FERGUS, GALLOWAY AND THE SCOTS

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From the early twelfth century until 1234, the country lying west of the Nith and south of the watershed of the western Southern Uplands lay under the governance of one family: the lords of Galloway of the House of Fergus. As a political unit, the lordship was to be one of the longest-lived of the subdivisions of medieval Scotland, surviving as a distinct entity until 1455 when, with other forfeited Douglas lands, it was absorbed into the properties of the crown. Down to 1234, its rulers commanded positions of power and influence in both Scotland and England, and intervened actively in the affairs of the kingdom of Man and the Isles. The last of the male line, Alan, had a reputation as a warrior which reached as far as the Norwegian court. Despite these facts, however, little is known of the circumstances whereby this vast agglomeration of territory was fused into a cohesive political entity; even less is known about the origins and ancestry of the founder of the ruling dynasty. It is the aim of this paper to examine the evidence for the formation of the lordship, and to assess the part played in that process by members of the Canmore dynasty.

Despite arguments advanced in favour of Earl Malcolm and Suibne Mac Cinaedh,[1] there is no evidence for any independent power in the south-west before the emergence in the 1130s of Fergus of Galloway. The ancestry of this man, and the source of his powers in the lordship have, since the nineteenth century, been the subjects of much scholarly conjecture. In view of the evidence for military service being performed by Galwegians in the armies of Malcolm Canmore in the later eleventh century,[2] it was regarded as clear that the south-west had been subject to Scottish overlordship, probably derived from Scottish acquisition of the lands and rights of the former rulers of Strathclyde. As a result, Fergus came to be viewed either as an upstart who had carved a position for himself in a region where royal power was weak, or as a protégé of the Scots, established in Galloway as a vassal of the crown.[3] To writers such as M'Kerlie, he was no more than a foreign governor, a non-Galwegian imposed by an unprincipled king upon a people left leaderless by the death of its rulers at the battle of the Standard.[4] His lack of a patronymic fuelled this view, implying that there may be some truth in the belief that he was a mere *parvenu,* the first of his line.

More elaborate traditions developed out of these initial observations. Fergus has come to be depicted as a boyhood friend of the future David I, sharing with him an upbringing at the court of Henry I of England. According to Huyshe, it was there that he met and fell in love with his future bride, Henry's illegitimate daughter, Elizabeth.[5] As a close friend and confidant of David, and son-in-law of the English king, Fergus was destined for greatness. This supposed upbringing at the Anglo-Norman

