

Transactions
of the
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History
and
Antiquarian Society



LXXXIV 2010

Transactions
of the
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History
and
Antiquarian Society

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862

THIRD SERIES VOLUME LXXXIV

Editors:

ELAINE KENNEDY
FRANCIS TOOLIS

ISSN 0141-1292

2010

DUMFRIES

Published by the Council of the Society

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EDITORIAL INFORMATION

Contributions are invited on the Natural History, Geology, Antiquities and Archaeology including Industrial Archaeology, of South West Scotland or the Solway Basin, and preference is always given to original work on local subjects. Intending contributors should, in the first instance, apply to the Editors for 'Notes for Contributors', giving the nature and approximate size of their paper. Much more information on these *Transactions* and on the activities of the Society can be found at www.dgnhas.org.uk.

Each contributor has seen a proof of his or her paper and neither the Editors nor the Society hold themselves responsible for the accuracy of scientific, historical or personal information in it.

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Enquiries regarding back numbers of the *Transactions* - see back cover - should be made to the Hon. Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 2 Loreburn Park, Dumfries DG1 1LS. As many of the back numbers are out of stock, members can greatly assist the finances of the Society by arranging for any volumes which are not required, whether of their own or those of deceased members, to be handed in. It follows that volumes marked as out of print may nevertheless be available from time to time.

All payments, other than subscriptions, should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr L Murray, 24 Corberry Park, Dumfries DG2 7NG. Payment of subscriptions should be made to Miss H Barrington (see above), on behalf of the Hon. Treasurer. The latter will be pleased to arrange for subscriptions and/or donations to be treated as Gift Aid under the Finance Acts, which can materially increase the income of the Society without, generally, any additional cost to the member. Important Inheritance Tax and Capital Gains Tax concessions are also conferred on individuals by these Acts, in as much as bequests or transfers of shares or cash to the Society by way of Gift Aid are exempt from these taxes.

Limited grants may be available for excavations or other research. Applications should be made prior to 28th February in each year to the Hon. Secretary. Researchers are also reminded of the Mouswald Trust founded by our late President Dr R.C. Reid, which provides grants for work on certain periods. Enquiries and applications for grants to that Trust should be made to Primrose and Gordon, Solicitors, 92 Irish Street, Dumfries DG1 2PF. The Society may also be able to assist with applications for funding from other sources.

The Council is indebted to Historic Scotland for a substantial grant towards publication costs of the report on work at Dorman's Island and Cults Loch by the Scottish Wetland Archaeology Programme. Dumfries and Galloway Council are thanked for their annual contribution to the Society.

The illustration on the front cover is of the Wamphray cross-slab from the article 'The Early Church in Dumfriesshire' by W.G. Collingwood, in Series III Volume XII, (1926) of these *Transactions*. It is discussed afresh by Prof. Richard Bailey in Whithorn Lecture No. 4 (1996).

ROSA GIGANTEA - GEORGE WATT
INCLUDING 'ON THE TRAIL OF TWO KNIGHTS'
BY GIRIJA VIRARAGHAVAN¹

Morag Williams²

The Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser of 14th October 2009 published an article by retired Langholm General Practitioner, Tom Kennedy, which began: 'A NEW rose with Langholm connections has been cultivated in India and it is hoped that it may one day be planted in the Rosevale Street garden in the future.' (More of this garden in Langholm later.) He might have added that across Dumfries and Galloway and in Grampian there are other sites which would welcome the opportunity to plant this tender and beautiful rose because of associations with Sir George Watt and involvement in attempts at its propagation in Scotland.

The following article appeared in The Indian Rose Annual, XXVI, 2010, the magazine of the Indian Rose Federation, founded in 1979. It appears by kind permission of Girija and Viru Viraraghavan, recognised as celebrated 'Rosarians of the World'.



Figure 1. Rosa Gigantea - George Watt

1 The Indian Rose Annual, XXVI, 2010
2 President of the Society; Merkland, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries DG1 1SY

On The Trail of Two Knights by Girija Viraraghavan

In the late 1980s we got a copy of Ellen Willmot's 'Genus Rosa' which was published in 1914. She deals with rose species of the world, and going through it, we realized that, apart from the swamp wild rose species, *Rosa clinophylla*, about which we had heard before, and had been able to procure, from the wild, there was another species, *Rosa gigantea*, which is native to a particular area in India's north east region. Reading the description of this species by a Sir George Watt from whose unpublished diaries, Miss Willmot had taken an extract, we became excited. Sir George Watt found this wild rose, which, he wrote, looked like huge yellow magnolias hanging from the branches of tall trees, in 1882, in the forests off Ukhrul town in Manipur State, when he was part of a commission to demarcate the boundary between India and Burma (as it was known then). Researching a little more, we found that at practically the same time, that is, 1888, a General Sir Henry Collett found the same wild rose growing in the Shan Hills of Burma. Whilst trekking he saw at a distance of 2 miles something large and white, and seeing it through his looking glass (binoculars) he realized it was a rose. He sent off seeds and stem specimens to the leading taxonomist of the time, Monsieur Francois Crepin, who was attached to the Botanic Garden in Meisse, Belgium, and suggesting that if it was a new species, it should be given the name 'gigantea' as the flowers were exceedingly large.

Sir George Watt called his found species '*Rosa macrocarpa*'. When M.Crepin compared the two sets of specimens sent by the two enthusiastic botanists he found that both the Indian and Burmese plants were the same, and gave the name '*Rosa gigantea*' to this species. The Indian form which Watt discovered is much creamier, indeed very yellow as a bud, than the Burmese form, which is white. On ageing, however, macrocarpa becomes white. Sir George, however, seems always to have believed that his species was different.

In January 1990, as we were attending a national rose convention in Calcutta, which is on the east coast, and nearer to the north-eastern state of Manipur, we decided that we would follow the footsteps of Sir George Watt to see if we could be as successful as he was in finding this rose species. We flew to Guwahati in Assam State, the nearest airport, and then went by road to Shillong, the capital of Manipur State, and onwards to Ukhrul which is at an elevation of 7000 feet. It was bitterly cold and we were both recovering from food poisoning. But we persevered, much to the chagrin of the scientists of the Botanical Survey of India (BSI), who were accompanying us. In Kolkata (Calcutta then) we had visited the BSI offices in Howrah (that hallowed institution set up in 1793 originally by Col. Robert Kyd but which owes its pre-eminent status to William Roxburgh who became its Director in 1796) to look for leads in the herbarium and in their books. Initially, the officials were reluctant to show us anything, but when we came upon the BSI Director on the main steps of the office, and he began to take an interest in our pursuit, we were shown herbarium specimens of *R.gigantea*, and various locations were given on the sheets. One of them being Ukhrul. The Director offered us the assistance (!) of his staff in Shillong, and that is how we had a couple of scientists with us in our search.

After early morning tea, (this itself was quite a feat, as the Naga tribesman, who was the caretaker of the state guest house we stayed in, dared not be woken by our driver, who feared that in the normal tradition of the fierce Nagas, he would be greeted by a knife before any questions were asked!) we set off, driving up the mountainous forest path to a fair distance, before the road gave out and we had to walk. Suddenly we saw a huge creeper going up a tall tree. Stopping to check, we realized we had hit 'pay dirt'. This was a rose with the largest leaves imaginable, and a number of very big yellow orange hips, but with no flowers. They would have flowered earlier in the season – in the icy winter now, there were only hips, which would be from the last year's flowering season. We were elated at the thought that this could have been the same location, or at least, the very same area where Sir George had found his specimen. We collected some hips and some cuttings and returned to carefully pack them for the long journey back home to southern India, by air, train and road.

When we had grown our plants to a decent size, Viru began breeding with *R. gigantea* and over the years from 1995 when we saw our first flower on our plants, Viru has grown, tested and finally released and registered some of his better seedlings. Some are shrubs and some are climbers, like *gigantea* itself, very big and sprawling climbers; others not so large growing.

When Viru had two large hybrid *gigantea* climbers, one with hybrid tea like flowers, cream with a deep yellow throat, the other creamy white, with double and large blooms, we thought it would be befitting to name these two roses after the discoverers of the species in the wild – Sir George Watt and Sir Henry Collett.

Who were these gentlemen? Sir George (1851-1930) was a surgeon with botanical interests and he came out to India to be employed as a lecturer in Botany in a Calcutta college. Unfortunately by the time he arrived the place had been filled; so the East India Company which had brought him to India sent him off on various assignments. One was as part of a commission to demarcate the India-Burma border, and it was on this trip that he discovered *R. gigantea*. There were many other plant species he discovered— among them, *rhododendron maccabeanum*, and a *primula (wattii?)* But what makes Sir George Watt a lasting benefactor to India is his stupendous and monumental 12 volume *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*. Sir George returned to Scotland and settled in Dumfriesshire. He was born in Oldmeldrum (Aberdeenshire) and died in Lockerbie.

Sir Henry Collett (1835-1901) was in the British Indian Army in Bengal, and fought in the first Anglo Afghan war. He was a keen botanist, collecting plants wherever he went. On one such reconnaissance in the Shan Hills in Burma he espied a large white flower through his binoculars. He reached the spot and found it was a species rose, a new one to science. He collected plant material and dispatched them to M. Crepin, the great taxonomist of the time, and to Kew, where, when he returned to England, he even indicated the spot where the *gigantea* plants would thrive better than where they had been planted. Sir Henry's manuscript, *Flora of Simla (Flora Simlensis)* was published posthumously. He sent back many plants to Kew for identification, one of which was a small species rose, named *R. collettii*

in his honor by M.Crepin. He also had an iris named after him—*iris collettii*. Sir Henry died in Kensington, London.

After we registered our two gigantea hybrids, named for these eminent hobbyist-botanists, in 2008, as ‘Sir George Watt’ and ‘Sir Henry Collett’, we thought it would be a good idea to try and locate any descendant families to inform them that we had taken the privilege to name roses after their illustrious forebears. But for a long time we could not get any leads - of course our interest was an on and off pastime. We checked with the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, (Sir George spent much time there in his last days because he taught Indian Botany in a college nearby) and with botanist friends in the UK, but they said that getting this kind of information would be very difficult, especially in these days when families are scattered all over the world.

Then about the middle of September 2009, while idly ‘Googling’ on the Net, on a Sunday afternoon, for ‘Sir George Watt’ I saw an article on his association with Florence Nightingale, written in the Royal Botanic Garden, Canada journal. This had an extract of his Obituary Notice in the London Times dated 5th April 1930, which mentioned a son Dr R. H. Watt and two daughters (no names given). I then ‘Googled’ ‘Dr. R H. Watt’ but nothing meaningful turned up in the first three Google pages and just as I was giving up hope, on the fourth page a ‘Thomas Hope Hospital’ popped up. When I clicked on this site a history of this hospital, which was attached to the Crichton Royal Hospital Archives in Dumfries, Scotland, came up. It made interesting reading and very near the end of the article it said that Dr R. H. Watt was joined by his son, Dr George Watt, in the practice. I began to get excited. I checked on who had written the article and it said ‘Morag Williams, Archivist’.

I next ‘Googled’ ‘Crichton Royal Hospital’. Nothing relevant came up. Then I went to ‘Dumfries’, and the second entry had a ‘Morag Williams’ on a Natural History and Antiquarian Society website. I clicked on this and on the off chance that this could be the same Morag Williams, Archivist, I looked for a contact email address, and yes there was one. So I e-mailed a letter explaining my interest in the family of Sir George Watt and wondering if she was the Archivist Morag and requesting information, if she was, on R.H. and George Watt. Imagine my huge surprise and excitement when next morning as I checked my messages, there was one from Morag Williams. She was the Archivist. She told me Dr. George Watt was dead (as was his father, R. H. Watt)), but he had 2 sons, and she gave me the e-mail address of a Dr Tom Kennedy who had been Dr. George’s partner in practice. I immediately replied to her that she was a miracle, and to Dr. Tom, again repeating my entire story of our interest in Sir George. Since then there has been such a flurry of e-mails that I cannot restrain my whoopees. I have been able to contact some great-grandchildren of Sir George and they are all mightily pleased that we have named a rose for him. I tell them it is our privilege and honour. We are now trying to see how it will be possible for them to grow the rose named for their ancestor, as we think it would be most appropriate that the rose, ‘Sir George Watt,’ grows in the Scottish gardens with which he was associated in his latter years and in places connected with his life.

Surprisingly, that same September Sunday afternoon, when ‘Googling’ ‘Sir Henry Collett’ gave up no helpful leads, I thought of going to Genealogies and typing in ‘Collett’. I was inundated with literally thousands of ‘Colletts’. I typed in Henry Collett with his dates of 1835-1901, not expecting much, but 3 messages popped up. A Susan Shenton had been trying in 2004 to get information on Sir Henry’s family and had been, I think, flummoxed as I was, to learn that he had died a bachelor and his siblings had all died unmarried or widowed with no children. Without really expecting a response since Susan had written in to the website over 5 years previously, I searched for her e-mail address and sent off a mail explaining my interest. When nothing happened for a week I thought that my e-mail would not have reached, but then it had not bounced back either. I was hopeful, but telling myself not to be. Having succeeded in tracing Sir George Watt’s family I could not be doubly successful. But I was!!! Just as I was giving up hope, up popped a message from Susan Shenton. She wrote that I should look up the ‘Suffolk Colletts’ and a Brian Collett was in charge of collating all Collett material, and sending Collett newsletters to all so named. So back I went to the Genealogy page, looked up Brian; trying to find Sir Henry was a bit difficult and confusing, which is understandable as there are so many Colletts and so many strands weaving and interweaving through the generations.

I emailed Brian Collett, and just like in the case of the Watts, he was hugely interested and excited at this sudden importance attached to a long ago family member. We are in touch and we need to see that the rose ‘Sir Henry Collett’ grows in present day Collett gardens.

It has been an exciting and pleasurable endeavour, made more pleasurable by the enthusiastic responses from the descendants of the two knights, who long ago in colonial India discovered the wild rose which has become our passion and the object of Viru’s hybridization.

The name Sir George Watt held significance instantly for Morag Williams for two reasons. As archivist to Dumfries and Galloway Health Board for 25 years and as continuing adviser in retirement she knew that Sir George Watt was born at Oldmeldrum in Aberdeenshire because she had been approached by residents of that area in 2006 when a memorial to the horticulturist was being planned there in his honour. A plaque is now to be seen to the right of the main entrance to the Oldmeldrum Town Hall and reads, ‘ Famous Sons of Meldrum & Bourtie / SIR GEORGE WATT, physician & botanist 1851 - 1930 / KB, CIE, MD, LLD / Author of books on the Flora of India / 30 years as academic and government adviser in India.’

Many honours were bestowed on this remarkable man. In 1886 he was elected a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire (C.I.E.) He was created a Knight just before he retired from the Indian Service after 22 years in 1903. He had Doctor of Laws conferred on him by Aberdeen and Glasgow Universities and he was made a Fellow of the Linnaean Society.

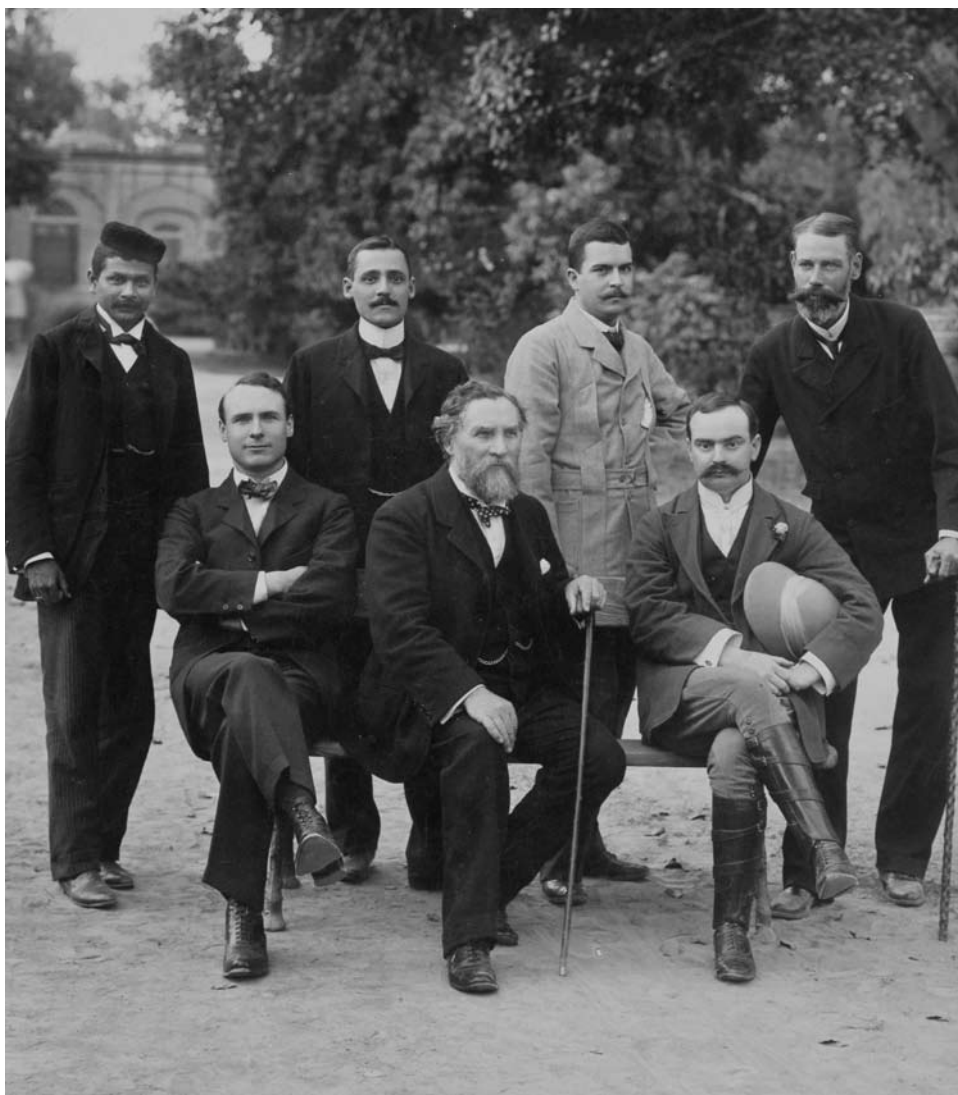


Figure 2. Sir George Watt with the executive staff of the Delhi Durbar Exhibition of 1903. His own label reads, 'Myself in the centre, Mr Milne on the right, Mr Brown on the left with my old and faithful Ram Chandra behind Mr Brown'. From the archives of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh

According to the Valuation Rolls in the Ewart Library, Dumfries, Sir George in retirement settled in Lockerbie in 1910 at Annandale House, Annandale Avenue, and then in 1920-21 at Chinsura, 9 Ashgrove Terrace, owned by his daughter, Mrs Mair. He was co-opted to the Board of Directors at Crichton Royal Hospital, a position he held almost continuously from 1917 to 1927. He served as Convener of the Gardens Committee 1921-1923 and 1925 -1927. In that capacity he was very involved in the planning and supervision of the development of Crichton Gardens post-World War I, particularly

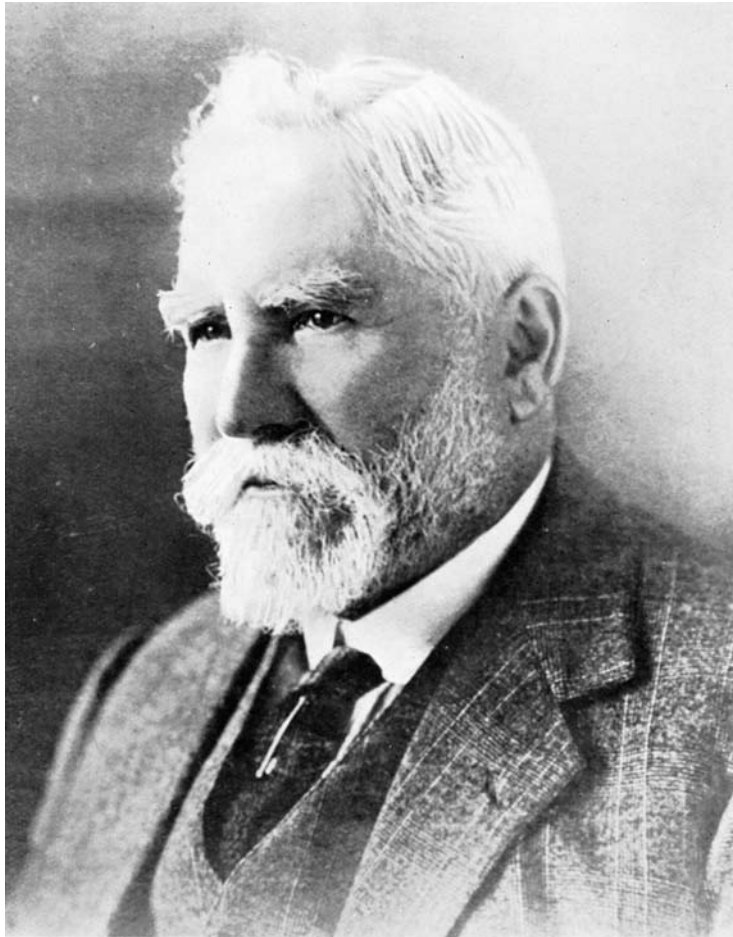


Figure 3. Sir George Watt. From *The Chronicle of Crichton Royal* by Charles C. Easterbrook, 1940.

the Arboretum, Shrubbery, Rock Garden and Greenhouses. Dr Easterbrook, Physician Superintendent 1908-1937, a keen promoter of this costly and labour-intensive scheme, recorded for the year 1925 in *Chronicle of Crichton Royal*; 'Donations of seeds of alpiners, herbaceous and hot-house plants are received through Sir George Watt from the Royal Botanic Gardens at Edinburgh and Darjeeling; and thousands of alpiners raised from seed in spring are planted out in the Rock Garden, which now contains about 2,500 species and varieties of herbs and dwarf shrubs'. He contributed in 1927 further donations 'of many Himalayan and other seeds... from Lloyd Botanic Gardens, Darjeeling, and the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh.' Two important survivors of Sir George's contributions are *Davidia involucrata*, commonly known as the Handkerchief Tree, and the slow-growing Weymouth Pine.

Following the completion of the ambitious gardens project at Crichton Royal, Samuel Arnott, a Dumfries and Galloway horticulturist, had an article published in *The Gardeners' Chronicle* of June 16th 1928, which describes the scene.

The rock garden...owes its inception to the advocacy of that eminent botanist, Sir George Watt, one of the Directors, who, during his term of office, devoted much time and thought to its planning...Skilful advantage has been taken of the natural lie of the position, which is a sloping bank facing almost south-west; and the rockwork has been excellently laid to conform so far as possible and to harmonise with the natural strata of the rocks of which it is formed. These are the great blocks of the old red sandstone which have been quarried on the estate and which is the general local stone of the district. It harmonises well also with the buildings and the position and shows up the colours of the plants when in flower, which appear to revel in this medium.

The second reason for encountering the name Watt arose when Morag Williams was researching the History of Thomas Hope Hospital, Langholm, from 1985 to 1989. Knowledge of Dr Robert Honey Watt came to the fore and Dr George Watt was interviewed in retirement: these two Langholm GPs were the son and grandson respectively of Sir George.

Returning to the *Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser* article, it continues:

Tom Kennedy and Mike Tinker, themselves former GPs in the town, were able to forward the message (of the quest for descendants) to Dr George Watt's two sons Nigel, who lives in New Zealand, and Richard in Carlisle.

Among many other books, Sir George wrote a multi-volume work, *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*. He will long be remembered in India for this monumental, 12-volume work, a comprehensive and in-depth cataloguing and survey of plants of the sub-continent.

Listing the domestic uses for the rose he discovered, he says: 'The stout stems are largely employed by the Naga for walking sticks and spear-shafts.' Great grandson Nigel still has the rosewood spears that he and Richard used to throw around in the garden at Rosevale.

Dr George Watt was a keen gardener and took an interest in the Crichton Gardens, being chairman of the Crichton Royal Gardens Committee 1966-1971. This had a spill-over effect on the gardens at Thomas Hope Hospital...When, in his later years, the garden over the road (at Rosevale House) became too much for him, he donated it to the town for use as a public garden.

Morag Williams was also able to throw light on other descendants of Sir George Watt. Mrs Sheila Johnstone (nee Mair), Kirkton, whose paternal grandmother was a daughter, wrote:

I am the great-granddaughter of Sir George Watt. As I grew up, I heard a great deal about his achievements from my father. So I knew his work was important, especially his *Dictionaries of the Economic Products of India*, the many volumes of which always had pride of place in our house.

Now my brother Sandy and I are proud to possess a number of his other books, amongst them *Wild and Cultivated Cotton Plants of the World* with its delicately drawn illustrations. But we had no idea until recently, when comparing a list of his works with our cousin, Ian Allen in Devon, also a great grandson, how prolific a writer he was.

Another book I cherish in connection with Sir George is an account by my grandmother of a tour of India by train with her father, Sir George, when she was a young woman. In 1899 I think. It is clear how greatly he enjoyed travelling with her and she often refers to his help in producing the book – illustrated with her own water colour sketches.

I am delighted to see this interest in his life and work. The Indian Rose Federation's Annual of 2010 has a fascinating article about Sir George by the great Indian hybridist, Girija Viraraghavan, who kindly sent me a copy. It is wonderful to realize that Sir George found this lovely rose - and that Girija's version, named after him, has a chance of appearing some day in my garden!

Late 19th Century and early 20th Century attempts at introducing *Rosa gigantea* to Britain met with problems: mildew and failure to flower were described in *The Gardeners' Chronicle* of March 4 1905.

Then came Mr Leach, the gardener to the Duke of Northumberland at Albury, Surrey, who succeeded in 1903 in inducing the plant to produce two flowers, the first of which was just on 6 inches across. In February 1904, the same specimen produced about a dozen flowers and this year Mr Leach had the satisfaction of seeing twenty eight blooms on his plant, some of which were exhibited at the Royal Horticultural Society...and secured for the exhibitor the award of a Cultural Commendation and a Botanical Certificate. Mr Leach cultivates the plant in a Peach-house.

This tender rose has yet to prove that it can survive the rigours of the Scottish climate. Cuttings, addressed to Logan Botanic Gardens, Stranraer, and Barony College, Parkgate, Dumfries, were dispatched from India in the late autumn of 2009. Unfortunately their arrival was delayed by a postal strike and then their survival was adversely affected by the harshest Scottish winter for a number of years. However, Richard Baines, Curator at Logan Botanic Garden, is prepared to try again and in July 2010 a new batch of cuttings were received. Hopes are high for green shoots in 2011.

GALLOWAY CRANNOGS: AN INTERIM REPORT ON WORK AT DORMAN'S ISLAND AND CULTS LOCH BY THE SCOTTISH WETLAND ARCHAEOLOGY PROGRAMME

Graeme Cavers¹ and Anne Crone¹

The Scottish Wetland Archaeology Programme (SWAP) has been undertaking a concerted programme of archaeological survey and excavation on a range of settlements and landscapes in wetland areas across the country. The principal aim of this work is to bring Scotland's wetland sites into the mainstream of archaeological research, by focussing on their role within their wider landscape contexts. The crannogs of Dumfries and Galloway comprise a particularly dense concentration of these wetland sites, and two key projects at Dorman's Island, Whitefield Loch and Cults Loch, Castle Kennedy have aimed to investigate their nature and function and, in the case of the flagship project at Cults Loch, their contemporary landscapes. This interim statement summarises some of the main results of these projects up to the end of the 2008 season.

Introduction

The Scottish Wetland Archaeology Programme (SWAP) is a research initiative aimed at studying, documenting and managing all aspects of Scotland's wetland archaeological resource (Crone and Clarke 2006; Henderson 2004). This wide remit has led to research on a wide range of archaeological site types in many different parts of the country, from peatlands in Caithness and Argyll to loch settlements in Dumfries and Galloway. In 2006, following the hosting of the international Wetland Archaeology Research Programme (WARP) conference in Edinburgh, SWAP were tasked with formulating a research agenda for approaching the country's wetland archaeology, with the aim of carrying out a series of keynote field research programmes in conjunction with one major flagship project.

Following a systematic review of the available evidence and an assessment of the current research directions in wetland studies, a research agenda document was produced by members of SWAP and various collaborators (Cavers 2006a). This agenda highlighted Scotland's crannog resource as a major national asset, and drew particular attention to the concentrations of crannog sites found in Argyll and Dumfries and Galloway. The importance of understanding the loch settlements of the South-west was also emphasised, particularly since these seem to comprise such a significant component of the settlement archaeology of the area. In line with recent paradigms within wetland archaeology, which have aimed to draw wetland research from its status as a specialist sub-discipline into mainstream archaeology (e.g. Van Der Noort and O'Sullivan 2006), the SWAP agenda seeks to maximise the often outstanding value of the evidence preserved on wetland sites, and correlate this to our knowledge of past societies more widely.

¹ AOC Archaeology Group, Edgefield Industrial Estate, Loanhead, Midlothian, EH20 9SY.

A series of research themes were formulated by SWAP. These ranged in chronological and geographical scope, but aimed to understand wetland sites better both in terms of how the sites themselves were constructed, used and ultimately abandoned, but also in terms of their relevance within their contemporary landscapes during occupation. It was with these aims in mind that the SWAP programme targeted two sites in Galloway, at Dorman's Island crannog in the Machars and the Cults Loch crannogs and cropmark complex near Castle Kennedy.

Dorman's Island, Whitefield Loch

The crannogs in Whitefield Loch have been known for some time, having been inspected by Rev Wilson in the late nineteenth century during a period of dry weather. At this time, a range of oak beams and piles, many of them worked and some mortised, were noted on and around the numerous artificial islands noted in the loch (Wilson 1871: 370-5). Although no comprehensive survey has since been undertaken in the submerged areas of the loch, none of the sites noted by Wilson on the south shore are now visible. Dorman's Island, however, located at the SE end of the loch, is still visible above the water.

The site survives today as a large tree-covered island with an area around 20m by 30m above the water. This dry area is only a small percentage of the whole site, however, and below the water line the crannog is over 40m in diameter and is comprised of a stone and timber mound partially buried by soft lacustrine silts. The visibility in the loch is poor, and consequently little underwater archaeological work was possible when the loch was dived in 2002 and 2003 (see Henderson et al. 2003, 2006). The crannog was observed at that time to be well preserved, despite superficial damage caused by wave erosion and tree-fall damage (see also Henderson 2006).



Figure 1. Trench 4 at Dorman's Island, Whitefield Loch, during excavation

In order to determine whether Dorman's Island might have preserved in situ occupation deposits, and thus be a candidate for full scale excavation, trial excavations were carried out in 2006, comprising a series of test pits located on the dry area of the site. After promising results from these small excavations, a larger trench was excavated in the centre of the site, joining the areas investigated by the trial trenches. This larger trench encountered a range of structural features, including large floor or sub-floor oak timbers, vertical stakes and a ruinous low wall (see Figure 1.). A prepared clay surface, some 30cm in depth, covered much of the east end of the trench.



Figure 2. Stakes driven into the prepared clay surface at Dorman's Island

From the results of this excavation it seems probable that the trench was located inside a building, since many of the stakes were small, suitable only for relatively lightweight structures such as internal partitions. The prepared clay surface (Figure 2.) was enigmatic, and did not have any obvious function. Although small quantities of charcoal were contained within the clay, the general lack of evidence for burning seems to preclude the obvious explanation as a hearth base, and a more plausible explanation may be that these clay surfaces were laid down as damp proofing on an occupation surface that may have become increasingly wet as the floor of the crannog subsided. Evidence from several previously excavated crannog sites has suggested that the subsidence of living areas may have been a common hazard of living on an artificial island (e.g. Harding and Dixon 2000; Crone 2000; Dixon 2004), and it is possible that the clay surfaces at Dorman's Island helped to provide dry footing on an otherwise wet surface.

Like many crannogs investigated in Scotland, Dormans's Island presents something of a quandary in terms of dating. The only chronologically diagnostic artefact retrieved from the excavation was a few fragments of a blue-yellow cable glass bracelet of Kilbride Jones' class 3J (Kilbride Jones 1938), broadly datable to the Roman Iron Age in southern Scotland and northern England. However, a structural pile found in the submerged areas of the site was dated to the earlier Iron Age, 2250 ± 50 BP (GU-10917), calibrating in the range 490-190 BC (see Henderson et al. 2006). This pattern of non-concurrent dating from material received above and below the water level on crannogs is a familiar one and is indicative of the complexity of occupation history on many crannog sites. The multi-period nature of crannogs was first demonstrated in a similar way by Piggott's excavations at Milton Loch, where a Roman-period enamelled bronze dress fastener was presumed to date the site to the early centuries of the first millennium AD, until subsequent radiocarbon dating established that much of the site was datable to the early Iron Age (Piggott 1953; Guido 1974). Piggott's interpretation of this pattern was that the original dating was incorrect, and that radiocarbon dating had clarified the true date of occupation of the site, although radiocarbon dating of timbers retrieved during a survey in the 1990s indicated that some construction had occurred during this later period (Barber and Crone 1993). Piggott's re-dating of the original excavation does not take cognisance of the probability of multiple occupations of the same crannog, however, a scenario that has since been demonstrated to have been far from unusual, and may have occurred in most cases, producing complex patterns of site taphonomy (e.g. Crone et al. 2001; Cavers 2006b). Certainly, multiple occupations are possible from the published structural evidence for the Milton Loch crannog (Cavers 2005:195-6). Like Milton Loch, Dormans's Island crannog was a multi-period site and demonstrates that the significance of crannogs as settlements continued throughout the Iron Age, and that as occupation sites they may have been used, if only intermittently, over a long period of time.

Post-excavation work on material from the excavations at Dormans's Island is ongoing; a full report will follow the completion of these analyses.

Cults Loch, Castle Kennedy

The principal focus of the SWAP programme is now on Cults Loch, Castle Kennedy. This area comprises a rich archaeological landscape, with several crannog sites in the loch itself and a complex and varied cropmark record visible in the surrounding pastureland (see Figure 3.). In line with the aims of the SWAP research agenda, the Cults Landscape Project has approached the wetland archaeology of the area in conjunction with the associated terrestrial record, with the ultimate aim of being able to better understand the relative roles of wetland and terrestrial settlement in the landscapes within which they were built and used.

There are at least two archaeological sites within Cults Loch: a crannog, at NX 1206 6047, and an unusual promontory site on the north shore, at NX 1203 6058. This promontory appears as a stony neck of land protruding into the loch and surrounded by piling; attention was first drawn to the site by the oak stakes that can still be seen above water level during dry spells of weather. Excavations in 2007 and 2008 have shown that it is entirely artificial, closely resembling a more traditional 'crannog' structure with piling

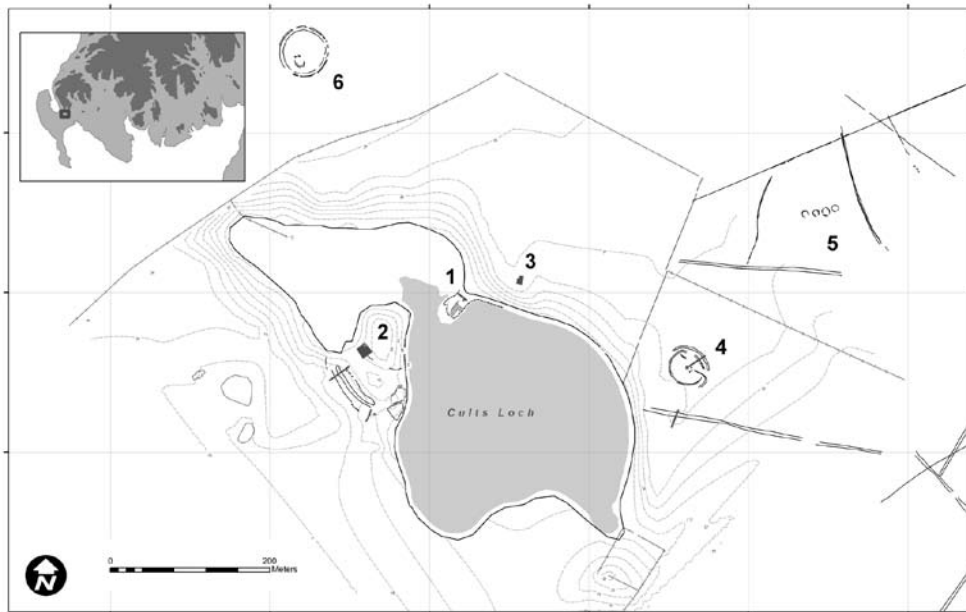


Figure 3. Culis Loch and surrounding landscape, showing the distribution of cropmarks.

1. The 'crannog' promontory
2. The promontory fort
3. Location of pits excavated in trench 3
4. Culis palisaded enclosure
5. Possible unenclosed roundhouses or barrows at Balnab
6. Sheucan palisaded enclosure (transcription © RCAHMS)

retaining a mound of peat, reeds, brushwood and boulders (see Figure 4.). The site is well preserved, with wood and other organic deposits surviving below c.30cm beneath the surface, and on removal of stakes for sampling the tool-marks of the axes used to shape their points could clearly be seen (Figure 5.). In addition to the piling, a range of horizontal timbers, some of worked planking, perhaps used in the walling or flooring of the superstructure were found in the north and north-western areas of the site. A trench excavated across the neck of the promontory has demonstrated that the junction between site and shore may be an artificially laid causeway, composed of boulders and gravel lain on top of a timber substructure. Typically for a later prehistoric site in Galloway, few artefacts were recovered, although a few coarse stone objects and a fragment of a shale or cannel coal bracelet were found during the excavation of the upper levels. In situ occupation deposits contained charcoal and burnt bone, and their analysis may tell us more about the nature of occupation on the site.

Radiocarbon dates obtained for the wooden piling on the promontory site places it in the late Bronze/early Iron Age, around the mid first millennium BC. How long occupation continued at that site is at present uncertain, and it is unclear whether its use overlapped with the construction of the second artificial island in the loch, which has yielded a radiocarbon date in the middle Iron Age, in the early centuries AD. The complimentary dating of the two sites suggests that one succeeded the other, but as we have already discussed, crannogs are frequently multi-period and long-lived, and from the limited work undertaken on the later site we cannot be certain that its origins do not overlap with the use of the artificial promontory.



Figure 4. Timber substructure and piling on the Cults Loch crannog promontory



Figure 5. Wooden stake from Cults crannog promontory, showing tool facets

When seen in this way, and in the context of the local settlement record, we can see that it would be entirely inappropriate to view individual crannog sites in isolation. Directly west of Cults Loch are the Black and White Lochs of Inch-Cryndil, which have at least one crannog each, the former datable to the mid/late Iron Age and Early Historic period by glass and bone comb finds (Dalrymple 1873). The surrounding fields were also densely occupied, as is attested by the rich cropmark record. These cropmark sites indicate a high level of activity around Cults Loch in the later prehistoric period and have recently been the subject of a preliminary investigation.

In March 2009 a series of trial excavations were carried out on several of these cropmark sites. The first of these was a large ditched enclosure located on the south shore of the loch, on a conspicuous neck of land that forms a natural promontory protruding into the loch in close proximity to the two artificial islands. Trenches located within this enclosure showed that it had been defended by a series of palisades and very large ditches- some over 5m in width and 3m in depth, similar in their monumental character to those excavated on Iron Age sites elsewhere in Galloway (e.g. Toolis 2007; Haggerty and Haggerty 1983). These formed an enclosure that was overlooked by higher ground, and which would have directly faced the island settlements on the loch. Although no datable artefacts were recovered during this excavation, forts of this type have general currency throughout the Iron Age in SW Scotland, and as such it was almost certainly constructed and used at the same time as at least one of the crannogs.

The loch is surrounded by a range of archaeological sites however, that seem likely to relate to this later prehistoric period, with palisaded enclosures, souterrains, unenclosed roundhouses and possible square barrows all suggested from aerial reconnaissance. The terrestrial archaeology surrounding Cults Loch may not be limited to those sites known from aerial photographs, however. A small trench excavated to the north of the loch, close to the artificial promontory site encountered a series of elongated oval pits, in a regular arrangement but with no obvious function and containing no artefacts to aid interpretation. It seems likely that there is a further extensive site on this northern area at Cults, the precise character and function of which can only be elucidated by further fieldwork. What this site does demonstrate is that the currently visible archaeological sites are only one aspect of a complex and varied archaeological landscape.

Future Work

The results of the relatively limited excavations carried out so far are promising, and it is hoped that further excavation work will elucidate the relationship between the functions and roles of terrestrial and artificial island settlements within a contemporary archaeological landscape. Concurrent programmes of work are being designed to investigate the history of land use and loch level change so that the full 'resolution' of wetland landscape archaeology may be fully exploited. It is hoped that these projects, in conjunction with other SWAP projects elsewhere in the country, might take significant steps towards highlighting the archaeological importance of Scotland's wetland resource.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Historic Scotland for funding this research and for their continued support of the SWAP programme. We are also indebted to Stair Estates and John McHarrie for allowing the work to proceed.

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HOMESTEADS IN WEST GALLOWAY: EXCAVATION AT AIRYOLLAND, MOCHRUM, WIGTOWNSHIRE

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(With contributions from Rob Engl¹, Andrew Heald¹, David Masson³, Scott Timpany³
and Jackaline Robertson¹)

Archaeological work began at the site of Airyolland I in 2004 when a detailed topographic survey was carried out by the authors. In 2006, the first season of exploratory excavation began at the site; two trenches were excavated in the interior and over the perimeter rampart. The results of this first season of work were promising, and although material culture was sparse with little in terms of artefactual evidence recovered, the two trenches excavated yielded well preserved evidence of the original construction of the site. A slot across the perimeter earthwork encountered a massive stone wall, around 3m in width and composed of two well-built faces retaining a rubble core. Excavation within the interior encountered ruinous remains of interior structures, incorporating large boulders as well as several pits or postholes relating to a stone walled building in the lower half of the site.

Introduction and Background

The defended settlements of Galloway constitute a heterogeneous group of monuments of poorly defined date. In archaeological terms, Galloway shares characteristics with areas to the east (in forts), to the north-west (in Atlantic roundhouses, ‘duns’ and crannogs) as well as to the south and to the east (in timber roundhouses). A comparative lack of fieldwork in the area has led to the region being classed as an Iron Age ‘black hole’ (Haselgrove et al. 2001; Cavers 2008), and it is difficult to draw reliable generalisations from the limited numbers of surveyed and excavated sites. The homesteads of the region epitomise this uncertainty, and although comparisons have been made with ‘duns’ of the north west based on the massive stone construction - particularly in the enclosure ramparts of several sites - the chronology, morphology, function and social status of these sites is effectively unknown.

The region of the west Machars in Wigtownshire contains numerous examples of homestead sites. One particularly coherent group is situated along the shoulder of a raised shoreline at approximately 100m ASL running from Port William to Auchenalg on the west facing coastline (see Figure 1.). Among this group of remarkably similar defended enclosures is Chippermore I, excavated by Fiddes in the 1950s (Fiddes 1953). Fiddes’ excavations encountered a large drystone enclosure wall, with evidence for a range of internal structures and middens. Fiddes’ work was of a basic standard, however; he recorded no evidence of chronological phasing, a situation not aided by the lack of

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diagnostic finds. Aside from the evidence of the rampart construction, all that can be said of the Chippermore site is that it was probably built prior to the medieval period.

