rept., Appx., p. 709.

² Proc. of Soc. of Ant. of Scot., 1888-9, p. 24, vide "Barony of Mouswald and its Barons".

³ Reg. Mag. Sig., Vol. i, Nos. 92 and 93.

⁴ Rotuli Scotiæ, Vol. i, p. 263.

⁵ Liber Pluscardensis, Book ix, Cap. 31; Wyntoun's "Cronykil", Book viii, Cap. 29. William's loyalty to the Bruce-Stewart party is also mentioned in John Major's "Historia", Book v, Cap. xiii.