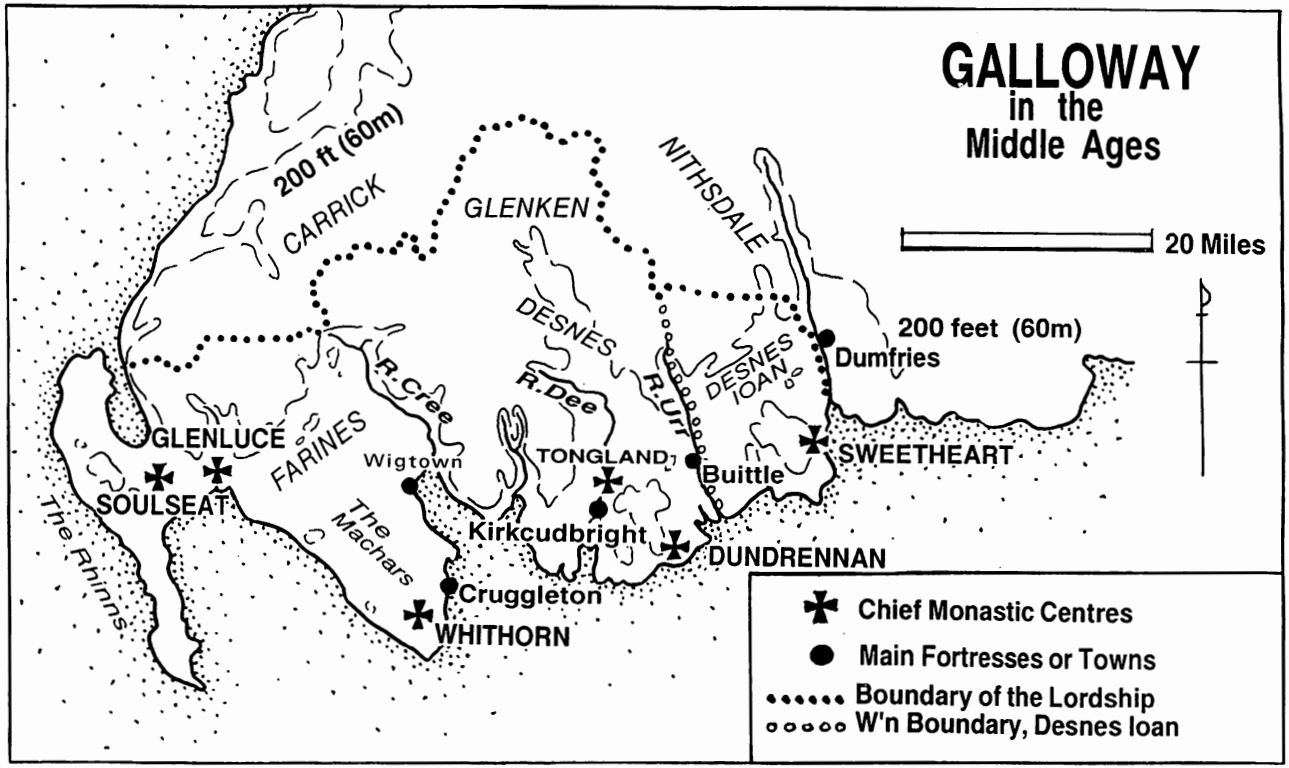


Fig.8.1 Galloway in the Middle Ages.

court is a mere echo of M'Kerlie's belief in Fergus's non-Galwegian origins. There is, however, little about Fergus to suggest an Anglo-Norman background. Indeed, his association with the conservative earls in the 1159-60 rebellion against Malcolm IV[6] may indicate a marked antipathy towards the new social and cultural trends being introduced by the Canmore kings. Moreover, the supposed childhood spent at the English court appears to be pure fabrication, invented by nineteen-century writers who were seeking to find suitable circumstances for Fergus to have met his future bride. That such a marriage took place is now generally accepted,[7] but it is unlikely to have been the love-match proposed by Huyshe. Instead, it was probably a politically-motivated union, a simple act of English foreign policy designed to draw a powerful regional lord into the orbit of the English crown. This marriage was to have serious political repercussions later in the twelfth century.

The proposal that Fergus was a 'creation' of David I may have a more substantial basis in fact, and does not rely upon the spurious claims of childhood friendship to give it foundation. Several factors appear to combine to support the contention that Fergus was installed in his lordship by the king of Scots, but there are still serious weaknesses within this thesis. The main arguments focus on the question of his antecedents. Certain aspects of the landed properties pertaining to the lordship seem to indicate that Fergus had predecessors in Galloway, but whether these men were ancestors or not is an altogether different matter. The lack of any patronymic, where he appears it is simply as 'Fergus of Galloway',[8] and the manner in which the pedigrees of his successors are rehearsed in their charters back to Fergus and no further,[9] have been seized upon as proof that he was an upstart. If, though, he was not of Galwegian stock, what were his antecedents and why was he to become established in Galloway?

At this point, some students of Galwegian history would brandish the 'evidence' of the *Roman de Fergus,*[10] and seek to identify the hero of the romantic poem with the historical lord of Galloway. The hero of the poem is described as the youngest son of a certain Somerled, whom the poet depicts as a boorish peasant, elevated through a good marriage to a position of wealth and higher social status. Somerled's name has been seized upon subsequently as direct evidence for a link between the dynasties of Galloway and Argyll,[11] with several members of the latter being advanced as Fergus's progenitor. Various theories have been put forward to explain how a member of the Argyll dynasty could have gained control of Galloway.[12]

There are serious chronological problems with most of the proposals made upon the basis of the romance, most of these stemming from the difficulty of finding a Somerled of the right generation to be the father of Fergus. The almost frenzied efforts of partisans of the Fergus-Somerled thesis to find a viable alternative when valid objections are raised about their previous submissions have largely discredited the value of the poem

as a source. There is, moreover, no general consensus about the circumstances of the composition.[13] It has been interpreted by literary historians as either a panegyric composed for Alan of Galloway, a glorification of the founder of his dynasty, written at the time of his marriage to a niece of the Scottish king,[14] or as a work of propaganda produced later in the thirteenth century for Devorgilla Balliol in support of her ambitions for her family.[15] In both cases, the bad light in which Somerled is portrayed, and the clear references to his inferior background, can have been of little credit to the supposed patron of the work. The Devorgilla thesis, where the romance is supposedly a work designed to cast lustre on her family, and aid them in their aspirations to the Scottish throne, is particularly untenable. Firstly, she would have had to have possessed clairvoyant abilities to know that her youngest son was to be a contender for the throne in 1290-1. Secondly, advertising that your family was descended from peasant stock would surely have been suicidal in this context. With success dependent upon the support of the aristocracy, it would have been a serious blunder to focus attention on the lowly origins of your dynasty, irrespective of its status by that date.