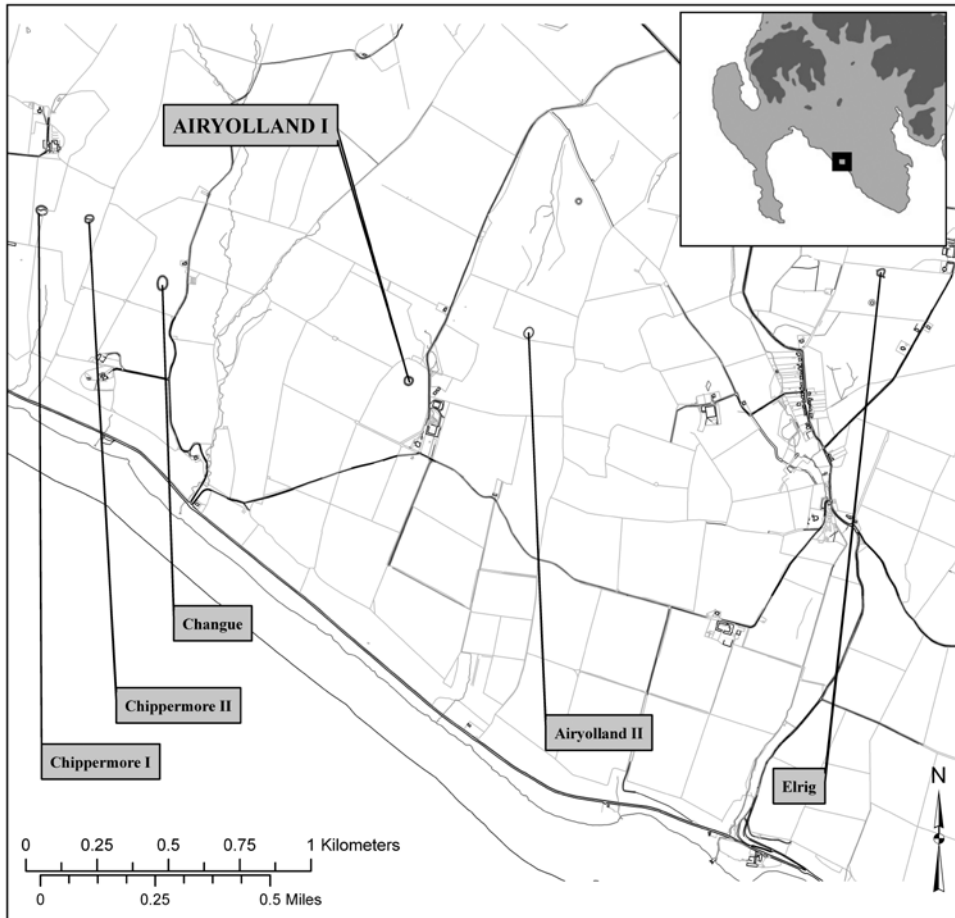


Figure 1. Airyolland I site location

In 2004, the authors carried out a topographic survey of a representative site at Airyolland I (Figure 1. and Figure 3.) as part of a wider survey project in the area. Airyolland is probably a defended settlement site, with a large masonry rampart, more substantial to the south. At the north east, a later rubble bank tops the original rampart and other features may represent early historic activity and improvement clearance. It utilises a break of slope at 90m ASL and commands excellent views over Luce Bay. An entrance is not readily apparent though a notable dip in the rampart at the south-east may be an indication, and is the same orientation as at Chippermore 1 (Fiddes 1953). As noted above, there is a distinct group of similar sites in the area of Mochrum parish including Chippermore (NX24NE 3), Corwall (NX24NE 7), Chippermore (NX24NE 9) Chippermore (NX24NE 10), Chippermore (NX24NE 11) (Fiddes 1953), Change

(NX24NE 12), (Garheugh NX25SE 8), Ringheel (NX34NW 2), Airyolland 2 (NX34NW 16) and Elrig (NX34NW 19).

The survey suggested that the site reflected at least three phases of activity: the encircling rampart has been altered at the NE, perhaps in two phases. In addition, the site had clearly been used as a dump for field clearance perhaps in the historic and modern periods. Finally, a number of internal boulders may be interpreted as clearance or possible later structures. The authors decided to re-visit the site and two seasons of excavation, as well as a more detailed metric survey, were undertaken in 2006 and 2007. Figure 2. shows the site during the 2006 season of excavation and survey with trench 1 in the foreground, and trench 2 behind.



Figure 2. The site in 2006 with trench 1 in the foreground and trench 2 behind

Previous Work

The first edition Ordnance Survey (1850) shows Airyolland as a circular earthwork within a landscape of agricultural improvement. The regular pattern of rectangular fields is broken by a notable curvilinear wall which respects the position of Airyolland and marks the end of two long field walls that run up from the sea coast below. Other prehistoric features (such as Airyolland 2 (NX 3119 4792) and Top Cottage (NX 3080 4804)) are depicted more clearly, and annotated as ‘forts’. To the east, two large mill ponds supplied the bone and meal mills at Elrig, formerly the largest in the Machars (Donnachie 1971: 202). Airyolland farm itself is a typical improvement courtyard steading with a detached farmhouse, and a threshing machine – a notable early manor house lies just to the south.

RCAHMS visited the site in 1911 (1912: 78), describing it as a fort: ‘a sub-oval enclosure, 86’ N-S by 78’ E-W within a stony bank 7’-8’ in thickness. The interior, which is under cultivation, is bounded on the N by a wall which appears to be secondary, and outside of which foundations of like character are visible below the turf.’ The fact that the interior was under cultivation in 1911 suggests one reason for the lack of surviving material in the shallower portions of the interior.

The Ordnance Survey Archaeological Division visited the site in July 1973 and May 1977 and added to the original description: 'A near-circular homestead levelled into a gentle south-east facing slope and overlooking good arable land. It measures 25.5m N-S by 24.0m within a collapsed stone wall varying in thickness from 2.5m to 4.5m and with a maximum height of 1.2m. A few outer facing stones are visible on the south-west while on the south-east a 5.0m length of inner facing can be traced. Elsewhere field clearance dumping has obscured details of the walling. A wall 6.0m long leads into the interior from the north and terminates on a large boulder set on end. The purpose of this feature is not clear but it may mark the position of the entrance which is otherwise not apparent. The interior is level and featureless. The remains to the north of the homestead are reduced almost to ground level and cannot be surveyed or interpreted'. They noted the similarity of the site to the settlement at Changue (NX 2992 4809) which had been recently described as a dun by Feachem in his guide to prehistoric Scotland (1966: 186).

Aims

The main aims of the project were to establish the character of the largest feature of the site, the rampart, and to discover the nature of any surviving internal features. It was hoped that artefactual evidence would provide a date for the site and that radiocarbon dating could be used to date samples from secure contexts where these could be found.

Metric Survey and Geophysics

Although the site had been metrically surveyed by the authors in 2004, a laser scan survey was carried out of the enclosure and its environs to provide a detailed micro-topographic survey of the site and surrounding terrain (Figure 3.). This survey was carried out using a Mensi GS101 laser scanner, collecting terrain points at a minimum horizontal resolution of 0.2m. The scan data was geo-referenced to the Ordnance Survey National Grid by controlling coordinates of the scan registration targets using a total station, and integrated with the survey data collected during the excavation. The total station survey was geo-referenced using Ordnance Survey Landline digital data.

The terrain model constructed from the scan data clearly shows the rampart and internal features of the site, and also areas of rig and furrow cultivation to the N and E of the site. A linear depression outside the rampart to the NW seems likely to be related to this later agricultural activity.

The trench locations, drawing points, small finds and overall control were surveyed using Leica and Trimble total stations and drawn in real-time using Penmap software. In addition to the surface topographical survey, a geophysical survey was undertaken on the site using resistivity. This was successful in locating the stone core of the rampart for its complete circuit, but did not detect any substantial evidence for internal features.

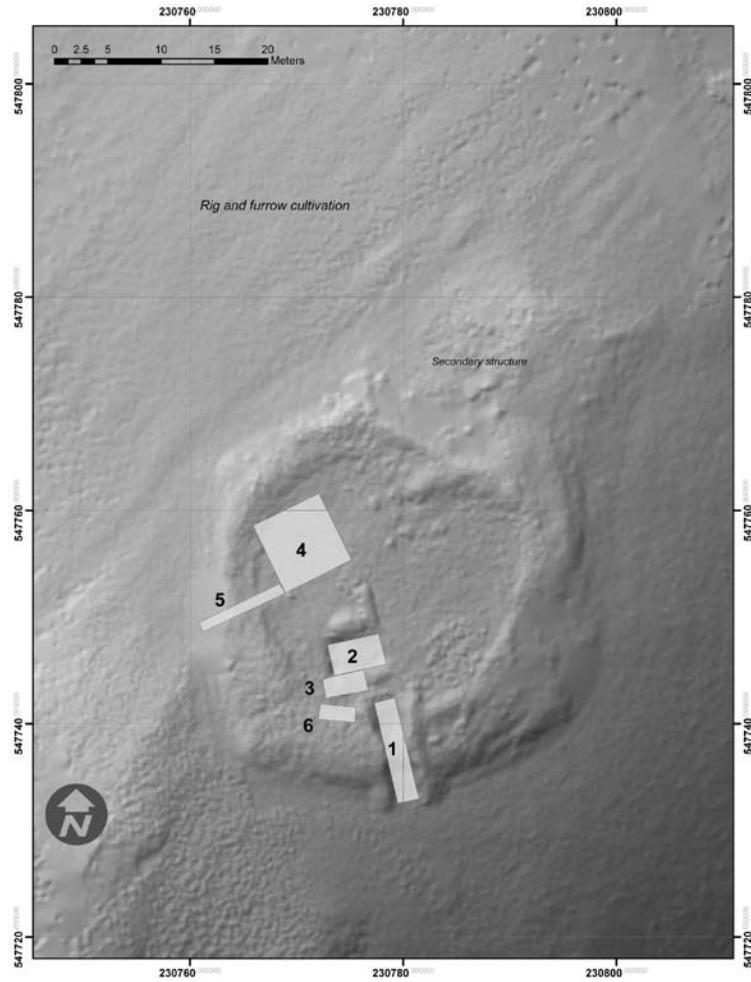


Figure 3. Micro-topographic survey of the site and surrounding terrain

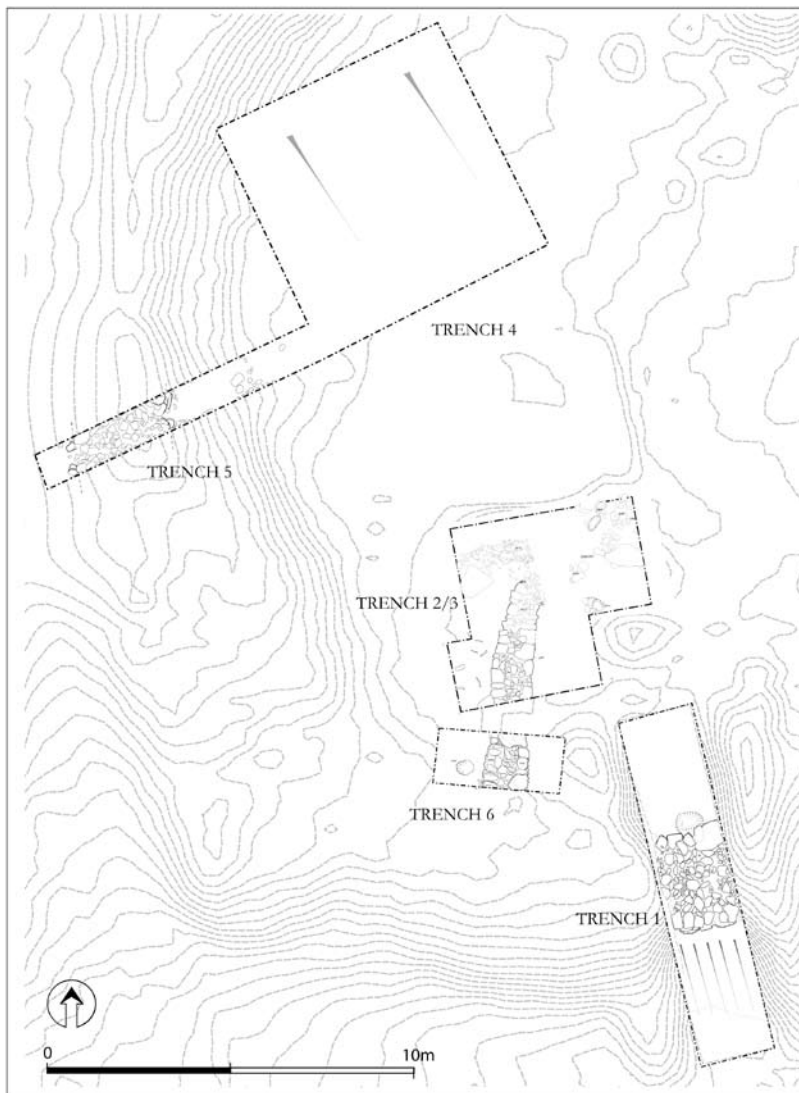
Excavation and Post-excavation Methodology

Figure 4. Location of trenches 1 - 6

Excavation fieldwork was undertaken by a team of volunteers in May 2006 and August 2007. All six trenches were excavated and planned by hand; their location is shown in Figure 4. A total of 45 soil samples, 22 in the first year of excavation and 23 in the second, were taken from individual archaeological contexts. The samples from 2006 were assessed by Dr S Timpany, while those of the second year were assessed by J Robertson. The small finds were individually located and a report has been produced by Dr A Heald.

Results

The Perimeter Rampart

The perimeter rampart was investigated in two trenches, trench 1 and trench 5. The principal aim of trench 1, excavated in 2006, was to investigate the character of the enclosing bank, while trench 5, excavated in 2007, aimed to deconstruct the wall and obtain samples from a secure context beneath the structure. To this end, trench 1 constituted a 10m by 2m slot trench oriented N-S on the south side of the enclosure, while trench 5 was a 1m wide slot over the W side of the rampart (see Figure 4.). Plans of the two excavation trenches are in Figure 5. and sections in Figure 6; Figure 7. shows trench 1 during excavation, with the facing of the rampart clearly visible.

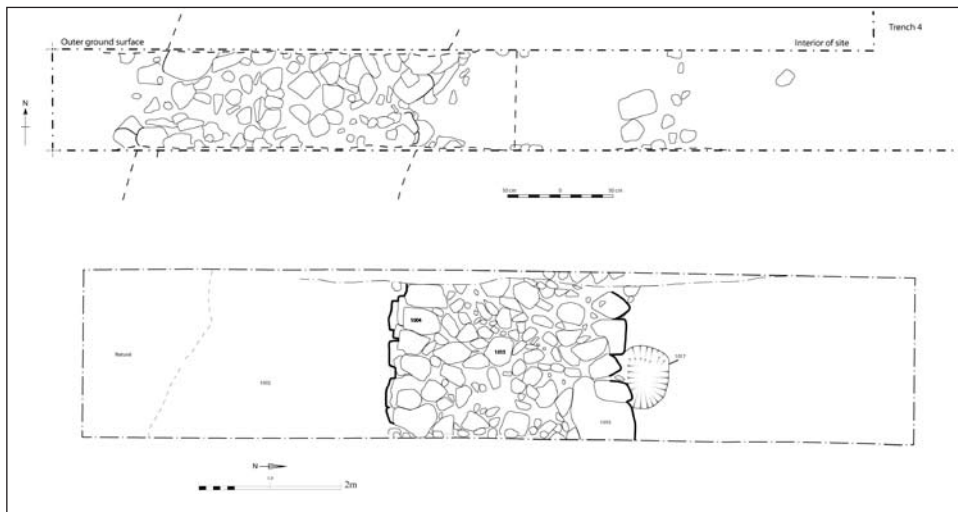


Figure 5. Plans of trench 1 (bottom) and trench 5 (top)

In trench 1, the bank was covered by thin turf [1000] and topsoil [1001] and [1008]. On top of the bank, loose rubble probably deriving in part from post-abandonment field clearance overlay much of the trench. The topsoil layers [1001] and [1008] contained large quantities of rubble, mostly irregularly shaped stones averaging 0.1 - 0.2m in diameter, as well as small quantities of modern material: pottery, glass and iron. On removal of the topsoil and rubble layers the upper stones of the interior [1010] and exterior [1004] wall faces were exposed. These wall faces comprised the interior and exterior retention walls of a stone rampart around 3.4m in width, constructed by dumping a core of irregular stones [1015], averaging around 0.15m in diameter between the two retention walls. There was no evidence of the careful construction of the wall core [1015]. The rampart had clearly suffered from stone robbing, and the rubble from its collapse formed a series of layers on both the north and south side of the wall.

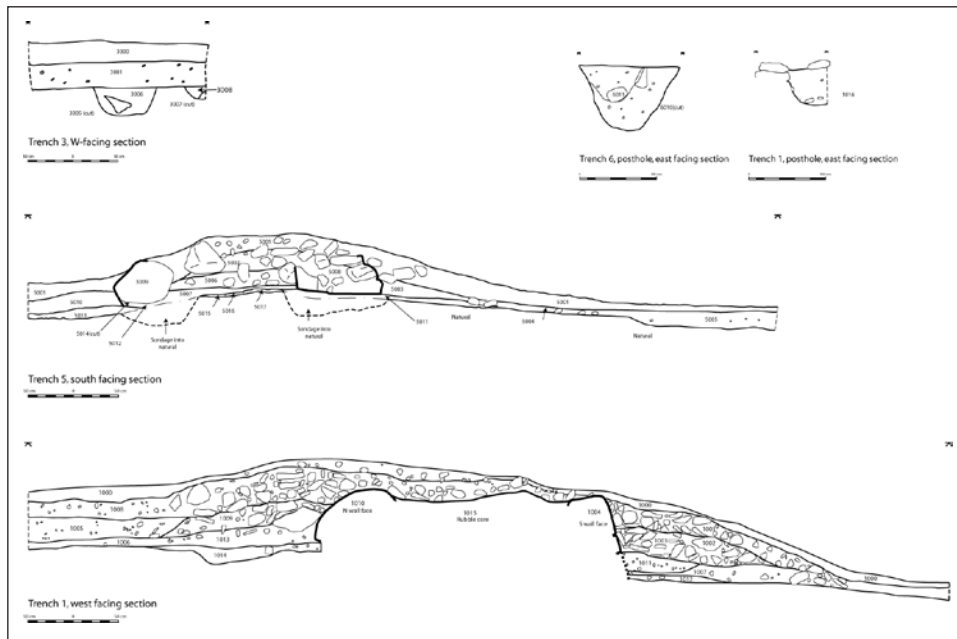


Figure 6. Section of trench 1 (bottom) and trench 5 (middle), with features of trenches 3,6 and 1 (top, left to right)

South of the rampart the collapse of the wall was represented by a rubble deposit [1002] in a dark brown silty matrix [1003]. This rubble deposit lay directly on a buried soil [1011] upon which the facing stones of the rampart had been placed. This buried soil deposit merged gradually with clayey silt [1007] towards the south of the trench, and both deposits overlay a final brown-grey clayey silt deposit, interpreted as a primary soil and containing regular charcoal flecks. No evidence of a ditch or any other negative features were noted outside the rampart.

North of the rampart, in the interior of the site, the rubble collapse of the wall was evidenced by an upper layer of tumble [1009], comprising angular stones ranging in diameter from 0.1m to 0.5m and a lower layer [1013], containing smaller stones in an orange-brown matrix of sandy silt. The deposits in the interior of the enclosure, in the north end of trench 1, consisted principally of a very loose and mixed dark brown silty sand deposit [1005] c.0.25m in depth. This context was very bioturbated and had possibly been disturbed by ploughing. An apparently intact layer, however, was encountered beneath [1005]; represented by a light brown, moderately compact sandy silt containing charcoal [1006]. Underlying the primary collapse of the rampart was a further intact deposit [1014], a reddish-brown compact silty clay, which ran underneath the rampart wall face [1010], and was interpreted as the old ground surface.

On removal of [1014], a single posthole was discovered cut into natural subsoil, directly to the N of the rampart wall face [1010]. The cut [1017] was sub-oval in plan with near-vertical sides, with a shallow concave base. The fill of the posthole [1016] consisted of



Figure 7. trench 1



Figure 8. trenches 3 and 6

a reddish-brown compact silty clay, indistinguishable from the overlying context [1014]. As such, it is questionable whether posthole [1017] was stratigraphically below deposit [1014], or cut through it but invisible during the excavation of [1014]. The latter seems more likely.

Small finds from trench 1 were restricted to modern pottery, iron and glass from the upper levels, although two quartz beach pebbles, obviously brought from the coast, were recovered from the lower deposits ([1006] and [1013] respectively).

Trench 5 was a second slot over the perimeter rampart of the site. The aim of excavating a second rampart section was to dismantle the structure completely and excavate the deposits beneath the wall; trench 1 did not proceed beyond the rubble core and soil deposits abutting the wall face. For this reason, the trench was limited to 1m in width, and was extended from the SW corner of trench 4 over the rampart to the W.

Beneath the turf and topsoil deposits [5001] a large quantity of stone rubble was uncovered [5002], composed of stones averaging 0.3m in diameter, interpreted as the collapsed rubble core of the rampart. This rubble had spilled beyond the wall faces on both sides of the wall, but was deepest on the interior (east) side where it was composed of more angular stones in a light grey-brown sandy silt matrix [5003]. Beneath this rubble tumble layer were a series of superimposed deposits overlying the natural. On the interior side, a mid-brown clayey silt 0.2m in depth [5004] sloped down from the rampart and overlay a darker, grey-brown clayey silt 0.2m in depth [5005]. These layers were interpreted as post-abandonment collapse wash and erosion deposits, and abutted the rampart facing stones. The final deposit on the interior side was a compact orange-brown sandy silt [5011] that ran under the rampart face on the eastern side. This deposit was mixed with natural subsoil but contained regular charcoal flecks. The facing courses of the rampart itself did not survive well on either side of the wall. The interior face [5008] was ruinous, but may have been built with two rows of parallel faces; several of the stones used were very

large (c.0.5m across), but the wall face did not survive above the basal course. The outer (western) face [5009] was similarly dilapidated, with one very large boulder representing the only part of the wall face that seemed in situ, and the stones that must have formed the rest of the wall face were difficult to distinguish from the rubble collapse layers. The western wall face differed from the eastern face in that a shallow cut [5014] had been dug for the basal course; this was filled by mid-reddish brown silt [5012]. Beneath was light brown stony silt containing charcoal flecks, closely resembling natural subsoil but looser than the natural deposits on this side of the rampart; this was interpreted as re-deposited subsoil.

The rampart was dismantled and both wall faces and rubble core were removed. Underlying the wall was a compact mixed red-brown silty soil containing distinct patches of charcoal-rich sediments. This deposit was thin, however, only 0.05m thick, and overlay two darker, compact silt deposits [5015] and [5016], 0.03m in depth abutting one another. All three deposits were bulk sampled with a view to radiocarbon dating.

The Interior Structure

A series of trenches excavated in the interior aimed to evaluate the survival of internal deposits and structures, and establish their character and date. Trench 2, a 5 by 3m trench orientated E-W was opened by hand in the southern half of the interior, aligned with the E edge of trench 1. Plans of trench 2, 3 and 6 are in Figure 9., and sections of some of the features mentioned below are in Figure 6. The results of excavation in each trench are described in turn below.

The turf-covered ground surface is flat in this part of the interior. The thin turf [2000] overlay a topsoil c.0.15m thick [2001], thinning to the W. Below this a dark brown friable sandy silt [2002] extended across the trench, disturbed by root matter and with stones averaging between 1 and 10cm in diameter throughout. Finds from this layer included modern pottery and glass, perhaps relating to fertilising of the fields using midden material in recent times. A large boulder [2017] was exposed in the W-facing section of the trench in context 2001 and below. This boulder was interpreted as part of a linear feature extending to the W.

Below context [2002], the NE part of the trench contained a light brown/orange sandy silt [2003] with flecks of charcoal throughout. To the south, under [2002], a darker and more compact deposit [2006] was found in the SE corner of the trench, overlying [2003]. Beneath [2003], adjacent to the boulder, a spread of stones [2007] within a sandy silt matrix [2008] may have been part of a E-W wall related to a large boulder [2017]. Beneath [2003] in the SE, two patchy deposits [2004] and [2013] (of brown sandy silt with charcoal and bone flecks) were found, extending across the trench W-E.

At the SW of the trench there was a SW-NE aligned rubble wall [2010/2012] with two faces and a core in a dark brown sandy silt matrix. The matrix yielded a piece of possibly worked stone (SF 6). This 0.82m wide linear feature extended 1.6m to the northeast. It may have continued as context [2009], a group of large (0.2m) stones within deposit [2003] north of boulder [2017].

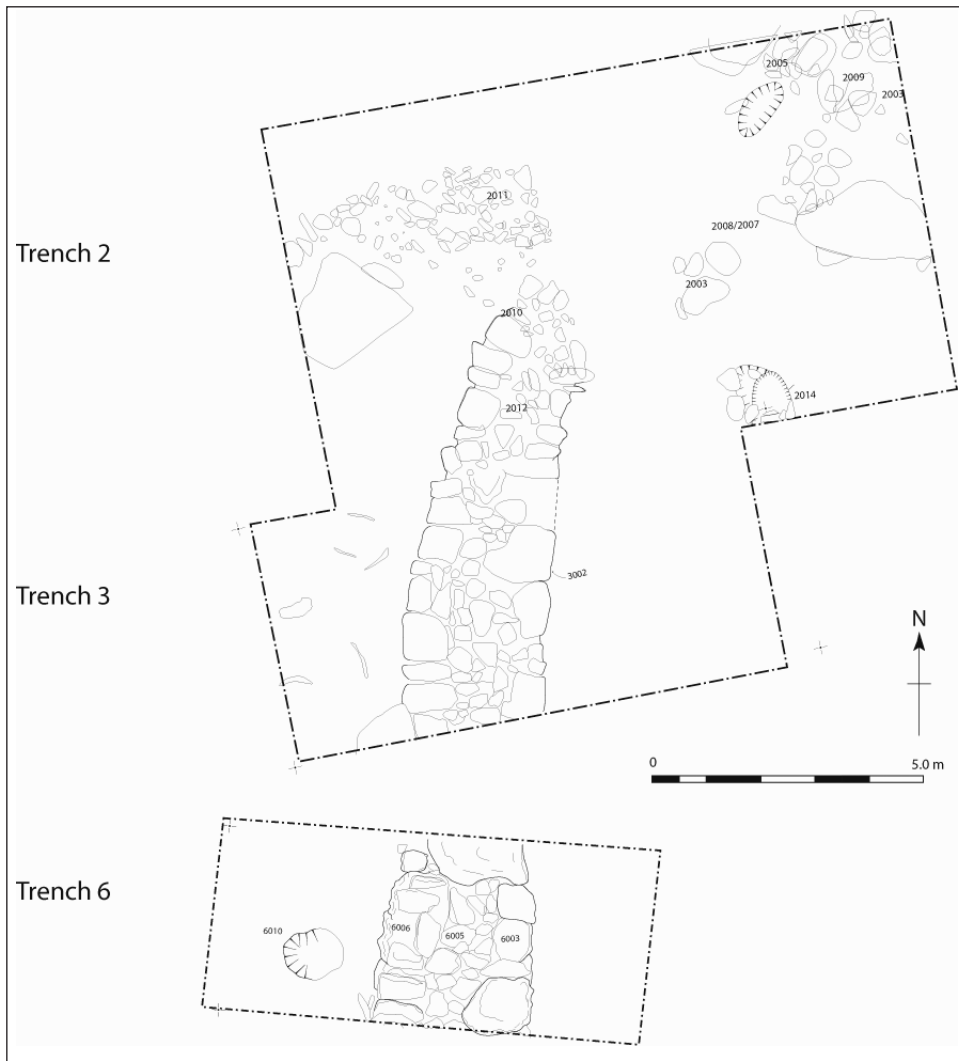


Figure 9. Plans of trenches 2, 3 and 6

At the NW of the trench, another less coherent linear feature [2011] extended E-W from a large boulder in the W trench face. This linear feature was of a similar character to [2007/2008] in the E of the trench. A posthole was discovered below [2006] at the S of the trench [2014]. This feature was found to be 0.4 by 0.4m by 0.17m deep, with a light brown silty sand fill [2015].

In order to further investigate the walling remains encountered in trench 2 during the 2006 season, trench 3 was opened to the S of trench 2. The area excavated was 2m by 3.0m, though this was extended to 2.0m by 4.0m to the W when the wall was encountered.

Beneath the turf the same mid-dark brown silty loam [3000] as was encountered in the interior trenches in 2006 was recorded. This topsoil was moderately well sorted and contained modern pottery. Beneath, the lower topsoil [3001] was a more compact but similar layer, containing charcoal flecks and regular modern pottery finds. Together [3000] and [3001] were c.0.35m in depth and formed the upper plough-soil layers over trench 3 and corresponded to the same upper contexts in trench 2; it was clear that these deposits were very mixed and contained regular sherds of modern pottery. Beneath these upper layers, however, archaeological deposits survived, and the wall encountered in trench 2 in 2006 was found to continue to the S. The wall measured c.1.0m across, and was much better preserved than it had been in trench 2, comprising two well-built faces; Figure 8. shows the wall as exposed in trench 3 and 6, from the north. The inner face, to the E [3002], comprised sub-angular blocks averaging 0.2 - 0.3m across, and stood in two well fitted courses at the S end of the trench. The outer wall face [3009] was similarly built, though only survived to two courses in places, with a curve to the NE. The outer areas of this construction were obscured by rubble collapse [3003], but contained several large stones that seemed likely to have been incorporated into the wall. The interior of the wall was of compact rubble [3010], composed of sub-angular and sub-rounded stones averaging 0.10-0.15m in diameter. The basal levels of this rubble deposit were well placed, rather than casually dumped, so that the wall survived in relatively good condition.

It seems probable that the wall in trench 3 formed part of a building with its interior to the E, and two pits or, more probably, postholes were located to the E of trench 3. The first of these [3005], was a steep sided circular feature, 0.3m in depth and filled by a dark brown silty sand and packing stones [3006] 0.15m in diameter. The second cut feature [3007] was smaller in diameter, 0.2m across and 0.16m deep, but also contained packing stones, one of which lay across the base of the feature, possibly representing a post pad.

Plough scores c.0.03m across and 0.01m deep were recorded in the natural in trench 3, oriented roughly at 90 degrees to one another to the E of the wall. Although there was abundant evidence for the cultivation of the interior of the site after its abandonment it seems probable that these plough scores relate to agricultural activity prior to the sites construction, since the wall sat on deposits that overlay the plough scoring. This, however, remains somewhat conjectural.

Trench 6 was excavated in an attempt to establish the chronological and structural relationship between the building identified in trenches 2 and 3 and the perimeter rampart investigated by trenches 1 and 5. It was placed in between trench 3 (excavated in 2007) and trench 1 (excavated in 2006). At the E of the trench, a wall face was exposed [6003] just under the surface, aligned with the W face of the wall in trench 3 [3009]. The trench was extended to the E exposing silty sand with charcoal flecks [6004] similar to [6002]. Beneath [6004], the E wall face [6006] and wall core [6005] were exposed. This wall was substantially built with blocks up to 0.3m wide and carefully coursed, with three courses surviving to a height of 0.48m. Beneath [6002] at the W of the wall, a further context [6007] was exposed, overlying an interface layer with natural. The interface layer, light brownish orange, was visible on both sides of the wall as [6009] and [6008]. A post hole was discovered cut into natural on the W side of the wall. Although fairly shallow, the cut [6010] was well defined and the fill [6011] was distinguishable from [6007] and sampled

separately. A section of the wall was removed and a sample taken from under the W wall face of the sandy silt [6012]. This context was very similar to [6009] and [6008], but contained a high proportion of charcoal flecks. The trench was not large enough to expose the N wall of the rampart, or the physical relationship between the rampart wall and the wall in trenches 3 and 6. Tumble in trench 6 [6002] appears to overlie the wall suggesting it is collapse from the main rampart and that this substantial wall [6003-5] was built against the rampart before it collapsed.

The Northern Interior

Trench 4 was placed in the flat northern area of the enclosure in the hope of exposing a large area of the interior and also avoiding deep accumulated hill wash down slope. The grassy turf was stripped off and placed to the NE. Beneath this a mixed topsoil [4001] contained lots of small stones and fragments of post-medieval pottery – it had probably been ploughed and disturbed in the modern period (see the RCAHMS description of 1911). At the NE of the large trench, a sub-rectangular area of reddish loam was defined as a different context [4002]. The edge of the rampart tumble was exposed at the NW of the trench [4003]. This was not excavated. The deposits were only 0.2-0.3m deep and contained late pottery even at the interface with the natural. No negatively cut features were identified in the trench.

Artefacts

Andrew Heald and Rob Engl

All of the finds recovered from the excavation were retrieved from contexts considered to be disturbed by modern agricultural activity. Most are demonstrably modern in date, mainly comprising a range of modern pottery fragments. Several ferrous metal objects were also recovered, probably of modern date; a full discussion is included in the site archive. Two coins were retrieved, one too badly corroded to identify, the other probably a penny of George II, earlier 18th century in date.

A single worked lithic was recovered, from context 3000, a side-scraper (SF2) with dimensions 45 x 28.4 x 12.7 mm. This is a simple side-scraper made on a secondary core rejuvenation flake of honey brown flint. The scraper has fine regular retouch applied along the right lateral edge. The artefact has several blooms of cream patination, but is of a generally fresh appearance. The cortex, where present, appears smooth and water-rolled. A Neolithic date is tentatively put forward.

Perhaps the only artefact likely to relate to the proposed later prehistoric dating for the site is an irregular disc of coarse stone, with two attempted perforations on either side that do not meet. The object measures 60mm by 70mm, and is a maximum of 10mm thick. It is probable that this item is unfinished; a spindle whorl seems the most likely intended product.

A full discussion of the artefact assemblage is included in the site archive.

Environmental Analyses

Scott Timpany, Jackaline Robertson and David Masson

Introduction

Twenty-two samples were collected from two trenches excavated in 2006, from the outside (trench 1) and inside (trench 2) of an excavated homestead at Airyolland. Eleven samples were taken from each trench. Twenty-three samples were collected from the four trenches excavated in 2007. Samples were taken from features such as postholes, under walls and from the sediment layers recorded within each trench.

Method

Samples were processed in laboratory conditions using a standard flotation method (cf. Kenward et al. 1980). All plant macrofossil samples were analysed using a stereomicroscope at magnifications of x10 and up to x100 where necessary to aid identification. Identifications were confirmed using modern reference material and seed atlases including Cappers et al. (2006).

Results

The results are presented in Tables 1. and 3. (retent samples) and 2. and 4. (flotation samples) below.

Context Number	Sample Number	Retent Vol (l)	Pottery	Kiln Clay	Glass	Lithic	Metallic Waste	Mortar	Charred <i>Corylus</i> Nutshell	Burnt Bone	Charcoal Quantity	Charcoal AMS	Comments
1001	001	10					+						
1003	002	10											Archaeologically sterile
1005	003	10								+	+		Charcoal less than 1cm
2002	004	10	+				+		+		++		Charcoal less than 1cm
2006	005	10		+		+	+			+	+	*	Charcoal up to 1cm
1007	006	10								+	+++		
1012	007	10											Archaeologically sterile
2007	008	10					+				+		
2004	009	10			+					+	+	*	Charcoal up to 1cm
1013	010	10											Archaeologically sterile
2016	011	10											
1006	012	10											
2003	013	10											
2013	014	10											
2016	015	10								+	++		Charcoal less than 1cm
2015	016	10						+++		++	+++	*	Charcoal up to 1cm
1014	017	10								+	+		
2013	018	10											
2012	019	8									+		Charcoal less than 1cm
2013	020	10					+	+++		+	+		Charcoal less than 1cm
1017	021	50	+								++	*	Charcoal up to 1cm
1011	022	20								+	+++		Charcoal less than 1cm

* = sufficient sized charcoal for identification and AMS dating

Table 1. Retent sample results

Context Number	Sample Number	Retent Vol (l)	Pottery	Kiln Clay	Glass	Lithic	Metallic Waste	Mortar	Charred <i>Corylus</i> Nutshell	Burnt Bone	Charcoal Quantity	Charcoal AMS	Comments
3001	4	10											Archaeologically sterile
3004	4	10											Archaeologically sterile
3006	5	5											Archaeologically sterile
3008	21	4											Archaeologically sterile
3011	14	10											Archaeologically sterile
4002	6	10											Archaeologically sterile
5002	8	10											Archaeologically sterile
5004	3	10											Archaeologically sterile
5005	2	10											Archaeologically sterile
5006	9	20											Archaeologically sterile
5007	12	20											Archaeologically sterile
5010	10	10											Archaeologically sterile
5011	11	10											Archaeologically sterile
5012	13	10											Archaeologically sterile
5013	17	8											Archaeologically sterile
5015	18	9											Archaeologically sterile
5016	19	10											Archaeologically sterile
5018	16	10											Archaeologically sterile
6000	7	9											Archaeologically sterile
6001	20	10											Archaeologically sterile
6004	15	10											Archaeologically sterile
6011	22	10											Archaeologically sterile
6012	23	5											Archaeologically sterile

* = sufficient sized charcoal for identification and AMS dating

Table 3. Retent sample results

Charcoal fragments were present in all samples with only one exception; Sample 001 (Context 1001) containing no charcoal fragments (see Tables 1. and 2.). Charred cereal grain was present in eight samples (see Table 2.), which contained small quantities of hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and/or oats (*Avena* sp.). Naked barley (*Hordeum vulgare* var. *nudum*) was present in Sample 016, together with hulled barley and oats. Sample 020 (Context 2013) was the only sample which contained other plant remains; the seeds of black mustard (*Brassica nigra*) and corn marigold (*Chrysanthemum segetum*).

From the 2007 samples, charred cereal grain was present in only one context (6004) (see Table 4.), which contained one barley (*Hordeum* sp.) and one oat (*Avena* sp.). No other plant material was recovered. Charcoal was noted in seven contexts (see Table 4.) however as it was smaller than 4mm it was not suitable for identification or AMS dating. The remaining fifteen samples were archaeologically sterile. All samples contained high concentrations of modern contamination including grass, roots, leafs and insects.

HOMESTEADS IN WEST GALLOWAY:
EXCAVATION AT AIRYOLLAND, MOCHRUM, WIGTOWNSHIRE

Context Number	Sample Number	Total flot Vol (ml)	Cereal grain:	<i>Avena sp.</i>	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	<i>Hordeum vulgare var nudum</i>	Other plant remains	Charcoal		Comments
								Quantity	AMS	
1001	001	100								Archaeologically sterile
1003	002	10						+		
1005	003	50						+++	*	
2002	004	30		+	+			+++		
2006	005	20		++				+++	*	
1007	006	<10						++		
1012	007	<10						++		
2007	008	50		+	+			+++	*	
2004	009	10		+				++		
1013	010	40						+++		
2016	011	10						+++	*	
1006	012	-								No flotation sample
2003	013	-								No flotation sample
2013	014	-								No flotation sample
2016	015	10						+		
2015	016	15		++	++	+		+++	*	
1014	017	<10			+					
2013	018	-								No flotation sample
2012	019	10		+				+++	*	
2013	020	10		++	+		<i>Brassica nigra</i> + <i>Chrysanthemum segetum</i> +	++		
1017	021	<10								Archaeologically sterile
1011	022	<10						++		

Key: + = rare, ++ = occasional, +++ = common and ++++ = abundant
* = sufficient sized charcoal for identification and AMS dating

Table 2. Flotation sample results

Context Number	Sample Number	Total flot Vol (ml)	Cereal grain:	<i>Avena sp.</i>	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	<i>Hordeum vulgare var nudum</i>	Other plant remains	Charcoal		Comments
								Quantity	AMS	
3001	4	<10								Archaeologically sterile
3004	4	<10								Archaeologically sterile
3006	5	<10						+		
3008	21	<10								Archaeologically sterile
3011	14	<10						+		
4002	6	<10								Archaeologically sterile
5002	8	<10								Archaeologically sterile
5004	3	<10								Archaeologically sterile
5005	2	<10						+		
5006	9	<10								Archaeologically sterile
5007	12	<10								Archaeologically sterile
5010	10	<10								Archaeologically sterile
5011	11	<10								Archaeologically sterile
5012	13	<10								Archaeologically sterile
5013	17	<10						+		

Context Number	Sample Number	Total flot Vol (ml)	Cereal grain:	<i>Avena sp.</i>	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	<i>Hordeum vulgare var nudum</i>	Other plant remains	Charcoal		Comments
								Quantity	AMS	
5015	18	<10						+		
5016	19	<10								Archaeologically sterile
5018	16	<10						+		
6000	7	<10								
6001	20	<10						+		
6004	15	<10		+	+					Archaeologically sterile
6011	22	<10								Archaeologically sterile
6012	23	<10								Archaeologically sterile

Key: + = rare, ++ = occasional, +++ = common and ++++ = abundant
* = sufficient sized charcoal for identification and AMS dating

Table 4. Flotation sample results

Other Finds

Metal working waste fragments (slag) were found in five samples (001, 004, 005, 008 and 020). Fragments of mortar were recovered from two samples (016 and 020). Sample 005 contained a small piece of prehistoric burnt flint. Modern glass was found in Sample 009. Pottery fragments were found in Sample 004 and 021, with Sample 005 containing a small piece of unglazed clay, possibly used in a kiln. Fragments of burnt bone were found in six samples (003, 005, 006, 009, 016 and 022). However, none of these fragments were large enough to be able to identify to species (all less than 2cm) therefore all one can say is that they are from a large mammal e.g. cow, sheep.

Environmental Analyses: Discussion

Trench 1

The samples from trench 1 through the rampart were found to contain wood charcoal fragments (except Sample 001). With the exception of two samples (003 and 021) all charcoal was of a size unsuitable for identification or AMS dating. The small size of the charcoal fragments (less than 1cm³) suggests that they may be from secondary deposits (e.g. redeposited material). This is also indicated by the deposits, which are largely silts suggesting material such as small fragments of charcoal and burnt bone may have been fluvially transported to the site via surface run-off from rainfall. Sample 003 is from a context [1005] which is thought to have been disturbed by modern ploughing activity so the larger wood charcoal fragments may have been churned up and redeposited from elsewhere. Sample 021 from the fill [1016] of posthole [1017] also contained large charcoal fragments (>1cm³), together with a piece of pottery. However, the nature of the fill being silty clay, and the small quantity of charcoal again suggests this is redeposited material. This same material from above the posthole (Context 1014) also yielded a low number of charred barley grains, therefore indicating a small amount of domestic material. These grains may have originated from the interior of the homestead, where charred barley grains have also been recovered (see below). One metallic waste (slag) fragment was found from the topsoil [1001] and is believed to be modern. This layer has also been noted as containing other modern material, such as glass, pottery and iron.

Trench 2

Charred cereal grains in association with wood charcoal fragments were recovered from eight samples, with six of these containing fragments of a suitable size for identification and AMS dating (see Table 2.). The charred cereal grain assemblage consisted of oats and barley with one sample (016) also containing naked barley. This find from the fill [2015] of a posthole [2006] is significant as it may reflect a period of change in crop cultivation from the use of naked barley to hulled barley. This change is thought to have taken place during the Bronze Age-Iron Age period (Hillman 1981). Other charred plant material recovered from this trench includes seeds of black mustard and corn marigold (Sample 2013), which are likely to represent the remnants of arable weeds collected with the grain during harvesting. Charred hazel (*Corylus*) nutshell was also recovered from beneath the topsoil [2002], suggesting this is either modern or has been reworked.

The samples from trench 2 come from the interior of the homestead and may therefore reflect the remnants of material of domestic usage, such as cooking and baking. Fragments of mortar, possible kiln clay and pottery are all likely to represent debris from the interior structure and items within, caused by the collapse of a possible building. The worked flint was also recovered from Context 2006 within the interior of the structure, from which another piece of possible worked stone was recovered in the field.