There are further objections which cast serious doubts upon the genealogical value of the romance, and call into question the whole issue of its connection with the Galloway dynasty. Most notable amongst these is the question of the specific aim of the author of the work. If, as has been proposed by Owen,[16] the poet was composing a near parody of the conventional romance genre, as represented by the work of Chrétien of Troyes, what value should be attached to names and locations used in his poem? Many obscure allusions, lost to us, may have been instantly recognisable to connoissieurs of the fashionable romances of the thirteenth century. It should be noted, moreover, that the poet, a Picard clerk named Guillaume, possessed only a very sketchy knowledge of the geography of western Britain, and more particularly of Galloway and the Isles.[17] This deficiency is difficult to explain if Guillaume is to be identified with Alan of Galloway's clerk, William, prior of St Mary's Isle.[18] Similar objections can be raised regarding the composer's supposed attachment to Devorgilla's household. In view of these internal factors, therefore, the *Roman de Fergus* cannot be accepted as an authoritative source concerned with the origins of the historical Fergus.

One element of the numerous hypotheses surrounding the *Roman* which was apparently supported by independent tradition is that which proposes some link between the dynasties of Argyll and Galloway. It should be stressed that no factual basis for this argument was ever established, but a number of circumstantial factors appeared to combine to make it a proposition worthy of consideration. The origins of this tradition appear to stem from the genealogical claims advanced for the MacDowells,[19] a family prominent in Galwegian politics from the late thirteenth century

onwards. They, on no clear authority other than the dubious grounds of heraldry, have been represented as descendants of some unknown scion of the main Galloway dynasty. Past observers have accepted this supposed link without comment, although the MacDowells themselves appear never to have voiced claims to such illustrious ancestry. The family's rise to prominence after 1296 stemmed from their exploitation of the power vacuum in the lordship following the deposition of John Balliol, not from any kinship association with the former ruling house. Such objections were generally overlooked, attention instead focusing upon the patronymic MacDowell (and its variants MacDowall and MacDouall) and its clear etymological relationship with MacDougal. Despite obvious chronological impossibility, this developed into a theory that the MacDowells (and, by extension, the main branch of the Galloway dynasty), sprang from the senior line of the descendants of Somerled. While it is by no means impossible that the MacDowells *did* share some kindred link with the lords of Lorne, the fact that Fergus was a contemporary of the father of the eponymous Dugald of the MacDougals renders it definite that the Galloway dynasty did not.

Although a direct line of descent from the main branch of the Argyll dynasty must be ruled out, the activities of Fergus and his thirteenth-century successors in Man and the Isles indicate some long-term and deep-seated interest in these areas. The alliance which Fergus forged with the Manx dynasty, through the marriage of his daughter, Affreca, to Olaf Godredsson,[20] forms the most obvious source for this long-lived involvement, but the roots may lie deeper. Other speakers at the Conference pointed to the reported activities of Magnus Barelegs in the Solway region in the late eleventh century. When taken in conjunction with the evidence for the limited settlement of Scandinavian colonists in the southern Machars and the country around the Dee estuary, it is perhaps possible that there was a movement of settlers into Galloway from Man, or from parts of the Hebrides under Manx influence. No-one has suggested that this settlement represented a conquest, but the material evidence from the excavations at Whithorn suggests that the cultural and economic implications were considerable.[21] Significantly, the areas of densest Scandinavian settlement coincide with the two chief foci of lordship power in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, based on Cruggleton and Kirkcudbright. Is it possible that an initially economic dominance of Galloway by settlers from Man or the Norse-Celtic colonies of the Hebrides was transformed into political mastery as the colonists became more entrenched in Galwegian society? The development of the European colonial empires in the Far East in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggest that it is.