Trench 3

Two samples from trench 3 were found to have miniscule flecks of charcoal no greater than 4mm in size and were unsuitable for identification or AMS dating (see Table 4.). The remaining three samples were archaeologically sterile. The small size of the charcoal fragments suggests that they may be from secondary deposits.

Trench 4

Only one sample was processed from trench 4 which was archaeologically sterile.

Trench 5

Four samples from trench 5 were found to contain small flecks of charcoal no greater than 4mm in size and were unsuitable for identification or AMS dating (see Table 4.). Again the presence of charcoal in these samples appears to be as the result of disturbance and re-deposition. The remaining seven samples were archaeologically sterile.

Trench 6

Two charred cereal grains were identified in context (6004) (see Table 4.). These consisted of one oat and barley species. Further identification was not possible due to poor preservation and absence of any cereal chaff. These grains are typical of the Bronze Age-Iron Age period (Hillman, 1981). The two cereal grains could represent domestic activities such as cooking, cleaning and refuse disposal. However any interpretation based on such a small assemblage is unreliable. Small fragments of charcoal were noted in context (6001), although they were unsuitable for identification and AMS dating (see Table 4.). The remaining three samples were archaeologically sterile.

Environmental Analyses: Conclusion

Environmental samples showed the charred plant remains to be concentrated in the interior of the homestead. The presence of naked and hulled barley in one sample suggests a date later than the Bronze Age for the homestead, with the prevalence of all other cereal grain recovered being either hulled barley or oats suggesting an Iron Age date or later. The grain evidence for a possible late Bronze Age-Iron Age date for the site ties in well with that hypothesised from fieldwork and building recording of a later prehistoric date for the homestead.

Discussion

The results of these excavations have added to our understanding of the construction and taphonomy of the homestead at Airyolland, even if the aim of better establishing the character and chronology of occupation has been less successful. In addition, they have clearly demonstrated the complexity of the site and shown that, although a short project can expose a large proportion of the site; this does not necessarily result in a higher yield of artefacts or structural evidence.

The lower half of the site is clearly the better preserved, and the results of the trenches have yielded an insight into the way the Airyolland site was constructed. The relative height of the natural, less than 0.3m below the turf to the N interior-trench 4 - and more than 0.8m in trench 6 suggests that when construction started at the site, sloping ground was deliberately chosen preferentially over readily available flat ground to the north. The second slot over the rampart, trench 5, indicated that the site had been extensively landscaped during its construction, with the upslope area leveled and the rampart built on the resulting bank. There was no clear evidence of an upcast perimeter bank, but the interior of the site seemed to have been leveled adjacent to the rampart in trench 5; it is possible that the mixed deposit [5011] that contained redeposited natural may represent the upcast from such levelling. This second exposure of the main rampart showed that, as with the S section (trench 1), the rampart in this area was of one phase and was notably less well preserved and less substantial than the down slope section - possibly as a combined result of the easier access to the upper areas for reuse of the stone, and protection of the lower areas by slope washed deposits. The reason for the choice of sloping ground is not clear, although this is a characteristic trait of small defended homesteads in the region, often manifested as a 'scooped' interior courtyard associated with a raised area for occupation (RCAHMS 1997). It is possible, though conjectural, that such an arrangement would have been convenient for the associated penning of livestock within the defended enclosure.

The accumulation of soils in the lower (south) areas of the site is the most likely explanation for the survival of internal structures in this area, and a gradient of archaeological survival can be plotted running from north to south on the site, the destruction becoming progressively more significant to the north. The evidence for plough disturbance was abundant, and modern pottery finds from the interface between the natural and ploughsoil were testimony to the significant mixing of deposits after the abandonment of the site. Having said this, it is possible that the lack of archaeological remains to the

north interior is genuine, since no archaeological features either positive or negative, were recorded in the 49m² of trench 4. The lack of interior structures to the N, upslope area of the site represents a significant difference to the few other homestead sites investigated in the south west, which have tended to have interior buildings located upslope (e.g. Fiddes 1953; Jobey 1974), although at Carghidown, the house structures were located on the flat area below the enclosing rampart (Toolis 2007).

It appears that the exterior and interior of the site have been comprehensively ploughed, leading to complete removal of archaeological features in the upper (north) part of the interior and considerable contamination throughout existing deposits. Deeper accumulations of material in the lower part of the interior may in part be a product of tillage, and have certainly led to considerably better preservation in this area.

Airyolland and the ‘Homestead’ Settlements of West Galloway

Clearly obtaining a reliable date for the Airyolland settlement is problematic: the excavated deposits were so comprehensively disturbed by late agricultural activity that few could be considered *in situ*, and those that were (deposits beneath the walls) failed to produce reliable dating material. The situation is not helped by the general lack of diagnostic material culture found on later prehistoric settlements in Wigtownshire, so that an absence of artefactual information may almost be taken as some indication that it is indeed to this later prehistoric horizon that the site should be assigned. Unfortunately it is not possible to be more precise as to the actual date of the site; only larger scale excavations in the hope of obtaining suitable samples from sealed deposits beneath the stone constructions would be likely to change this.

There are, however, several suggestions that the Airyolland site was occupied at some point in the Iron Age, with the unfinished spindle whorl (Figure 10.) and the cereal evidence obtained from the soil samples not uncomfortably fitting this horizon. The distribution of ‘homesteads’ along the west Machars coast may also hint that it is to this period that they should be assigned. Although they constitute a remarkably homogeneous group, different in style to surrounding later prehistoric settlements, their location appears to be complimentary to the distribution of coastal promontory forts. Although promontory forts in the area were used until the late medieval period, the majority were clearly established as settlements in the late first millennium BC (e.g. Ewart 1985; Toolis 2007), so that the continuity of settlement along the west Machars coast in the form of the ‘homestead’ settlements may suggest a similar chronological origin. The reason for the different construction style is unclear; topography may have a bearing - the hilltops and ridges occupied by the homesteads provide a dramatic setting which may have been preferred- but the deliberate removal of these settlements from the coast does stand in contrast to the promontory forts, and the reason for this is not clear.

It can be argued, furthermore, that a later prehistoric date for the Airyolland settlement is supported by the most comparable evidence for the site. While terminology has been somewhat obstructive to an understanding of the class, with the interchangeable use of terms such as ‘dun’, ‘fort’, ‘ring-fort’, ‘dunan’, ‘homestead’ and others (e.g. Feachem

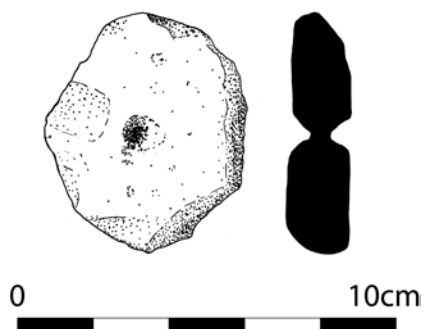


Figure 10. Unfinished spindle whorl (Drawing: G. Carruthers)

1956), this reflects a genuine variability in size, date and function. In the interests of inclusiveness, the terminology currently preferred by RCAHMS is ‘settlement’, a term designed to denote a site with occupation as the primary function and avoiding any prejudgment as to date. However, on the basis of detailed survey and a few key excavations, the evidence for ‘homestead’ sites in the sense defined by Ritchie (1970:49), i.e. small defended enclosures with space for only two or three houses, a horizon spanning the late centuries of the first millennium BC and early first millennium AD seems the most probable for the construction and occupation of the majority of such sites (RCAHMS 1997:144; Jobey 1974). The enclosure at Boonies, Westerkirk, might have been taken as the most comparable example based on survey evidence, datable to the Romano-British period, though there are significant differences in construction technique. The Woodend enclosure, while somewhat larger, could be considered a related site type and was dated to a similar horizon around the turn of the millennium for its construction (Banks 2000).

Somewhat earlier origins may also be postulated, however. Worthy of note is the homestead settlement at McNaughton’s Fort, Nithsdale, where a palisaded enclosure within an earth and stone rampart was dated to 280 ± 100 BC (GaK-808). Morphological parallels with the Perthshire homesteads may suggest a similar date range, and although these sites are known to have been in use in the mid first millennium AD (e.g. Borenich, Queen’s View and Litigan, Taylor 1990; Watson 1915) the example at Aldclune threw this dating into question, producing similar dates for a site which had its true origins in the mid first millennium BC (Hingley et al. 1997). It may be that the best comparisons for the west Machars homesteads are to be drawn from Argyll, where the origins of ‘dun enclosures’ in the sense defined by Harding (1984; 2004) are known to be in the mid first millennium BC. Excavations by Gilmour and Henderson at Loch Glashan dun have recently demonstrated that massive stone-walled circular enclosures with characteristics very similar to Airyolland can be dated to this earlier horizon, and it may be most instructive to compare the west Machars examples to the better known, though still fragmentary sequence of stone settlements in Argyll (e.g. Harding 1997; Henderson 2000). Such an observation, that the region shares closer affinities with the western coastal fringes to the north, is supported by the local distribution of ‘Atlantic’-style settlements in the area (such as the brochs at Stairhaven (Yates 1980), Teroy (Curle 1912) and Doon Castle and the stone-walled island dwelling in nearby Rough Loch (Cavers 2005)) may have

implications for our understanding of the structure of later prehistoric society in Galloway more generally (see discussion by Cavers 2008).

As at many Iron Age stone-walled monuments in Argyll, it seems probable that use of the Airyolland site continued well into the historic period, and although no direct dating evidence was obtained for the wall excavated in trenches 2, 3 and 6, its linear form and construction style are unlike local Iron Age domestic structures and it may be speculated that it dates to a later phase of use, perhaps in the medieval centuries. The secondary disturbance of the rampart in the NE quadrant, similarly, has a roughly rectangular form, suggesting that later construction in this area may relate to activity in the historic period.

Future work

Although the small excavations reported here had limited success in dating the west Machars homestead sites, there is scope for achieving such an aim with further work on the other sites. In retrospect, the extensive damage caused to Airyolland I by agricultural activity (which could not have been predicted from the quality of the upstanding remains prior to excavation) meant that obtaining in situ dating material was likely to be problematic. This may be less of a factor at some of the other sites, however, such as Changue, where internal structures may be visible under stone clearance, or at sites such as Airyolland II, which is virtually buried by stone clearance piles and therefore may be protected from agricultural damage. It is probable, however, that only excavations that expose a larger area than was feasible within the scope of this project will be able to provide detailed information on the date, form and nature of the use of these sites.

Acknowledgements

During the fieldwork the authors were grateful for the assistance of Cath Flitcroft, Gemma Hudson, Candy Hatherley, Liz Jones, Ross Murray, Shelly Werner, Jurgen Van Wessel, Sausanne Cameron and Danielle Goerke. Survey and excavation equipment was kindly provided by AOC Archaeology Ltd and Headland Archaeology Ltd.

This research was funded by grants from the Russell Trust, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Mouswald Trust, the Hunter Trust and the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society; the authors would like to express their gratitude for their support. We would also like to thank Simon Atkinson, who kindly allowed access to the site for the duration of the work.

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HOMESTEADS IN WEST GALLOWAY:
EXCAVATION AT AIRYOLLAND, MOCHRUM, WIGTOWNSHIRE

THE ISLE OF WHITHORN: TOWARDS A REASSESSMENT

Mike McCarthy, Ian Armit¹, Chris Gaffney¹ and Bobby Friel¹

One of the characteristic archaeological features of the Machars is the series of promontory forts occupying remote headlands projecting out into Wigtown Bay, Luce Bay and the Irish Sea. They are generally characterized by one or more ramparts and ditches that appear to cut the headland off from its hinterland, but little is known about them. Morphologically they are a class of monument typical of the Iron Age and attributed very broadly to the second half of the 1st millennium BC (Armit 1997, 59; Harding 2004, 144-7).

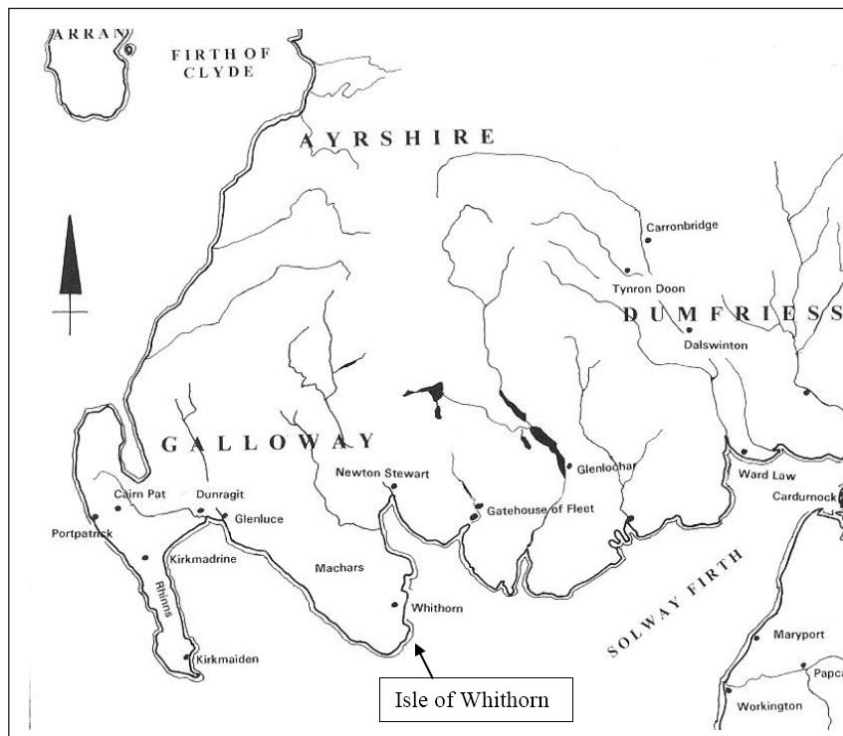


Figure 1. General location map

Morphologically, Isle Head fort at the Isle of Whithorn (Figure 2.) appears to stand out from the other forts, but until 2008-09 no detailed examination of the site had taken place so that it was difficult to categorize. The status of the Isle was further complicated by the fact that it was a port of entry for goods destined for sale at the Burgh of Whithorn

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from at least as early as 1325 (Reid 1960, 139, 144), but whether or not there was any link between this and earlier activities centred on the fort and the Early Christian site at Whithorn is unclear. The aim of this short paper is to summarize previous work at the Isle, which in turn forms the context for a recent survey by the University of Bradford, reported here.

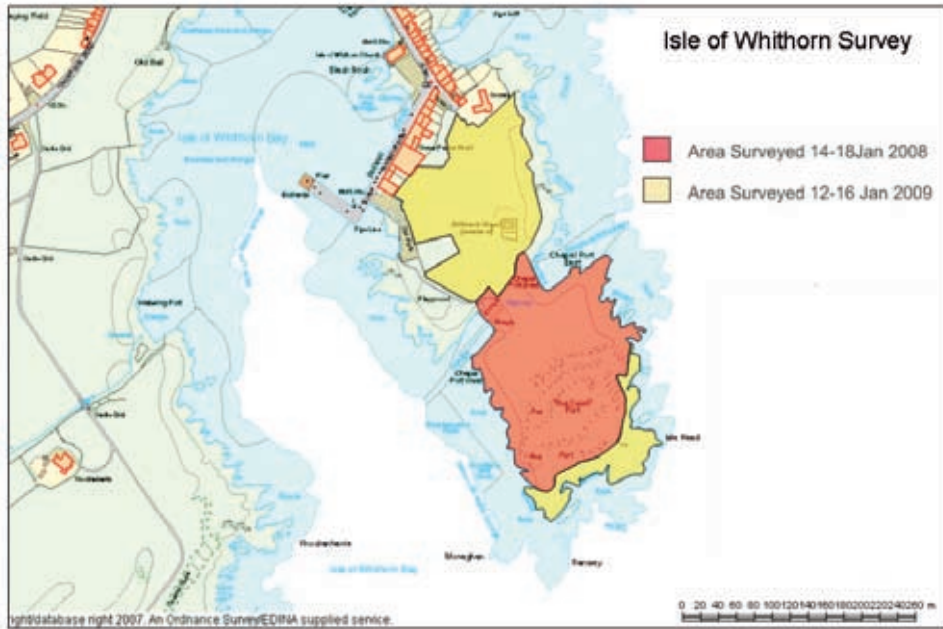


Figure 2. Areas surveyed in 2008-09

Location

The Isle of Whithorn is a small coastal village (NX 4803 3605) close to the south-eastern tip of the Machars approximately 3 miles from the town of Whithorn. Originally an island, hence the name, it is shown as such on both General Roy's map of 1754 and Ainslie's map of 1782, but around 1790 it was linked with the mainland by road as part of the harbour improvement scheme – the Free Church being adjacent to the original channel between the two. In 1875 a *Guide to Wigtonshire* also recorded the linkage: 'at ebb tide the channel between the island (the promontory) and the mainland became passable, but in the course of time, by the formation of a roadway and the erection of houses, it has been rendered permanently so at all states of the tides (n.a. 1875: 63).

The Isle now consists of a promontory or peninsula formed from two small knolls linked together by a short isthmus on either side of which are slipways for boats. At the head of the western slipway (Chapel Port West) are the remains of a late 19th century lifeboat house. As the two slipways which give the Isle a distinct 'waisted' shape appear on neither the Roy nor the Ainslie maps, that of Roy being the more accurate of the two, it is possible that they too are a recent 'improvement' to the Isle and that they have no ancient significance as 'nousts'. At the seaward end of the promontory a cairn, shown on

Ainslie's map, preceded the present 19th century stone beacon which served 'as a guide to crafts frequenting the harbour' (n.a.1875: 64). It is located within the ramparts of a 'fort'. This is Isle Head fort, a scheduled ancient monument. At the landward end is a field bordered by a number of mostly 19th century properties ranged alongside the harbour wall and containing the remains of St. Ninian's Chapel, another scheduled ancient monument, which also appears on the maps of Roy and Ainslie.

Previous Work

Archaeology at the Isle

Isle Head fort was incorporated into the Royal Commission *Inventory* of monuments in Galloway in 1912 (RCAHMS 1912, Monument No. 504). The description notes the ramparts and ditches cutting off the knoll and (wrongly) places the entrance roughly mid-way between the sea on the north and south shores of the Isle. It also records the existence of 'a structure of some kind' and 'other indications of foundations on the plateau' (RCAHMS 1912, 177). The description of St. Ninian's Chapel (Monument No. 492) notes that it is unlikely to antedate the 13th century and may have been related in some way to the Priory at Whithorn. When visited in 1911 the masonry was in a very poor state of repair due in part to the depredations of a retired sea captain (RCAHMS 1912: 168), but, curiously, the description fails to mention repairs undertaken by the Marquess of Bute in 1898 prior to being taken into care by the then Ministry of Works.

The late Raleigh Radford simply noted that the fort is 'pre-Roman in character', his attention being taken up mostly by St. Ninian's Chapel where he excavated in 1948-9 (Radford 1957). In 1948 he worked in the field adjacent to the chapel where he sectioned a bank which was found to comprise stone rubble overlying a soil deposit about 12" (300mm) deep. The presence of two sherds of medieval pottery in the soil persuaded Radford that the bank was contemporary with the chapel (Radford 1950; 1957). No plan locating this work was published.

The following year he returned to examine the interior where he was able to show that the medieval chapel had been heavily disturbed, probably during the Marquess of Bute's work in 1898. Although some additional structural details were recovered, including a possible chancel arch, as well as hints of an earlier, perhaps 12th century, phase of stone building, an important outcome was the realization that the chapel sits within a small oval enclosure which he thought was contemporary.

Charles Thomas then revisited Radford's interpretation of the enclosure, suggesting that it was incorrect (Thomas 1959-60, 72). On the basis of ground inspection and aerial photographs in 1960, he asserted that there are two enclosures – an inner one, which relates to the chapel, and an outer bank which is quite different. After comparing the complex of monuments at the Isle with Chapel Finian near Port William, as well as some Welsh sites, he suggested that the outer enclosure may be Early Christian in date.

Buried in his report, Radford drew attention to one 'ancient object' discovered during 'the clearance', which presumably refers to his own excavation. This was a clay mould

with various features including a penannular brooch which he compared with examples from Mote of Mark, Kirkcudbrightshire (Radford 1957, 169). He must have based this conclusion on either seeing the moulds in the National Museums of Scotland and/or the report published by Curle (Curle 1914). Radford, followed by the late Alfred Truckell, considered the mould to be a stray from the fort (Truckell 1963, 93). Although Charles Thomas has not seen the mould (personal communication) and his observations about the enclosures have not so far been tested in the field, nevertheless they raise interesting questions when seen in combination with Peter Hill's work at Whithorn (1997).

Archaeology in the General Vicinity of the Isle

No other archaeological finds have been recorded at the Isle itself, but other archaeological work has been carried out in the general vicinity. In 2003-4, excavations by Toolis at the nearby promontory fort of Carghidown revealed a round house within an enclosed area (Toolis 2007). An artefact-poor site, Toolis believed that it was occupied only sporadically during the late 1st millennium BC, a date supported by radiocarbon determinations. At this site, as at most promontory forts in Galloway apart from the Isle, no links with specifically maritime activities are suspected because there is no direct access to the sea (Toolis 2007, 305), so whatever the reason for their location on promontories the focus of these sites was firmly directed inland.

Excavations at Rispain Camp, about 5km from the coast, showed that this rectilinear defended enclosure containing round houses is late Iron Age rather than Roman in date (Haggarty and Haggarty 1983), whilst more recently work at the nearby Rispain Mire (Ramsey *et al* 2007, 52) shows that by the Iron Age the landscape had been virtually cleared of oak and elm, but the diversity of herbaceous weedy taxa indicates an increase in arable land and the concomitant range of ecological niches. The implications of this work, as in other parts of south-west Scotland, is that settlement activity increased significantly in the south Machars during the Iron Age, a point also emphasised by Toolis (1994).

Peter Hill's work at the Early Christian monastic site at Whithorn is also of considerable potential interest to the Isle, especially with regard to the significant quantities of goods imported during Period 1 (AD 500 to *c.* AD 730) (Hill 1997, 28). Items include coins, glassware, ceramics, querns, ingots, haematite ore possibly brought in as a bloom, and, perhaps, lime. Most of these goods probably arrived via the western seaways and were probably off-loaded somewhere near Whithorn, perhaps, as Professor Charles Thomas has suggested, at the Isle itself (Thomas 1992, 11). In reporting on some of the imports, Ewen Campbell also noted that the Isle shares many of the characteristics of other trading centres and re-distribution points such as Dalkey Island, Dublin (Campbell 1997, 299; Liversage 1968; Toolis 1994, 14).

Methodology of the Topographic and the Geophysical Survey

In January 2008 and 2009 a team from the University of Bradford undertook a topographical and geophysical survey of the Isle with a view to clarifying its status as a promontory fort and attempting to ascertain whether any other indicators of its status, date or function could be identified without excavation. Both elements in the survey included

the fort and adjacent land between the isthmus and fort, and the large field containing St. Ninian's Chapel.

The topographical survey was carried out using a Leica 307 Total Station combined with a Sun Screen Computer running Strata Software Penmap version 4.23. Once the general landscape was recorded, the outlining and definition of features visible on the ground and from the survey contours began, followed by all features being recorded on an individually named layer. A polyline tracing the base line and a series of graphic points recorded the highest or lowest levels of the feature in question, thus adding to the definition of the survey as a whole.

Two geophysical techniques, earth resistance and fluxgate gradiometry, were used for this survey. Prior to data collection a grid comprising 20m squares was established across the areas to be surveyed. The 20m intersections were set out using a mixture of tapes, optical square and Total Station and they were incorporated into the topographic survey.

The earth resistance survey was undertaken using a Geoscan Research RM15 earth resistance meter with the Twin-Probe configuration selected for data collection. Each 20m data grid-square was subdivided into 1m traverses and surveyed using the zigzag collection strategy. Three earth resistance measurements were collected at 0.5m intervals along each traverse and were recorded on the built-in logger; the data were subsequently transferred to a PC for storage and processing.

The first resistance reading utilised a 1.0m mobile probe separation, while the second and third readings were adjacent 0.5m mobile probe separation measurements. As a result, the 1.0m readings sample the ground at a density of 1.0 x 0.5m (800 points per 20 x 20m), while after merging the two 0.5m readings using software a density of 0.5 x 0.5m (1600 points per 20 x 20m) was obtained. The 1.0m separation investigates a larger volume of earth than the 0.5m readings. As a result the 0.5 data-set reflects the very near surface variation in resistance i.e. potential archaeology, while the 1.0m relates to variation reflecting deeper archaeology and natural subsoil variations.

The magnetometer survey was conducted using a Geoscan FM256 Fluxgate Gradiometer incorporating two fluxgates that are vertically separated by 0.5m. The instrument incorporates a built-in data logger that records measurements on a timed basis, the data being subsequently transferred to a PC for storage and processing. The data were collected within the same 20 x 20m squares used for the resistance survey. For this technique measurements were collected in zigzag fashion at 0.25m intervals along traverses separated by 1.0m. A total of 1600 measurements were collected in each data grid square.

The Ramparts and Banks

The site is divided into four principal areas (Figure 2.): Area 1 (surveyed 2008) being the fort – the rocky, southern summit at the seaward end of the promontory. Area 2 is the central portion north of the fort characterised by traces of rig and furrow cultivation. Area 3 is the narrow spit of land or isthmus between the two slipways and adjacent to the former lifeboat house. Area 4 (surveyed 2009) is the northern part of the promontory containing the upstanding remains of St. Ninian's Chapel.

Visual inspection and the topographic survey (Figures 3 and 4.) seem to indicate four ramparts (A-D), including the lengths E-F, forming a single system. The northern part of the site containing the chapel (Area 4) is apparently unenclosed. At least two of the ramparts (A-B) appear to utilise natural rocky outcrops, a point which is particularly clear on aerial photographs and on Figure 4. Accordingly, and in the absence of sections, no reference is made here to rampart heights which vary and are at times unclear. In addition to Ramparts A-D, the summit of Area 1 in places shows indications of a slight 'lip' at its edge, which might indicate the presence of an innermost enclosure around the summit itself. Areas of displaced stonework are visible where erosion has occurred along the modern footpath on the north side of the summit. This stonework seems to have filled a slight break between two outcrops.

Rampart A is the most substantial of the ramparts, with a significant stone content visible in exposures and inferred from quantities of loose stone in the ditch separating it from Rampart B. The rampart appears to be partially terraced into the slope, with the result that its rear face is difficult to determine. There is a possible original entrance about 8m wide towards its SW end, and thus in a different position to that recorded by the RCAHMS in 1912. The south-west extension of the rampart, on the other side of the entrance, can be followed for around 35m where it terminates at a substantial rock outcrop. There is no sign of a ditch on this side of the entrance. The modern footpath in this area now crosses over the south-west entrance terminal of Rampart A.

A series of discreet stretches of stone walling (generally no more than a single course) can be traced at various points around the south of the promontory. These appear to represent surviving elements of a single enclosure system which has been destroyed by erosion in the intervening areas. Although they cannot be linked with certainty to any of the labelled rampart systems, there seems a reasonable probability that they formerly linked up to Rampart A.

Rampart B lies immediately to the north of the ditch fronting Rampart A. It is somewhat lower, but also stony, and is rather better defined as it is not terraced into the slope in the same way as Rampart A. It varies in width up to around 6m, and broadly follows the course of the north-east section of Rampart A. Rampart B, however, terminates on the north-east side of the original entrance and does not resume on the other side.

Rampart C is a low stony feature immediately in front of Rampart B for a distance of around 40m. It appears to incorporate coursed walling and so has been classed as a rampart in its own right rather than as a simple counterscarp. It is not clear if there has been an intervening ditch between Ramparts B and C.

Access to the southern part of the promontory (i.e. from Area 3) appears to have been barred by a substantial bank (Rampart D), which incorporates natural outcrops of bedrock. There is no indication of an original entrance through this bank, the gap apparent in the topographic plan being formed by a modern footpath. This feature may originally have joined Bank E, a low, turf-covered stony bank, which runs along the E side of Area 2 turning west at its northern end. Any former physical connection between the two features has been lost to subsequent erosion. A further length of stony bank, Bank F, runs between the south end of bank E and Rampart B, although there is no visible link.

It is possible that Rampart D, with Banks E and F, may have formed elements of an enclosure around Area 2, perhaps associated with the traces of rig and furrow cultivation on this part of the site. This does not, of course, mean that Rampart D was not an original part of the earlier defences.

Other Features

Visual inspection and topographic survey have revealed few clearly identifiable structures within the surveyed area, other than the obvious upstanding remains of St. Ninian's Chapel which are not described in this report. The principal one identified to date, Structure **i** (Figure 4.), is a low, stony rectilinear foundation placed centrally within Area 1. It is orientated north-east/south-west, with an apparent entrance in the short, north-east end. The walling of the structure has spread somewhat, but is fairly well defined along its south-east side. The corners are well defined, and it seems to have original external dimensions of around 12m north-east/south-west by around 8m. The immediate area around this structure contains other less well-defined banks and rises, obscured by the thick tussocky grass. None of these appeared to display any obvious coherence of plan.

Structure **ii** (Figure 4.) is the only other putative structure identified to date in the course of the topographic survey, and is set immediately inside the entrance through Rampart A, partly blocking the 'natural' line of access from that entrance around the south-west base of the summit. It is defined by a slight circular depression, around 5m in diameter, with indications of coursed walling on its south-east inner edge.

Other possible structures suggestive of rectilinear building platforms, are vaguely discernible in the southern part of the promontory beyond the area of the present survey. One short stretch of revetment wall showing up to three preserved courses of masonry is indicated on the plan on the southern side of the promontory.

Interpretation

On the basis of present evidence we suggest that the seaward end of the peninsula was enclosed by a rampart system, perhaps multi-period in date, comprising Ramparts A-D. Elements of this enclosure system extended around the whole of the inner part of the promontory, suggesting that this was *not* a conventional 'promontory fort'. Ramparts A-D would have formed a monumental barrier, particularly on the approach to the original entrance through Rampart A. The nature of the topography is such that, if all the ramparts were stone-fronted, they could have appeared as an impressive and almost continuous vertical wall rising to the summit of the promontory. Subsequently Rampart D appears to have been incorporated within an enclosure (including Banks E and F), perhaps intended to enclose an area of cultivation represented by rig and furrow.

The identified structures cannot be linked to this putative sequence at present, although Structure **ii** seems from its position to post-date Rampart A. It is interesting to note that the RCAHMS, when visiting in 1911 and 1973, drew attention to buildings, including a 'hut circle 6m in diameter' on the eastern side of the summit. The present writers also noted possible short stretches of walling although no coherent structures can now be identified.

The geophysical survey in Area 1 produced encouraging results especially with regard to both Structure **i** and a possible quarry adjacent to the present tower. The results of this survey are a little less clear in Areas 2 and 3, perhaps due to compaction, nevertheless, sub-surface cut-features, perhaps including pits and ditches or gullies, seem to be present. In Area 4 the survey also produced indications of pits and gullies, as well as areas of high and low resistance indicative of archaeological remains, but the nature of these features is unclear and no signs of Radford's trench was identified.

Conclusions

Two short seasons of intensive fieldwork yielded a colossal dataset on what is clearly a major archaeological site, probably with multiple phases of activity. The possibility of both Iron Age and Dark-Age or later occupation cannot be ruled out for the fort which can no longer be regarded as a conventional promontory fort. Around St. Ninian's Chapel archaeological features are clearly attested through geophysical prospection, but so far Radford's clay mould and Thomas's assertion that the outer enclosure could be Early Christian in date, remain the only indicators of pre-12th/13th century activity in this area.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Historic Scotland, Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, The Russell Trust, The Hunter Trust and The Mouswald Trust for financial support. The University of Bradford provided financial and practical support, and we wish to single out in particular Tom Sparrow who provided essential help during the fieldwork and manipulation of the data. The archive will be lodged with Historic Scotland.

Janet Butterworth of the Whithorn Trust together with the Trust's Research Committee were ever helpful and the source of much needed advice. John Scoular readily gave permission for work in the field around St. Ninian's Chapel. Finally, all this was made much easier and more convivial by staff at the Steam Packet Inn.

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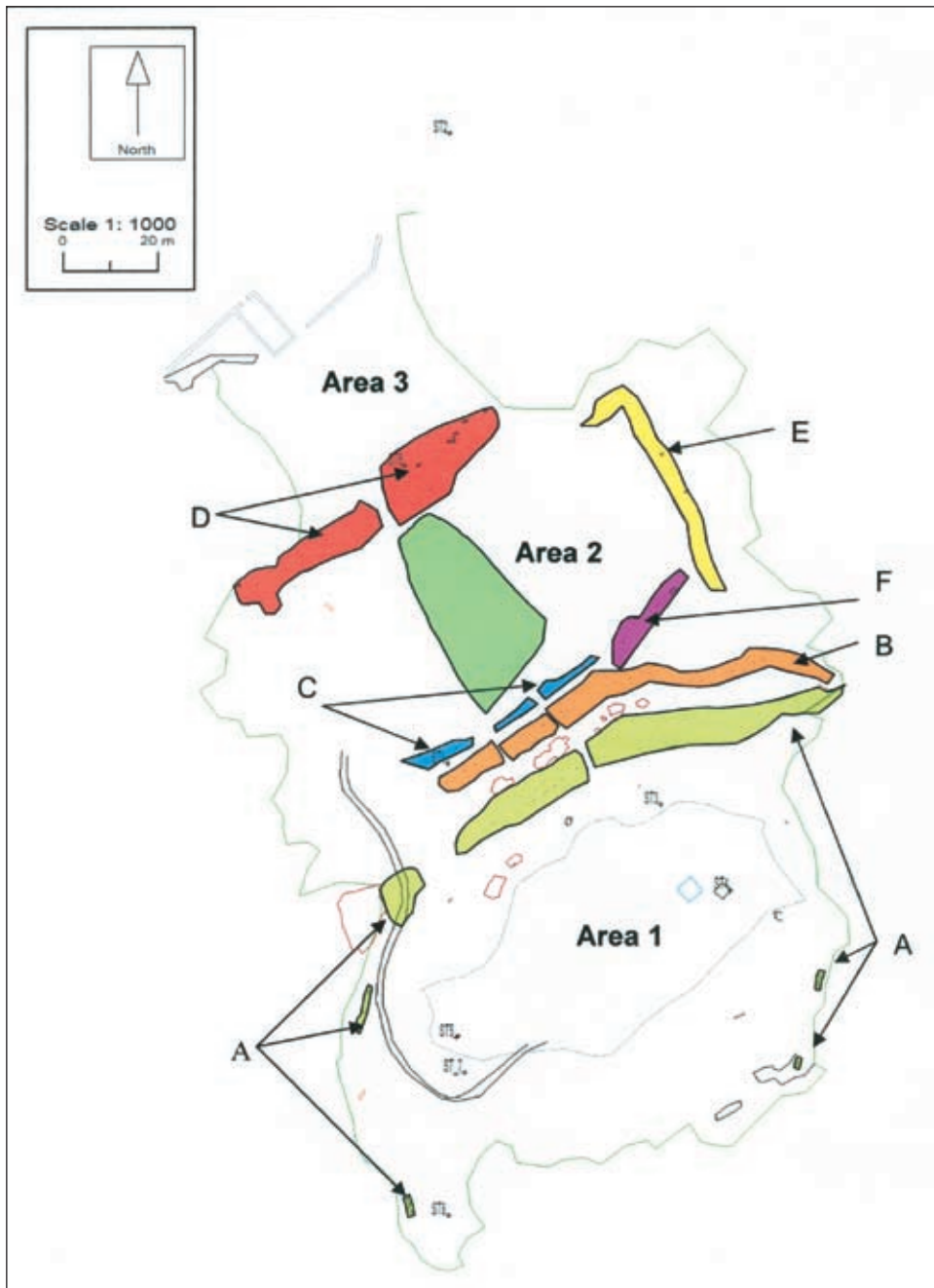


Figure 3. Location of contours in Areas 1.-3.

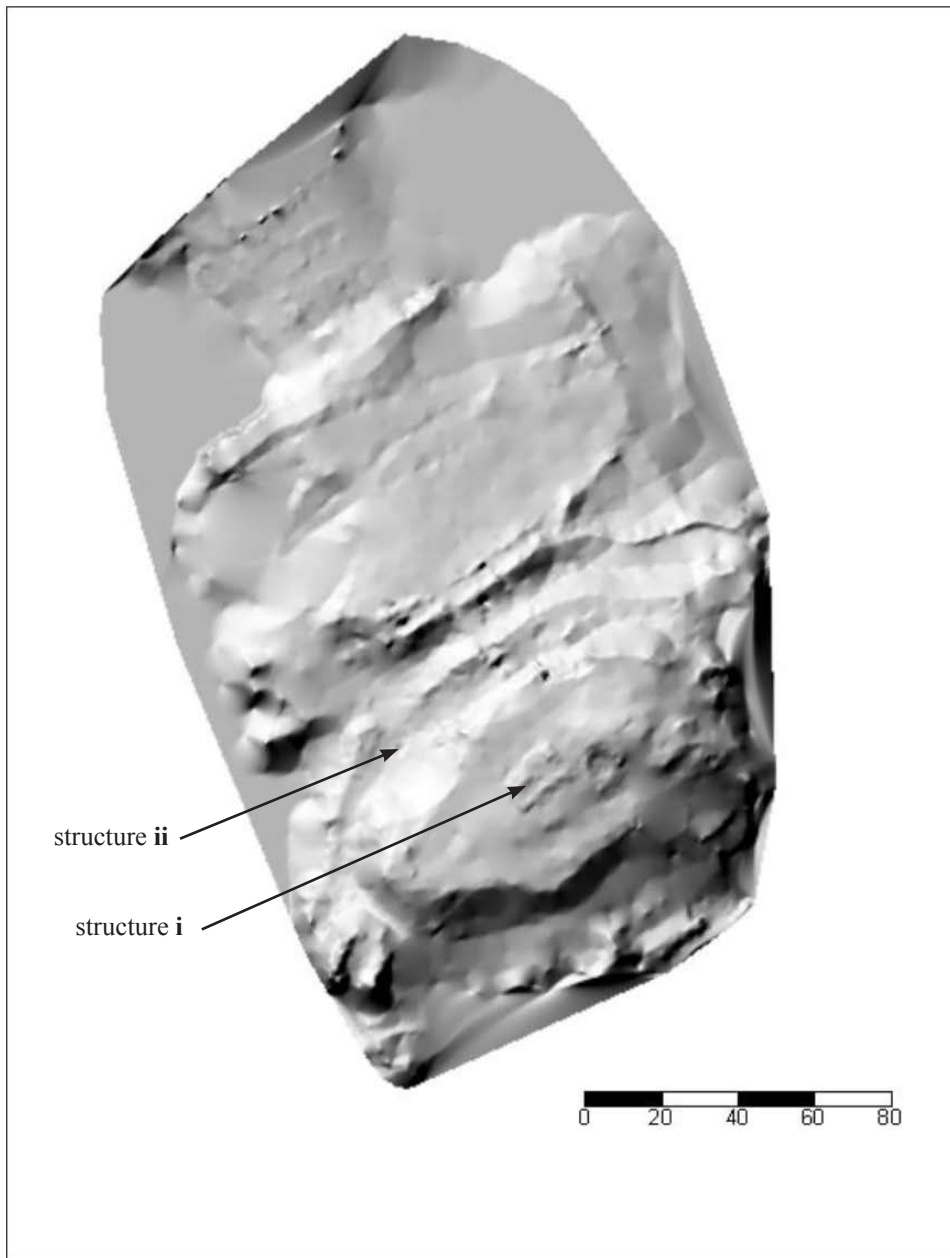


Figure 4. Topographic modelling of the fort locating structures i and ii.

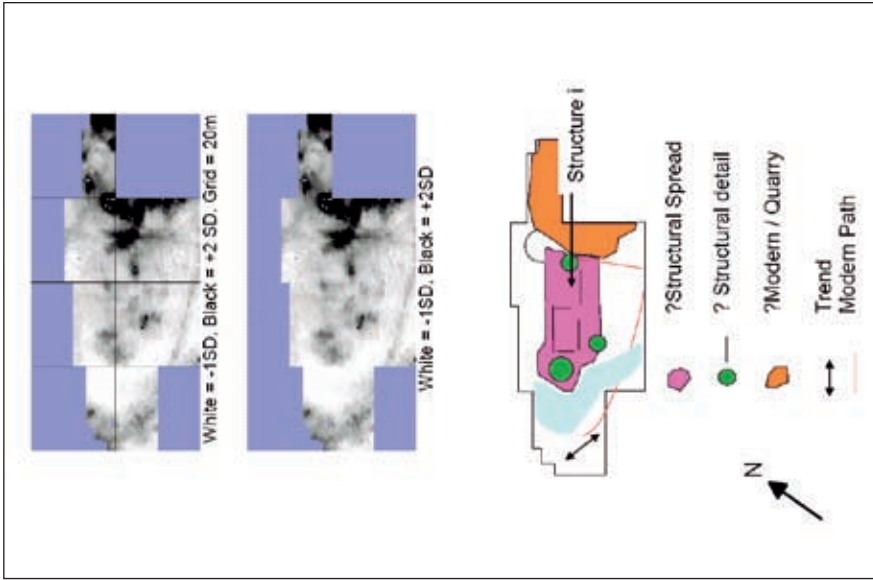


Figure 6. Resistance survey (0.5m) - Area 1

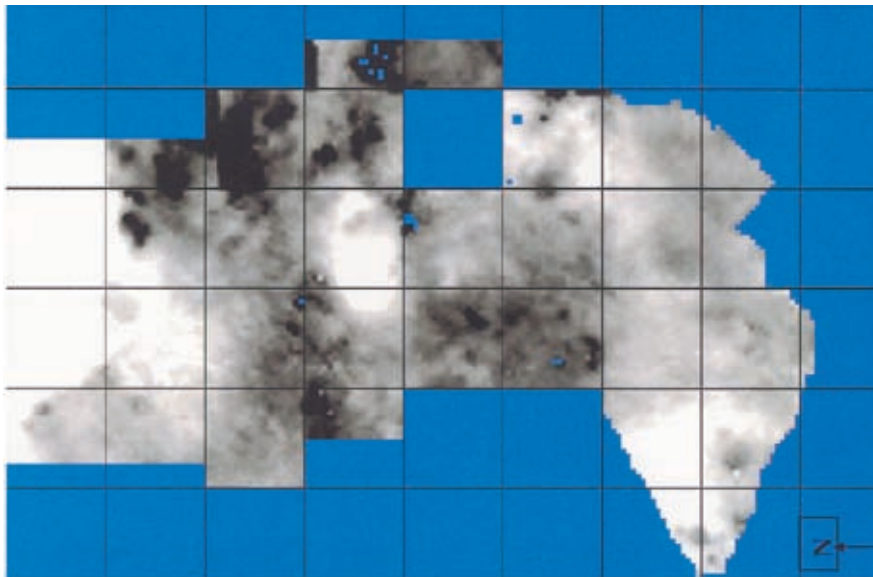


Figure 5. Resistance survey around St. Ninian's Chapel - Area 4

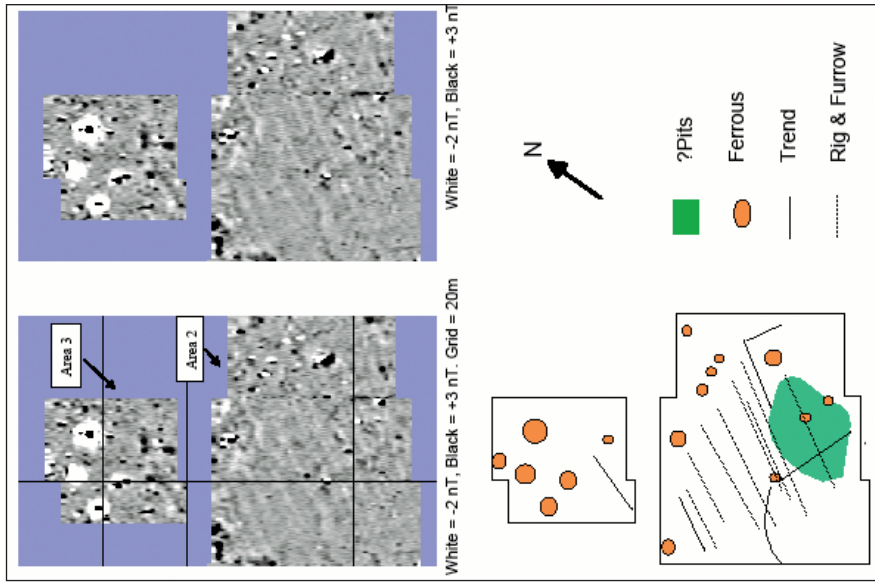


Figure 8. Magnetic survey - Areas 2 and 3

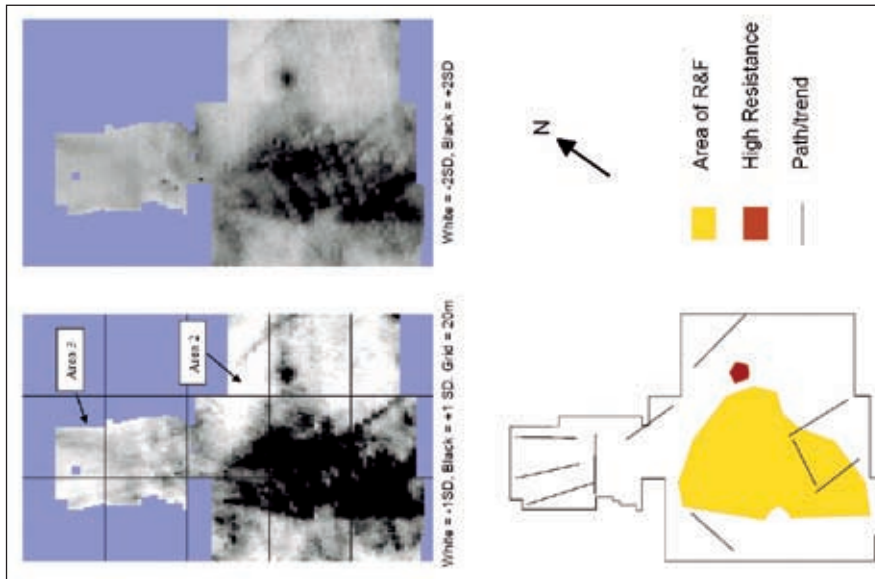


Figure 7. Resistance survey (1.0m) - Areas 2 and 3

PERSONAL ALLEGIANCE IN SOUTH WEST SCOTLAND: 1286 – 1356

Stuart McCulloch¹

(In 2008, the Society resolved to establish The Truckell Prize, for the purposes of both commemorating the late A. E. Truckell and his outstanding contribution to local studies in Dumfries and Galloway, and to forge closer links with the Universities of Glasgow and of the West of Scotland on the Crichton Campus, Dumfries. The Prize is awarded annually for the best original research paper by an undergraduate or postgraduate student from the Crichton Campus on a human or natural history topic relating to the geographical area covered by the three former counties of Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire. Entries must also meet the current editorial standard required by these Transactions to qualify. The Prize was first offered in 2009, and was won by Stuart McCulloch for this paper.)

Personal Allegiance in South West Scotland: 1286 – 1356

The death of Alexander 3rd in 1286 threw Scotland into tumult and struggle. When, in the same year, the South West was attacked by the forces of Robert Bruce it gave an unpleasant foretaste of what was to come. The strategic position of the region ensured that it became a transit area, traversed by the participating armies at least 13 times during the period. However, through-transit cannot explain the full-scale invasions, almost 30 battles and serious skirmishes and the very frequent harrying of the region throughout a 70 year period of intermittent warfare. Indeed, only 27 of these 70 years were without significant conflict somewhere in the South West. Thus the South West became pivotal in the wars of this period and often exhibited non-conformist and anti-central authority patterns of allegiance and support. The reasons for this persistent local turbulence are complex.

Nationality

The wars of the period 1286 – 1356 are often referred to, not wholly accurately, as the ‘Wars of Independence’, with the conflict between England and Scotland at the heart of the dispute. The clear implication in the term is a direct connection between nationality and allegiance.²

...for their hearts were always with their own people,
although their persons might not be so.³

1 maculafailte@yahoo.co.uk

2 Ruddick A, in King A and Penman M, 2007, pp 196-215.

3 Lanercost, p. 195.

Ruddick quotes the story of a Scottish woman who had lived with her English husband in Cumberland for 40 years but in 1389 lit a beacon to alert the Scots of an imminent English raid.⁴ Despite this there is little evidence for allegiance based upon a perceived Scottish nationality over much of the South West.

Perhaps this is because many people of the South West, especially those in Galloway, did not regard themselves as Scottish. There had been a history of incidents where Galwegians showed opposition to the Scottish crown. The question of Scottish authority over Galloway prior to 1124 is in some doubt.⁵ The first recorded Lord of Galloway was Fergus.

There is ample evidence to support the contention that Fergus were kings in a medieval sense of the word, and the territories over which they ruled were independent kingdoms owing little obeisance to the king of Scots.⁶

At its greatest extent, Fergus' influence extended from Carrick to Annandale.⁷ Such an extensive area which did not always act in Scotland's interests would be unacceptable to the Scottish crown, and the subjugation of Galloway became part of Scottish national policy. By 1160 this policy was nearing fruition and King Malcolm of Scotland moved to curb the independent powers of Fergus.

King Malcolm went into Galloway on three occasions with a great army, and at last subdued them.⁸

If the Scottish kings thought that the 'Galloway problem' was now solved they were soon to be disappointed. Until 1174 the sons of Fergus, Uhtred and Gilbert, now overlords of a partitioned Galloway, were relatively peaceful subjects of the Scottish crown. When King William was captured at Alnwick and the Scottish army disintegrated, the Galwegians seized the opportunity and once more revolted.

The Galwegians at once expelled from Galloway all the bailiffs and guards whom the king of Scotland had set over them and all the English whom they could seize they slew; and all the defences and castles which the king of Scotland had established in their land they besieged, captured and destroyed, and slew all whom they took with them.⁹

The subsequent murder of Uhtred by Gilbert's supporters led to civil war in Galloway and was to have a far reaching influence on local allegiance. When Gilbert died in 1185, his son Roland, with the help of the king of Scots, gathered an army and 'extended his influence' over Gilbert's supporters.¹⁰ The peace settlement led to the separation of Carrick from Galloway. Duncan, Gilbert's son, maintained influence over Carrick with Roland becoming the overlord of an expanded Galloway.

4 Ruddick A, in King A and Penman M, 2007, pp 210.

5 Oram R, in Oram R D and Stell G P, 1993, pp 117 – 130.

6 MacDonald, A R, in Cowan E J & Macdonald R A, 2005, p. 180.

7 For example, Reid, R C, 1960, notes a charter of 1150 to Robert Bruce, referring to forest rights in Annandale, which is addressed to 'Francis et Anglicis et Scottis et Galweensibus'.

8 Oram, R, 2000, p. 80, citing the *Chronicle of Holyrood*, pp 136-37.

9 Anderson A O, p. 256, citing *Gesta Regus Henrici Secundi*.

10 MacQueen H, in Boardman S & Ross A (Eds.), 2003 p. 68

Alan, Roland's son, was to become constable of Scotland like his father and was careful not to antagonise the Scottish king, but he still retained some independent power and treated the 'common army of Galloway' as a private army which might or might not support Scotland.¹¹ Galloway still had vestiges of independence as late as 1234, illustrated by the notice of Alan's death in the Annals of Ulster where he is referred to as,

The last man to be called Ri-Gallghaidheil – king of the Galwegians.¹²

Alan's son was Thomas, but as he was illegitimate he was unable to succeed in accordance with feudal law. The Scottish king then took the opportunity to eradicate the lordship by dividing the lands of Galloway between Alan's three daughters despite strong local protests.¹³ The 'community of Galloway' asked the king to take over the Lordship directly but he refused.¹⁴ Thus, in 1235, came a further Galwegian rebellion, in the name of Thomas. The Scottish king engaged in battle with local Galloway forces and after a close engagement defeated them, killing 'many thousands'. The Scots forces shocked the chroniclers by their behaviour, in which they looted the monasteries of Glenluce and Tongland and slew the prior and sacristan of Tongland at his high altar.¹⁵ Thomas surrendered the next year and after a short imprisonment he was handed over to John Balliol, the husband of Dervoguilla, one of the three new Galloway heiresses.

From mid 1260s Galloway was dominated by the line of Dervoguilla and to all intents and purposes Galloway was now fully incorporated into the Scottish realm. However, it is highly likely that a harbouring resentment against the Scottish crown remained in the hearts of the local people, made only stronger by the atrocities of 1235. Although Dervoguilla was to gain the affection of the Galwegians, she moved (with her husband, John Balliol) in a trans-national world, owning extensive properties in Scotland, England, France, Flanders and Ireland¹⁶ and would have been unlikely to have fostered a sense of Scottish nationalism amongst her people.

It could be argued that the recruitment of the common army of Scotland almost always involved Galwegians, thus showing that the province was no more than a distinctive region of Scotland. Galloway did appear to act as a reservoir of military man-power providing contingents to both the English and the Scottish armies; for example, Alan in the early part of the 13th century provided armies for both John of England and Alexander 2nd of Scotland, as well as conducting his own military adventures in Man, Ulster and the Southern Hebrides. However, Oram argues that this service may have been on the basis of payment and not a product of a national military levy.¹⁷

11 Stringer K J, in Grant A and Stringer K, 1993. His 'private army' was, according to Thordarsson, 150 – 200 ships and an army of 2000 – 3000 men (from Anderson, early sources). There was also the well documented muster of 1000 select Galwegian warriors in 1212 (CDS, I, no. 529).

12 Truckell A E, 1989, p. 52.

13 Barrell A D M, 2000, p. 89.

14 Stringer K J, p. 83 in Grant A and Stringer K, 1993. Stringer argues that the action of the 'community' confirms that Galloway was less detached from Scotland than it was 60 years before. This depends on who the 'community' were. No evidence is known to clarify this and thus any conclusion concerning whether this represented the views of the native lords, the incomers or a wide cross section of the Galloway people must remain conjecture.

15 The main sources for the 1135 revolt are Lanercost, p. 42 and Melrose, pp 84-85. It is also well analysed in Oram, R, 2000, pp 141-145.

16 Drexler, M, 2005, p 101. The Balliol family moved a lot around their extensive estates. She was an excellent businesswoman and took a keen interest in all her properties.

17 Oram R, in Oram R D and Stell G P, 1991, p. 123-124.

Post 1286 the distinctiveness of Galloway was still noticeable. Accounts of William Wallace's invasion of Northern England in 1297 drew attention to the Galwegians following their own dishonourable traditions by looting and damaging church property. At the end of the incursion the Galwegians received their spoils and left the Scottish army.¹⁸

The Gallovidians were not the easiest allies for any Scottish leader, for they looked upon themselves as a separate entity.¹⁹

This spirit of independence was no secret. King Edward 1st of England, anxious to neutralise Galloway in his quest as overlord of Scotland, was happy to exploit their separatism.²⁰ In 1296 he had eighty year old Thomas of Galloway, the leader of the 1235 rising, brought out from captivity and offered him, along with a charter of liberties, to the Galwegians in return for their loyalty or at least their non-cooperation with Scotland.

Thus, Scottish allegiance was not a major factor in influencing the allegiance patterns of the people of Galloway, although the more feudalised culture and background of the inhabitants of Nithsdale and Annandale may well have led them to rather different conclusions.

Religion

In a pious age perhaps the influence of the church was the deciding factor in allegiance patterns. Galloway was well served by the monastic orders and in most areas had a well developed parochial system. The emergence of monastic establishments in Galloway was part of the process of a 'homogenisation of medieval Europe as a whole'²¹ and by 1286 Galloway had a concentration of monastic foundations unparalleled in Scotland outside the Tay, Tweed and Forth basins.

Contemporary observers were anxious to show that the monastic orders were successful,²² and some establishments, although never wealthy, certainly prospered. Dundrennan, for example, embarked upon an expensive programme of building and reconstruction in the late 12th century and had a hospital for the sick and possibly an almshouse for the poor. The abbeys also encouraged local employment²³ and links with the outside world, especially the anglicised Lowland Scotland.

The reform of the native church often involved Galloway families²⁴ and local

18 Fisher A, 2007, p. 125; Guisborough, pp 306-7.

19 Fisher A, 2007 pp 125; McNamee C, 1990, pp 40 – 58. When Wallace arrived at Guisborough Priory to hear mass he left the church to stow his weapons whereupon his men (Galwegians) promptly stole all the sacred vessels from the altar. The Galwegians severely damaged Hexham Priory (dedicated to St Andrew, patron saint of Scotland) and cut the head off the statue of St. Andrew. Was this an anti-Scottish act?

20 Barrow, 1976, p. 156.

21 Bartlet R, 1993, cited in Stringer K J, 2005, p. 128.

22 Daniel W, c.1170, p.45, cited in Stringer K J, 2005, p. 128. 'Rievaulx made a plantation in this savagery (*Galloway*) which now bears much fruit.' Nevertheless the new monastic incomers remained scandalised by local customs of concubinage and divorce in a kin based society; an aspect which this study will consider later, in greater detail.

23 The Holm Cultram demesne grange at Kirkgunzeon, with its accompanying fisheries and salt works, was very extensive. The monks even had an office in Dumfries.

24 Stringer K J, 2005, p. 142. Fergus' endowment of the Cistercians at Dundrennan was perhaps an act of piety but was also a political act, in response to heavy criticism of the behaviour of Gallovidian troops at the Battle of the Standard, four years previously.

recruitment into the monastic orders did become increasingly important. Nevertheless, the leadership tended to remain in the hands of Anglo Normans or English-speaking Scots and the Galloway houses were slow to lose the trappings of colonial institutions.²⁵ Consequently the monastic foundations probably had little overall impact on the local inhabitants. Stringer concludes,

even if we take an optimistic view it can hardly be imagined that their teachings ... penetrated deeply into everyday life ... in practice their efforts often had only a vague, intermittent or non-existent influence on the vast majority of the population.²⁶

Probably the monasteries were never fully accepted by the Galloway populace. That is not altogether surprising in the knowledge that in 1222 Bishop Walter of Glasgow complained to the Pope that Holm Cultram had evicted the peasant tenants to make way for an expansion of the grange at Kirkgunzeon. This may also explain why Holm Cultram Abbey seemed to be singled out for particularly bad treatment whenever the Scots invaded Cumbria, which they frequently did in the 13th and 14th century.²⁷ Resentment also seemed to occur elsewhere as exemplified by the Cistercians of Vauden Abbey, Lincolnshire who had lands at Carsphairn but transferred them to Melrose in 1223 because of the absence of law and order and suffering of insidious attacks from the local people.²⁸

By 1286 the parochial system was well developed in all but the more remote parts of the region. Corser²⁹ described how in Annandale the church and castle worked in tandem demonstrating the proximity of churches or chapels to all but two of the Annandale timber castles. This was the main organisational unit of the area and its function included local government as well as spiritual welfare. White³⁰ argued that the overlap of parish and barony, of ecclesiastical and secular administration, may have helped to bind the community at a local level.

By 1286 the church in the South West was partly under the authority of the Bishopric of Glasgow with the remainder under the Bishopric of Whithorn / Galloway, taking its authority from York.

Church leaders took an active interest in the Anglo-Scottish wars³¹ and an observation of allegiance patterns in the South West could conclude that the areas forming the Bishopric of Galloway tended to support the Balliol / Comyn faction and the English crown whereas the diocese of Glasgow was more anti-English and was likely to support Bruce. This assumption dissolves under more detailed scrutiny. For example, large areas of Nithsdale, such as Dalswinton, were Comyn heartlands and for long periods in the early 14th century the English king's supporters predominated in Nithsdale and Annandale.³² In 1296 Thomas

25 *Ibid.*, p.153.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 137 – 139

27 *Ibid.*, p. 151. Also Gilbanks, G E, 1899.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 159 citing Melrose lib., i, no.195..

29 Corser P, in Oram R and Stell G, 2005.

30 Whyte I, 1995.

31 Lanercost, p. 190 and Reid, N, 1982, p. 107. Bishop Wishart of Glasgow was even blamed for starting the initial rebellion against King Edward 1st in 1297.

32 Brown M, in King A and Penman M, 2007, p. 98. Whether the native populace were compliant or simply cowed into submission is unclear.

Dalton was elected as the Bishop of Galloway with the Bruce faction's support, against the wishes of John Balliol,³³ suggesting that substantial pockets of Bruce support existed within the Bishopric of Galloway itself.

In fact, the influence of the parish church on the local populace in political matters may not have been of great significance. Whyte³⁴ points out that the medieval church was often weak in the provision of worship for the parish community. The attendance at Sunday mass seemed to be far from regular and some of the kirks were in very poor condition.³⁵ Parish priests, recruited mainly from the tenantry and smaller freeholders, were often poorly educated and increasingly poorly paid.

The Feudal Overlords

The Desnes Cro area was claimed for the bishopric of Glasgow by the inquest of c1120,³⁶ but much of this area, especially the parts bordering Buittle and Urr, showed strong support for the Balliol faction. This suggests that perhaps a more important factor in controlling allegiance was the political leaning of the feudal overlord.

The discord in the South West between 1286 and 1356 is often explained in terms of the Bruce v Balliol/Comyn conflict. In 1124, the Brus family received a charter of land in Annandale. In 1186, Duncan became the Earl of Carrick. When Duncan's granddaughter Marjorie married Robert de Brus, the earldom of Carrick was added to the local family holdings. By 1286 Dervoguilla had inherited the Lordship of Galloway lands. Dervoguilla's niece, Isabella, had married Alexander Comyn, the Earl of Buchan, and Dervoguilla's daughter, Eleanor, married John Comyn of Badenoch. By these means the Comyn family had gained a stronghold in Galloway and were naturally allied with their kinsman, John Balliol. By 1286 the key castle of Craggleton and the sherrifdom of Wigtown were in Comyn hands. The Comyns were also strong in Nithsdale, especially with their fortresses at Dalswinton and Tibbers.

The conflicts of the period seem to show that allegiance to a leading magnate crystallised around the areas he controlled, with much of Galloway hostile to Bruce, whereas Carrick was generally noteworthy for its loyalty. The Annandale knights also remained with the Bruce faction, certainly up to 1329. However, this allegiance pattern was far from simple or consistent. The standard practice of a leading magnate granting lands to a lesser magnate and gaining loyalty and support as a result did not always apply in the South West. Beam commented that,

the earls were very important as leaders of local society and their changes in allegiance were often related to the maintenance of their regional positions."³⁷

33 Bishop Dalton renounced his support for Bruce in 1306. In September 1306 the Bishop's properties were plundered and his manors were 'reduced to nothing' by the Scottish War. Both Balliol and Bruce supporters seemed to be against him. After his properties were attacked he spent almost all his time thereafter in England. He probably died about 1323/24.

34 Whyte I, 1995.

35 His comments may be more appropriate to the post Anglo-Scottish war period when continual war, famine and disease had reduced many areas to penury.

36 Brooke D, 1987, p. 48.

37 Beam A, 2008, p. 225.

The clear implication here is that the magnates had to respond to changes in local circumstances rather than driving the change themselves. At grass roots level there did seem to be some local opposition to serving the feudal overlord. For example, a 13th century charter granting Adam Gordon land in the Glenkens declared that the Glenkens would be,

Quit of sorthyn and fascal and de superdicto servienti.³⁸

Later, in 1304, the ‘community’ of Galloway petitioned Edward 1st to abolish this “superdicto servienti.” According to Brooke, the imposition of this ancient law by the sergeants was a problem in the Glenkens, especially from the Balliol party. Although the law related to criminal activity it seems to have become political, with the sergeants arresting and punishing local people if they failed in their support of John Balliol.³⁹

Following King Robert’s victory in 1314 he rewarded his own loyal supporters, but also played a statesman-like role in building bridges with former enemies. The Pro-Balliol Galloway was the focus of particular attention. Chief Bruce supporters such as Randolph and Douglas were given extensive estates in the South West and many others were also rewarded, but even with this influence Bruce failed to gain effective control of Galloway, strongly suggested by the absence of a separate Justiciar of Galloway and a lack of crown income from this area during the final years of his reign.⁴⁰ Penman also suggested that the Bruce pilgrimage to Whithorn in 1329 was a political act, designed to consolidate his shaky influence in the South West.⁴¹ If that was the case he was singularly unsuccessful, because Galloway was to be the heartland of pro – Balliol sympathy during the period of Edward Balliol’s attempt at power, with unrest in the area continuing until at least 1356.

Personal Decision

Perhaps allegiance was a personal decision of each individual according to his own conscience? Unfortunately the structure of feudal society did not give out much hope for a free thinking peasantry and the ‘middling class’. Duncan recorded the ‘sales’ of men and their goods still occurring in the third quarter of the 13th century.⁴² As late as 1269 the Earl of Strathearn gave to his sister Mary,

... leave and power of seeking, collecting and having all the native men justly pertaining to her lands ... wherever they are found within our land, to dwell in her lands perpetually and to serve and answer to the lady Mary and her heirs with all their goods and chattels and their issue as seems best to her and her heirs.⁴³

38 Brooke D, 1984 p. 44, citing RMS I (Thomson). A Gaelic phrase, which also appears as ‘sory et frithelos’ and ‘sorrem et freelache’ refers to the power of the baronial sergeants of peace to billet themselves and their men on ordinary households. ‘Superdicto servienti’ refers to surdit de sergeants and their power of summary accusation and punishment, even execution of lawbreakers.

39 Similar occurrences are recorded elsewhere in times of conflict. Tenants in the Rannoch area were forcibly removed from their lands by Clan Cameron officers, to join the clan regiment in 1745.

40 Penman Michael A, 2004 p. 28.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 334.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 329, citing the *Inchaffray Charters*, Appx. no. V.

By 1286 the influence of the feudal lord had lessened and it was common for a combination of money and services to be given by the tenant to the feudal lord. Merchet and Heriot continued to be paid and the Lord's right to discipline men in his courts remained, particularly for offences such as quarrels leading to fines (forfeiture) or out of court settlements for lesser crimes such as brawling etc. There was little evidence of heavy labour burdens on the tenant,⁴⁴ but military service (forinsec) was still required. Nonetheless by 1286, despite the remnants of thirldom and military service, glimpses in the records suggest that the peasant in South West Scotland probably enjoyed a greater ability for self-determination than previously.⁴⁵

The literature of the period shows instances of peasant individuality. Barbour's Brus and Blind Harry's Wallace, although composed well after the period under study, feature extracts from oral tales which would have circulated widely at the time.⁴⁶ Many commoners were mentioned in Barbour's Bruce as playing a significant role in the Bruce campaigns, such as Simon of Ledhoude,⁴⁷ Philip the Forester in Forfar,⁴⁸ and William Bunnok at Linlithgow.⁴⁹ Even more commoners feature in the Wallace. Local tales tell how William Douglas won the castle of Sanquhar by 'jeopardy' (a trick) using local boys, John Anderson and Thomas Dickson.⁵⁰ The capture of Craggleton Castle with Wallace's sidekick, William Kierly⁵¹ is another local example.

It is also very interesting to look at local folk tales which emanate from this period. There are at least five well known tales concerning the adventures of Robert Bruce in the South West.⁵² All the tales feature Robert Bruce in a positive light and none exist in support of John or Edward Balliol, or his supporters.⁵³ Most of the tales concern the actions of commoners who helped Bruce when he was most in need. One tale, which took place in the Glenkens, saw a miller, a Balliol adherent, hiding the fugitive Bruce. His wife was a Bruce supporter and a combination of her guile and his over-riding anti-English sentiment saved the young king.⁵⁴ In three of the tales women were to the fore, suggesting that females may have played a significant role in allegiance decision making. In at least two

44 *Ibid.*, p. 335. Typically agreed in Moray (for ½ davach land) was 1/3 merk in money, to plough, harrow and cart three times annually and provide six men days at harvest time. The davoch was the main unit of land division in Galloway too.

45 For example, the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, pp. 84-85 commented that agricultural land in Scotland was not given for perpetual return but often renewed annually at the same amount or with an increase. It tells of a peasant tenant who had grudgingly paid an annual rent increase but each time was promised on a handshake by his feudal superior that there would be no further increase. Finally, when offered the lairds hand on another annual deal he said, '... no, give me the other hand, because that one has told me lies so often.' This inconsequential tale has the ring of truth about it and the cheeky quip does not give the impression of crushing servility. Hume Brown P, 1891, p.13 tells the tale of French soldiers in Scotland in the late 14th century who were surprised at the independence of spirit shown by the Scottish peasantry when the soldiers were criticised for not following tracks and marching through fields, thus tramping down crops of barley, oats and corn.

46 Hall, S T, 2006.

47 Barbour J, 1997 edition, Book 10. pp. 357- 441.

48 *Ibid.*, Book 9. pp.310-26.

49 *Ibid.*, Book 10. pp.150-257.

50 Blind Harry, 1998 edition, Book 10, ch. 4, pp.163- 166.

51 *Ibid.*, Book 6, ch. 2, p.77. Kierly or Kerly was perhaps not a commoner, as he had previously held Craggleton Castle and seemed to be a local man of some importance. He is credited with being an ancestor of the McKerlies, a common surname in present day Galloway.

52 A number of sources detail variations of the tales such as Temperley, A, 1979. Other earlier sources include Mackenzie W, 1841, and McKerlie P H, 1891.

53 This is probably a case of the victor telling the story but may possibly indicate a measure of support for Bruce in areas where it was assumed that he would not receive any.

54 This may suggest a not uncommon situation of mixed allegiances within the same family.

of the tales Bruce later rewarded his assistants, including three young brothers, with grants of land which were subsequently held by their families for hundreds of years.

The opinion and allegiance of the ‘middling’ or ‘common’ man (or woman) could be decisive and even affected kingship. It was commented that the astonishing rise of William Wallace was because he was the only man, ‘who was acceptable across a broad range of the social spectrum’.⁵⁵

Kinship Groups

In the everyday debate of the cottage or tavern, individual opinions were no doubt held and strongly expressed. Unfortunately this does not convince that this could have led to the long term organised affiliation and active political and military support shown by groups in the South West during the seventy years following 1286. There was a need for a system or structure to organise and mobilise such opinion. That structure was provided by kinship groups.

The 12th and 13th centuries were seen by MacQueen⁵⁶ as periods of great change, with the introduction of feudal incomers, the spread of the English language, the rise of new and powerful monastic orders, government restructuring and repeated attempts to eliminate alternative power bases in the kingdom. The strongly Gaelic, independent society of Galloway was clearly seen as a threat and the concept of the encirclement of Galloway from Annandale, Liddesdale, Cunningham and Lanark etc. by lords more sympathetic to the Scottish king is generally accepted today. It is no surprise that the castles of Dumfries and Annan were built on the east bank of the river; possibly indicating that the perceived threat from Galloway in the west was greater than the threat from England.

The customs, laws and a way of life which had disappeared in many other areas still persevered in Galloway painting,

... a picture of sexual license, foster parents for leading families and blood brotherhood.⁵⁷

By 1286 it is likely that Nithsdale and Annandale were primarily English speaking,⁵⁸ but Galloway and Carrick were still overwhelmingly Gaelic speaking and were to continue to be so for another 400 years.⁵⁹ To be called Galwegian could even be a provocation for violence, as the famous court case of 1260 in Dumfries demonstrated. Adam the Miller called Richard a ‘Galuet’ (from Galloway) and this was considered an insult. An altercation later led to the death of Adam, but Richard was cleared of murder.⁶⁰

55 Cowan E J, *William Wallace*, 2007, p. 11, based upon an opinion expressed by Abbot Bower.

56 MacQueen H, in Boardman S and Ross A (eds.), 2003, p. 67.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 71. The most famous example of fostering was Robert Bruce but Uhtred, Lord of Galloway associated with his foster brother throughout his life and had many Gaelic names amongst his supporters.

58 Placenames indicate that the Gaelic language was still common in many areas and Truckell A E, 1989, p. 56 suggested that Lower Annandale was still Welsh speaking when Bruce took the land in 1123.

59 Evidence is sparse but the famous poem, the *Flying of Dunbar and Kennedy* (a verbal joust between William Dunbar and Walter Kennedy) of 1504 is partly based upon language differences. Kennedy hailed from Carrick. The last native Gaelic speaker was said to be Margaret McMurray of Cultezron, near Maybole, who died at an advanced age in 1760, described in Lorimer W, 1951, pp. 26 – 47.

60 Duncan A A, 1975, citing APS (978). Richard and Adam the Miller met at church and Adam called him a thief (Galuet

Neville studied the impact of feudal incomers on the Celtic Earldom of Strathearn⁶¹ and concluded that by the late 13th century a hybrid aristocratic culture existed. Oram contended that in the South West the Anglo-Norman colonists were just,

... a thin veneer over the existing native aristocracy.⁶²

Instances include a debenture of 1251, which narrated terms of repayment of cash borrowed from John Balliol by Maurice Acarson and was witnessed by three witnesses from Buittle; two were well known Anglo Normans families but one was Gillespoc MacGille Bothan of native stock.⁶³ In 1296 King Edward accepted the submission of the chief men of Clan Afren at Wigtown.⁶⁴ The MacLellan kin group were prominent in support of the Balliols from 1273 to 1352. Donald MacCan may have been Cane Macgillolane's (MacLellan) son and he became the leader of native groups in the Stewartry area in the pre-Bannockburn era. The McCullochs supported the Balliols until the mid 14th century and the MacDowalls were to be leaders of native clan groups throughout the war period.⁶⁵

Devine asserts that these kin based societies were almost the norm in the 14th century,

... common for the greater lairds to surround themselves with networks of lesser gentlemen who bore their name and promised loyalty and service in return for protection.⁶⁶

and Truckell agreed, re-affirming the local importance of the kin based structure by pointing out that by 1290 the clan system was very well developed in the area.⁶⁷

Although the feudal system of landholding was common, social relationships did not become wholly contractual or legalistic until the early modern period.

... blood, kin, personal loyalty and traditional allegiance counted for more than feudal charters.⁶⁸

Patterson conducted a study of kin societies (tuath) in Ireland.⁶⁹ He identified discrete laws, a base of landholding but no strict territorial boundaries, a social structure with complex forms of clientship and the existence of a warrior class. These were all features of the kin based groups of the South West. A structure developed with which to police the tuath, including some officers who acted as enforcers of policy. These seem to have had a similar function to the hated sergeants of Galloway. Galloway had its own laws,

(from Galloway)) and said he would run him out of town. The following Thursday Adam was in the doorway of a house when Richard came along. Adam was warned by some women but he went into the house and brought out a knife. Richard drew his sword to defend himself and struck Adam with flat of it. Adam put his arm around the sword and Richard pulled the sword away thus wounding Adam. He later died. Burgesses said that Adam was a miller (not a popular occupation) and a thief of ill repute and dismissed the case.

61 Neville C, 2005.

62 Oram R, 1993, p. 131.

63 Oram R, 2000, p. 213.

64 CDS, ii, no. 990.

65 Oram R, *A Family Business*, 1993, pp. 111-145.

66 Devine, T M, *Clanship to Crofters War: Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands*, 1994, p. 5.

67 Truckell A E, *A Proto-history of Galloway*, 1989, p. 52. As one example of many he uses the 'muntercasduff' of Carrick (from muintiir cais –dubh – people of the black feet, referring to the black hide of cattle used for shoemaking). Is this the first mention of the now famous black Galloway cattle?

68 Devine, T M, *Clanship to Crofters War: Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands*, 1994, p. 6.

69 Patterson, N T, *Cattle, Lords and Clansmen*, 1994.

including ‘kenkynolle’ (ceann cinneil). This involved the protection of the kin by its head (or captain) including the deployment of peace officers (sergeants) whose powers of arrest and summary justice brought wrongdoers to book.⁷⁰ In return the head of the kin exacted a tribute from his kin called ‘calp’, which was money, a valuable possession, or benefit in kind. Kenkynolle was certainly active in Galloway in the post 1286 period and the taking of calp lasted until 1490.⁷¹

The influence of the kin group was often extended beyond immediate kin by use of bonds of manrent

... the possession of clearly defined regional spheres of influence buttressed by landownership, kinship and kinship type ties with non related families by means of bonds of manrent was a distinctive feature of late medieval Scotland.”⁷²

There are over eight hundred bonds of manrent still in existence with some specific to the South West.

The strength of this kin group system helps to explain the steadfastness of some kin groups, such as the McCullochs, in support of the Balliol faction and the unpredictability of others, such as the MacDowells, who were to change sides often but not always following a pattern discernible to the rest of Scotland. The tenacity of the older celtic customs seemed to be greater in the western districts but it would be wrong to assume that Nithsdale and Annandale did not share aspects of this culture. There is no doubt that they were more feudalised than most of the west but references to the office of ‘toiseachdeor’ occur in Nithsdale as late as circa 1400.⁷³ Furthermore in the Gaelic areas throughout Scotland there was a widespread belief that the prolonged occupation of land gave a right to a ‘kindness’, a right of permanent occupation (not possession). Such a situation existed in Lochmaben until the tenants were formally given legal rights in the 15th century.⁷⁴

Thus at the heart of personal allegiance was the kin group,⁷⁵ with allegiance decided on a platform of local political loyalty, kinship and behaviour rather than any national, ethnic, religious personal or linguistic attachment.

Brown summarised by emphasising that,

Scottish society offers little support for the view that powerful lordship is exercised at the expense of kinship. Even during the period of Norman feudalization it is probable that kinship was not so much weakened as unrecorded. In the later middle ages and early modern period there is no doubt that they were complementary, each strengthening the other.⁷⁶

70 Paterson, 1994, op.cit. pp. 8-9.

71 Boardman S and Ross A (eds.), 2003 p.76, McQueen H, in Grant A and Stringer K, 1998, and MacQueen H, pp131-143, in Oram R.D. and Stell Geoffrey P, 1991.

72 Whyte I, 1995, p. 81.

73 Sellar W D in McNeill, P and MacQueen H, 1996, p. 190. This was an important celtic office of law, sometimes associated with the role of a coroner. It seems to be a title of great antiquity.

74 Grant I F, 1961, p. 7. ‘The kindly tenants of Lochmaben acquired legal status.’

75 Boardman S & Ross A, 2003, p. 19.

76 Brown, J., 1980, p. 71.

Within the kin group social sanctions against the actions of members of the group to outsiders were often weak and became associated with feuding.⁷⁷ Feuding was an unfortunate feature of Medieval Galloway exemplified by Thomas Fleming in 1371, who sold the earldom of Wigtown for £500 to Archibald Douglas because of the feuds that existed in Wigtownshire between him and the native chiefs.⁷⁸ The bloodfeud may also shed light upon why the Bruce / Balliol split seemed so intractable over much of the South West. Oram contended that a major feature of Galloway was,

... the consistent support for the line of Fergus and continuity right through the wars of independence.⁷⁹

The civil war that erupted following the murder of Uhtred tore Galloway apart and led to a typical bloodfeud. When Duncan, the son of Uhtred's assassin, became Earl of Carrick and the rest of Galloway reverted to Roland as Lord of Galloway, the bloodfeud may have transferred into continuing suspicion and sometimes outright hostility between Carrick and Galloway. Perhaps Bruce and Balliol inherited a pre-existing conflict. Certainly the intractable kinship loyalties of the area continued unabated and were destined to play a leading role throughout the so called 'Wars of Independence'.

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There are three main categories of sources. Those which focus on the period itself. Secondly, those that detail the characters and events of the 'Bruce Wars' and the 'Wars of Independence' and finally those that chose to focus on South West Scotland in particular. Many of the quoted sources are available locally in the Crichton Campus Library, Dumfries or in the Ewart Library Dumfries. All the other sources were available from the Glasgow University Library, Glasgow. My thanks go to all those who gave me invaluable assistance in researching this topic.

Journal Abbreviations

<i>EHR</i>	English Historical Review
<i>SHR</i>	Scottish Historical Review
<i>TDGNHAS</i>	Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society
<i>TRHS</i>	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

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THE GORDONS OF EARLSTOUN

Andrew McCulloch¹

The Gordons of Earlstoun are interesting in that they, probably more than any other family in Galloway, suffered the most extreme vicissitudes of fortune. Senior cadet branch of the Gordons of Lochinvar (later Viscounts Kenmure), they built up such a large landholding that by the mid-1600s they had become one of the most powerful and influential families in Kirkcudbrightshire, and later they acquired a baronetcy. Yet within a century the family were so reduced that they were compelled to dispose of their estates, and for the next seventy-five years they remained landless.

However, in the mid-eighteenth century a younger son emigrated to Jamaica where he became involved in the lucrative sugar trade, and established the foundations for a revival in the family's fortunes. Building on this, and inheriting the baronetcy, his son was adjudged heir of entail to an estate near Borgue. Consequently the family regained much of its former eminence.

The Earlstoun family's links with the Gordons of Lochinvar go back to the mid-1400s, their common ancestor being William Gordon, the first of the family to settle permanently in Galloway. Whereas the former were descended from his eldest son Sir John Gordon, the Earlstoun branch sprang from the second son Alexander.

Known as 'Sannie with the red Haffet' on account of a blotch on his cheek, possibly a birthmark or the result of a wound, he seems to have prospered. Starting out with a tack, or lease, of a farm on the family estates – the usual provision for younger sons – he acquired others. In 1481 'by the favour and interest he had with the Crown' he was granted a lease of 'Slewingnaw' (Slagnaw) in the parish of Kelton.² This was part of the former Douglas lands which had reverted to the Crown following their forfeiture in 1455.

In 1489 he acquired a three-year lease of the Forest of Buchan,³ a rocky wilderness extending westwards from the Water of Ken towards the Cree, and also part of the former Douglas lands in Galloway. Like Slagnaw⁴, and other former Douglas lands which he subsequently leased, Alexander held it as a tenant of the Earl of Bothwell.⁵

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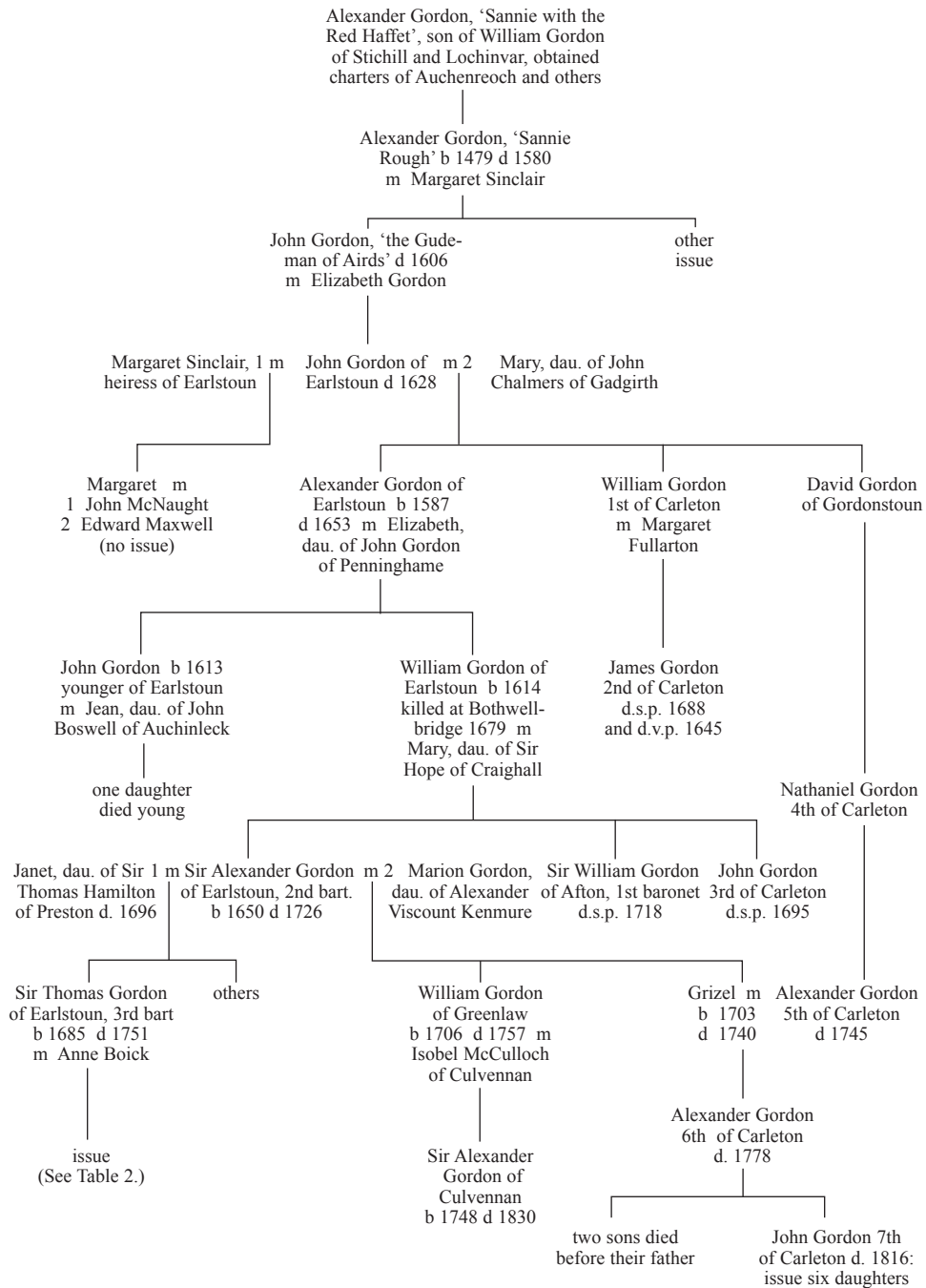
2 *The Gordon Family of Earlstoun* by Sir John Gordon, bart (c.1750), p 44. This is available in the RC Reid Collection in the Ewart Library, Dumfries.

3 *Exchequer Rolls* (ER) x, 659

4 *Ibid.* xi 452, xii 651, xiii 603, xiv 482

5 Formerly Patrick Hepburn, he had been created Earl of Bothwell and given the forfeited Douglas lands as a reward for supporting James IV, then Duke of Rothesay, in the rebellion against his father James III.

The Descendants of Alexander Gordon



Whereas most of these lands were situated in the Dee valley,⁶ there were some outliers such as Over and Nether Kelton,⁷ and also Laggan and ‘Pollinree’⁸ (King’s Laggan and Pulchree in the parish of Anwoth). With the exception of those of Over and Nether Kelton, and the Forest of Buchan, these leases were subsequently assigned to Alexander’s sons.