Of the various origins proposed for Fergus, descent from a Norse-Celtic family, probably intermarried with native Galwegian elements, forms the

most viable of the options at our disposal.[22] The evidence is still tenuous, but does not rely upon the complicated genealogies which enmesh most of the alternatives. Certainly, the traditional outlook of the Galwegians, away from Scotland towards the powers of the Irish Sea and Hebrides, suggests that it was from those areas that Fergus's predecessors were drawn. The disposition of the family estates, concentrated predominantly in the lower Dee valley and the coastal region around Whithorn,[23] associates him closely with the areas of principal Scandinavian settlement along the north shore of the Solway. Such general observations form only a skeletal framework, but they are as specific as the surviving sources will allow. To attempt to add flesh to these bare bones would be only to indulge in unwarranted conjecture.

The question of Fergus's antecedents settles only in part the issue of whether he was a protégé of the Scottish crown installed in Galloway as a governor, or a native ruler exercising his powers independently of the king. That he was probably of south-western stock does not rule out the possibility that he had been established in authority over his compatriots by the Scots, although such an action is not characteristic of what is known of David I's policies regarding the introduction of royal vassals into areas where royal influence was thinly stretched. In any case, it is unclear to what extent David possessed the ability to influence the affairs of Galloway, whether he was in fact capable of installing one of his own creatures into a position of power in a region which lay on the periphery of his sphere of authority. The question of the degree and extent of David's power prior to his accession to the throne in 1124 has never been addressed satisfactorily, despite its obvious implications regarding the formation of the pattern of secular lordship in the south-west.

From 1107 until 1124, David had exercised rule over a substantial portion of southern Scotland (excluding Lothian), which had been bequeathed to him by his elder brother, King Edgar. During this phase of his career, he is most commonly referred to as 'Earl David',[24] a title held in recognition of his possession of the Midlands earldoms of the St Liz family, but on occasion he is described as 'prince of Cumbria' (or some variant of that formula),[25] a title specifically associated with his domain in southern Scotland. The full extent of this 'principality' is still a matter of debate, but there is general consensus regarding the core of its territory. David's title associates him clearly with the Brythonic peoples of the central Southern Uplands, Clydesdale, Tweeddale and the valleys around the head of the Solway. The bulk of this territory fell beneath the episcopal authority of the bishops of Glasgow, and it is clear from many of David's later acts that there was a marked correspondence between the sphere of jurisdiction of the prince and that of the bishops. The latter are acknowledged as the successors of the 'tribal' bishops of Strathclyde,[26] whose see corresponded

in territorial terms with the lands controlled by the kings of Strathclyde, expanding and contracting with the fortunes of the kingdom.

Recognition of the correspondence between David's territories and the lands of the see of Glasgow raised awkward questions of early students of Galwegian history. The most problematical of these concerned the inclusion of the easternmost subdivision of the lordship, Desnes Ioan, within the diocese of Glasgow rather than of Galloway. Interpretations of this arrangement varied greatly, but two main schools dominated. One saw this ecclesiastical division as the residual trace of a once wider jurisdiction, with all of Galloway formerly falling beneath the bishops of Glasgow, but a partition had been effected on the revival of the Galwegian see in the 1120s.[27] The second viewed it as a forcible partition, probably dating from Malcolm IV's invasion of Galloway in 1160, intended to improve the royal supervision of the conquered lordship.[28] The value of such a division, however, is not obvious, as Desnes Ioan remained firmly within the sphere of the lords of Galloway. Of these two interpretations, the former carried more weight, as it seemed logical to propose that in the absence of a bishop at Whithorn the Galwegians would naturally have looked to the nearest convenient bishop for provision of certain services, such as consecration, reconciliation and provision of chrism. This argument, however, overlooked the traditional ties with the Northumbrian Church. Indeed, the weight of the evidence concerning the revival of the Galwegian see points towards York as the main source of initiative.[29] Whatever the scenario for the creation of this division, however, it was recognised that implicit within inclusion in the see of Glasgow was subjection to the overlordship of the ruler of Strathclyde. From 1107 that meant overlordship by Prince David.