From 1490 onwards Alexander began investing in land. That year he bought the 5 merk lands of Auchenreoch in the parish of Urr,⁹ crown confirmation of the charter being granted in 1506.¹⁰ In 1499, he acquired from the crown the superiority of part of the lands of ‘Portincork’ (Portincorkrie) near the Mull of Galloway, including a part share in the estate mill,¹¹ followed by full ownership in 1507.¹² Between 1503 and 1506, taking advantage of the Church’s policy of renting out ecclesiastical lands, Alexander obtained leases of a number of properties in the parish of Kirkpatrick Durham from the collegiate house of Lincluden.¹³

Little else is known about Alexander apart from the fact that, according to the *Gordon Family of Earlston*, he lived at Clonyard in the parish of Kirkmaiden, in Wigtownshire. It is not known whom he married, nor when he died. However it must have been sometime between 27 February 1517, when his lease of Slagnaw was renewed for a further five years,¹⁴ and 1 March 1520 when he is described as ‘the late Alexander Gordon’¹⁵ – most likely in early 1519.¹⁶

Of his five sons, the eldest, John, inherited his lands. His second son Robert took over his leases of Airds and the Lincluden lands in the parish of Kirkpatrick Durham, and later purchased the 5 merk lands of Barharrow,¹⁷ while the third son Alexander was the ancestor of the Gordons of Earlston.

Born in 1479, and reputedly a man of immense size and strength,¹⁸ he is generally referred to in old writs as ‘Alexander the younger’ to distinguish him from his father, but was less formally dubbed ‘Sannie Rough’. In 1500 he obtained a lease of Drumbuie, followed by further leases – of Bredennoch (Braidenough), Carnavel and Kiltersan,¹⁹ which he purchased in about 1565 from Ninian Glendonynge of Parton.²⁰ When his elder brother Robert was killed at Flodden, Alexander acquired his leases of the lands in the parish of Kirkpatrick Durham, which he later purchased from William Glendonynge.²¹

6 Specifically they comprised Largmore, Barskeoch, Stranfasket, Knocksheen, and a joint tenancy with his brother George of Garvery (*ER* x 741, xi 453, xii 566, 653, 657, xiii 604).

7 *ER* xii 658

8 *Ibid.* x 704

9 *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum (RMS)* ii, 1984

10 *Ibid.*, 3077

11 *Ibid.*, 2483

12 *Ibid.*, 3076

13 They comprised the lands of Barmoffity, Minnidow, Over and Nether McCartney (now Walton Park) and Glengappock (*RMS* x, 609).

14 *ER* xiv 482

15 *Ibid.* 509

16 See the *Gordon Family of Earlston*, p 47.

17 *RMS* iii, 3858

18 According to the *Gordon Family of Earlston*, when his grave in Kells churchyard was opened it was evident from the length of his shank bone that ‘he must have been the same height as Henry Darnley’ who is known to have been 6ft 4ins (1.93m) tall.

19 McKerlie, *Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, vol iv, 73: C L Clindening, *The House of Glendonwyn* part II, 10

20 McKerlie iii, 313

21 *Ibid.* iv, 73

He also inherited Robert's tenancy of Airds,²² which was leased from the crown. Here he built a tower house in 1518 (evident from the date carved on the lintel above the main entrance which, like the building itself, has long since disappeared),²³ and in 1527 he bought the property.²⁴ In 1542, Alexander added to his growing landholding with the acquisition of the 2½ merk land of 'Bernbord' (Barnboard) in the parish of Balmaghie.²⁵

As a fervent supporter of the Reformist movement, which was steadily gaining ground in Scotland, Alexander was strongly opposed to the Catholic, pro-French regime. In 1548, in defiance of the ban on Scotsmen travelling to England (in retaliation for the 'Rough Wooing'), he went there with the aim of making contact with English Protestants. Deliberately flouting the law which made possessing it a criminal offence, he brought back a copy of Wycliffe's translation of the New Testament, widely proclaiming the fact, and daring the authorities to do their worst. They responded by decreeing the forfeiture of his lands.²⁶ Airds was granted to his cousin Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar who, sympathising with his views, leased it back to him, and eventually allowed him to re-purchase it.²⁷

A colourful character, Alexander has become the stuff of legend. Tradition has it that when the Scottish parliament passed an Act stipulating that every beast of burden made to work on Church festivals was liable to be forfeited, Alexander challenged it. On one such occasion, in the presence of a large crowd of onlookers, he yoked his sons to a plough. Then holding it himself, with the youngest driving it, he ploughed a furrow daring the clerical bystanders to invoke the law.²⁸

Sometime before 1518, when he was probably in his late thirties, Alexander married his cousin Margaret Sinclair, daughter of John Sinclair in Earlstoun and Janet, daughter of his uncle George Gordon of Troquhain.²⁹ They are credited with having a family of twenty children – eleven sons and nine daughters, earning Alexander the soubriquet 'the Patriarch'.

Although a staunch Protestant, Alexander, perhaps out of residual loyalty to Mary Queen of Scots, gave sanctuary to some of her retinue in the course of her flight south from Langside. The following year (1568) the Regent Moray retaliated by burning the tower house at Airds in the course of his raid into the south-west to stamp out local support for Mary.³⁰ Although nearly ninety at the time, Alexander survived for another twelve years and died in 1580 at the age of one hundred and one, when his lands passed to his eldest son John.

Known as 'the Gudeman of Airds', John was married to Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of John Gordon of Blaiket and had four sons and two daughters. At this time John, eighth Lord Maxwell was Steward of Kirkcudbright, and because he was at feud

22 *ER* xiv, 484

23 McKerlie iv, 75

24 *RMS* iii, 529

25 *Ibid.*, 2729

26 McKerlie iv, 73

27 *Ibid.*

28 *Ibid.*, 74 (taken from the *Gordon Family of Earlstoun*, pp 51-2)

29 That they were married about this time is evident from the carving of their initials on the lintel referred to above.

30 Whereas twenty years previously Alexander forfeited Airds for adhering to the Protestant religion, he was now being punished by the Protestant Moray for supporting a Catholic queen!

with the Gordons of Lochinvar he refused to attend to the formalities necessary to serve John as heir to his father. John appealed to the Regent Morton, and perhaps contrary to expectation, since Morton was Maxwell's uncle by marriage, he was successful. Maxwell was dismissed; the stewardship was temporarily put in commission, and John was duly infeft in his father's lands.

In 1602 he acquired part of the northern reaches of the barony of Earlstoun from Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree,³¹ much of the remainder being sold to his kinsman Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar.³² John's share consisted of two separate blocks of land. One was a stretch of bleak moorland country extending from the Water of Ken eastwards towards Lochinvar,³³ while the other consisted of an expanse of hill country to the north.³⁴ Since this marks the start of the Gordons' association with Earlstoun, a short account of its history is appropriate.

The original barony extended from Dalry northwards almost as far as the Ayrshire border,³⁵ with a ruling centre located on the late twelfth or early thirteenth century motte adjacent to the Water of Ken at Dalry. Formerly part of the Galloway lordship lands, it was included in the share apportioned to Dervorguilla, the youngest daughter of Alan, last Lord of Galloway. On her death in 1289 it passed to her son John Balliol, the future King. But following his deposition and the ascendancy of Robert Bruce his lands were forfeited, and consequently reverted to the crown.

(An alternative theory has it that the Earlstoun barony was part of the lands apportioned to Alan of Galloway's eldest daughter Elena de Quenci, from whom it passed to her grandson the Earl of Buchan. But if this were so it would have been included in the grant of lands in Kirkcudbrightshire to Archibald the Grim, later third Earl of Douglas, in 1369, and thus remained in the hands of his family until their forfeiture in 1455.)

Bruce's son David II granted it to his supporter Patrick Earl of March (hence the name Earlstoun). However, when Patrick's successor Earl George turned against Robert III and supported the English invasion of the east march in 1400, his lands were forfeited. Consequently the Earlstoun barony reverted to the crown, and in 1412 the Regent Albany appointed Sir Alexander Gordon its bailie.³⁶

In 1511 Earlstoun, described as 'the £40 lands and barony of Earlstoun', was included in the grant by James IV to Adam Hepburn second Earl of Bothwell. This was in recognition of 'the wise counsel, faithful service [and] great labours' rendered by his father Earl Patrick 'at a time of dire peril' (a reference to his support for James in the rebellion against his father James III).³⁷

On the death of Earl Adam's son, Earl Patrick, Earlstoun was included in the lands which passed to the latter's son. This was the ruffianly Earl James, notorious as the

31 *RMS* vi, 1317

32 *Ibid.*, 1600

33 Comprising Earlstoun itself, Milton, Ardoch, Barlaes and Blawquhairn

34 Comprising Knockgray and Marbrack

35 A charter of 1569 specifies its northern boundary as Waterhead on the upper Deugh (*RMS* iv, 1870)

36 *The Scots Peerage* v, 100. He was the grandfather of William Gordon the common ancestor of the families of Lochinvar and Earlstoun.

37 *RMS* ii, 3635

instigator of the murder of Lord Darnley and abductor and third husband of Mary Queen of Scots. Following the defeat of the royalist forces at Carberry in 1567, Earl James's lands were forfeited and for the third time Earlstoun reverted to the crown.

In 1581 James VI granted the former Bothwell lands, including Earlstoun, to his six-year-old cousin Francis Stewart, Commendator of Kelso,³⁸ later Earl of Bothwell.³⁹ A complex character of whom it was remarked that 'for wickedness, valour and "good parts" he surpassed any three of the other Scottish nobles',⁴⁰ he seems to have had a turbulent career. Ungratefully, he sided with the Catholic northern earls against the king, and in January 1591 he broke into the Edinburgh tollbooth and seized a crown prosecution witness who was due to appear at the trial of one of his adherents. Committed to prison, Francis Stewart escaped. Declaring him an outlaw, Parliament decreed his forfeiture, and once again the superiority of Earlstoun reverted to the crown.

The same year James VI granted Earl Francis's lands, including specifically the barony of Earlstoun, to his cousin Ludovick, Duke of Lennox.⁴¹ But almost immediately afterwards he granted them to another (more distant) relative Andrew Stewart, third Lord Ochiltree.⁴² Described as 'lord of the barony of Earlstoun', he appointed Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar its bailie (an office previously held by his forebear Sir Alexander). Consequently, when financial stringency forced Ochiltree to dispose of the northern reaches of the Earlstoun barony, it was probably through Sir John's influence that they were divided between himself and John Gordon of Airds.

Meanwhile Ochiltree retained the superiority of Earlstoun. But when he was deprived of his lands and title on his exile to Ireland it passed to his cousin James Stewart, fourth Lord Ochiltree,⁴³ and in 1620 he sold it to Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar.⁴⁴

Back to John Gordon, the 'Gudeman of Airds'. He died in 1606, presumably by then an old man, and was buried in Kells church. The terms of his Will suggest that most of the lands he owned or leased were let to subtenants, and that he himself only farmed in a small way.⁴⁵ His bequests included eight silver spoons to his eldest son John, and two each to his younger sons Roger and George, and his daughter Elspeth, while his bastard daughter Helen was given 100 merks. 'Margaret Gordon, daughter to the deceased James Gordon my [second] son' was given a cow and a calf, and finally his lands and 'free gear' went to John.

In 1582 this John had married his cousin Margaret Sinclair, co-heiress along with her sister Rosina (later wife of James Stewart of Ardoch) of their father John Sinclair of Earlstoun. He was the third generation of his family known to have been connected with Earlstoun. They first appear in a Precept by Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, dated 10 August 1515, in which David and John Sinclair (possibly brothers or maybe father and

38 *Ibid.* v, 218

39 Son of John Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V, and Jean Hepburn, sister of the ruffianly James Earl of Bothwell.

40 G Donaldson, *Scotland: James VI – James VII*, Edinburgh History of Scotland series, 191

41 *RMS* v, 1888

42 *Ibid.*, 1904

43 *Ibid.* vii, 1248

44 *Ibid.* viii, 67

45 A copy is reproduced on page 73 of the *Gordon Family of Earlston*.

son) are described as his bailies.⁴⁶ In a later Precept, David is designated ‘in [i.e. tenant of] Eirlistoun’,⁴⁷ though it would have been another David (possibly a younger son) who was among those granted immunity from prosecution while absent on the King’s service.⁴⁸

John Sinclair was a witness to two charters of 1541 and 1542 where he is described as ‘Jon Sinclair in Eirliston’.⁴⁹ However, the issue of a Precept by James Earl of Bothwell in April 1565 directing the infestment of his son, another John, in the merkland of Earlstoun with its manor house, and other parts of the barony,⁵⁰ suggests that he must have acquired ownership of them by the time of his death.

In 1554 John Sinclair purchased a holding in Dalry and other lands from his relatives Egidia and Mariota Sinclair.⁵¹ He also acquired the merkland of Milton,⁵² and was responsible for building the original tower house at Earlstoun. Married to Janet Gordon, daughter of Roger Gordon of Troquhain, he died before April 1565 when his son John was infest in his lands.

Like the Gordons, this John appears to have been a supporter of Mary Queen of Scots as it cost him his lands – officially because of ‘lèse majesty to the king [James VI] and other crimes’. However, these lands, described as the four-and-a-half merk lands of Earlstoun with the manor place, and those of Milton, ‘Marbrok.’ and others, were restored to him in 1569.⁵³ Later he purchased from his relative Alexander Sinclair the adjacent farms of Glen, Strahanna and Todstone.⁵⁴

In 1570 he married Katharine, daughter of John Glendonynge of Drumrash by whom he had two daughters, Margaret and Rosina. Twelve years later he was murdered, and the following year – 1583 – the crown issued a commission for the apprehension of his murderers,⁵⁵ although history doesn’t relate whether they were ever caught.

Meanwhile in November 1582, Francis Earl of Bothwell issued a Precept directing his daughters’ infestment in his lands.⁵⁶ Because Rosina was unmarried she was placed under the tutelage of their uncle David Sinclair.⁵⁷ Margaret on the other hand had recently married John Gordon, though she died soon afterwards – probably in childbirth, and considering that her parents were married in 1570 she must have only just reached the age of puberty. Nevertheless the result was a daughter:

1 Margaret who married firstly John McNaught of Kilquhanity, and secondly Edward Maxwell of Balmangan, but without issue by either husband.

On 7 January 1593 her father John Gordon entered into a contract on her behalf with her aunt Rosina’s husband, James Stewart, whereby a division of the Sinclair lands was agreed and apportioned between aunt and niece.⁵⁸

46 Earlston Charters, p 8. This work is available in the R C Reid collection in the Ewart Library, Dumfries.

47 *Ibid.*, p 22

48 RMS ii, 2155

49 RMS iii, 2405, 2729

50 Earlston Charters, p 35

51 *Ibid.*, pp 25-26

52 *Ibid.*, p 26

53 *Ibid.*, p 40

54 RMS v 2223

55 A M T Maxwell-Irving, *The Border Towers of Scotland*, p 126

56 Earlston Charters, pp 52 and 53

57 *Ibid.*, p 55

58 *Ibid.*, p 58

In 1615 Margaret, now wife of Edward Maxwell sold her portion of the Sinclair inheritance, including her share of the manor house of Earlston, to her father John Gordon. Although he proceeded to style himself ‘of Earlston’, it was not until 1655, when his grandson William Gordon bought out Rosina’s share from her grandson Major Robert Stewart of Monquhil,⁵⁹ that the family acquired exclusive possession of the Sinclair interest in it.

In 1585, not long after his wife Margaret’s death, John Gordon married Mary, daughter of John Chalmers of Gadgirth, a prominent Ayrshire family. They had a family of five sons and two daughters. Apart from Roger and George, the third and fourth sons, the others were:

- 2 Alexander (of whom presently)
- 3 William who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Fullerton of Carleton, of a family of merchant burgesses in Kirkcudbright.

The Fullerton connection with Carleton went at least as far back as 1458 when Alexander Fullerton and his wife Mariota were confirmed in possession of it.⁶⁰ In the early 1500s Andrew Fullerton added to it with the purchase of the 9 merk lands of Meikle and Little Carleton, followed by the acquisition in 1531 of the 5 merk lands of Little Dunrod.⁶¹

In 1619 his descendant William Fullerton, provost of Kirkcudbright, purchased the 3 merk lands of Meikle Carleton,⁶² followed in 1623 by the acquisition of the neighbouring 6 merk lands of Auchenhay.⁶³ Later, in 1631, he bought Meikle Dunrod,⁶⁴ which together with Little Dunrod comprises modern Senwick, and consequently he became a substantial landowner in Borgue. On his death his lands were divided between his sons, one being John Fullerton, father-in-law of William Gordon.

In 1642 the said John Fullerton assigned his share to his daughter Margaret and William.⁶⁵ They in turn left it to their only son James Gordon, who in 1644 executed a deed entailing the estate. Being unmarried and by-passing his three sisters, he named as heirs under the entail the male descendants of his father’s brothers in order of seniority. Therefore when he died in 1688 the Carleton estate passed to his cousin John Gordon, grandson of his uncle Alexander of Earlston. Consequently the Fullertons’ links with Carleton were finally broken.

- 4 David of Gordonstoun whose son Nathaniel inherited the Carleton estate as heir of entail on the death of his cousin John Gordon in 1695.

To continue the story of the Carleton estate, Nathaniel left it to his only son Alexander who married Grizel, daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon of Earlston, second baronet.

59 The Instrument of Resignation, which is set out at length in the Earlston Charters (at page 83) was dated 16 January 1655, and the lands referred to in it are substantial.

60 *RMS* ii, 649

61 *Ibid.* iii, 1042

62 *Ibid.* vii, 2030

63 *Ibid.* viii, 549

64 *Ibid.*, 2215

65 *Ibid.* x, 1099

From him it passed successively to their son Alexander and grandson John. The latter died in 1816, and because he had no sons, and his four surviving daughters were excluded from the entail, the destination of the estate became the subject of a litigation. Two years later Sir John Gordon, the fifth baronet, was adjudged the successful claimant.

John Gordon died in 1628 having appointed his wife Mary and sons William and David his executors. His bequests included a selection of goblets to his son Alexander, two of the younger ones – Roger and William – being palmed off with a dozen spoons (subject to his wife's use of them during her lifetime) and some clothes, respectively. His illegitimate daughter Isabel Gordon seems to have fared rather better as she was given 40 merks,⁶⁶ while he left the residue of his moveable estate to Mary.⁶⁷

His heritable estate went to Alexander as the eldest son. This consisted of the original family property of Airds, as well as the lands in the parish of Kirkpatrick Durham which had been acquired by Alexander the patriarch. In addition, Alexander inherited his father's portion of Earlston, and in 1632 he acquired the Afton estate in south Ayrshire from a Dumfriesshire landowner, George Corry of Kelwode.⁶⁸

Meanwhile the fortunes of the Gordons of Lochinvar, represented by John 1st Viscount Kenmure, were in decline. Following his death in September 1634, most of his lands were sold to Robert McBair and his son David. They appear to have been land speculators because they sold them on to Sir Mungo Campbell of Lawers (one of the Campbells of Loudoun) who in 1644 re-sold them to Alexander Gordon. These lands included the baronies of Crossmichael, which comprised most of that parish, and that of Balmaclellan. Also the lands and barony of Gelston, as well as lands in the parish of Buittle, and others in Girthon, Anwoth and Minnigaff to the west. In some cases, such as the barony of Kenmure, Alexander's purchase was limited to the superiority.

In 1645 Alexander Gordon purchased the 'land and barony of Earlston', as they were described in the Charter issued to him following their sale by Robert 4th Viscount Kenmure.⁶⁹ In fact they comprised only part of the barony, as they were limited to the portion which Viscount Robert's grandfather, Sir John of Lochinvar, acquired from Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree in 1605.

Consequently Alexander acquired possession of virtually the whole barony, with the exception of the portion of the former Sinclair interest which had passed to Rosina's descendants, the Stewarts of Monquhil. But because he omitted to complete his title to the lands he acquired from Sir Mungo Campbell, for whatever reason, it was left to his son William to do so. Nevertheless it was only in 1663 that William was granted a royal charter confirming him in possession of them.⁷⁰

Meanwhile Alexander took part in contemporary politics, sitting in the Scottish parliament as the member for Kirkcudbright. Although initially a supporter of Charles I,

66 She was probably the offspring of Helen Toddie with whom John committed adultery, evident from an entry in the Register of the Great Seal in 1623 which refers to the King granting him Letters of Remission on that account.

67 Earlston Charters, pp 78, 79

68 *RMS* viii 1953

69 Earlston Charters, p 80

70 *Ibid.* xii, 520

who dubbed him 'the Earl of Earlstoun', he was strongly opposed to Charles's attempt to impose episcopacy on the Scottish Church. Consequently he was an early signatory of the National Covenant in 1638. As a commissioner to the General Assembly of December that year, he was among those who voted to extend it illegally, when it passed a number of Acts deposing the bishops and abolishing prelacy.

When in the following year war broke out between the king and the adherents of the Covenant, Alexander came out in support of the latter, and he and his son John were appointed members of the War Committee for Kirkcudbright. Shortly after this, as patron of St John's Church, he refused to sanction the appointment of an intruded curate. When Bishop Sydserff summoned him to appear before the diocesan court to account for this, he pointedly ignored the request and consequently was banished from Scotland. But not for long, because in 1646 he was reappointed a member of the War Committee for Kirkcudbright – this time with his son William, as John had died the previous year.

Two years later Alexander suffered a stroke (described as a palsy), and in consequence was unable to play any further part in public life until his death in 1653. His wife, whom he married in 1612, was Elizabeth Gordon, daughter of John Gordon of Penninghame, a member of the Lochinvar family.

Their eldest son John was born the following year. He married Jean, daughter of John Boswell of Auchinleck, and had an only daughter. Described as 'one of the most singularly pious men in his day' (meaning he was a diehard Covenanter), he died in 1645.

His Will was preserved among the family papers,⁷¹ and the fact that it includes a list of livestock held at Stroangassel and Nether Airds suggests that he farmed there. In terms of this, he appointed his father and his brother William as tutors to his child, enjoining them 'to be careful of [her] education in religion and letters', and stipulated that she should remain with her mother 'till 10 or 12 years of age'. In the event these injunctions proved unnecessary because the girl died in childhood. Evidently a dressy fellow, his Will records a debt of 200 merks to his tailor!

Since John predeceased his father, his brother William inherited the family estates. Born in 1614 he was destined for the Church, but no sooner had he completed his training than war broke out. Therefore, abandoning the surplice for the sword, he was given command of a company in the Covenanting army under General David Leslie.

Almost immediately afterwards the army invaded England in support of the Parliamentarians and laid siege to Newcastle. Here William distinguished himself by scaling the town wall, capturing a cannon and turning it on the garrison. However when his brother John became terminally ill he resigned his commission and returned home to assist his father in the management of the family estates.

Nevertheless he continued to play a part in contemporary events. Having fought against the king, he turned against the Commonwealth and took part in the Glencairn Rising aimed at restoring the exiled Charles II to the Scottish throne. However, squabbles broke out among the leaders (culminating in a duel between Glencairn and Sir George Monro) which

71 It is reproduced in the Earlston Charters on page 81

effectively put paid to the enterprise. Consequently Alexander surrendered to General Monck, the commander of the English army in Scotland. Pardoned but heavily fined, he retired to Airds where he devoted himself to the management of his estates.

Apart from Airds, they included the lion's share of the former barony of Earlstoun, and the lands in Kirkpatrick Durham and other parishes. In addition, he acquired his father's right in the lands formerly belonging to the Gordons of Lochinvar, and thereafter the McBairs, which he purchased from Sir Mungo Campbell. In 1655 William bought out the remaining Sinclair interest in Earlstoun from Robert Stewart of Monquhil, and similarly that of the 4th Viscount Kenmure, as well as those of his relatives the Gordons of Stroangassel.

In 1657 his title to the Earlstoun lands, and those in the parish of Kirkpatrick Durham, was confirmed by a charter issued in name of Oliver Cromwell as Protector.⁷² This did not however include the lands which his father purchased from Sir Mungo Campbell, and to which he had a mere personal right.

In view of William's participation in the Glencairn Rising it might seem odd that the Protector should grant this charter. However it was probably to enable him to borrow on the security of the lands included in it to pay the fine. This is evident from the fact that, when William handed over the family estates to his son Alexander, they were burdened with a debt of 4,200 merks.⁷³

Nevertheless William was now sole possessor of the former barony of Earlstoun. Broadly speaking, it consisted of a swathe of land on the east side of the Water of Ken, extending from Dalry northwards as far as its confluence with the Deugh. From there it fanned out, being bounded on the east by the Ken valley up to and including the Holm of Dalquhairn, and on the west by the Deugh as far as Waterhead. It also included the hill ground in between, including Cairnsmore of Carsphairn, probably extending as far as the Clenoch burn.

Following the Restoration, William, like his fellow Covenanters, found himself at odds with the new regime under the Earl of Lauderdale, and in 1662 his continued adherence to the Covenant cost him the swingeing fine of £3,500. Consequently the grant of a royal charter in August the following year, confirming him in possession of the lands his father purchased from Sir Mungo Campbell,⁷⁴ was also to enable him to borrow on the security of them to pay it.

This marked the start of the decline in the family's fortunes, and the piecemeal disposal of their lands over the next eighty years, which would culminate in the sale of Earlstoun itself.

Notwithstanding the fine, William continued to give aid and support to the Covenanters, allowing them to hold conventicles on his land, and even in his house. A direct challenge to the authorities, these were highly illegal services held clandestinely in private houses or out on the hills and moors, and conducted according to the Presbyterian form of worship by ministers ejected from their parishes.

⁷² *RMS* x, 609

⁷³ *Gordon Family of Earlston*, p 68

⁷⁴ *RMS* xii, 520

The penalties were severe, as those caught officiating at them, or even attending them, were heavily fined. Although not recorded, William would have undoubtedly have incurred further fines which would almost certainly have contributed to the family's ultimate ruin.

Matters came to a head in July 1663 when commissioners acting for the Scottish Privy Council ordered William as patron of St John's Church, Dalry to sanction the appointment of an intruded curate. When he declined, courteously explaining his reasons for doing so, the commissioners summoned him to appear before the Council to answer for his 'factious and seditious conduct' in 'refusing to hear [i.e. attend services conducted by] the curates', and for hearing and countenancing outed Presbyterian ministers'.

In November further charges were raised against him, this time for holding conventicles in his house. Accordingly he was summoned to appear before the Council on pain of death. However, through the intercession of his former associate the Earl of Glencairn, now Chancellor, his sentence was commuted to banishment, and he was forbidden to return to Scotland under pain of imprisonment and a fine of £10,000.

Therefore abandoning Airds, he went to live in London where he appears to have been kept under surveillance. Certainly his letters were intercepted, because the fact that in one of them he expressed his disapproval of the Pentland Rising was enough to persuade Lauderdale to acquit him of all charges and allow him to return home. Perhaps it was a ruse, but nevertheless it worked because William spent the next fourteen years at Airds.

However, appalled by the 'rigorous execution of the bloody laws then in force [and the sight of] people of all ranks [being] robbed of their lives, liberties and properties, [and denied] all legal methods of redress' (as the author of the *Gordon Family of Earlston* puts it), William continued to give aid and succour to the Covenanters. This included allowing conventicles to be held on his lands, which he frequently attended himself. The reckoning came in February 1679 when, summoned once again to answer for this before the Council, he ignored the request and was consequently 'put to the horn' (i.e. declared an outlaw).

Now in his mid-sixties he was forced, much against his will, to take up arms as a militant Covenanter. A few months later he commanded a regiment of Galloway horse charged with defending a three-day conventicle which was attended by some 14,000 people on Skeoch Hill, near Irongray, against a possible attack by Government troops.⁷⁵

The end came on 22 June that year. Having raised a force to assist the Covenanters against the 10,000-strong Government army under the Duke of Monmouth, he sent it north under his son Alexander. Since he was obliged to settle his affairs at home, he ordered Alexander not to engage the Government troops until he had caught up with him. But when battle was joined at Bothwell Bridge, Alexander was drawn into it. For the Covenanters it was a disaster. Pulverised by cannonry and hopelessly outmanoeuvred, their army was cut to pieces. William, however, was still on his way there and had got as far as Strathaven where he encountered a party of dragoons. When he hesitated to surrender they shot him out of hand.

His sister-in-law Lady Harper arranged for his body to be buried in nearby Glassford churchyard. Also for a pillar to be erected to his memory there, though there was no time

75 J K Hewison, *The Covenanters* (Glasgow, 1913), vol 2, p 276

to have it inscribed. Almost a century later, when it had become dilapidated, his great-grandson Sir John Gordon had it replaced with a sandstone table containing the following inscription:

To the Memory of the very Worthy Pillar of the Church of Scotland, Mr. William Gordon of Earlston in Galloway, killed by a Party of Dragoons on his way to Bothwell Bridge, Sunday June 22nd 1679 aged 65 years. Inscribed by his great-grandson Sir John Gordon, Bart 1772.

Below it is a eulogy in verse composed by Sir John and recorded in his *Gordon Family of Earlston*.

In 1648 William married Mary, daughter of Sir James Hope, Lord Craighall, ancestor of the Earls of Hopetoun, now Marquesses of Linlithgow. According to the *Gordon Family of Earlston*, they had twenty-three children all of whom died young with the exception of four – a daughter Margaret who married Sir James Holborn of Menstrie, and three sons:

- 1 Alexander who inherited Earlston and succeeded his younger brother William as the second baronet.
- 2 William who was born in 1654, inherited the Afton estate as his portion, and became a soldier of fortune. In 1670 he enlisted in the army of Frederick William, 'the Great Elector' of Brandenburg, and fought in his campaigns against the French King Louis XIV. In 1685 he returned to Scotland to take part in the Earl of Argyll's rebellion which was timed to coincide with the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion in the West Country against the Catholic James II. It proved a fiasco. Argyll was captured and beheaded, while William managed, after many adventures, to escape back to the continent. Three years later, he took part in William of Orange's successful invasion which resulted in James's deposition and the accession of William and his wife Mary as joint king and queen.

Thereafter he fought in King William's campaigns in the Low Countries against Louis XIV, rising to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Following the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 he returned home and was appointed Governor of Fort William. In 1706 he was awarded a baronetcy with remainder, failing heirs of his own, to his elder brother Alexander and his male issue. In 1692 he married Mary, daughter of Sir George Campbell of Cessnock. Since they had no children, the title passed on his death in 1718 to Alexander who also inherited his estate of Afton.

- 3 John Gordon, a tall, handsome man who qualified as a surgeon. On the death of James Gordon of Carleton in 1688 he succeeded as heir of entail to that estate, notwithstanding that on the face of it his brothers Alexander and William had a prior claim. However they were barred from succeeding, the one because he was a fugitive from justice, while the other was proscribed for taking part in Argyll's rebellion. John's tenure was relatively short as he died of what was described as 'a decline' in 1695, and because he had no children the estate passed to his cousin Nathaniel Gordon.

The eldest brother Alexander, who was born in 1650, had a turbulent career. A staunch Covenanter like his father, he was one of the few survivors of Bothwell Bridge having narrowly escaped capture. While fleeing through Hamilton, he was recognised by a former

Earlstoun tenant who gave him sanctuary. Burying his horse's gear in a dunghill, the former tenant took Alexander into his house, and dressing him in women's clothes he set him to rocking his infant son in a cradle. Consequently when his pursuers broke into the house in their search for fugitives they failed to recognise him.⁷⁶

Once the coast was clear, Alexander retrieved his horse and gear and set off home. But no sooner had he arrived there than the house was surrounded by Graham of Claverhouse's dragoons, and it was only by hiding himself in the rafters above the kitchen that he managed to escape detection.⁷⁷

Following his victory at Bothwell Bridge, the Duke of Monmouth was put in effective charge of the government of Scotland in place of Lauderdale, now incapacitated by a stroke. In a change of policy he offered a general amnesty to all Covenanters, except those who fought at Bothwell Bridge. Thus excluded from it, and facing almost certain capture by the Government troops, Alexander was prevailed on to escape to Holland where many of his fellow Covenanters had found sanctuary.

Meanwhile sentence of death was passed on him in his absence by the High Court of Justiciary, while his estates were forfeited and given to Major Theophilus Oglethorpe, one of Claverhouse's cavalry commanders. Because Dalry was one of the main Covenanter centres in Galloway, Earlstoun was converted into a barracks to accommodate the Government troops responsible for hunting them down.

Later Alexander returned secretly to Scotland to act as a courier between the leaders of the Covenanters there and those who had taken refuge in Holland. In 1683 he was apprehended on the high seas while on his way to Holland. Searched, he was found to be carrying letters concerning the Rye House Plot to kill the King and the Duke of York. Consequently he was brought back in irons and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle.

The story goes that, as he was about to be interrogated under torture by the boot, 'he rose in fury, roared like a bull [and] like a shaggy Galloway he tossed macers and soldiers about the chamber to the dismay of his tormentors'.⁷⁸ Nevertheless sentence of death was deferred, and he was imprisoned successively in Edinburgh Castle, the Bass Rock, and finally in Blackness Castle where he was released under the general amnesty following James II's deposition.

A free man at last, his estates were restored to him, though he is supposed to have demurred at accepting them because they had been so badly pillaged. In fact it was only by selling the timber on Earlstoun to his cousin, the future Earl of Hopetoun, for the sum of 21,000 merks that he could afford to repair the damage to his estate. However it was not until 1690 that the house was rendered sufficiently habitable for him and his wife, who had shared his exile, to return there.

Now forty, he lived at Earlstoun for the remaining thirty-six years of his life, devoting himself to restoring his estates to their former condition. However, in 1708 he handed them over to his eldest son Thomas. As a victim of both Charles II and James II's regimes,

⁷⁶ Hewison, *The Covenanters* ii, 312

⁷⁷ *Gordon Family of Earlstoun*, p 419

⁷⁸ Hewison, *The Covenanters*, ii, 406-7

Alexander was understandably opposed to the Jacobite cause, and therefore refrained from taking part in the rebellion of 1715 – unlike his brother-in-law the 6th Viscount Kenmure who did so at the cost of his title and his head.

In 1718 he succeeded his brother William as second baronet. He was twice married. His first wife whom he married in 1676 was Janet, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Preston. (Her brother Robert Hamilton was a leader of the extremist Covenanters known as the Cameronians). They had thirteen children, of whom five sons and four daughters survived infancy:

- 1 William who died aged fifteen ‘much regretted’.
- 2 Anna, born 1680. In 1697 she married John Neilson of Corsock who died in 1708 leaving her with a son and daughter. In spite of receiving many offers of marriage, being described as a lady of graceful appearance, she remained a widow until her death in 1761.

The son John, who inherited Corsock, eloped with Janet Rae, heiress of Robert Rae of Cargen, by whom he had six children. However this escapade involved him in a great deal of trouble which eventually forced him to abandon his family and emigrate to South Carolina. There he died in 1750 ‘much regretted at home and abroad’.

The daughter Peggie, on the other hand, was described as a lady of ‘malevolent and vindictive disposition’, and not surprisingly she never married.

- 3 Mary, born 1681. In 1701 she married Edward Goldie of Craigmuaie, which property his father had bought from William Gordon. He died in November 1711 leaving a son and three daughters who all married and had families of their own, while Mary died in 1723 aged forty-two.
- 4 Thomas who succeeded as third baronet
- 5 Margaret, born 1687. In 1706 she married John McCartney of Blaiket who was to prove a kind benefactor and friend to her brother Archibald. She died in October 1715 leaving two sons and two daughters, one of whom married and had issue, while her husband John survived her and died in 1723.
- 6 Robert who was born at Blackness Castle (where his father was a prisoner) in 1688. Destined to become a merchant, he served an apprenticeship in Edinburgh before moving to London. In 1711 he emigrated to America and settled in Maryland where, with financial support from his uncle Sir William Gordon, he established his own business and remained there for the rest of his life.

He married the widow of Robert French, a well-to-do merchant in Pennsylvania and had a daughter Janet. (Sir John, the author of the *Gordon Family of Earlston* is scathing about her, claiming that because she owed the family a sum in excess of £600 she ‘finds it convenient not to acknowledge them’.) Robert Gordon died in 1750 aged sixty-two.

- 7 Archibald who was born in July 1691 following his father’s return to Earlston. Like his brother Robert, he was destined for a career in commerce, and in 1707 he was apprenticed to his brother-in-law John McCartney. In 1711, having completed his apprenticeship, he set out for Virginia. However, instead of consigning all his possessions

to one ship, he spread the risk by splitting them between two, but unfortunately lost out on both counts. The ship on which he was sailing was captured by the French who took him prisoner, and although released his possessions were confiscated. The other ship, hotly pursued, ran aground when the crew set it on fire.

Archibald was now virtually penniless. However, on the strength of credit extended to him by his uncle Sir William, John McCartney, and other friends, he set out once more for Virginia. But again he was dogged by ill-luck. Blown off course and separated from its escort, his ship was captured by the French. Again he was released – this time at Cadiz. Since he was in hostile Spain, the British Consul could only lend him a dollar, although he managed to persuade a local firm of merchants to accept a bill on his uncle Sir William for a further eight dollars.⁷⁹

Armed with this, he set out on foot for Lisbon in neutral Portugal, where he arrived many days later in very poor shape, with all his money spent, having encountered numerous difficulties on the way. At last his luck turned. Craving the assistance of one Charles David, a Scotsman and a local merchant, it transpired that this gentleman had encountered his father during the latter's exile on the continent. Therefore he provided Archibald with enough money to get him home and secured a berth for him on a ship bound for Falmouth.

Reaching London in late 1712, he was again penniless. Nevertheless, through the good offices of John McCartney and other friends he managed to raise enough money to go into business there. However, discouraged by lack of immediate success, he returned to Scotland where he obtained employment with the Excise Department. In 1717 he was appointed Supervisor of Excise at Aberdeen, and later a Collector of Excise there, subsequently moving to Perth and later Dumfries.

In 1724 he married his cousin Janet, daughter of Sir Thomas Young. They had a number of children, of whom two – a son and a daughter – survived to maturity. The son Gilbert married a Stewart of Physgill and died in 1789 leaving surviving issue, while the daughter Margaret (Peggie) died ten years before after suffering 'a long, tedious and acute illness of accumulated complaints [borne] with a resignation worthy of herself and the pious life she led'. Described as 'a singularly pious, benevolent and charitably disposed lady', Archibald's wife Janet died in 1749. He survived her, dying in May 1754 aged sixty-three, wracked by the most excruciating pains from gout and gravel.

- 8 Jane born 1692. In 1713 she married William Martin of Kirkland and died in 1725 aged thirty-three leaving two handsome daughters, Janie and Annie 'who were much and justly esteemed among their friends'. Janie married the minister of Dalry and had a son and a daughter, both unmarried. Annie married James Lawrie of Barnsoul, a man 'in no way deserving of her' and had a son and two daughters.
- 9 Hope, so-called after his grandmother's family the Hopes of Craighall. Born in 1696, he joined the Navy and died of pleurisy in 1716 at the age of twenty off the eastern seaboard of America. Unfortunately he was struck down just as he was about to go ashore to meet his brother Robert.

⁷⁹ Worth £1 18/-, a dollar being the equivalent of approximately 5/- (or 25p).

Janet died in 1696 after giving birth to her youngest child Hope. The following year Alexander married Marion Gordon, daughter of Alexander 5th Viscount Kenmure, and had two further children:

10 Grizel born 1703, married Alexander Gordon of Carleton and died in 1740.

11 William of Drumrash who was born in 1706 and became a Writer to the Signet. His clients included his cousin John Gordon, son of the ill-fated 6th Viscount Kenmure, from whom he acquired the estate of Greenlaw and its partially rebuilt house in 1752. Since this was allegedly in satisfaction of unpaid fees, and the purchase price was £7,350,⁸⁰ William must have transacted a lot of business for his cousin.

In 1740 he married Isobel Gordon McCulloch, heiress of the neighbouring estate of Culvinnan. Consequently the two estates were merged, and henceforth William styled himself 'of Culvinnan'. He died in 1757 leaving a family of three sons and four daughters, of whom the eldest Alexander inherited the estates of Culvinnan and Greenlaw.

Alexander (later Sir Alexander) Gordon of Culvinnan was born in 1747 and became a man of considerable standing as Sheriff of Wigtown and later Steward-Depute of Kirkcudbright. However he is chiefly remembered for introducing canal building, now all the rage in England, into Galloway.

In 1765 he was responsible for cutting a canal (still visible) linking Carlingwark Loch with the River Dee. This reduced the level of the loch by ten feet exposing some eighty acres of marl,⁸¹ which Alexander had dug out and sold to local farmers as fertiliser. This was delivered to those in the lower Dee valley in flat-bottomed barges towed along the canal and ferried downriver from Glenlochar.

The labourers hired to carry out the work were housed in a settlement at the head of the loch which Alexander expanded to accommodate them. Known as Causewayend, and later re-named Carlingwark, this was the forerunner of Castle Douglas.

In 1790 Alexander expanded the market for his marl by cutting a second canal to bypass the rapids at Glenlochar, thus enabling it to be ferried upstream to farmers in the Glenkens. In 1802 he was responsible for securing an Act of Parliament authorising the cutting of a canal further downriver, with a series of locks, to bypass the 'doachs' of Tongland.⁸² This was to allow access to boats up the Dee and Ken to enable farmers and landowners in the district to export their produce direct to the English markets. A brilliant concept in theory, but it proved impractical and had to be abandoned, incurring Sir Alexander (as he had now become) in a heavy financial loss.

It was probably because of this that he had to sell the Culvinnan estate. However one of the farms on the Greenlaw estate was re-named Culvinnan so that he and his heirs could continue to style themselves 'of Culvinnan'. In 1769 he married Grace Dalrymple and died in 1830 leaving Greenlaw to his eldest son Colonel James Gordon. His second son

⁸⁰ R C Reid, 'The Culvinnan Writs', *TDGNHAS* ser. 3, vol x (1925), pp 24-5

⁸¹ *Old Statistical Account* 8, p 303

⁸² 42 Geo III c. 114: Glenkens canal Bill

David achieved fame as the inventor of the motor carriage,⁸³ and David's grandson, another David, sold Greenlaw to a Mr Coltart in 1881.

Sir Alexander Gordon, the second baronet, died in 1726 'having survived all his troubles to the good old age of seventy-six', and was buried in Dalry kirkyard.

His eldest surviving son, Sir Thomas Gordon, succeeded him as third baronet. Born in Edinburgh on 26 October 1685, he was originally destined for the law. However, when he qualified in 1708 his father handed over what was left of the family estates to him. This proved a poisoned chalice, because the work of sorting out the mess meant sacrificing a potentially more profitable career in the law. Almost all the hill ground to the north had been sold off, much of it to the Goldies of Craigmuaie. What remained yielded an annual rental of some £300, but at the same time it was burdened with debts to the tune of £20,246 Scots (equivalent to about £1,687 sterling).

It was further burdened with two annuities which had not been paid. And worse still, Thomas's father Alexander reneged on his undertaking to his creditors to apply the proceeds of sale of the woods on Earlstoun, and other receipts, in reduction of their debts, diverting them into his own pocket instead. Therefore they raised an Action for Payment against him. However, through the good offices of Sir William Gordon, a consistent benefactor to his brother's family, an accommodation was reached and a new contract was drawn up in December 1709. In the event this proved no more than a stay of execution, though it would defer the final reckoning for upwards of thirty years.

Meanwhile Thomas must have perceived marriage to a wealthy heiress as a way out of his financial difficulties. Accordingly in January 1710 he married Anne Boick, daughter and co-heiress of William Boick, a well-to-do merchant burgher and guild brother of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and her dowry of 30,000 merks (equivalent to £1,660) would – or should – have been of considerable help in putting his finances in order.

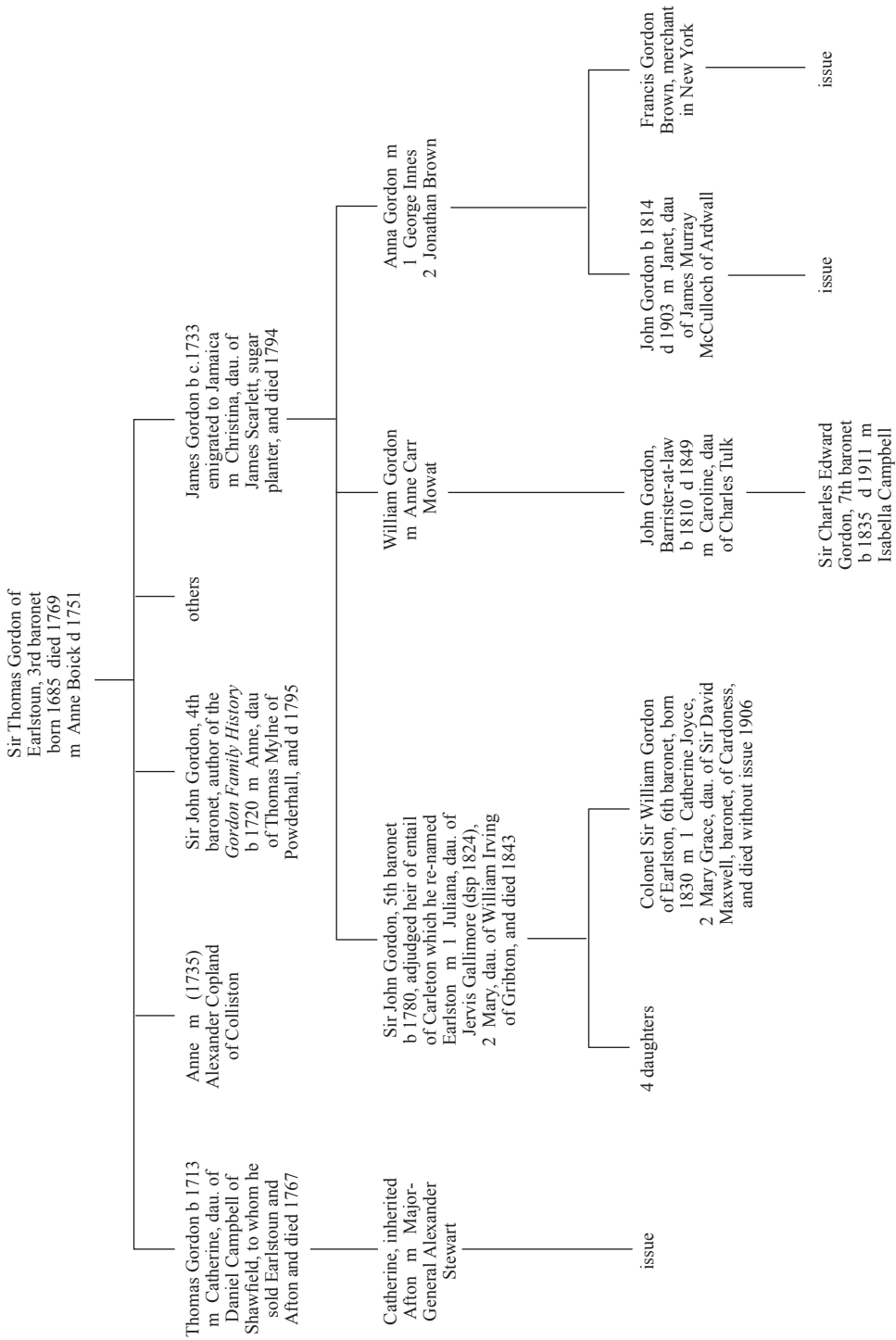
When the Jacobite Rebellion broke out in September 1715, Thomas, naturally hostile to the Stuarts for their persecution of his father and grandfather, came out in support of the Government. Appointed Deputy Lieutenant for the Stewartry by the Marquis of Annandale, he was issued with blank commissions to be filled in for purposes of raising a militia. But as 2,000 well-armed volunteers rallied to his specially prepared banner,⁸⁴ this proved unnecessary. Marching on Dumfries, they helped garrison the town to prevent the rebels from using it as a base from which to advance into England.

Following his father's death, Thomas succeeded to the Afton estate. Purchased by his forebear Alexander Gordon, it had passed to his uncle Sir William who had entailed it on his successors in the baronetcy. This turned out to be another poisoned chalice. Although yielding an annual rental of upwards of £200, it was burdened with a debt of £1,752 sterling which Thomas managed to reduce to about £1,200 by selling the house and garden, and other pertinents. Even so, it was a millstone he could well have done without.

83 RC Reid, 'The Culvennan Writs' *TDGNHAS* ser.3, vol x (1925), pp 20-80

84 This portrays the Gordon family crest and motto at the top left hand corner, while the Latin inscription which surrounds the rising sun motif is roughly translated as: 'Let God arise, and scattered be His enemies. For Religion, Liberty and Covenant'. This passed to the Gordon descendants in Australia who loaned it to the Scots Church in Sydney, where it remained until 2001 when it was closed. The Church authorities then offered it, with the consent of Sir Robert Gordon, the tenth baronet, to the Stewartry Museum in Kirkcudbright, where it remains, having been repaired and renovated with the aid of a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund.

The Descendants of Sir Thomas Gordon



Meanwhile, from the late 1600s onwards a number of landowners had been profiting substantially from the growing black cattle trade, fuelled by a rapidly expanding demand for them in the south. This involved evicting large numbers of small farmers from their holdings in order to clear the way for the establishment of extensive grass parks. These were enclosed by hedges and dykes to contain the cattle, and thus facilitate the introduction of improved management techniques.

Doubtless perceiving this as a means of extricating himself from his financial difficulties, Thomas Gordon followed suit. Consequently he proceeded to evict a large number of smallholders on the Earlstoun estate, to their extreme hardship and distress, in order to create a 'substantial grazing park' which he enclosed with a four-mile wall. How he managed to finance it is not known, and unless he was able to persuade his creditors that advancing the money would expedite repayment of their loans, which is unlikely, it must have come from his wife's dowry.

However the more intransigent tenants stood their ground and it was the refusal of two in particular to remove themselves that triggered off what became known as the Levellers' Revolt. Making common cause, dispossessed tenants throughout Galloway declared their intention to destroy all dykes so that not a single one should be left standing in the region. Therefore they proceeded to raze them to the ground, and – less excusably – maim cattle. These activities continued for the best part of two years until suppressed with the aid of dragoons brought in by the Earl of Stair.

Since it seems to have done nothing to improve Sir Thomas's financial situation, the enterprise was most likely a failure. While this may have been partly attributable to the levellers' activities, it was more likely due to the fact that Earlstoun was not suited to the production of cattle of sufficient quality to appeal to southern graziers and consumers. Those landowners who profited most from the trade tended to be confined to the lower-lying parts of Galloway, particularly Wigtownshire where the milder climate conduces to a long growing season. Being higher up, this is not the case at Earlstoun, and the cattle produced there were probably lean, ill-thriven beasts prone to an unduly high mortality.

Nevertheless, as his son John put it, Sir Thomas enjoyed 'a sort of suspension of hostilities from his creditors'. They may have been encouraged to stay their hand by the steady sale of lands which had been taking place, given that the proceeds would have gone some way towards reducing their loans. The extent of these disposals is apparent from a draft Disposition (more likely a Bond) by Alexander Gordon in favour of one George Hume of Whitfield, which is included as an appendix to the *Gordon Family of Earlstoun*. Although dated 15 January 1741, this is clearly wrong as Alexander was long since dead by then, and therefore it is more likely to have been 1721.

Obviously Hume was a creditor, and although it seems that the transaction was not proceeded with, it is possible to deduce from the properties specified in the Deed the sales which had taken place since the granting of the charters of 1657 and 1663. They included parts of Earlstoun, almost all the lands in the parish of Crossmichael, the whole of the barony of Gelston, as well as the outliers in the parishes of Buittle, and those to the west.

It seems likely that, following these sales, and being naturally indolent with a propensity to enjoy the present and let the future take care of itself, as his son John put it, Sir Thomas

let matters drift. However, when it dawned on them that nothing further was being done to reduce their loans, his creditors jolted him out of his complacency and became ‘every day more troublesome and impatient, even threatening to have recourse to the last remedies’ (i.e. a forced sale). It was probably in response to this that in 1734 Sir Thomas sold the Holm of Dalquhairn to Robert MacMillan⁸⁵ whose descendant continues to own it.

In 1737 he took advantage of his eldest son Thomas’s marriage to Catherine Campbell to transfer the management of his estates to him, reserving only an annuity of 3,000 merks, or £166 – presumably to cover his living expenses. The younger Thomas was saddled with an unenviable task, because the total of the debts secured on the estate had now grown to just under £11,400.

Born in 1713 this Thomas, like his father, was originally destined for the law. But finding it irksome he abandoned his studies at an early stage. As his brother John put it, ‘being a very handsome man, he soon gained the affections of the very amiable and most accomplished Miss Catherine Campbell’. Daughter of Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, her mother Catherine (née Erskine) was a sister of the ninth Earl of Buchan. They were married on 20 October 1737 – evidently a very grand affair, his brother John describing it as an unnecessary waste of money ‘imprudently thrown away in parade, empty show and grandeur’.

This set the tone of Thomas and Catherine’s early married life when, in order to keep up with their smarter friends, they maintained a style far beyond their means. Persuaded by these friends, Thomas stood for Parliament as member for the Stewartry – an expensive undertaking. Later, in return for some empty promises, he withdrew his candidature in favour of Captain Maxwell, a fellow Kirkcudbrightshire landowner. Notwithstanding the mounting debts secured on his estates, Thomas built an extension consisting of two pavilions at Airds which he established as his summer residence, while in winter he and Catherine divided their time between nearby Woodhall and Edinburgh.

Such extravagance could not continue, and the crisis came two years later in 1739, when Thomas was forced to compound with his creditors by assigning all his lands, including the Earlstoun and Afton estates, to them. They were valued at approximately £14,000, while the total indebtedness was almost £13,000 – or £15,000 if the annuities due to his wife, mother and grandmother were taken into account. Since this left a shortfall of around £1,000, the creditors cancelled the annuity of 3,000 merks payable to Sir Thomas out of these estates.

After much family wrangling and disputes among the creditors an agreement was eventually hammered out whereby Thomas’s father-in-law, Daniel Campbell, undertook to pay the creditors half the sums owing to them in return for a discharge of their securities. In September 1739, in implement of the agreement, and at Campbell’s behest, Thomas executed a Deed entailing his remaining estates on his male heirs – by Catherine or any future wife, whom failing his female heirs. The lands conveyed under the Deed included what was left of the former Earlstoun barony, the few remaining farms in the parish of Crossmichael, and Blaiket in the parish of Urr,⁸⁶ while the Afton estate was similarly entailed.

⁸⁵ *Lands and their Owners* iii, p 304

⁸⁶ *General Register of Sasines (Dumfries)* IV, bk XIII, 206

On the face of it, Daniel Campbell's injunction to Thomas to entail his estates on his heirs, whether by Catherine or a subsequent wife, appears generous and undeserving of Sir John Gordon's stricture that 'his selfish motives through life are well known'. At least it would seem so. But events appear to suggest otherwise, because Campbell proceeded to break up the Gordon lands. While Airds was sold to Alexander McGhie of Airie, Mains of Earlston went to William Newall who subsequently purchased the rest of the estate.⁸⁷ (He then sold it to Alexander Murray of Broughton who left it to his son James. Following the latter's death in 1799, it was sold again – this time to William Forbes of Callendar, ancestor of the present owner of Earlston.)

It must have been extremely galling for Sir Thomas to witness the dispersal of the family estates, the more so because owing to an unexpected stroke of fortune he was in a position to buy back Mains of Earlston – or so he thought, but he was never given the chance to do so. This was because his son Archibald was serving on a frigate which had recently captured a Spanish ship, and his share of the prize money came to some £2,000. But because Archibald died before he could claim it, Sir Thomas became entitled to it as his heir-at-law. Nevertheless the £1,300 he eventually received would not have been enough to match Newall's offer of £1,500.

Following the sale of Earlston, the younger Thomas and Catherine went to live in Edinburgh. They had two sons and a daughter. The elder son Thomas joined the Navy and died in the East Indies in 1766, while the younger Daniel died in 1762 aged twenty. Both predeceased their father Thomas who died of a fever in November 1767 within days of his fifty-fourth birthday, survived by his own father, the eighty-two-year-old Sir Thomas. Observing that he was 'universally regretted' and 'justly lamented by a most affectionate widow and daughter', Thomas's brother John added that for his part he ever 'held his memory dear'.

Since her brothers died without issue, the daughter Catherine inherited the Afton estate in terms of her father's entail. She sounds rather a spoilt young lady, and her uncle John was disparaging of her. 'Her unmerited contempt, supercilious look and disrespectful carriage I long experienced', he wrote, adding that 'however inexcusable, [it] may in some measure be attributed to the thoughtlessness of youth, and pride of a succession of £10,000'. In 1770 she married Alexander Stewart. Acquiring the Afton estate in her right, he designated himself 'of Afton', and rose to the rank of Major-General. They had a son Alexander who served in his father's regiment the Buffs, and four daughters.

Meanwhile Sir Thomas seems to have had rather a degraded old age. His son John was less than complimentary about him. While conceding that he was 'a good and zealous Christian, remarkably attentive to all his religious duties, and for many years a Commissioner to the General Assembly', he goes on to say that his father's private life 'would not redound much to his credit'. Evidently 'rather dissipated' and 'astonishingly indolent' in early life, he was indifferent to 'the Happiness and Welfare of his children'. He was also 'imperious and obstinate' which was largely responsible for the troubles that beset him in later life.

⁸⁷ Unfortunately Book XV of the General Register of Sasines for Dumfries (including Kirkcudbright) which contains engrossments of the deeds recorded at this time, and should help throw light on the transactions affecting Earlston, is being repaired preparatory to digitalisation. Consequently it is not available to members of the public.

Leaving Earlstoun – with understandable reluctance – in 1745, he and his wife moved to London, then Carlisle before finally settling at Whitehaven. Here Lady Gordon (the former Anne Boick) died on 8 April 1751 ‘much beloved and deservedly regretted by her surviving children’. Not long afterwards Sir Thomas married his housekeeper, a Mrs Gibson. The family were appalled, his son John, describing it as ‘an endless reproach on his character, which nature and reason could not but condemn’. Enlarging on the theme, he added that ‘to be a Slave and Dupe of such shameful passion, at or on the borders of three score years and ten, was undoubtedly a reproach on his grey hairs [and] the true emblem of his approaching dissolution’.

However the second Lady Gordon’s care and support for their father in his old age seems to have overcome the family’s prejudices, to the extent that his youngest son James gave them £100 towards their maintenance and left his stepmother an annuity of £25 in his Will. Yet in spite of this she prevailed on Sir Thomas to leave all his moveable estate, including the household furnishings which had belonged to his first wife, to her and her niece. Such ingratitude, as her stepson John observed, was the ‘mark of a mean and grovelling soul’ which is generally associated with ‘those of low birth whose bad Principles qualify them for all such infamous doings’.

According to John, Sir Thomas spent his latter years collecting ‘pebbles, shells and other trifles’ on the Cumbrian seashore, and writing polemics on the evils of the Church and State as he perceived them. Towards the end of his life he suffered a stroke which left him partially paralyzed and barely able to speak. He remained in that condition for some ten months until his death from a seizure on 23 March 1769 at the age of eighty-three.

He and his first wife Anne Boick he had thirteen children, of whom seven survived to adulthood:

- 1 William who died at Earlstoun in 1722 aged ten.
- 2 Thomas referred to above.
- 3 Alexander, probably born in late 1714, was described as a ‘comely person of amiable disposition’ being over six foot tall. Apprenticed as a merchant he went to Philadelphia, but on his return he contracted a fever from which he died on 8 March 1734 aged nineteen.
- 4 Ann, probably born in 1716. In May 1735 she married Alexander Copland of Collieston, a man of some standing whose family appears to have been land speculators. His brother-in-law Sir John spoke well of him, describing him as ‘universally beloved’, while his death in June 1774 was regarded by all and sundry as an ‘irreparable loss’ – particularly by his ‘disconsolate widow’ and their two sons and four daughters. Ann survived him by eight years, dying on 25 January 1783 ‘much regretted by all who knew her’.
- 5 Walter who died at Earlstoun aged three.
- 6 Archibald who was born in 1718 and opted for a career in medicine. In 1742 he obtained employment as Surgeon’s Mate on the *Solebay*, a 28-gun frigate. This took many prizes, notably the capture in February 1744 of the *Concordia*, a Spanish ship

which was valued at £200,000. However, the *Solebay* was captured soon afterwards and taken to Brest where the crew were interned. Unfortunately, being ‘of a weak habit of body’, Archibald contracted a fever from which he died in January 1745 aged twenty-six, when his father became entitled to his share of the prize money.

- 7 Robert who died at Earlstoun aged one.
- 8 John born 20 December 1720. The author of the *Gordon Family of Earlston*, he succeeded as fourth baronet.
- 9 Mary who died in Edinburgh aged six.
- 10 William who died in Edinburgh aged three.
- 11 Francis who was born in 1728 and commissioned into the 60th Regiment with whom he served in the American colonies. In 1763 he was taken prisoner by the Indians but managed to escape. Recaptured at Venango, on the border of present-day Colorado, he was murdered – probably scalped. Described as ‘beloved by all who knew him’, his death was ‘much regretted’.
- 12 Jenny who died in Edinburgh aged one.
- 13 James who was born in 1733. In 1754, having served a three-year apprenticeship with William Donald, a merchant in Ayr, he emigrated to Jamaica with the aim of going into the lucrative sugar trade. Here the prospects for self-enrichment were attracting many other people like him – unendowed younger sons of lairds who had to make their own way in life.

He remained there for the next twenty years working for a number of firms connected with the sugar trade. In spite of giving them ‘great satisfaction’, he failed to enrich himself as he had hoped. Eventually tiring of Jamaica he returned home with the intention of setting up in business on his own account. His brother John offered to help finance the venture, and even to go into partnership with him. However James seems to have abandoned the idea and declined the offer – not very graciously according to John who claimed that he got little thanks for it, and ‘on many occasions he [James] carried [himself] very haughtily towards [me]’.

Instead James went to work for the firm of merchants in Bristol. But, deciding that he had no future there, he left them after only six months and returned to Scotland. Having remained there until after John’s wedding in April 1775, he went to London where he stayed some seven weeks before returning to Jamaica. Here he found immediate employment, and four years later – in his mid-forties – he married Christina Scarlett, daughter of James Scarlett one of the leading sugar barons there.⁸⁸

In 1794 they returned home with their family of six children. The same year James died suddenly in Dumfries, and was buried in St Michael’s churchyard. The widowed Christina returned to Jamaica with their youngest child Robert (who died there), leaving

88 The family are represented today by the present Lord Abinger whose father kindly gave me information touching on their former sugar interests.

the others in the care of Susan Copland, daughter of James's sister Ann. Two of them died young because only three survived to adulthood, namely:

- a John who succeeded his uncle as fifth baronet.
- b William, ancestor of the present baronet.
- c Anna who married firstly George Innes, and secondly Jonathan Brown by whom she had two sons – John and Francis. Since Anna died prematurely and their father Jonathan married again, their uncle Sir John Gordon seems to have assumed some responsibility for them and had them to stay during the holidays. In due course he took the elder, John Gordon Brown, into his sugar business. Accordingly in 1832 the eighteen-year-old John was sent out to Jamaica to gain experience by working on his uncle's sugar plantation. Later he returned to the Head Office in Liverpool where he spent the rest of his working life until his retirement in 1866. Thereafter he lived at Lochanhead, near Dumfries, first as tenant of his brother-in-law Walter McCulloch of Ardwall, and later his eldest daughter Christian Jameson (subsequently Lady Ardwall), and died there in 1903.

Sir Thomas was succeeded by his seventh, but eldest surviving, son John, the author of the *Gordon Family of Earlston*, who became the fourth baronet. Born in Edinburgh on 20 December 1720, he was afflicted by a weak constitution and suffered agonies from gravel – or stone – from an early age. Finally, when only seven, he underwent the extreme torture of an operation when a stone 'near as large as a pigeon's egg' was extracted.

Although he survived the ordeal, he remained 'tender and delicate', so when the family moved to Edinburgh he was sent to live at Dalry for the sake of his health. While this did some good, the young John still suffered the occasional relapse. Sometimes his condition was so serious that, as he said, his parents 'callous and hardened to an object of distress' whom they were convinced was incurable, besides being a constant drain on their meagre resources, frequently expressed a wish for his death 'provided it was the will of Providence'.

On leaving school he wanted to go into business and become a prosperous merchant. However his brother Thomas intervened and persuaded Captain Ralph Dundas, who was helping to raise a Scottish regiment for service with the Dutch, to offer him a cadetship. Much against his will, he was prevailed on by his father to accept on pain of disinheritance (not that there was much to inherit). Having consigned John to an army life, his father declined to contribute so much as a sixpence towards his expenses. Consequently, as he said, he was compelled to rely on the generosity of his friends.

In August 1742 he sailed for Rotterdam and joined his regiment at Dendermonde in readiness to take part in the War of the Austrian Succession. Evidently a somewhat pious young man, he was dubbed 'Godly Gordon' to distinguish him from two others of the same name in the regiment. Commissioned a Lieutenant in March 1745, he spent the next six years campaigning in the Low Countries, taking part in a number of hard-fought actions against the French which he describes at length in his Family History. He also fought a

duel against a superior officer, Captain Mackay, in which both were wounded, and his opponent was forced to submit.⁸⁹

Although the war ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in October 1748, John remained in the Low Countries, being gazetted a Captain in March 1750. In June 1752 he returned to Scotland on what seems to have been indefinite leave, when he was reunited with members of his family whom he had not seen for ten years.

Apart from an obligatory and unsatisfactory visit to his father at Whitehaven, and sundry other excursions, he stayed for upwards of a year with his sister and brother-in-law, Ann and Alexander Copland, at Mollance as a paying guest. As he said, 'I shall ever look back on [that time] as the happiest spent year of my life', adding that 'I felt myself in a kind of Paradise, in a life of tranquillity and in a society equally agreeable to one another'.

After that he settled in lodgings in Edinburgh where his fellow guests included his nephew Alexander Copland and his cousin Joseph Goldie, and it was probably then that he wrote his Family History. During this time his father died and he succeeded to the baronetcy.

In April 1775 the fifty-four-year-old Sir John married Anne, daughter of Thomas Mylne of Powderhall, when they set up house at Silverknowes, along the coast from Granton. There he lived for the next twenty years until his death on 17 October 1795 when, in accordance with his wishes, he was buried in nearby Cramond churchyard. Since he had no children, the baronetcy passed to his nephew John, the elder son of his brother James who had died the previous year.

Born in Jamaica in 1780, Sir John Gordon, the fifth baronet, was brought back with the rest of the family to Scotland, where he remained after his father's death. On completing his education, he was placed in 'a mercantile counting house connected with Jamaica, in Glasgow', presumably as training for a career in the sugar trade. However, finding this drab-sounding occupation not to his taste, he was persuaded by the offer of a commission in the Royal Dragoons to abandon it for a military career, and in the course of this he served with the occupation force in Ireland.

Later resigning his commission, he went out to Jamaica where, starting as a planter, he seems to have prospered – doubtless thanks to his family connections there. These were extended as a result of his marriage in 1809 to Juliana Gallimore. She was a daughter of Jervis Gallimore, the owner of the Greenfield (otherwise Green Vale) estate, and a connection by marriage with his mother's family the Scarletts. Later Sir John acquired his own estate and evidently made a considerable fortune.

In 1818, following the death of his distant relative John Gordon of Carleton, he was adjudged the heir of entail to that estate. Therefore leaving the sugar plantation (now re-named the Carleton estate) in the hands of a manager, he returned home and lived at Senwick where his wife Juliana died in 1824. The following year he married Mary, daughter of William Irving of Gribton, and it was about this time that he built a mansion near Borgue. Situated on an eminence with a fine view looking down towards the coast,

⁸⁹ Capt. Mackay died shortly afterwards – of a fever, not from his wounds.

this was named Earlston after the old family estate which had passed out of their hands some eighty years before.

He lived there for the rest of his life, maintaining considerable style and carrying out extensive improvements to his estate.⁹⁰ He died on 8 January 1843 aged sixty-two and was buried in Borgue churchyard. Although he had no issue by Juliana, he and his second wife Mary Irving had seven children:

- 1 John who was drowned in a bathing accident while at school.
- 2 Mary Christian who married Dr James Shand of Kirkcudbright and had issue.
- 3 Julia who married Herbert James.
- 4 William who succeeded as sixth baronet.
- 5 Joan Anne who married Stevenson Forbes. They had an only daughter Evelyn (Evie), subsequently the wife of Lieutenant- Colonel John Rainsford-Hannay. She inherited part of the Carleton estate in Jamaica which she later sold.
- 6 James who died in Jamaica.
- 7 Jane who died unmarried.

Sir William Gordon of Earlston, the sixth baronet, was born on 20 October 1830, by which time his father had turned fifty. Consequently he was only twelve when he succeeded to the title. Although he inherited his father's sugar interests he seems to have played no part in the business, preferring a career in the Army instead. Commissioned into the 17th Lancers, he served with them in the Crimea and took part in the Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava. Also an accomplished horseman, he won the gold cup presented by the Sultan of Turkey.⁹¹ Later he served in India and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Retiring to Earlston, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant for the Stewartry, and died there on 12 May 1906 aged seventy-five.

He married firstly in 1857 Catherine Joyce (née Page) and had an only daughter who died young. Catherine herself died at Bombay in 1864, and in 1866 Sir William married Mary Grace, daughter of Sir David Maxwell of Cardoness, baronet. Since they had no issue the title passed on his death to his first cousin once removed, the seventy-one-year-old Charles Edward Gordon, grandson of his uncle William. Consequently he became the seventh baronet, as well as inheriting the estate as heir of entail. He died in July 1911 when he was succeeded by his only surviving son Robert Charles Gordon as the eighth baronet.

Meanwhile Sir William's widow Mary Grace continued to live at Earlston until her death in February 1923. While her moveable estate was divided between her brother and half-sisters, she left the Gordon family portraits to Sir Robert Charles Gordon.⁹² Her

⁹⁰ *New Statistical Account* (Kirkcudbrightshire.), p 281

⁹¹ Referred to as the 'Sultan's Cup', this was bequeathed to his niece Evelyn Rainsford-Hannay. I remember her showing it to me and having to retrieve it from a pile of old clothes where she had hidden it from possible burglars. She left it to her son Patrick, and after his death it was presented to the RMA Sandhurst Museum, where it now remains.

⁹² When my parents visited Sir Robert's son, Sir John Charles Gordon, in Australia in 1970 they were interested to see the portraits occupying pride of place in his house.

heritable estate, which consisted of the neighbouring holdings of Meikle Isle and Moss-side, were left to her brother Sir William Maxwell. Dying the following year, he in turn left them to his only daughter Dorothea, wife of Colonel Frederick Rainsford-Hannay, and hence by acquirenda to their marriage trustees who sold them.

In 1929 Sir Robert Charles Gordon broke the entail, and thereafter he and his son Sir John Charles Gordon sold off the estate piecemeal. This culminated in the sale of the house, its policies and the loch⁹³ in 1948 to Miss Ishbel Cross whose family had long been tenants of Earlston house. It was demolished in the early 1950s, following which the name Earlston disappeared from the Ordnance Survey maps. Consequently the only memorial to its Gordon owners consists of a partially defaced memorial in Borgue kirkyard.

93 More accurately a morass, a stone was erected there to mark the burying place of Sir William Gordon's favourite horse.

THE 'OLD EDINBURGH ROAD' IN DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY

A. D. Anderson¹

The 'Old Edinburgh Road' marked on Ordnance Survey maps of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright forms part of a route of great antiquity. A brief summary of its history before the turnpike era was given by the writer in a previous paper.² The following notes are intended as an amplification of this and its extensions into Dumfriesshire and Wigtownshire, based on observations made in the intervening forty years.

The Old Edinburgh Road forms part of a 'pilgrim way' from Edinburgh to Whithorn, as shown in Figure 1., and it is therefore fitting to begin with a brief description of this route outwith the length under detailed consideration between Minnigaff and the Lanarkshire boundary at Well Path Head.

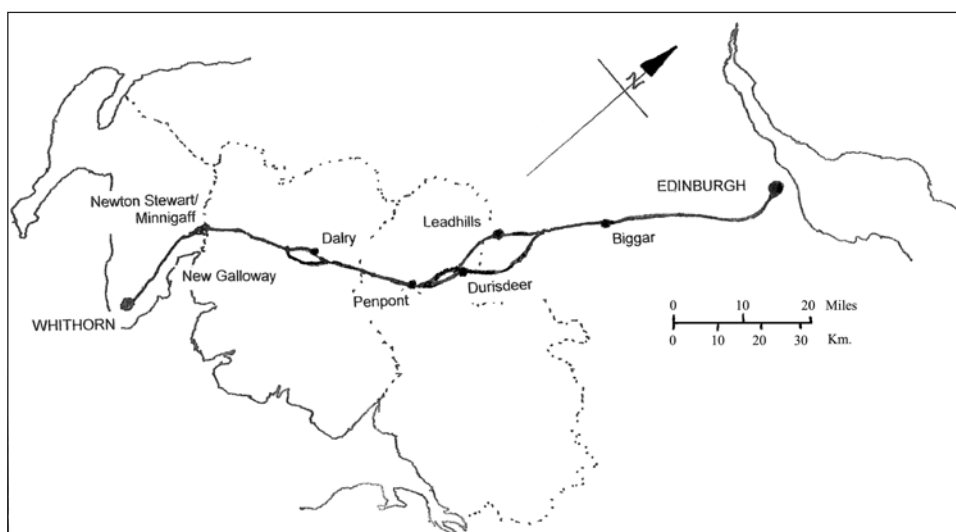


Figure 1.

The Route in Wigtownshire

To the west of this section the route is represented today by A714 from Newton Stewart to Whithorn, bypassing Wigtown by B7005. It is probable that the original route did not differ greatly from this line except between Carsegowan and a ford over the Bladnoch.

¹ Fellow of the Society; 22 St Anne's Road, Dumfries. DG2 9HZ.

² Anderson, A. D., 'The Development of the Road System in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, 1590-1890. Part II', *TDGNHAS*, III vol.45 (1968), p.211 and esp. pp.215-8.

Over this length there is a clearly defined route along private roads and field boundaries via Cairnyard and Glenturk Moor. There is also evidence that the present road deviated from the older route about 500 metres south west of Kirkinner, where there is a possible continuation of the latter through Little Hill. In Whithorn itself, this route aligns with the main street. The traditional 'King's Road' from the east would appear to represent an alternative approach from either Isle of Whithorn or, in the case of royal pilgrimages, perhaps from Cruggleton Castle.

The Route from Edinburgh to the Dumfriesshire Boundary at Well Path Head

Eastwards, the route mainly follows a Roman road from near Edinburgh to Durisdeer and is referred to in the Lord Treasurer's accounts relating to the pilgrimages of James IV. The old route (not necessarily Roman at this point) started in the Grassmarket in Edinburgh and went by way of the West Port to Tollcross, where the present A702 joins in. From Morningside, the older route climbed over the shoulder of the Braid Hills by Braid Road, and is rejoined by the modern road north of Fairmilehead. It continues by Lothianburn, where the present road makes a steep and winding ascent of the shoulder of Caerketton. This section is probably 19th. Century and the original line is obscure. From Silverburn onwards the older route deviates to the north west and roughly parallel to A702 as far as the bridge at Carlops, where it descends to the end of the bridge, only to deviate again from A702 at the south end of the village, from where it is a well marked but rough road to near Ingraston (north of Dolphinton). This last section gives its name to the tune 'The High Road to Linton', composed by Dickson of Medwinbank. A further 'deviation' in a roughly straight line where A702 follows a winding route can be seen at Brownsbank. The route continues through Biggar, where it could have made use of the 'Cadger's Brig', although the date of this is uncertain. South west of Biggar the old route is obscure, at least until the Clyde valley proper is reached near Lamington. James IV's Treasurer's accounts refer to 'Cold Chapel', which is on the east side of the Clyde near Abington. From here the Roman road would be followed past Elvanfoot. From here onwards the remains of the Roman road are generally clear, first on the north-west side of A702 and then, at the point where A702 turns right towards Troloss crossing over that road and continuing up the valley of the Potrail Water to Well Path Head, this last section of the Roman road being particularly well marked.

It is probable that the Roman road continued in use during the Middle Ages and in some cases into modern times. In the eastern section, in the valley of the Potrail Water, at some points the ditch of the Roman road has developed into something resembling a mediaeval hollow way, with the adjacent agger apparently disused.

An alternative route deviated at Abington and passed through Leadhills to the Enterkin Pass.

The Road in Dumfriesshire and the Stewartry

There follows a detailed consideration of the road in the former County of Dumfriesshire and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. This has been arranged in order from the east at Well Path Head near Durisdeer to the west at Machermore Ford near Newton Stewart.

Major Sources

References to various sources are given in footnotes. Nevertheless, certain sources are referred to so frequently that, to avoid an excess of notes, these are listed here and will be referred to only by name in the text, unless otherwise noted.

1. Sir John Clerk. 'A Journie to Galloway in 1721 by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik', transcribed and edited by W. A. J. Prevost, *TDGNHAS*, III vol. 41 (1962-3), p. 186.
2. Roy. General Roy's Map (1755).
3. Debbieg. 'Report on the proposed Military Road from Sark Bridge to Portpatrick by William Rickson ... and Hugh Debbieg, Lieutenant of Engineers, 1757', SRO, (Broughton and Cally Muniments), ref. GD10/546/1&2.
4. Taylor and Skinner. Taylor, G. and Skinner, A., *Taylor and Skinner's Survey and Maps of the Roads of North Britain or Scotland*, London, 1776.
5. Commissioners of Supply. Minutes of the Commissioners of Supply of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Held in the Ewart Library, Dumfries. Summaries of items relating to roads kept at the Ewart Library, Archive Centre, Dumfries, and Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright, and also by the present writer.
6. Ainslie. Ainslie's maps of Wigtownshire (1782) and the Stewartry (1797).
7. Road Trustees. Minutes of the Road Trustees of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Held in the Ewart Library, Dumfries. Summaries held as for Commissioners of Supply as above.
8. Robertson. (In this case, page references are given.) Robertson, J., *The Public Roads and Bridges in Dumfriesshire. 1650-1820*, Wigtown, 1993.
9. Ordnance Survey Maps. (Various dates.)

1. Well Path Head to Durisdeer

On this section, the Roman road is well marked except for the immediate descent from Well Path Head to the valley floor where it has been obliterated by erosion, much of this no doubt due to later traffic. From there, the Roman road can be easily followed down the valley past the fortlet, after which it crosses the burn and rises up the slope to the gate at the east end of the street at Durisdeer. The Roman road forms parts of the village street, but after passing the church the route is conjectural; the straight stretch of the present road south-west of the village may be on a Roman line.

Robertson, in his very useful summary of the road-making activities of the Commissioners of Supply for Dumfriesshire,³ records that the road from Durisdeer to Elvanfoot was repaired by the Duke of Queensberry in 1736 and that the Stewartry was asked to contribute. There seems to be no record of this in the minutes of the Stewartry Commissioners.

The private road cut into the side of the hill on the south side of the valley was constructed between 1768 and 1770 by the Commissioners of Supply for Dumfriesshire with contributions from the Duke of Queensberry and was laid out on a uniform gradient

³ Robertson, p.34.

of approximately 10%.⁴ This new alignment illustrates a change in the design of roads which continues to the present day. The traditional practice had been to travel as far as possible up the valley floor with a steeper ascent to the pass at the head. This needs minimal construction and is therefore the alignment followed by most natural roads, but was difficult for wheeled traffic. The same form was used by the Roman engineers, at least in this case, but also, for example, by Wade at Corrieyarack, where the steep final slope is replaced by traverses. Later engineering practice, as pioneered here, involved cutting the road into the side slope so that an easier gradient could be achieved, at the expense of requiring digging to form a level cross-section. Where roads have been 'improved' in this way there are frequently parallel 'old' and 'new' roads, examples being A83 at Rest and b6 Thankful and A6 south of Shap.

After recording the construction of this new road, Robertson gives several further references. In 1775 it was to be left out of a proposed Turnpike Act⁵ and in 1789 a Parliamentary Bill was proposed for the Well Path. However, in 1807 a bill was proposed which included⁶:-

'15th. A branch of road to strike off the said road from Dumfries to Sanquhar between Thornhill and Holestane, to run by the best direction to the confines of the County of Lanark towards Elvanfoot.'

Robertson does not include turnpike roads in his book, but a reference in 1810 to 'the new line of road from Thornhill towards Elvanfoot'⁷ suggests that the Well Path was superseded by the present Dalveen Pass route about this time.

The term 'Well Path' should strictly be applied only to the steep end section of the road, 'path' being originally a term applied to a particularly steep road, such as the 'Path Brae' between Minnigaff and Palnure. It should also be noted that in some old documents it is referred to as the 'Wall Path'.

Here reference must be made to the alternative route by the Enterkin Pass. This was undoubtedly in use in the 17th. Century when there was a notable rescue of Covenanter prisoners. In 1671 the Commissioners of Supply made arrangements for the work on the 'Enterkine way from the Cleugh of Enterkin to Inglstoun'.⁸ Sir John Clark travelled this way in 1721, although he returned by Durisdeer and General Roy's survey of 1755 shows both this route and the Well Path route. The latter also indicates a route through the Dalveen Pass but this could not have been very practical at that time. Taylor and Skinner in 1776 show the route from 'EDINBURGH to WIGTOUN and WHITHORN by Biggar Leadhills and New Galloway', turning off the Clydesdale route at Abington. To complicate matters further, Thomas Pennant used the Mennock Pass in 1772,⁹ but his purpose was to see as much of the country as possible rather than to travel from one place to another by the most convenient route.

4 *Ibid.* pp.52-3. The gradient is deduced from the longitudinal section in H.R.G.Inglis, *Hill Path Contours*, Edinburgh, no date, p. 42.

5 *Ibid.* pp. 56-7.

6 *Ibid.* pp. 124-6.

7 *Ibid.* p.247.

8 *Ibid.* p.22.

9 Pennant, T., *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides*, reprinted Edinburgh 1998, p.111.

The southern portion of the Enterkin route is a ridge road. Such routes occur at some places in Scotland, notably at Minchmuir between Traquair and Selkirk, and frequently in England and Wales. The reasons for such alignments may be conjectured - they were usually drier, and in some cases would have military advantages or be safer from marauders. It is noteworthy that the Covenanter rescue mentioned took place in the more northerly valley section of the route, referred to on Roy's map as 'Enterkin Path'.

2. Durisdeer via Penpont to Moniaive¹⁰

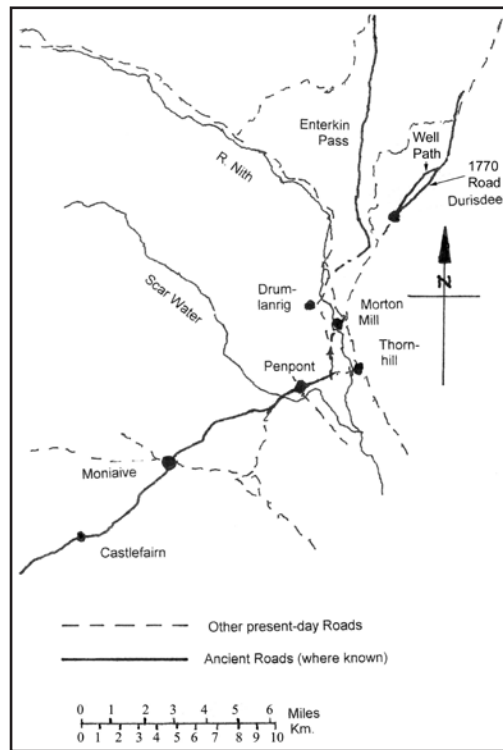


Figure 2.

While it is obvious that the Roman road and any later deviation must have continued beyond Durisdeer, its line and ultimate destination have been the subject of much speculation. Such has been the alteration of the landscape in the 18th. and 19th. Centuries by agricultural and other development that all trace of older roads seems to be lost between near Durisdeer and the present sites of either Thornhill Bridge or Drumlanrig Bridge. General Roy shows the road from the Enterkin Pass crossing at Drumlanrig Bridge and the Well Path route crossing near Morton Mill (beside Carronbridge), presumably by a ford. An earlier ford at the site of Drumlanrig Bridge seems unlikely, but at Thornhill Bridge there is a mediaeval

¹⁰ See Figure 2.

cross which may have served as a shrine where thanks could be given for a safe crossing of the Nith by ford or ferry. Taylor and Skinner show neither crossing on their Elvanfoot to Dumfries route but indicate a crossing at Drumlanrig on their Sanquhar to Dumfries route, together with an isolated settlement of 'Boatfoord' opposite Thornhill. The relative antiquity of the Thornhill crossing is further reinforced by the name 'Boatknowe' for the old eastern approach to Thornhill Bridge. Robertson¹¹ indicates that the bridge was built between 1776 and 1778. It seems possible that, where traffic was 'across the grain' of the topography there were several possible ways to cross major obstacles. This appears again below when the crossing of the Ken is considered. Where the Romans crossed must be left to further research by those with more expertise on that period.

Wilson¹² has given a useful account of the speculation regarding Roman routes beyond this point (and elsewhere). Mediaeval and later travellers, down to the 17th. Century, would probably use whatever routes were available and the present A702 from Thornhill Bridge or, at least, from the junction of the Drumlanrig road at Burnhead, through Penpont to the fork for Tynron at NX 832 936 is as likely as any to be based on an ancient route, continuing thence through Tynron to Moniaive as shown by Taylor and Skinner.

However, the name 'Penpont' cannot be ignored. This Cumbric name may be defined as 'end of a bridge' and it must predate 1100, about which date Cumbric became extinct. This has been confirmed in a personal communication by Professor Andrew Breeze, who writes further:-

'The sole rider is that 'pont' from Latin 'pont(em)' drove out the native Brittonic word for 'bridge', which was 'briwa', perhaps because the Roman bridge was a fine piece of engineering (as Kenneth Jackson suggested), whereas a Celtic bridge was probably a crude thing, a clapper bridge or similar. But that does not mean that the bridge at Penpont was a fine structure.'

- or, indeed, that it was Roman. It is clear that, whether Roman or not, a bridge existed near Penpont from early times. It is necessary to consider where this was. The burn which passes through the village is insignificant. The bridge over the Scar Water on the road to Kier is on a minor road at a point where it could reasonably be forded. The Commissioners of Supply in 1723 considered '...the necessity of having a ston Bridge over the Watter of Scarr at Penpunt Church ...'.¹³ This clearly refers to the bridge on the Kier road, and the reference to 'ston' suggests a previous wooden bridge, possibly a wooden bridge alongside a ford, such as existed at Lochfoot before 1740.¹⁴ This is therefore unlikely to be the site of any ancient bridge.

However, Robertson¹⁵ devotes a section to the bridge over the Scar near Capenoch on the line of the present A702 at NX 840 943 at a site where the Scar Water flows in a

11 Robertson, pp. 189-90.

12 Wilson, A., 'Roman Penetration in West Dumfries and Galloway: A Field Survey', *TDGNHAS*, III vol. 64 (1989), p.7, and esp. pp.12-13.

13 Robertson, p. 32.

14 Anderson, A. D. & Williams, J., 'Kirk Sessions as Bridge Builders: Lochfoot & Twynholm' *TDGNHAS*, III vol. 83 (2009), p.232.