Further evidence for the submission of Galloway to the rulers of Strathclyde appears to lie in David's exercise of rights to fiscal levies from south-western districts of his domain. The earliest references are to tithes of his cain of certain foodstuffs from four districts, Carrick, Kyle, Cunninghame and Strathclyde,[30] which correspond approximately with the later sheriffdoms of Ayr and Renfrew. Malcolm IV's great charter to Kelso Abbey appears to allude to these districts when it refers to 'that part of Galloway' held by King David.[31] This implies clearly that part of Galloway was *not* held by him. The automatic reaction would be to claim that the lordship was the portion which lay outwith his control, yet certain factors would seem to indicate otherwise. The principal objection from Fergus's lifetime is his apparent provision of forinsec service in the armies fighting in northern England down to 1138. This provision of military levies appears as early as the reign of Malcolm III, who used Galwegians in Northumberland in the 1080s and 1090s.[32] In no instance, however, is it made clear on what basis troops were provided, and that it was through forinsec service is simply an assumption based on the belief in Galwegian subjection to Scottish overlordship. It is generally overlooked that in the

campaign of 1137-8 Fergus had a personal interest at stake, in that he was fighting at least nominally in support of Matilda, half-sister to his wife. Only in William the Lion's campaign of 1174, which followed the conquest of the lordship, can provision of military service be seen as a service obligation to the crown. On what basis, then, were troops provided in earlier periods?

Throughout the Middle Ages, Galloway was seen as a reservoir of military man-power, providing contingents to Scottish and English armies and establishing its rulers as power-brokers in the political manoeuverings of their day. This position is demonstrated most clearly in the lifetime of Alan of Galloway in the early thirteenth century. He provided major forces to the armies of both Alexander II of Scotland and John of England, as well as conducting his own military ventures in Ulster, Man and the southern Hebrides.[33] Service obligations appear to have been of little importance to Alan, and it is clear from his dealings with King John and Reginald of Man that his assistance did not come without a price.[34] With resources of good quality man-power and a fleet at his disposal, Alan commanded a valuable commodity much in demand by neighbouring rulers. It would not be stretching the evidence too thinly to suggest that Galloway was an early source of gallowglasses, major contingents of essentially mercenary troops fighting under foreign banners.[35] It could be argued, therefore, that the Galwegians serving in the eleventh- and twelfth-century Scottish armies were present on occasion as hired troops, not as the product of a military levy.

Counter to this proposal, some scholars would point to the direct evidence for payment of fiscal renders by the lords of Galloway to the Scots, referred to explicitly in two twelfth-century sources. The earlier of these is a charter of Uhtred, granting land in Desnes Ioan to Richard, son of Troite, datable to the late 1160s or early 1170s.[36] It states clearly that Uhtred was paying cain to the crown. The second source records a judgement made by Roland in the 1180s in a court at Lanark, which confirmed the royal right to cain from Galloway.[37] Both documents are of vital importance, but their significance has been consistently misinterpreted. In Uhtred's charter it is made clear that the cain was being levied only on Desnes Ioan and its subdivision of Cro, not Galloway in general. This, it should be remembered, was also the district which fell beneath the jurisdiction of the see of Glasgow. Here, then, would appear to be direct proof for the subjection of Galloway to spiritual and temporal dominance by the rulers of Strathclyde and their Scottish successors. There is, however, sufficient independent evidence to suggest that Desnes Ioan was something of an anomaly. In other sources it is treated as a distinct unit with clear boundaries, whilst the remainder of the lordship appears simply as an amorphous whole until the reorganisation of the administrative pattern after 1234. In addition to this, Uhtred seemed to indulge in an almost

prodigal alienation of lands and privileges within Desnes Ioan,[38] making no such inroads on his inheritance elsewhere in the lordship. His grants were such that his successors possessed little demesne in this region. This attitude towards Desnes Ioan begs an explanation.

Analysis of the pattern of lordship estates shows an overwhelming concentration of lands in the Ken-Dee Valley and the Machars peninsula. Blanks in this distribution can be explained by the nature of the topography, with most such areas corresponding with expanses of upland or moor. Desnes Ioan, however, was a fertile and apparently populous district, but contained few manors held personally by the lords. The distribution of such estates suggests that the bulk of the lordship inheritance lay in Galloway west of the Urr, with particular foci at Kirkcudbright and Cruggleton. Whilst estates elsewhere in the lordship passed in and out of the direct possession of the lords and their successors, the grouping around these two foci remained in the hands of the senior line.[39] The clear implication is that these represented the heartland, the capiti of the two main portions of Galloway east and west of the Cree. The regular granting away of other estates, especially in Desnes Ioan, suggests that they were of secondary importance, perhaps reflecting a distinction between inherited and acquired land. That Desnes Ioan as a whole is treated in this manner suggests that it may have been a late acquisition, perhaps only added to the lordship in the time of Uhtred. The general lack of Galwegian charters from before 1160 makes this difficult to confirm, but certain features of the later documentation and some characteristics in the archaeological record indicate strongly that this must be the case.