15 Robertson, pp. 143-4.

shallow gorge where a ford would be impossible, but, from a civil engineering point of view, a very good site for a bridge. A bridge existed in 1670 and was in need of repair. From the context, this seems to have been a stone bridge. Further repairs are recorded in 1718 and 1772, and its replacement by a new bridge in 1801-2. It may well have been preceded by a timber bridge, perhaps as far back as Roman times. The Romans sometimes used timber and might well do so on a minor road. However, the best that can be said is (a), this has almost certainly been a bridge site from very early times and (b), while there is so far no clear proof, it is possible that it was the site of a Roman bridge.

The route continues in an approximately straight route through Tynron and over Dunreggan hill to Moniaive. Wilson¹⁶ suggests that the Roman route may instead have included the line of A702 between Kirkland and Moniaive. The present writer does not find this convincing as, although this road includes a relatively long straight section, such stretches were also a characteristic of 18th. Century roads and there is no obvious ancient route from Penpont to Kirkland; also Taylor and Skinner show a slightly more sinuous line for the Kirkland to Moniaive road. On the other hand, the Tynron to Dunreggan route has what von Hagen called 'directional straightness'.¹⁷

Robertson gives some further references to this section of the route. Minutes of 1717¹⁸ refer to a scheme for bridges over the Shinnel at Tynron Kirk, at Moniaive and over the 'Scarr', and the Stewartry and the 'Shyre' (Wigtownshire) were to be asked to contribute to the costs, although this does not appear to be recorded in the Stewartry minutes. He¹⁹ also refers to later 18th century work on the bridge at Tynron Kirk and also to a bridge over the Shinnel Water at NX 828 926 on what is now the line of A702 - apparently the first mention of this deviation from the old route

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik travelled this way in 1721 but unfortunately does not give details of the route in this section after Drumlanrig.

3. Moniaive to Corriedoo

From Moniaive onwards to Castlefairn the road again passes through cultivated country and so far no older routes have been found. Roy's map shows the road leaving Moniaive on the north side of the Castlefairn Water, as does the present road which may well be on the old line here. However, while A702 continues on the north side of the water to the old county boundary at Castlefairn Bridge, Roy shows the eastern part of this section on the south side, although it is not clear where it crossed. If this was correct the present Castlefairn Bridge (NX 734 870) would not be on the original site, but as explained below, Roy is possibly incorrect here. He does show the road crossing back to the north side opposite Lochrenny, which the present road also does. Beyond Lochrenny to the summit there were, at least until the area was forested, the remains of an earlier road on the north side of the present one.

16 Wilson, op. cit., p.13.

17 Von Hagen, V. W., *The Roads that Led to Rome*, London, 1967, p. 34.

18 Robertson, p. 26.

19 *Ibid.* pp. 151-3.

Of other early records, Sir John Clark in 1721 passed by this route but gives no details east of Corriedoo. In 1757 Hugh Debbieg surveyed the route back from Minnigaff to Moniaive as a possible alternative route to Dumfries for what was to become the 'Old Military Road'. This route was rejected on the ground of cost and because it was more likely to be ambushed by an enemy, although it seems probable that some civilian influence may also have been applied to ensure that the improved road ran through the more populous parts of the Stewartry. This particular section of the road is covered in a few sentences -

'From New Galloway thr'o Miniehive and to Dumfries it is nowhere difficult to make a road. A few small bridges will be required vizt. over the Garpel Burn an arch of 20 feet,' (*This is at Corriedoo; see below.*) 'two over Castlefern, one of them Eight feet nearly opposite the house of Lochrenny, the other a little above the Farm of Castlefern of 12 feet, one over the burn of Craigdarroch near Minniehive in place of the old one which is very Narrow & has bad access to both ends. ...'

As no mention is made of deviating from the existing road, this suggests the present route rather than that shown by Roy. Taylor and Skinner in 1776 show a route very similar to the present. It seems probable that in this case Roy's map is not accurate.

In 1772 a minute describes the road from 'Minnyhieve' to New Galloway as 'exceeding bad'²⁰ The necessary repairs seem to have been completed the following year, and estimates obtained by the Dumfriesshire Commissioners of Supply for a bridge at Castlefairn. The Stewartry was asked to repair 'Lochrinny Bridge' but there is no mention of this in the Stewartry minutes.

In 1737 the Stewartry Commissioners of Supply authorised payments of £4 in that and the following year to Mr. Ferguson of Craigdarroch for repairing 'the Wallpath road nigh unto him': Craigdarroch lands must have extended into the next valley.

4. Corriedoo to the River Ken²¹

At about a mile west of the watershed the route reaches the Garple Burn at Corriedoo. Here the water flows in a shallow but steep sided valley, perhaps the 'Black Corrie' implied by the name. The eastern side is dominated by a cairn of uncertain origin (see below). An old road is clearly visible, passing close to this cairn and then descending steeply to what must have been a ford and then ascending the western slope and continuing for a short distance along the side of a field above the present A702. Figure 3. shows the layout of roads at this point and Figure 4. shows the road ascending the western bank. This is where Hugh Debbieg suggested a bridge of 20 feet span, as quoted above.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p.54.

²¹ See Figure 5.

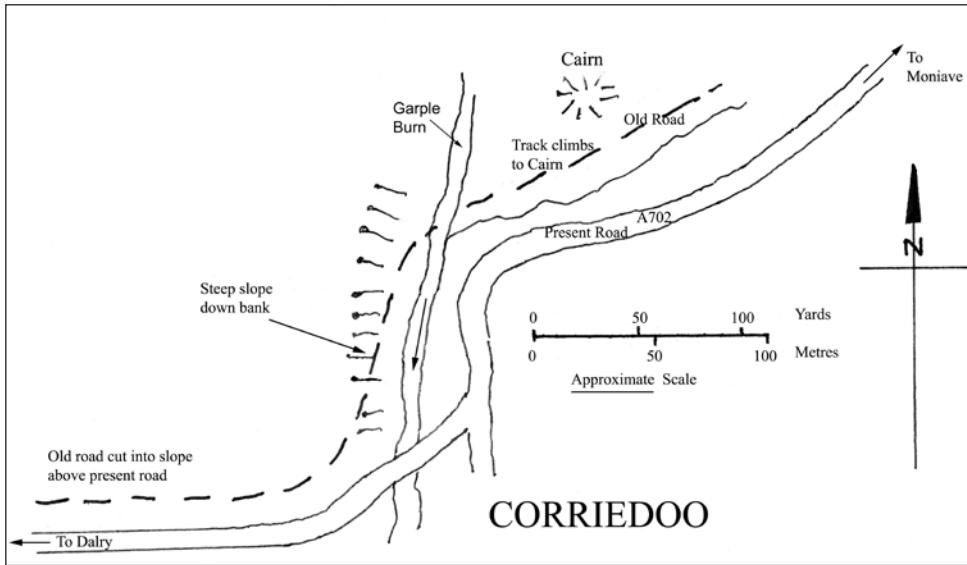


Figure 3.



Figure 4. Old road at Corriedoo ascending steep bank, looking west

There are few other early references to this area, except that in 1749, a list of work required by the various Stewartry parishes includes immediate repairs from 'The Clachan (*Dalry*) to Minihive.' Taylor and Skinner's route at this point is not clear but is compatible with what is to be seen on the ground. While the minutes are not entirely clear, the Stewartry Road Trustees (who took over responsibility for roads in 1796) considered a report on this road and approved a line from the New Bridge of Garple to the march of Nithsdale, although they did not approve a proposed line from Ken Bridge to the Moniaive road. It thus appears that the Garple bridge was built about this time.

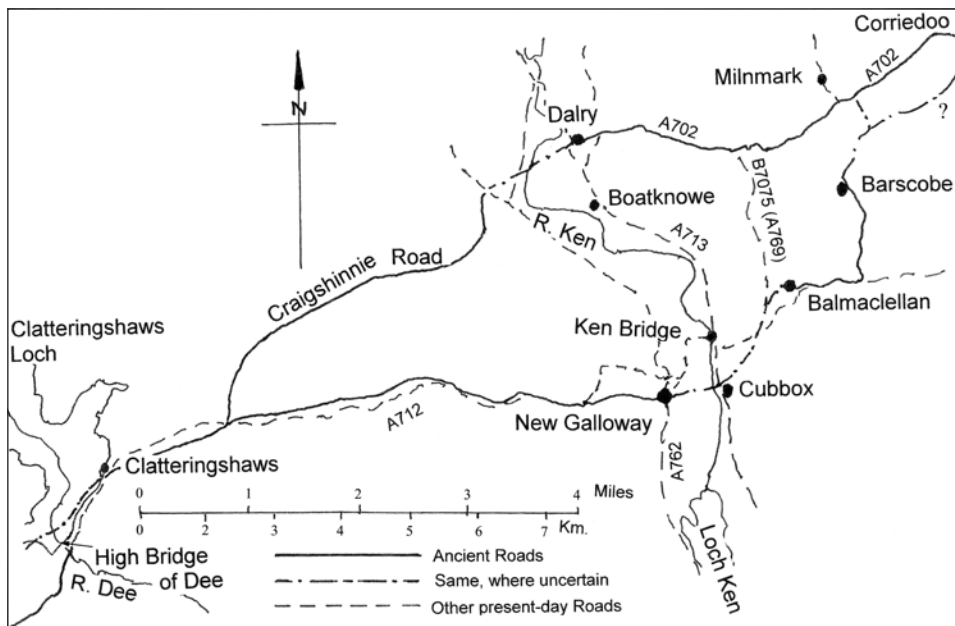


Figure 5.

Beyond Corriedoo Taylor and Skinner show the road continuing for about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles (2.8km.) to another burn where it swings to the left past Barscobe to Balmaclellan. Sir John Clark, after referring to the White Cairn (which he thought was Roman) continues:-

‘... and near to it a small cairn begun by the Stewarts about 7 years agoe by way of diversion. That to the left leads to New Galloway and that to the right to the Old Clachan.’

This small cairn is the one referred to above. An early Ordnance Survey map shows the two cairns at this point, the ‘White Cairn’ being higher up the hill. The small cairn is clearly visible from the present road. A route, at first on the south side of the Garple Burn, from here to Balmaclellan via Barscobe is possibly followed by the Forestry road through Drumanister. The right-hand fork continues and crosses the Lochinvar Burn near Milnmark. Neither Taylor and Skinner nor General Roy show any road to Dalry and the latter shows the road to Balmaclellan re-crossing the Garple Burn near Drumanister and continuing south of it to Barscobe. Hugh Debbieg, in the course of his survey travelled

eastwards from Minnigaff via New Galloway to the junction in question and then returned via Dalry and the valley of the Craigshinnie Burn to rejoin his original route about 1 mile (1.6 km.) north-east of the present Forestry Museum at Clatteringshaws Farm. He describes the junction as being 'From this place' (*the crossing of the Ken near Cubbox.*) '2 miles forward towards Miniehive where the Road by St. John's Clachan joins it.' Comparing this with the present-day Ordnance Survey suggests either that his miles were very long or that he was travelling across country. However, it does indicate that the fork was no further east than the Lochinvar Burn. Debbieg does not describe the road into Dalry in detail, but the line of the present A702 seems the most likely. This passes Bogue Toll (of later origin) where there is what was reputed to be the steepest gradient, about 1 in 5, on a Council road in the Stewartry. (Rivalled only by the bottom section of the privately owned Jubilee Road in Kippford.) At Dalry, a hollow way passes down to the Ken between the motte and the church. There is now a footbridge, built by the Army, here and forming part of the Southern Upland Way. The cross at Dalry is also the termination of A702 which begins more grandly at the West End of Princes Street in Edinburgh and proceeds up Lothian Road past the Usher Hall to Tollcross - the modern successor of the Old Edinburgh Road.

The other fork is shown by Taylor and Skinner, Roy and Ainslie's map of the Stewartry (1797) passing by Barscobe (where the Ordnance Survey shows a possible track) and through Balmaclellan to a crossing of the Ken probably at Cubbox, downstream of the present Ken Bridge. Debbieg proposed a bridge at this point or, alternatively, at Dalry. There were, and still are, several possible ancient crossings of the Ken. Besides that at Dalry Motte there was the crossing near the Ken Bridge site, probably a short distance downstream near Cubbox which is more nearly opposite New Galloway as shown by both Roy and Taylor and Skinner. The latter shows 'Boatcroft' near this crossing. There is also at the present time 'Boatknowe' a short distance south of Dalry and possibly a crossing at Waterside. Here we see again the phenomenon noted at the Nith crossing of there being more than one main route 'across the grain'.

For the later and somewhat complicated history of Ken Bridge reference should be made to the writer's previous paper. (See Footnote 2.). The opportunity may be taken here of correcting an error in that paper in which Ken Bridge is attributed to 'William Rennie'. This should, of course, be 'John Rennie' - an error which arose, as far as can be recollected, from an almost illegible signature on a letter.

5. River Ken to Minnigaff²²

This is perhaps the most complicated section of the 'Old Edinburgh Road' as well as being the one which gives it its name. Unlike many of the previous sections it has, at least until forestry planting began, been through mostly uncultivated country where old tracks survive, and the Forestry Commission has in many cases made use of these tracks and thus preserved them. It is true that in one area the topography has been massively altered by

²² See Figures 5, 6 & 7.

the construction of Clatteringshaws Reservoir, but this was done long after the routes had been recorded by the Ordnance Survey.

Beginning at the crossings of the Ken, it is convenient to consider first the route from Dalry. This has been described by Hugh Debbieg, as explained above. He writes:-

‘After passing the Ken the Road crosses a Burn at a little distance with a good bridge on it.’ (*Possibly the Coom Burn.*) ‘& leads to a difficult ascent at [...] and another beyond the Change house near the house of Park,’ (*Possibly Glenlee.*) ‘thence Crosses a Burn at the foot of the Meggot hill, over which should be a small bridge. The ground at the foot of this hill is rough and Irregular & the ascent up the hill is long and Steep, which cannot be avoided but may be made Somewhat easier by taking a Sweep to the Southward & Continuing along the side of a Little Dyke till it gains the height, thence it proceeds and joins the New Galloway road a mile and a half to the East of the Bridge of Dee. ...’

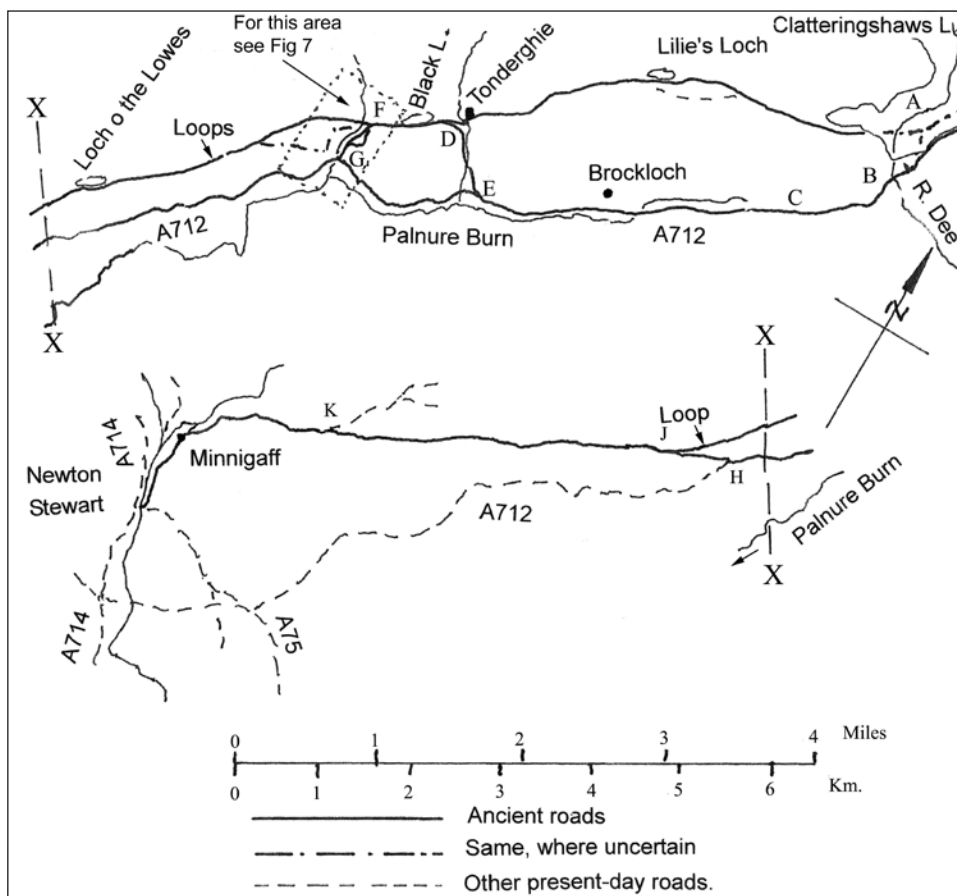


Figure 6.

This can reasonably be identified as the minor road which at present runs up beside the Craigshinnie Burn north of Maggot Hill to join the present road at NX 570 770 and, to anticipate, the old road a short distance further on. Of course, as this route was never adopted as the 'Military Road' the new bridges and other improvements were not carried out, at least at that time, and in the case of the Ken crossing at Dalry, have never materialised except for the footbridge. However, this route, or one very near it, must be that used by both James IV and Sir John Clark who both stayed overnight at Dalry.

Returning to New Galloway, where the name 'Old Edinburgh Road' first appears, it must be noted that the Royal Burgh of New Galloway was created in 1630. It is uncertain whether it was sited there because it was an existing crossroads or if the road developed to pass through the new burgh; the former is more likely. However, a clearly old road runs up the 'official' 'Old Edinburgh Road' across the High Street and onwards by the 'West Port' to the junction with the present A712 at NX 621 774. Westwards from here the older road can be seen on the north side of A712 and is marked on the Ordnance Survey map.

In 1750 and 1751 the Stewartry Commissioners of Supply were concerned that the road through the 'Moss of Airy' from New Galloway was not ascertained, indicating that there were two or more alternative tracks, possibly 'natural roads' formed by traffic. In 1759 they include in their list of roads 'High Bridge of Dee (*Clatteringshaws*) by the Boat of New Galloway to Castlefairn.' However, in 1786 they seem to have put in train a major improvement by employing Mr. Taylor, at that time Surveyor of Military Roads, to survey the road from Clatteringshaws to 'Minnyhive'. It is likely that at this time the present 'Old Edinburgh Road' from New Galloway to Clatteringshaws was made up, but the Commissioners' minutes are not clear on this. Newall and Lonie²³ examined this section to see if it might be Roman, and came to the conclusion that it was not. They describe the 'old' road here thus:- 'A 4.5m to 5.5m wide well-metalled road occupies a bed cut down to reach a hard base...' and otherwise as being well constructed.

In continuing this investigation, it is convenient to proceed to some extent chronologically in order to attempt to unravel the series of roughly parallel tracks which may be traced today.

By whatever tracks, including both that previously referred to via Craigshinnie and the route through New Galloway, the road reached the crossing of the Dee near Clatteringshaws. This road runs south of and roughly parallel to A712 from the junction with the Craigshinnie road to a point opposite the Forestry Commission car park at Clatteringshaws, where it can be seen descending through a field gate, after which it would descend into what is now the reservoir. About 45 years ago Professor Barrow, in a lecture to the Society, suggested that the element 'Clattering' in some place names in Scotland was probably derived from the Gaelic 'clacharan' meaning 'stepping stones'.²⁴ If this was the case here, it may have meant a very stony ford. (Doubt has been expressed regarding this derivation; however the existence of a stony ford is certain.)

23 Newall, F. & Lonie, W., *The Old Edinburgh Road*, DAES, 1992, p. 24.

24 Dwelly, E., *Faclair Gaidhlig gu Beurla le Dealbhan - Illustrated Gaelic to English Dictionary*. Glasgow, (1901) 1971. 'Clacharan' is defined thus: - 'pavement' or 'stepping stones across a river or in boggy ground.'

By 1721 there was a bridge here, the 'High Bridge of Dee', the site being now submerged in Clatteringshaws Reservoir. (Point A on Figure 6.) However, Sir John Clark recollected the ford as it had been earlier:-

'This water afforded us some contemplations, for till of late it was frequently unpassable, and even when it was not in flood the passage was very difficult by reason of many sharp rocks that lay in the foord.'

The bridge is reputed to have been built in 1703 by the Synod of Dumfries²⁵ and Debbieg describes it thus:-

'The ascent to the Bridge of Dee is difficult at both ends, and it has an inconvenient angle in the middle of the Bridge....'

The 'inconvenient angle' must have been caused by the difficulty of finding suitable foundations in the irregular bed of the river. It also suggests that the bridge may have been timber rather than a stone arch or arches. Such bridges were not uncommon at that time.

The road continued in the valley to the north-west of the present A712 past the Lily Loch²⁶, Tonderghie (the latter reputed to have been an inn, now a ruin) (Point D on Figure 6.) and the Black Loch to the Grey Mare's Tail Burn. Parts of this section are now forest roads. The road turned down the side of the burn at the Saddle Loup. (Point F on Figures 6&7.) This feature is noted on Blaeu's map, based on Timothy Pont's late 16th. Century survey and is described thus by Symson²⁷ in 1664:-

'...it runs over a precipice betwixt two rocks and is called the Grey Mare's Tail which is just beside a great rock call'd Saddle Loup; at which it being the roadway, horsemen must alight, or rather least horse and man both fall, and never rise again.'

Sir John Clark merely says 'the way lay along a steep rock', while Debbieg says:-

'This rock is extremely rugged, Steep, and almost impracticable for a road, as very short and Steep turnings cannot be avoided: It will require a great expense as there is much rock to be blown.'

At the present day there are substantial remains of a deliberately made loop road over a shoulder of Craigdews, certainly 'betwixt two rocks', but not quite meriting Symson's description. Roy's map is rather vague here but does not show any loop. However, Taylor and Skinner show the road close to the side of the burn. There is no record of when this loop road was made, but it was after 1776 (Taylor and Skinner) and was probably during the period of activity by the Commissioners of Supply referred to later (see below) but before 1782 when it is shown on Ainslie's map of Wigtownshire. It would have been possible to have used this loop before it was made up and the steep slope would certainly be dangerous, but all the other evidence suggests that the 'Saddle Loup' was the steep rock

25 Dick, C. H., *Highways and Byways in Galloway and Carrick*, London, 1927, pp. 470-471. Unfortunately, he does not state his source for this.

26 Some recent Ordnance Survey maps print the name 'Old Edinburgh Road' at the Forestry road higher up to the south of the Lily Loch, but the 1909 6 inch to the mile map shows the 'Old Edinburgh Road' fording the burn twice downstream of the loch and passing close to the south bank.

27 Symson, A., *A Large Description of Galloway*, 1664, published in 1823.

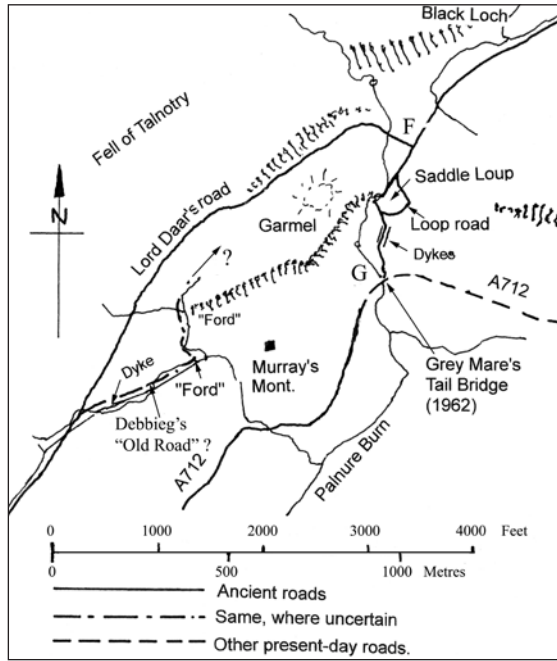


Figure 7. Saddle Loup Area



Figure 8. The Saddle Loup (in the late 1960s). The pole is marked in feet

precipice about 6 feet or 2 metres high immediately beside the burn. (See Figure 8.) Today this requires scrambling by pedestrians and would certainly be dangerous for horses, although it should be borne in mind that these would not be Clydesdales or Thoroughbreds but more like hill ponies.

Descending to the present road at the Grey Mare's Tail Bridge,²⁸ where there was at one time also a ford, the route passes between two parallel stone dykes which are 23 feet (7metres) apart. This early road then continued somewhere close to the present A712, although no traces have so far been found, to Point H on Figure 6. near NX 467 698, where it ascends on the north-west side of the valley through what is now forest, and is marked by a stone dyke. This ascent leads to a point on the forest boundary at NX 458 691. From here to Point K on Figure 6. on the public road to Auchinleck near Minnigaff (NX 424 673) it is marked by a continuous line of field boundaries and is to an extent a ridge road. From here, it continues into Minnigaff by the public road.

Debbieg refers to an 'old' road branching off from this at or near the point where it leaves the forest (NX 458 691).

'...at the end of these dykes the old road & that at present in use, divides , the Latter keeps Low on the Side of an uneven irregular brae,' (*he then describes the way by the Saddle Loup*) Later:- 'A little on the East side of this rock the two roads join again. The old road leads on the heights to the N. of the present over uneven Rocky, and boggy ground, no appearance of materials at hand till near the [...]' (*This symbol is obscure.*) 'mentioned joining where the Road runs along and at the foot of a very steep hill...'

Here we have something of a mystery. As was said in a previous paper, (See Footnote 2.) this road must have been very bad indeed to have been abandoned in favour of the Saddle Loup. This change must have taken place some time before Pont's survey. There might appear to be little chance of finding any trace of it now, as there are two later roads now following a similar route - Lord Daar's road described below and the present Forestry road. There is a possible route following a dyke down behind Murray's Monument to the confluence of two burns, and on the earliest Ordnance Survey maps this continues through two 'fords', but it would then have to pass through what is now forest planting (where any traces would be obliterated) to reach the north side of Garmel (see Figure 7.).

We may now return to the late 18th. Century and the work undertaken by the Commissioners of Supply, especially after 1786 when, as noted above, they engaged the services of Mr. Taylor. In October 1786 plans were produced for the road from Clatteringshaws to Whitecairn (Corriedoo) by New Galloway or alternatively St. John's Clauchan and in 1787 £100 was voted towards this. In 1789 an appropriation was made for Clatteringshaws Bridge. This refers to the three-arch stone bridge beside the present concrete bridge below Clatteringshaws Dam. (Point B on Figure 6.) This was constructed by the well-known Dumfries bridge contractor McCracken and seems to have been completed in 1790, although in 1792 it was decided to add two extra small arches. Only one of these was actually built. The most important implication of this is that the old

28 During construction of the bridge in 1961/2 a small pony shoe was discovered in the gravel bed of the burn. This is now preserved in the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright.

site was abandoned and the bridge built on a new and probably much better site and on a completely new line of road in the valley to the south of the previous route. The 1909 Ordnance survey indicates that this diverged from the old road only a short distance from the old bridge at a point now submerged in the reservoir.

The Commissioners continued their new road, now A712, on a typical 18th. Century alignment with relatively long straight sections for a further 1¼ miles from the bridge to about NX 532 738 (Point C on Figure 6.). Here the character of the road suddenly changes to a more sinuous course following the shape of the ground on a uniform gradient, and there are, or were, traces of two abandoned parallel ditches continuing the line of the previous straight. These can be seen in Figure 9. under light snow. This can be identified as the point where Basil William, Lord Daar, eldest son of the Earl of Selkirk, took over. He had been pioneering a system of laying out roads to a uniform gradient and up till then had done so only on his father's estates. Samuel Smith²⁹ says that he then laid out such a road 'in a remote part of the county'. The system was later adopted by the Road Trustees in 1796 for all their roads. Lord Daar's road continued by the present road to near



Figure 9. View at Point C on Figure 6., under light snow, showing parallel ditches

29 Smith, Rev. S., *General View of the Agriculture of Galloway*, 1813, chap.xvii, pp.310-323.

Craigdews, (Point E on Figure 6.) where (now a Forestry road) it turned right up the valley to join the old road west of Tonderghie (Point D on Figure 6.) and continued towards the Saddle Loup. To avoid this the road crossed the burn and continued up the shoulder of the Fell of Talnotry on a typical 'Daar' alignment to a summit and then descended to the Loch o' the Lowes and onward, possibly now close to Debbieg's 'old road' to join the earlier road at NX 458 691 (Point J on Figure 6.). Over most of its length this road has been upgraded by the Forestry Commission, generally on the same line, but in places on the descent to the Loch o' the Lowes and elsewhere loops survive where the forest road has been straightened - somewhat similar to the 'laybys' formed where later roads built to his principles were adapted for motor traffic. Beside the Loch o' the Lowes, Lord Daar's road survives as a very wet route alongside the loch, with the Forestry road higher up the slope to the south.

In 1793 the Commissioners paid £86 18s. 6d. for bridges on the Tonderghie and Palnure Burns; these would be the two bridges required for the first part of Lord Daar's road and in 1795 the Commissioners paid £150 to the Earl of Selkirk for the road made from Clatteringshaws towards Newton Douglas [*sic*], Lord Daar having died. As the work on this road probably proceeded from east to west, thereby leaving the most difficult section to the last, an explanation can be found for the substantial earthworks referred to earlier forming a diversion over a shoulder of Craigdews to avoid the Saddle Loup. This was most probably a temporary measure used while the road was under construction and would also serve as an access to Talnotry and other houses in the lower valley.

This brings us to the turnpike era which has been dealt with in the writer's previous paper. (See Footnote 2.) Unfortunately, the comments on the table therein seem somewhat illogical, possibly due to a misplaced superscript, and it is hoped that this paper will now sort things out. Work appears to have started about 1800 with the road from Calgow to Brockloch. The former is the junction with what was at that time the 'Military Road', now A75; Brockloch is shown on the 1909 Ordnance Survey map about a mile east of the Tonderghie Burn (near the present Red Deer Range), but the junction with Lord Daar's road (at Point E on Figure 6.) is probably meant. The section from New Galloway to Achie, where the 'Old Edinburgh Road' from the Burgh joins in, was constructed in 1802. Both these sections are on a winding alignment based on the now deceased Lord Daar's principles and set out by his land surveyor, John Gillone, who now as 'County Surveyor' carried on his work. (With the exception of the short section submerged in Clatteringshaws Reservoir and a few minor deviations, all the 'turnpike' sections form part of the present A712.) The next section, from Achie to Clatteringshaws, must have been left in good condition by the Commissioners, since it was not superseded by the present line till after 1810. This superseded section is that referred to above which Newall and Lonie found to be well constructed. In 1810 estimates were to be got for repairs between Clatteringshaws Bridge and Tonderghie Burn (Point E on Figure 6.). This consists of the Commissioners' final efforts and part of Lord Daar's road and does not seem to have involved any realignment. (As is obvious on the ground.)

Since these times there have been few major alterations in line, although the road has of course been strengthened and surfaced. The writer recollects seeing a file about 40 years ago discussing the surfacing of the road about 1930, when the 8 ton weight limit was

applied. There is no mention of the rumour that this was done after a steam roller sank up to its axles! However, there was a major alteration involving the construction of a new length of road in the 1930s when the Clatteringshaws Dam was built. Another old file seen by the writer explains the origin of the concrete bridge at Clatteringshaws. The County Council was entitled under roads legislation to claim compensation for 'extraordinary traffic' which had occurred as a result of the construction of the hydro-electric scheme. By agreement, the contractors built the bridge in lieu of payment. A smaller realignment occurred when the Grey Mare's Tail Bridge was destroyed by a flood on 26th August 1960 and a new bridge built on a different alignment. A portion of the north-east abutment of the old (turnpike) bridge is buried immediately alongside the new wing wall. (The present Grey Mare's Tail Bridge is the only part of the 'Old Edinburgh Road' in which the writer was actually involved in the construction.)³⁰

Conclusion

This paper represents an attempt to unravel the extraordinarily complicated history of an ancient route and clearly demonstrates the way in which the natural formation of roads and subsequent 'improvements' leads to a multiplicity of tracks. As a friend of the writer once said in another context 'It's worse than knitting!' There remains much to be found out, particularly involving the Romans. No doubt there are also errors and omissions for which the writer can only apologise. Otherwise, the matter can now be left to future researchers.

30 An account of events on 26th August 1960 and of the reconstruction of the Grey Mare's Tail and other bridges is contained in: Williamson, M. J., MacLean, C. D. and Anderson, A. D., 'Floods and the Reconstruction of Bridges', *The Chartered Municipal Engineer*, Vol 89, No 8 (August 1962), p.307. (Copy in the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright.)

WERE THE WIGTOWN MARTYRS DROWNED? A REAPPRAISAL

A.E. MacRobert¹

This article explores the vituperative controversy which erupted in the mid 19th century over whether the Wigtown Martyrs were drowned. As the available evidence is neither easily accessible nor widely known, it is explained and evaluated. The conclusion is that they were drowned but there remain several mysteries including what happened to a reprieve from the Privy Council. Some historians have therefore been unable to agree that the drownings took place.

One of the most notorious events in the martyrology of the Covenanters during The Killing Times in the 1680s was the drowning of two women by the incoming tide at Wigtown on 11 May 1685. Margaret Lauchlison (or McLachlan) was the elderly widow of a craftsman who had worked in Drumjargon, south-west of Kirkcinner, in Kirkcinner Parish. This is next to the southern boundary of Wigtown Parish. Margaret Wilson was a young woman who lived in Glenvernock, which is between the River Cree and Loch Ochiltree. This is in the north of the large Parish of Penninghame, which is adjacent to the north side of Wigtown Parish.

The Controversy

The principal protagonists in the controversy were Mark Napier, the Sheriff of Dumfriesshire, who asserted that they had not been drowned, and on the other side Dr Tulloch, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews University, and the Rev. Archibald Stewart, Minister of Glasserton Parish in Wigtownshire, both of whom held that they had been drowned. Napier stated his views initially in his *Memorials and Letters Illustrative of the Life and Times of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee*, Vols. II and III, 1862. He criticised the brief but vivid account by Lord Macaulay in volume II of his recent *History of England* of how the women were drowned. Tulloch in reply wrote a long article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for December 1862.² He came to the conclusion that 'upon the whole, and in the face of the difficulties which the story presents, we incline to believe it' and also 'that the women really suffered at Wigtown.' The article led to Napier expanding his views in his book, *The Case for the Crown*, 1863. Stewart replied in his book, *History Vindicated in the case of the Wigtown Martyrs*, 1st edition 1867, and the expanded 2nd edition 1869. Napier in reply to Stewart wrote *History Rescued*, 1870. This book includes his 1863 book. The books written by Napier are astonishingly polemical in style, and at times it is difficult to disentangle his main points of substance from invective. Both Tulloch and Stewart wrote in a much more restrained style, but many of Stewart's points are just conjecture.

¹ 6 Fergus Road, Kirkcudbright, DG6 4HN

² There is a copy in the British Library. The Shelfmark is PP.6119.ce; also 5330.393000DSC.

The problems in ascertaining what precisely happened are that there is no record of the decision to enforce their punishments and no account of their drownings, the recovery of the bodies, and their burial by an actual eye-witness. Reliable documentary evidence is limited. The series of pamphlets on *The Killing Times* published soon after 1685 were very partisan and provide very little information of significance. The strength of political and religious feelings in those decades must be appreciated, including the ill-usage given to Presbyterian clergy after 1660 and Episcopalian clergy after 1688. Some of the pamphlets did not specifically mention the Wigtown women in their references to the martyrs of those times, but it is difficult to know how widespread was the knowledge about them and also if omissions disprove the drownings. Both Napier and Stewart discussed and evaluated several pamphlets in detail from their rival stances. Napier drew attention to omissions and inconsistencies in these pamphlets. It should also be noted that some Jacobites denied the drownings according to Wodrow in his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, 1722.

The Documents

There are several documents which require consideration in detail. The first is a minute from the meeting of the Privy Council on 27 March 1685³. The background to this was the government's reaction to the Apologetical Declaration of defiance by the followers of the extreme Covenanter Richard Cameron and also to the murders of two soldiers and the curate of Carsphairn. A royal proclamation on 30 December 1684 provided for an Oath of Abjuration. The Privy Council instructed that those who would not take The Oath to show their loyalty and on being found guilty were to be hanged immediately, but no women were to be examined except those who had been active in a signal manner, and those were to be drowned. In those times drowning was considered a more humane death for women than hanging. At its meeting on 27 March the Privy Council issued a Commission to Colonel James Douglas for the southern and western shires to enforce loyalty and to call courts at such times and places as he would find expedient. He was empowered to call all persons aiding the rebels and cause justice to be done upon them according to the laws. Colonel Douglas was to be assisted in Wigtownshire and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright by Viscount Kenmure, Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, Sir David Dunbar, Sir Godfrey McCulloch, and Mr David Graham (Sheriff of Wigtownshire and brother of Claverhouse). Specified Army officers were also included. Any three of these Commissioners were empowered to act in Colonel Douglas' absence according to his directions and instructions. These arrangements created the Judicial Court which tried and convicted the two women at Wigtown.

The next document is an undated appeal by Margaret Lauchlison.⁴ This was discovered by the Rev. James Anderson in the General Register House and published in 1851. The Petition to the Privy Council was signed by a Notary Public on behalf of Margaret Lauchlison ('now prisoner in the Tolbooth of Wigtown?') and witnessed by two persons. It asserted that she was now willing to take The Oath. An important point in the document

3 The Register of the Privy Council, vol. X.

4 The National Archives of Scotland, Privy Council Papers, 3rd Series, 1685, No 8. PC 12/11a, 8r-8v.

is that it states the charge against her: for not disowning that traitorous Apologetical Declaration and for refusing The Oath of Abjuration of the same. As the appeal stated that she could not write, it is therefore very probable she could not read, and also possible that she was unaware of the statement of her willingness to take The Oath. If the appeal correctly stated her willingness to take The Oath, it is astonishing that she did not do so before being drowned. No appeal on behalf of Margaret Wilson has been found. Possibly she still refused to take The Oath. It is a puzzling document.

It is not clear if the next document was issued before or after the appeal. This is a minute of the meeting of the Privy Council held on 30 April 1685.⁵ ‘The Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council do hereby reprieve the execution of the sentence of death pronounced by the Justices against Margaret Wilson and Margaret Lauchlison until the ____ day of ____, and discharges the Magistrates of Edinburgh for putting off the said sentence to execution against them until the foresaid day. And recommends the said Margaret Wilson and Margaret Lauchlison, to the Lords Secretaries of State, to interpose with his most sacred Majesty for the royal remission to them.’ The dates were left blank. Although this minute is mentioned briefly by Wodrow, 1722, the full unaltered version was published for the first time by Mark Napier in 1859. The document prompts a wide range of questions. Does it mean that the two women were being held in Edinburgh? If so, when were they taken there and when were they sent back to Wigtown? Did they ever return to Wigtown? The Rev. James Anderson in 1851 deliberately substituted Wigtown for Edinburgh in his version, assuming that there had been a clerical error. Could such a mistake have been made in 1685? What happened to the reprieve? Was it sent to London to obtain the royal pardon? The Rev. Stewart asserted in his book that a member of the legal profession had searched the State Papers in London in vain for a pardon being sent. Were the Wigtownshire Commissioners informed that a reprieve had been issued? Did they ignore the reprieve? Possibly confusion arose because it was addressed to the magistrates of Edinburgh. It should be noted that the minute does not give any reason for the reprieve. Had the women taken The Oath or stated their willingness to do so? Did they know that they had been reprieved? This is another controversial document like the appeal. It is not surprising that Napier was able to build his case against the drownings. Apart from the fate of the women there are wider historical significances. The reprieve could be regarded as a sign of the moderation of the Privy Council and perhaps criticism of its Commissioners in Wigtown. On the other hand, its failure or avoidance could show the harshness of the government and its servants.

The following documents provide the most acceptable proofs that the drownings did occur. An anonymous pamphlet entitled *A Short Character of the Presbyterian Spirit* was published about 1703 in Edinburgh.⁶ It was almost certainly written by Matthias Symson and published by his father, Andrew Symson. The father had been the Episcopalian minister of Kirkiner Parish next to Wigtown Parish from 1663 for about the space of 23 years. From 1700 he was a Printer in Edinburgh until he died in 1712. Matthias stated that:

5 The Register of the Privy Council, vol. XI.

6 There is a copy in the National Library of Scotland. The Shelfmark is Ry.1.2.126 (15). Stewart 1869, 69-73, discussed this Pamphlet and provided evidence that it can be attributed to Matthias and Andrew Symson.

I know they generally talk of two women in Galloway, - drowned they were indeed, but not tied to stakes, within flood-mark, till the sea came up and drowned them, as this malicious Vindicator misrepresents; who, it seems, has had no better informer than the Frontispiece of that Lying, pestiferous and Rebellious Libel, A Hynd let loose. And what he adds, without any form or process of Law, is so manifest a Lie, that Hundreds in Galloway can testify the contrary. They were Judicially condemned, after the usual Solemnities of Procedure. The Judges were several Gentlemen commissioned by Authority, of whom Mr D. G. Brother to the then L. of Cl. was one; the Chancellor of the Assize (or Foreman of the Jury) and Clerk of the Court are still alive. And tho' the Records of that court should be lost, yet the Registers of the Privy Council can clear the matter in this point, so that this may for ever stop the lying mouths of such vain babblers, busy bodies, and impudent Calumniators, who say that they were drowned without Form or Process of Law. And furthermore, if the Vindicator, or any man, shall duly and impartially consider all the circumstances of that affair, (a particular account whereof may be hereafter made public) they will not be very hasty to exclaim against the then Governors. Neither can he or any mortal prove that the Episcopal Clergy had a hand in that matter, by accusation, information, or any manner of way.

This confirmation of the drownings came from an Episcopalian source. It should therefore be regarded as significant. On the other side, Napier ridiculed Symson's assertion as 'ignorant and unintelligible'.

Symson's pamphlet raises questions over exactly how and where the women were drowned. The Rev. Stewart suggested that the deep channel of the river Bladnoch at high tide in 1685 came closer to the town and that the executioners could have stood on the bank and driven in the stakes, fastening the bound prisoners to them. This would have allowed them to pull up the women if they decided to take The Oath. This suggestion is also supported in an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Popery Reviving*. It was written by 'a Gentleman in Edinburgh' and published in Edinburgh in 1714.⁷ It stated that 'two stups of timber were fastened upon the brink of the water of Blednoch (to which place the sea flows always at high water) ... cords were tied about the foresaid stups, and to their bodies, and they were thrown over the brink of the river into the water and drowned'. Napier ridiculed the assertions that they were thrown into the river and pulled up to be interrogated.

The next two documents are from the records of the Kirk-Sessions of the Parishes of Penninghame and Kirkinner during 1711. The Presbytery of Wigtown in July 1709 had instructed Kirk-Sessions to compile accounts of the sufferings upon account of religion. The minutes of these Kirk-Sessions were responses to this order. They took over a year to gather the information. Napier questioned the personal knowledge of the members of the Sessions on what had happened in 1685, and ridiculed their motives and methods of investigation.

The Penninghame minute is from the meeting held on 19 February 1711.⁸ The full minute covers 11 pages and contains the names and details of 29 persons connected with

7 There is a copy in the National Library of Scotland. The Shelfmark is 1.577 (7).

8 The National Archives of Scotland, CH2/1387/1/181-191, Penninghame Kirk Session, Minutes, 19 February 1711.

the Parish who had been subjected to various forms of suffering. The length of the list shows that the Kirk-Session was diligent and painstaking in its research. It does not reek of concoction and has the stamp of veracity. The minute stated that Margaret Wilson of 18 years and Agnes Wilson of 13 years had been sheltering in the mountains as they had refused to take The Oath. They had gone secretly to Wigtown to see some friends but had been discovered and imprisoned there. An assize consisting of Sheriff David Graham, the Laird of Lagg, Major Winram and Captain Strachan found them and Margaret McLachlan 'guilty of the Rebellion at Bothwell-bridge, Airs Moss, twenty field conventicles and twenty house conventicles'. They were sentenced 'to be tied to palisades (stakes) fixed in the sand, within the flood-mark, and there to stand till the flood overflowed them, and drowned them.' The minute also stated that their father had to go to Edinburgh to obtain the release of Agnes by giving a bond of one hundred pounds sterling (a very large sum at that time). It was not recorded exactly when he went to Edinburgh and if he also tried to arrange the release of Margaret. Possibly this was refused initially as she was older, but subsequently why was a bond taken for one sister and a reprieve accorded to the older?