In his paper, Derek Craig indicated the sharp dichotomy in sculptural remains within Galloway.[40] Various stylistic schools are known from the region west of the Urr, with major groupings corresponding approximately to the ecclesiastical divisions of the medieval diocese. Desnes Ioan, however, has produced no such monumental sculpture, which suggests a wholly different cultural tradition. It is probable, therefore, that the lands east of the Urr fell under an alternative spiritual and temporal influence in the period when the sculptures were being produced in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The most viable agency is Strathclyde, whose political power expanded southwards into Annandale, Nithsdale and the Carlisle region as Northumbria disintegrated. It was probably at the time of this expansion that Desnes Ioan was drawn into the sphere of the bishops of Glasgow. Scottish inheritance of the Strathclyde kingdom after 1018 is unlikely to have seen any diminution of its territories and, down to 1093, Malcolm III was to take an active interest in the south-western portion of his domain, attempting to consolidate his grip on Carlisle. It is unlikely that Malcolm would have jeopardised his position in this region by allowing Desnes Ioan to slip from his grasp, let alone permit it to fall under Galwegian rule. It

is only after Malcolm IV's loss of Carlisle in 1157 that there is any suggestion that this region formed an integral part of the lordship.

Evidence for control of Desnes Ioan by the Galloway dynasty does not appear in concrete form until after *c.*1165. The earliest material lies in a group of Uhtred's charters, none of which predates the beginning of the reign of William the Lion. Significantly, Uhtred's possession of Desnes Ioan coincides with the disappearance of Radulf, son of Dunegal, lord of lower Nithsdale, and the apparent extinction of his line.[41] There is reason to believe that royal interest in Dumfries, Radulf's probable caput, dates from the 1160s,[42] over twenty years earlier than the foundation of the burgh, and it would appear that the stronghold there may have been viewed as a replacement for Carlisle. As Reid pointed out, Desnes Ioan goes naturally with Dumfries, forming both a buffer and a commercial hinterland.[43] It is reasonable to assume that Radulf had controlled that district, but that on his death a carve-up of his domain had occurred. The crown seized Dumfries and the lands east of the Nith, while the remainder west of the river was given to Uhtred. Coming probably little more than five years after Malcolm IV's conquest of Galloway, this major gift of territory might seem awkward to explain, but Scottish treatment of the lordship suggests that Fergus had been the principal target and that the king bore little grudge against his sons. Indeed, the evidence for family discord in the Galloway dynasty in the 1150s[44] could support the argument that Uhtred and Gilbert had either assisted in their father's downfall or had done little to prevent it. Desnes Ioan, then, may have formed a reward of sorts. A more likely explanation, however, is that William required assistance in the establishment of a military and administrative framework for his new acquisition in Nithsdale. Uhtred, as the nearest great lord, was clearly in a position to provide such assistance. His establishment of knights on land in Desnes Ioan can be linked to garrison service at Dumfries,[45] and there is some evidence to support the view that the region formed part of an administrative unit, perhaps a sheriffdom, based on the new royal castle. For this district, then, Uhtred and his successors would have been liable to cain and other dues.

The second reference to cain from Galloway, that made in Roland's judgement of 1187, has been taken as concrete proof of the rigorous application of this tribute in the years immediately after the death of Gilbert and the seizure of the lordship by the pro-Scottish son of Uhtred. The scale of the payments has been taken as indicative that it was the higher nobility, the supporters of Gilbert, who were being targeted for punishment rather than the body of the populace.[46] The application, moreover, has been seen as general, reaching all districts of the lordship. This, however, cannot be the case. Although it has been recognised for a number of years that Roland may have retained control of some of eastern Galloway following his father's murder in 1174,[47] and that he speedily gained control of his

uncle's lands in 1185, it is clear from his submission to Henry II in 1186[48] that he was not the free agent which has normally been assumed. It can be shown that from *c.* 1176 until the Quitclaim of Canterbury in December 1189, the lordship lay under the direct and active overlordship of the king of England, vassal status having been accepted by Gilbert as the price for English assistance in escaping the wrath of William the Lion.[49] Roland had attempted to avoid such a submission in 1186, but the chronicles cannot disguise the fact that he submitted to superior military force and took oaths of fealty and homage as binding as those performed by his uncle. In 1187, therefore, Roland was in no position to acknowledge a general right to cain from Galloway as a right of the Scottish crown. Such a grant, however, is recorded and dated to *c.* May 1187.[50] What, then, were the circumstances of the grant? Two possibilities present themselves. Firstly, Roland was justiciar of 'Galloway'.[51] This is generally taken to mean all of southern Scotland south and west of Clydesdale and Annandale. The 'Galloway' of the 1187 judgement, therefore, could be this extended region, from which the crown had long drawn cain.[52] The second possibility is that the record gives only general details of an originally more specific judgement concerned with those regions which Roland had retained after his father's murder. The most obvious of these is Desnes Ioan. Only after 1189 could a more general grant be made.

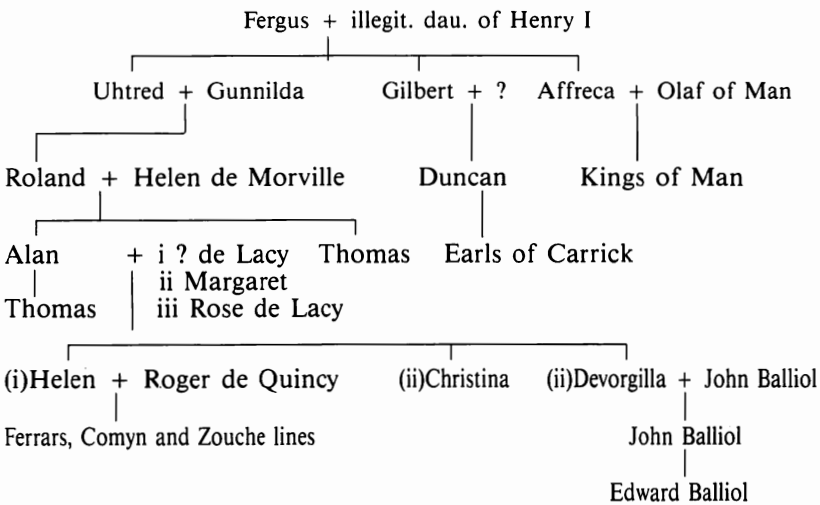
Based on this later evidence, the lordship as ruled by Fergus appears as a compact territory, focussing upon two main centres at Kirkcudbright and Cruggleton. It was served by bishops whose see corresponded exactly with the secular unit, an arrangement which further illustrates its independent character. It appears, moreover, to have been free from obvious Scottish influences until the acquisition of a portion of the old lordship of lower Nithsdale, itself a subdivision of the kingdom of Strathclyde. This territorial expansion probably occurred no earlier than 1165. It did, however, bring tenurial complications, with the lords of Galloway recognising their status as vassals of the king of Scots for this district, whilst at the same time continuing to exclude them from Galloway proper.

In conclusion, therefore, it must be recognised that there are still major unanswered questions concerning the origins of the lordship and the ruling dynasty, but there are several factors which argue against significant Scottish interferences until after 1160. There are no recorded antecedents for Fergus, but his interests in the Irish Sea zone and association with those portions of Galloway colonised by Scandinavians indicate a possible descent from Norse-Celtic stock. No weight can be attached to claims for his advancement by David I, and their association in the 1130s appears to stem from coincidental political interests in the English succession dispute rather than from any personal bond. Fergus certainly did not introduce Scottish elements into Galloway, the influx of settlers commencing only with his son's acquisition of Desnes Ioan. Fergus's political activities show

significant independence from superior control. His marriage to an illegitimate daughter of Henry I put him on a par with Alexander I of Scots, and gave him some social distinction over his supposed mentor, David I, whose wife, although of royal stock, was a widow with family already. Henry clearly regarded Fergus as a power worth wooing, presumably on account of his resources of man-power. Finally, the evidence of subjection to Scottish overlordship and the payment of tribute has been called into question, with no proof for such burdens being available for any periods other than the brief interludes when Galloway suffered military conquest. In contrast, the Galloway of Fergus appears as a potent force, ruled by an independent lord, wooed by foreign powers. As long as the dynasty remained strong, Galloway remained free from Scottish control, but every sign of weakness was exploited by the Canmore kings. It was the failure of the male line of the House of Fergus that sealed the fate of the lordship.

Appendix

Simplified family tree of the House of Fergus



Notes

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6. *Chron. Holyrood,* 136-7.
7. Given-Wilson, C. and Curteis, A., *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England* (London, 1984), 71; see also Robert de Torigni, *Chronica,* in Chronicles of Stephen etc., ed. Howlett, R., iv (1889), 229.
8. See for example, *Glasgow Registrum,* i, Nos. 3, 9, 10.
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12. e.g. Legge, 'Father of Fergus of Galloway', 87.
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16. Owen, 'The craft of Guillaume le Clerc's Fergus'.
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18. Legge, 'Notes on the Roman de Fergus', 163.
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21. Hill, P. H., *Excavations at Bruce Street, Whithorn, 1984; Interim Report* (Edinburgh, 1985), 36-7; Hill, P. H., *Whithorn I. Excavations 1984-1986. Interim Report* (Whithorn, 1987), 6-9.
22. Duncan, *Making of the Kingdom,* 163.
23. See my contribution to the forthcoming revised Scottish Historical Atlas, on the demesne estates of the lords of Galloway.
24. See e.g. *RRS,* i, Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6.
25. e.g. *Glasgow Registrum,* i, No. 1.
26. Shead, N. F., 'The Origins of the Medieval Diocese of Glasgow', *SHR,* 48 (1969), 220-5.
27. Skene, W. F., *Celtic Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1876), ii, 375-6.
28. Reid, R. C., 'The feudalisation of lower Nithsdale', *TDGAS,* 34 (1955-6), 102-110, at 105-6.
29. Restrictions on space do not permit reproduction of the full argument in support of this view. This is set out in full in my PhD thesis, *The Lordship of Galloway, c.1000-c.1250 (University of St Andrews, 1988).*

30. *Glasgow Registrum,* No. 9.
31. *RRS,* i, No. 131.
32. Anderson, *Annals,* 100-101.
33. e.g. *CDS,* i, Nos. 529, 533; *CDS,* v, No. 9; The Saga of Hacon, in *Icelandic Sagas,* trans Dasent, G. W., iv (Rolls Series, 1894), 150.
34. Greeves, R., 'The Galloway Lands in Ulster', *TDGAS,* 36 (1957-8), 115-21; MacNeill, T. E., *Anglo-Norman Ulster: The History and Archaeology of an Irish Barony, 1177-1400* (Edinburgh, 1980), 6, 14-15.
35. I am indebted to Professor A. A. M. Duncan for pointing out this possibility to me in the course of the ASHS conference in St Andrews in October 1987.
36. Cumbria Record Office, Lowther Archive, D/Lons/L5/1/S1.
37. *APS,* i, 378, xxiii.
38. e.g. *Holyrood Liber,* Nos. 23, 27, 49, 73; *Holm Cultram Register,* Nos. 120, 133, 140a; *CDS,* ii, No. 1606. These represented only a few of his grants to ecclesiastical institutions. No charters of Lincluden Nunnery survive, but it was founded by Uhtred and endowed with extensive lands in Desnes Ioan.
39. The inquest post-mortem into the lands of Elena la Zouche, grand-daughter of Alan, and youngest daughter of Helen de Quincy, the senior Galloway heiress (*CDS,* ii, No. 824), shows the concentration of her share of the Quincy third of Galloway. More significantly, the *Brevis Descriptio Regni Scotie* of *c.*1296 described Kirkcudbright, the chief lordship centre, as belonging to William de Ferrars, who was descended from Alan's eldest grand-daughter, Margaret, countess of Derby (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club,* iv (Glasgow, 1847), pt i, 34).
40. See Craig, 'Pre-Norman sculpture'.
41. For the disappearance of Radulf see: *Scots Peerage,* vi, 286-7; Reid, 'Feudalisation of Nithsdale', 103.
42. Scott, J. G., 'An early sheriff of Dumfries?', *TDGAS,* 57 (1982), 90-91.
43. Reid, 'Feudalisation of lower Nithsdale', 109.
44. Walter Daniel, *Life of Ailred of Rievaulx,* ed. Powicke, F. M. (Oxford, 1950), 45.
45. Scott, 'An early sheriff?'
46. Duncan, *Making of the Kingdom,* 185-6.
47. Ibid., 183-4.
48. *Benedict of Peterborough,* i, 348-9.
49. Ibid., i, 126.
50. *APS,* i, 378, xxiii.
51. *RRS,* i, Nos. 309, 400, 406.
52. Duncan, *Making of the Kingdom,* 203-4.