The charge against the two girls, if accurately recorded in 1711, seems absurd. As the Kirk-Session commented, they would have been astonishingly young to have been present at Bothwell-bridge in 1679 and Airs Moss in 1680, both conflicts far from their home. The coincidence in the number of 20 field and 20 house conventicles is highly improbable. It is curious that such a serious stance was taken against two young girls. It is difficult to accept that in the terms of the royal proclamation in 1684 they had been active in a signal manner. Perhaps someone had a spite against their father. According to the minute he was a man 'in a good condition as to the worldly things with a great flock on a large ground'. Although he himself was not a Covenanter, he was harassed with frequent quarterings of soldiers.

The minute described the drownings. On 11 May Margaret Wilson and Margaret McLachlan were put in the water. The older woman was the first to be drowned. Before Margaret Wilson's 'breath was quite gone they pulled her up, and held her till she could speak'. They asked her if she would take The Oath, but she refused 'and then they returned her into the water'. The minute stated that the very aged mother of the Wilson girls and their brother were still alive. The brother 'lives to certify the truth of these things, with many others who knew them too well'. The Rev. Stewart in his book gave a list of the members of the Kirk-Session and details of how long they had been elders and the length of their local knowledge.

The minute of the Kirkinner Session is dated 15 April 1711.⁹ It covers six pages and contains a detailed list of 13 who suffered. The list includes Mary Dunbar, the second daughter of Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon who was one of the Commissioners in 1685. She was forced to flee from her father's house and hide elsewhere. (Mary Dunbar is the heroine in the historical novel *Second Daughter*, 1989, by Donna Brewster). The minute stated that Margaret Lauchlison was 'sentenced by Sir Robert Grier of Lagg to be drowned at a stake within the flood-mark just below the town of Wigtown, for conventicle keeping and alleged rebellion, (and was, according to the said sentence, fixed to the stake till the

9 The National Archives of Scotland, CH2/228/1/149-155, Kirkinner Kirk Session, Minutes, 15 April 1711.

tide made, and held down within the water by one of the town-officers by his halberd (a combination spear and battle-axe) at her throat till she died'. The minute concluded by stating that the information about those who had suffered had come partly from credible information and partly from the personal knowledge of the elders and that they believed they were 'matters of fact'. The Rev. Stewart in his book again gave a list of the elders and their details. Mark Napier queried the omission of Margaret Wilson from the Kirkinner list, but she did not come from that Parish. The omission might indicate that there was no collusion between the two Kirk-Sessions.

The statements from the Kirk-Sessions of these Parishes adjacent to Wigtown were compiled at a time when many local people could have challenged their truth. As so many victims were on these lists, there was no need for the Kirk-Sessions to add fictitious stories about the drowning of the two women unless they were drowned. Napier's onslaught on these statements would have been more convincing if he had been able to challenge the inclusion of any of the other victims in these long lists. It should be noted that neither Kirk-Session mentioned that the women had been taken to Edinburgh and that the Privy Council had reprieved them. The reasons for these omissions can only be conjecture.

The Presbytery of Wigtown met on 27 February 1711.¹⁰ The ministers of Penninghame and Kirkinner tabled their accounts of the sufferings. The Kirkinner account should have been read in the Kirk-Session before being presented to the Presbytery, but an extract from the Kirkinner minutes was sent to the Presbytery after the Kirk-Session's meeting on 15 April 1711. This irregularity can be considered as a formality. The Presbytery meeting was attended by nine local ministers and several elders. The relevant part of the minute is very brief and is as follows: 'Messrs. Rowan and William Campbell tabled an account of the sufferings within their respective parishes in the late times. The appointment is renewed upon the rest of the brethren'. The second sentence is an exhortation to the other ministers to expedite their accounts, and it was repeated at the Presbytery on 17 July 1711. It is most unlikely that the members of the Presbytery would have endorsed a fraudulent assertion that the women were drowned. They must have known what happened.

There are various accounts of what the women said or sang during their ordeal. It is impossible to prove or disprove the edifying sayings especially those attributed to Margaret Wilson. Napier pointed out that Tulloch had conceded: 'like many other martyrologies, it has evidently been surrounded with a considerable portion of fictitious embellishment'. Such additions, however, do not mean (as Tulloch observed) that the drownings were 'a mere imposture from beginning to end'.

It is surprising that no attempt was made by the Covenanters to rescue the women. Late in 1684 about 100 Covenanters had broken into the Tolbooth at Kirkcudbright and released the prisoners there. It is, however, not known when the women were brought back to Wigtown, how long they were there before being drowned, and how closely they were guarded during that time.

10 The National Archives of Scotland, CH2/373/2, Presbytery of Wigtown, Minutes, 1709-1734, page 51.

Historians

In the 20th century historians held differing views about the evidence. Hume Brown in his *History of Scotland*, 1902, stated briefly 'that they were drowned has been proved by the Rev. Archibald Stewart'. Gordon Donaldson in his volume in the *Edinburgh History of Scotland*, 1965, wrote: 'although the two female "Wigtown Martyrs" were certainly condemned to be drowned that they were in fact drowned has not yet been conclusively demonstrated, for no strictly contemporary or eye-witness accounts of the execution have ever come to light and what purports to be descriptions differ in some material particulars'. He referred to the books by Napier and Stewart. Ian B. Cowan in *The Scottish Covenanters*, 1976, stated that what happened after the reprieve is uncertain and that the truth may never be known. He nevertheless added that the accounts of the women's deaths written in 1711 were in the lifetime of many who must have known the true facts, and if the substance had been fictitious some rejoinder might have been expected, and also that the weight of the evidence pointed fairly conclusively to their deaths. The controversy continues.

Conclusion

It is difficult to believe, as Napier asserted, that the two Kirk-sessions, the Presbytery, and the Episcopalian Symsons endorsed a concocted myth of the drownings. Their evidence confirms that the two women were drowned. The basis of Napier's contention was the reprieve but neither he nor any contemporary could produce any evidence that the reprieve reached Wigtown and that the women were alive after 1685. His attempts to decry the findings of the Kirk-Sessions rely too much on disparagement and are not convincing. The real mystery of the Wigtown Martyrs is what happened to the reprieve. That remains unsolved.

OBSERVATIONS ON AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GRADIENT DIAGRAM

James D. McLay¹

In the internet catalogue of the National Archives of Scotland appeared RHP 35867, entitled; 'A Gradient Diagram of alterations to the military road from Path Brae', with comments and explanation, dated 1786 and with the signature William Mure. The original document has the accession number STEWM:7405 in the Stewartry Museum in Kirkcudbright, where the curator, Dr David Devereux, made it available for inspection and offered useful local knowledge.

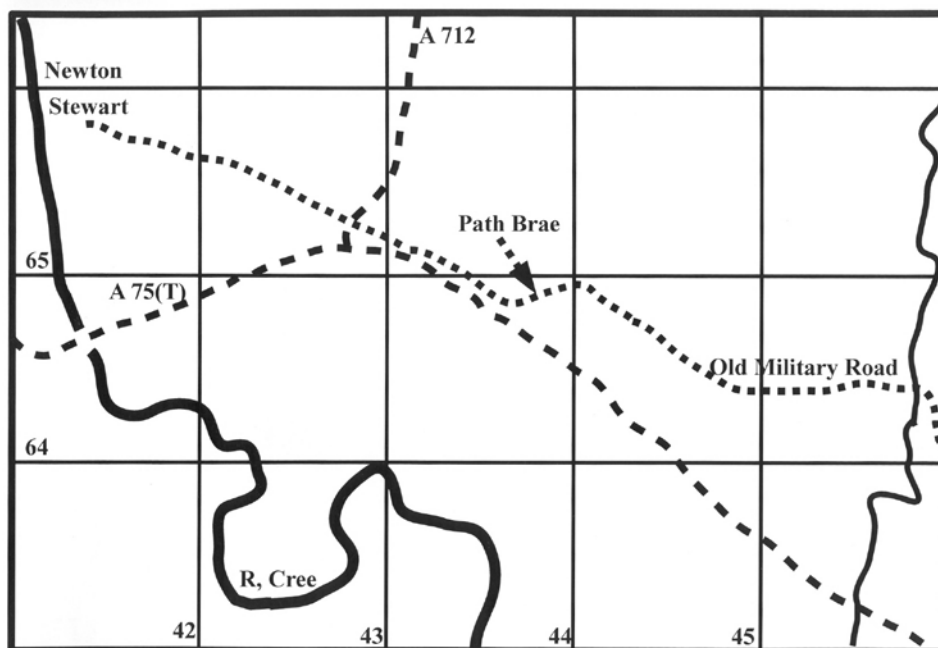


Figure 1. Sketch Map of Location

The earliest trunk road running east to west through Galloway, possibly of Roman origin, but certainly the track of the Military Road of the mid-eighteenth century, crossed the Palnure Burn at NX458645, followed a tributary past Stronord NX451644, and descended by the Path Brae NX437648 towards the Cree, crossing at Newton Stewart NX4165. The Path Brae at Blackcraig has a gradient of 1 in 5 or 20%, which must have been a problem for the mail coach and for horse-drawn military vehicles.

¹ 9 Old Hall Drive, Newton Stewart, DG8 6HZ

Figure 2. from the Roy Map of 1755 [© British Library Board. Roy Map] shows no road on the carse, but the Military Road to Portpatrick and Ireland [1610, re-developed in 1763-4] runs northwest from a small settlement at the crossing of the Palnure Burn over the Blackcraig Hill and down the Path [Brae]. The making of this road exposed the lead ores that began a phase of mining in this area. The route avoided the level land of the carse because of the poor drainage but, around 1786, developments in field drainage and road construction allowed plans to be made for a lowland road, avoiding the considerable gradient of the Path Brae.

The Gradient Diagram

STEW:7405/RHP 35867 is a single page, 47.5cm by 25cm, with a diagram and text.

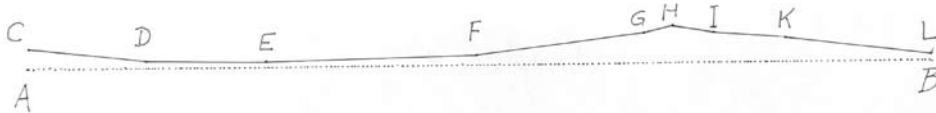


Figure 3. Sketch of the Gradient Diagram

The diagram, sketched in Figure 3., is recognisable as a profile along a roadway. It is drawn here using twice the vertical scale of the original. The text on the page refers to a horizontal AB, a blue line CDEFGHIKL, and yellow shading between these two, and the colours can be seen in the original.

Underneath the drawing, is a handwritten description of the diagram, as follows - brackets are used for added comments; text errors have not been corrected.

The above section is supposed to be hung [perpendiculary is deleted] Horizontal before your face, and let AB, the dotted line represent the Horizon or something exactly level, and the line which is painted blew represents the High road proposed see CDEFGHIKL, that which is painted yellow represents the rising and falling of the ground and from the path foot C to D the Strand at the shallowch March at that pen is 47 roods 5 foot, and falls $12\frac{1}{2}$ Inches to each rood in length and from D to E the pen where the road to the Shore enters Carsduncan is 47 roods 5 feet and falls 2 inches to each rood in length and from E to F the foot of the Blackcraig wood is $94\frac{1}{2}$ roods and rises $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Inch to each rood and from F the wood foot to G the old dyke at the wood head 59 roods 17 feet and rises $16\frac{3}{4}$ inches to the rood and from G the the old dyke at the wood head to the sumite of the Hill H 12 rood 12 feet and rises 18 inches to the rood and from H the sumate of the hill to I the ditch in the moss 15 Roods 15 feet in length and falls 14 inches to the rood and from I the ditch in the moss to the head of the Strand in sight of the of the flush K 23

roods 7 [inches is deleted] foot and fall 1 inch in the rood and from K the Head of the Strand L where it joins the old road a little above the flush houses is 59 roods 17 feet and falls 15 inches to the rood in length. A rood is supposed to be 20 feet long and taken from a scale of 20 roods to an inch. I will not venture to say the above is Exactly truth itself. But I will venture to say that it is not an inch in the rood wrong as to its fallings and risings and the whole length of the proposed road from C to L appears to be 365 roods [i.e. 7300 feet]. This road where it joins the old road at the flush is 14 feet 10 inches [178 inches] higher than where the shore road enters* Carsduncan and 42 feet [504 inches] lower than the Path foot. The curves of the above road cannot be made in this section.

WilliamMure [different handwriting?]

NB there are 264 roods of 20 [i.e.5280] feet each in a mile

*This is where Major Fraser proposed to carry his road

The author, who may or may not have been William Mure, found it necessary to go into great detail on what the drawing represented, although every schoolchild nowadays would be able to read and even draw such a figure. He found it necessary to explain 'horizontal', to comment on the accuracy of the survey, and to observe that the curves of the road cannot be shown. Certainly the author had to be very explicit to aid understanding by the country gentlemen who were the Commissioners of Supply, either because this was an early use of such a technique, or because it was felt they needed help to understand.

The Telford Map

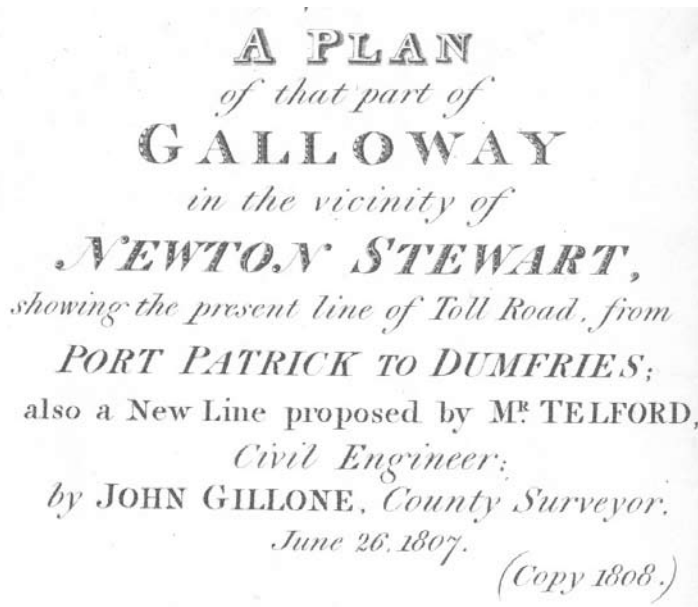


Figure 4. Title of the Telford Map

Another interesting item in the National Archives of Scotland, of which there is a copy in the Ewart Library, is RHP35869. It consists of two sheets drawn and printed professionally. The mapmaker was John Gillone, land surveyor and road engineer of Kirkcudbrightshire. Dated 1807, it shows the existing line of the road and the proposals of Thomas Telford when a new bridge over the Cree was being commissioned. Telford did not get that contract.

At Kirkcudbright the twenty second day of June in the year One Thousand eight hundred and seven.

In presence of William Mure Esq. Provost of Kirkcudbright, and one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Stewarty of Kirkcudbright;

Appeared John Gillone, Land Surveyor and Road Engineer for the Stewarty of Kirkcudbright, who being solemnly sworn, maketh Oath; That this is a true and accurate Plan, and that the Levels and Distances are as therein Stated, and that the Whole was accurately taken and made out, according to the best of his Skill and Judgment; And that all this is truth, as he shall answer to God.

Signed *John Gillone.*
Will: Mure J.P.

Figure 5. Authentication of the Telford Map

The Telford map has a statement on oath by the maker and this is countersigned by William Mure, J.P., provost of Kirkcudbright. This Gillone map was prepared for presentation to the House of Commons in 1809, and this might explain the need for authentication. The signature, William Mure, on the Gradient Diagram, possibly in different handwriting from the text, could be for authentication. William Mure was the factor to St Mary's Isle estate and Bank of Scotland agent in Kirkcudbright. He served as provost in 1803-5, in 1811-13 and 1815-17.

The Telford map, which extends to the area around Blackcraig, has no road-profile, but a table lists the rises and falls in inches, measured about every 50 yards along the proposed route. This may suggest that profiles were not in common use in 1786.

The minutes of the Commissioners of Supply of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright are in the Ewart Library, Dumfries, and a very useful summary has been prepared by Alexander D Anderson and lodged in the library. An entry dated 10th February 1786 states that a committee had been appointed on alterations to the Military Road at the Path Brae, and in it are mentioned Heron of Heron, a local landowner, David Skeen, inspector of Military

Roads, and Major Frazer, engineer. The asterisked footnote in STEWM:7405/RHP35867 makes it unlikely that the engineer, Major Frazer, was the author of the gradient diagram.

Extract from the minutes of the Commissioners of Supply:

About two miles east of Newtonstewart at the hill called the Path leading to the lead mines, which is so steep, that light carriages can scarce get up, to avoid which Major Frazer has pointed out a new line to join in with the old road at Stramadie, the expence of which alterations he estimates at £370.

For two or three decades at the end of the eighteenth century, there were moves to improve the roads around Blackcraig, with several men involved.

What the Gradient Diagram Shows

The following table has been prepared from the text to summarise the information, although this presentation was not used in the original paper. It should be remembered that a Scots inch is 0.16% bigger than an imperial inch, and although it is not known which inch is used there can be an error of that order in the figures given in STEWM:7405/RP35867. The table gives the distance to the next point and the rise or fall in feet. There are two heights – one calculated from the data in the table, the other an estimation from a recent metric edition Ordnance Survey map, although it is not possible to locate the original points C to L with any accuracy.

	Description	Distance ¹	Rise	Text height	Map height
C	Path foot	945	-49	[90]	90 ²
D	Strand at Challoch march	945	-8	41	49
E	Pen where road to shore enters Carseduncan	1890	6	33	30 ³
F	Foot of Blackcraig wood	1197	+83½	39	39
G	Old dyke at the wood head	252	19	123½	147½
H	Summit of the hill	315	-18	141½	147½
I	Ditch in the moss	467	-2	123½	131
K	Head of the Strand	1197	-75	121½	120
L	To the old road			46½	49

1. Column total = 7208 feet; text has 7300 feet

2. Difference in height between C and L in penultimate sentence of text = 42 feet

3. Difference in height between E and L in penultimate sentence of text = 15 feet

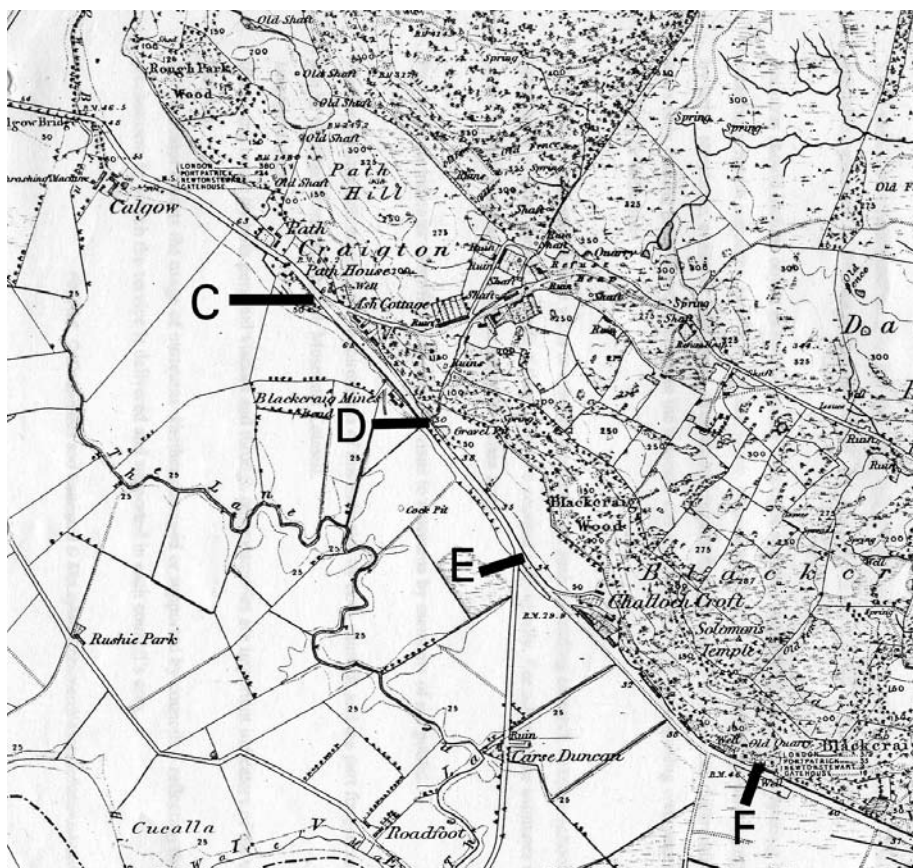


Figure 6. First Edition Ordnance Survey Map with possible locations of C, D, E, F

Figures 6. and 7. are reproduced from the first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1850 with the kind permission of the Ordnance Survey. Figure 6 shows the road which may well be partly the result of this proposed construction, namely C, D, E, F. The section beyond F is more conjectural.

Although continuing beyond F along the line of the A75 (T) would have put L close to Palmure, this could not possibly be the route proposed by STEWM: 7405/RP 35867 when the heights are considered. To achieve these values, the proposed route must have led from F to the old road somewhere near Stronord. Such a journey is possible with a summit under 130 feet, but passage of time and the forest cover prevent identification of the features described in G, H, I, K, L. There are several possible routes for the road designed in the gradient diagram, and one possibility is shown in figure 7.

Using a recent edition Ordnance Survey map at Six Inches to One Mile with contours in feet it was possible to draw a section from Pathfoot to Stronord, for comparison with the gradient diagram. Figure 8. confirms that the route of the road proposed in STEWM:7405/RP35867 can be detected, even although it did not result in road construction beyond F.

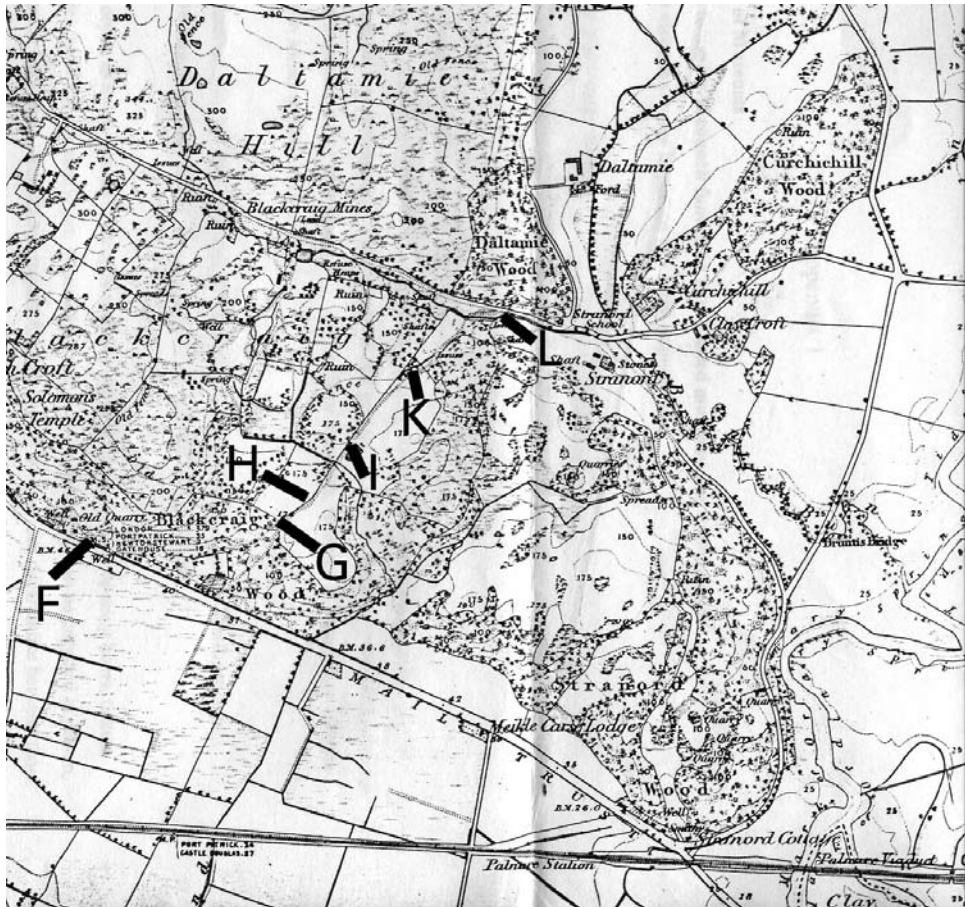


Figure 7. First Edition Ordnance Survey Map with possible locations of G, H, I, K, L

This paper has drawn attention to changing factors in road construction, such as avoiding the use of steep uplands, in the years around 1800. The changes resulted in the production of this document among others that may be in the possession of collections awaiting investigation.

Production of such documents resulted in the development and use of techniques to record and present information. STEWM: 7405/RHP35867, with its elaborate description, could well be an early usage of a road profile, though this was difficult to establish.

There remains some difficulty with the signature of William Mure, in handwriting quite different from the rest of the text, although he may have employed an amanuensis. While it may be the name of the author, it is not unknown for such papers to have authentication. However, the William Mure on the Telford Map was not provost until over a decade after 1786, and no evidence was found to suggest that there was only one man of that name.

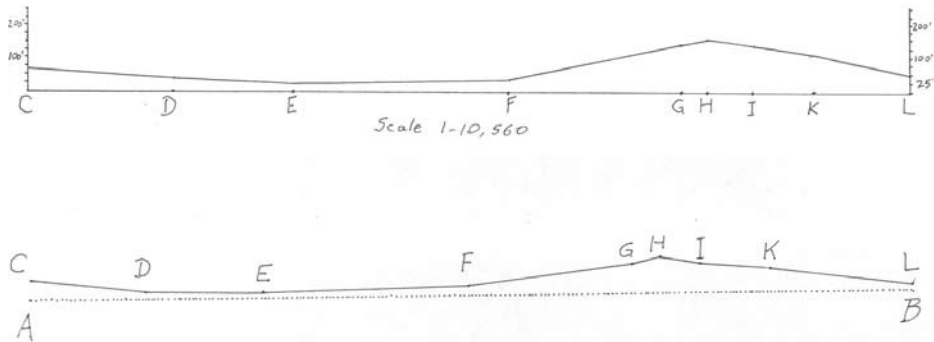


Figure 8. Comparison of Cross-sections

Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to several people who provided information and discussion – Alex Anderson [Dumfries], Gavin Chambers [Minnigaff], David Devereux [The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright], Allan Hoodless [Newton Stewart], John McDonald [Minnigaff], Roland Paxton [Edinburgh], Andrew Shankland [Stronord] and the staff of Dumfries and Galloway Library Service.

TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS 1868-75: THE SOCIETY'S 'MISSING YEARS'

James Williams¹

The early history of the society was recorded by Sir Hugh Gladstone in his Presidential Address of 1912² – and indicates that the Society, having commenced in 1862, ran ‘in a prosperous condition till May 1875 when its meetings ceased’³. It was ‘re-constituted’ in November 1876 and has continued to the present day. The published transactions do not provide any record of proceedings for the period from 1869 to 1875. In spite of two references by Gladstone there is a perception that nothing happened between 1869 and 1875 – and this apparent hiatus is re-inforced by the existence of two separate series of printed Transactions – from 1862-1869 and then 1876 to the present.⁴

The information gap from 1867-9 until 1874-5 can, however, be filled out to some extent by examining the various reports which appeared from time to time in the local press.⁵ The collating of these extracts is eased by an understanding that at this time in the Society’s history it was organised around having the first, or Annual General Meeting, of each session during the month of December: this was then usually followed by a further five ‘Winter Meetings’ finishing in May. Thereafter, there normally followed five monthly ‘Field Meetings’ until October. Such of these reports that can be found have been collated and the following pages are a summary of the Society’s activities during those ‘missing years’.

Proceedings 1867-68

Volume 6 of the First Series, nominally for the session 1867-68, was not published until 1871 and, probably because of the long gap between the meetings and actual printing, there are undoubtedly some anomalies regarding the dates of reported meetings. There were seven Winter Meetings between the Annual General Meeting on 5th November 1867 and 5th May 1868 and these appear to be correctly and fully reported on in the *Transactions*. A committee meeting was held upon the 29th of April to arrange the summer excursions or Field Meetings. These were planned to be:

¹ Editor of the Society’s Transactions 1976 – 2009.

² *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society (Transactions)*, III, volume 1, 1912-13, Presidential Address by Hugh S Gladstone of Capenoch, pp. 15-42. This report was also reprinted separately as *The History of The Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Dumfries, 1913 – some copies being issued as ‘A souvenir of Nov. 20th, 1912. With the Compliments of Hugh S. Gladstone’.

³ *Transactions*, II, volume 2, 1878-79 and 1879-80, note on title page.

⁴ The first Series (I) commenced in 1862-63 and ran to six volumes: the sixth and last volume was eventually published under the continuing editorship of the President, Sir William Jardine, in 1871. It records the transactions and proceedings of 1867-68 and the Secretary’s Report for the Session 1868-69. The ‘new’, or Second (II) Series, commenced with a new Volume 1 in 1876-78. There is some evidence that Sir William not only edited this ‘first’ series of *Transactions* but also funded the printing costs – it should be noted that by the early 1870s Jardine was a relatively old man – he died on 21st November 1874.

⁵ This process has been aided by the retention, among the Society’s records of a scrap- or cuttings-book for the period in question – this includes news-cuttings. While some are fully annotated a greater number only contain MS identifications in the hand of George W. Shirley.

- First Field Meeting: 9th May 1868, Auldgirith.
 Second Field Meeting: June 1868, Moffat.
 Third Field Meeting: July 1868, Parton and Dalry.
 Fourth Field Meeting: August 1868, Lochmaben.
 Fifth Field Meeting: September 1868, Auchencairn and Dalbeattie
 Sixth Field Meeting: October 1868, Carloverock or Torthorwald.

Proceedings 1868-69

On page 12 of the *Transactions* there is printed the 'SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR SESSION 1868-9'. This provides no information on the Winter Meetings apart from '... regretting that at the commencement of last Session no Presidential address was delivered, and that generally there has not been evinced among the Members so warm an interest in the Society as is desirable, if it is to go on and prosper. ... specially is this remark applicable to the Field Meetings, which ... were carried out invariably by some half-dozen Members.' He further reports that, with decreases, there were only 89 individuals on the membership roll.

First Winter Meeting: Tuesday, 8th December 1868. Although the SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR SESSION 1868-9 gives no information on the Winter Meetings of that session the following appeared in the local press.⁶

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. - The monthly meeting of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society was held in the Club Rooms, Assembly Street, on Tuesday evening. Mr Robert Murray, St Catherine's, one of the vice-presidents in the chair. There was exhibited by Dr Gilchrist an excellent specimen of the supposed fossil rain-drops, and sun-cracks in the sandstone, from Maiden Bower quarry; and also a number of old and interesting works from the Hutton library, in the custody of the Presbytery of Dumfries. Mr Dudgeon of Cargen submitted a note of rare minerals lately discovered by him and Professor Heddle, in the course of researches in this neighbourhood and in Galloway, which have not been marked in any published work on Mineralogy, and some of which have been observed for the first time in Scotland. Dr Grierson, Thornhill, then exhibited and read an interesting history and description of the *Euplectella Speciosa*, a very beautiful marine production from the Philippine Islands. The *Euplectella* was only introduced to the notice of the scientific world a few years ago, and has created a great deal of attention, owing to the extreme beauty and elegance of its appearance. It is now generally allowed to be a species of sponge. Specimens were at first sold to museums and collectors of curiosities, at an extravagant price, but owing to the recent importation of considerable quantities from Manilla [sic], they can now be obtained at a very moderate price. Mr W. R. M'Diarmid next read an interesting paper, entitled "A Glimpse at Dumfries in the Reign of Charles II." The paper consisted of extracts from the records of the Town Council after the Restoration, most of which were

⁶ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Saturday 12th December, 1868, page 2F.

indicative of the strong spirit of loyalty and submission inherent on the burghal authorities in these days, some casting a curious light on the manners and customs of the times. The meeting was well attended.

The 'SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR SESSION 1868-9' published in the *Transactions* continues by noting details of the programme of Field Meetings for the Session:

First Field Meeting: May 1869, Caerlaverock. Adjourned due to wet and cold weather.

Second Field Meeting: June 1869, planned for Parton but instead of that location a 'select party of six visited Caerlaverock and the district ...' A short report is provided in the *Transactions*, p. 12.

Third Field Meeting: 26th June 1869, Castleton to meet the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club. A full-ish report is provided by pp. 13-15 of the *Transactions* but a much fuller account is provided by the contemporary *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*.⁷ The meeting had been arranged specifically to meet with our Society and the meeting took place at Newcastleton where 'upwards of thirty sat down to breakfast'. Visitors, in addition to those from Dumfries included seven individuals from Northumberland; ten from Roxburghshire and four additional visitors. The Dumfries contingent numbered eleven and were noted to be 'Sir Wm. Jardine, Bart., President; Mr Stark [sic Starke], of Troqueerholm, Vice-President; Provost Harkness of Dumfries; Mr Arch. Harkness, Dumfries; Major Bowden, Lockfield [sic Lochfield]; Mr Maxwell Witham, Kirkconnell; Mr Witham, Kirkconnell; Dr Gilchrist, Crichton; Dr M'Nab, Dumfries; Mr A D Murray, Secretary; Mr R Murray, St Catherine's'. The main interests were geological, botanical, archaeological and historical - sites visited included, among others, Hermitage Castle, Milnholm Cross, Ettleton, Mangerton Tower, Liddel Water and Tweeden Glen.⁸

Fourth Field Meeting: 1st July 1869, Barjarg. This was reported in the *Transactions*, pp. 12-13.

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.— The members of this society held their third [sic] field meeting for the season on Thursday last, when they visited Barjarg and Lag Towers, Barjarg lime-works, &c. At Barjarg the members present had an opportunity kindly given them by Mr Hunter Arundell of examining many valuable and rare books, including very beautiful and ancient missals, Napoleon medals, &c. In the woods a very large oak tree, 16 feet in girth, and two large larch trees, said to be the first of that kind planted in the south of Scotland, were met with and examined. Close to the house a roe deer was observed within a few yards of the avenue, so tame that it would not move away even when the carriage passed it. Squirrels are said to be now abundant in Barjarg woods, though none of them were observed. After leaving Barjarg, the party drove over to Lag Tower, where nothing very interesting was seen except a barn owl, who was scared from his hiding place, and from thence they proceeded to Glenmidge valley and Auldgirth House. In regard to that valley, a tradition exists that it was at one time the bed of the river

⁷ *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 'Anniversary Address' by Sir Walter Elliot, 1869-72, pp. 19-44.

⁸ In addition the Society's cuttings-book contains a very full un-attributed news-cutting on this Field Meeting.

Cairn, which was diverted from its course by the “monks of old” cutting a passage through a rock barrier west of Dunscore village, and so letting it flow down past Speddoch to join the Cluden at the Routin’ Bridge, and the appearance of the valley goes far to support the truth of the tradition. A number of interesting plants were found and collected, and although the weather was very hot the party enjoyed their excursion very much.⁹

Fifth Field Meeting: 19th August 1869, Tynron. Only four members were reported as attending. Visits were made to Dr Grierson’s Museum, Thornhill and the Crichope Glen. This was reported in the *Transactions*, p. 15.

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—The August field meeting of this society was held on Thursday, 19th. A small party of the members of the society left by the mid-day train for Thornhill, where they were met by Dr Grierson, whose museum they inspected, as well as the new museum now in the course of erection. They then started for Crichope Linn, examining on their way Gatelawbridge quarry, in which are seen in close proximity, not only the red coloured sandstone peculiar to Nithsdale, but a whitish sandstone very rarely found in the district. Very extensive operations are carried on at this quarry, which appears to be inexhaustible; and the working was viewed of a ten-ton crane moved by the power of water carried a considerable distance from the Cample by means of a wooden aqueduct. After this the party were driven to Crichope Glen, the geological and botanical features of which were examined with much interest, and all were delighted with the varied scenery of this romantic ravine. The party returned to Dumfries by the 6 o’ clock train. Their original intention was to have visited Tynron Doon, but, owing to various circumstances, this was departed from. But although the Dumfries members did not find it convenient to visit Tynron on Thursday, a small party of the country members and their friends took advantage of the beautiful day to climb Tynron Doon and visit Killywarren, an ancient seat of the Douglas family. On the north side of Tynron Doon are visible remains of a moat or artificial ditch. Remains of a well, overgrown with rushes, was traced above the moat; and on the very summit towards the south, by removing the turf, sandstones much mixed with lime are to be seen. If a castle ever crowned this eminence, it must have had the highest site of any in the south of Scotland. Killywarren, about two miles further up the Shinnel, is interesting as being an old castle of the Douglas family, which has been roofed in and served the purpose of a farm-house. The coat of arms of the old family, elaborately carved, and a square stone beneath, bearing the date 1617, are inserted above the arched door of the newer part of the house. The huge whinstones which form the foundation of the old tall gable, the small windows, those of the third storey being close in the eaves of the roof, and the curious sloping and triangular garden behind, give Killywarren a very peculiar appearance. Inside the steepness of the stairs and the thickness of the walls are equally remarkable.¹⁰

9 There is a further un-attributed news-cutting in the Society’s cuttings-book - with pencil note by George W. Shirley ‘July? 1868-9’.

10 Un-attributed news-cutting in the Society’s cuttings-book – dated by George W. Shirley to ‘August? 1868-9’.

Sixth Field Meeting: 16th September 1869.

The *Transactions* note that on 16th September 1869 a Field Meeting was held at Rockhall cairn, Rockhallhead Chapel, Thorniewhat Glen and Deil's Dyke. See *Transactions*, pp. 15-16, but a more extensive report is provided by the local press.¹¹-

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

The members of this Society held their last field meeting of the season on Thursday, on which they visited a number of antiquities situated on the elevated ridge of country in the parishes of Torthorwald and Lochmaben. Starting by the train at 11.7 A.M. to Racks Station, the party took the route toward Rockhall, and first visited the site of the cairn or barrow situated in a field to the west of Rockhall House. This cairn, composed of stones originally gathered from the adjacent lands, seems to have been of considerable height, of a circular form, and about twenty or thirty yards diameter at the base. The stones have now been nearly all carted away, and the mound levelled down, in order that the soil might be cultivated. It does not appear that any artificial relics have been found in the cairn, or at least they have not been preserved or heard of. But the plan is exactly similar to those mounds scattered throughout the south of Scotland, which, when opened up, have been found to be the covering of stone cists, containing the skeleton of an aboriginal warrior, buried along with his weapons, consisting of stone hammers and flint arrowheads. If no such relic has been dug out of the cairn at Rockhall, it is not impossible that it may still repose beneath the surface, to be turned up one day in the progress of cultivation.

Passing on to the farm of Rockhallhead, the party proceeded to inspect the site of what "folks say was ance an auld kirk or chapel," as they were obligingly told by a local informant. The traces of such a building are quite evident in the contour of the ground, although not a stone is left above the surface; but the tradition that a part of the dyke bounding the homestead, which gives token of being built with clay mortar, belonged to an old wall of the edifice, is manifestly a mistake. The farm house and homestead of Rockhallhead, however, occupies the site of an ancient camp, which must have been of large extent, and great strength from its commanding position. A large part of the circular rampart and fosse is still in perfect preservation, close to the north side of the stackyard, as also in the interior of the homestead. Indeed, there seems pretty complete evidence that this locality must have been the centre of a primitive settlement. Right above the farmhouse, occupying the site of the fenced oppidum, is the remarkable erection of Rockhall Mote, one of the most imposing and interesting of the earlier antiquities in Dumfriesshire. A road leading up from the farm to the Mote arrests the attention of the observer from the amount of cutting and levelling that must have been originally bestowed upon it, quite incompatible with the importance of the modern field road.

The Mote itself is covered with trees, which in great measure takes away from its appearance at a distance. Some years ago, before the trees were planted, it was

11 Un-attributed in the Society's cuttings-book but dated by George W. Shirley to '? Sepr 1868-9'.

a very prominent and singular object when viewed from a distance, and only a few generations ago was regarded with feelings of peculiar reverence and superstition by the surrounding population. One of the party on this occasion was able to relate that a relative of his own, who farmed the ground half a century ago, moved with curiosity, determined to make a cutting into the Mote. He was strongly dissuaded by his neighbours from attempting any such perilous and impious act; but being a man of strong resolution he persisted in his enterprise, and one fine summer morning went with a few of his workmen, duly armed with picks and shovels to accomplish the task. They set to work, not without fear and misgiving; but hardly had the surface been broken into when the sky, previously bright and serene, became pregnant with the symptoms of change, and a terrific thunderstorm burst upon the hills. Terrified and awe-stricken the labourers threw down their tools and fled from the spot, and from that day to this Rockhall Mote has been left undisturbed.

We doubt very much, indeed, whether any investigation into the bowels of the mound would be repaid. Several of these large tumuli have been opened of late without finding anything but earth and stones, and they seem to be essentially different both in structure and intention from the smaller stone cairns which generally enclose the tomb of a primitive warrior chief. Rockhall Mote occupies a bold eminence on the hill range looking down upon Nithsdale and the Lochar Moss, and commanding one of the most beautiful and extensive panoramic views in the south-west of Scotland. It is a steep conical mound from 40 to 50 feet high, and what is quite singular in such structures, is surrounded by a deep fosse, and an outer rampart running, completely round the mound. It is almost in vain to speculate upon the original purpose of this great work of primitive enterprise. Although fenced like a camp, it is manifestly far too steep to have been occupied as a military position; whilst it would be absurd to suppose that such an incredible amount of labour was bestowed on the erection of a mere watch-tower when the surrounding country abounds in peaks and coigns of vantage. The proximity of the large and strong camp on which Rockhall farmhouse stands, with the cairn about half-a-mile further down, which by-the-bye is only one of numerous cairns known to have existed in the same neighbourhood, affords us, if not a clue to the meaning of the Mote, at least valuable ground of connection. There can be little doubt that the Mote-hill was constructed by the occupants of the camp, and probably also the road connecting them. It may have been used as a temple for religious worship; but even thus far we scarcely dare to speculate; for it is anything but clear whether the whole of these relics belong to a Celtic race at all, or whether they are not the skill-less but Titan like labours of a still older and ruder population, whose very conditions and customs are so much a mystery to us that it is in vain we endeavour to trace the meaning or motive of their industry. It is pretty generally admitted, that whatever might be the original purpose of these great conical erections, they were preserved and made use of by subsequent races who had forgotten the memories of their founders; and to this we owe the Saxon designation "Mote," now generally applied to them, signifying their use as gathering places for the Council of the tribe, when met to legislate or deliberate on affairs of public moment.

From Rockhall Mote the party proceeded by way of the Beaconhill, surveying at a little distance the remains of two encampments – one on the Beaconhill, and the other popularly, but falsely, known as a Roman Camp, which has given the name of Camphill to the eminence it occupies. The route was then continued over the Annandale side of the ridge towards Lochmaben, and the botanical members of the party took the opportunity of a ramble through Thorneythwaite [sic Thorniewhat] Glen – a deep and rugged glade, in which, we may mention, that a fern of the *Adiantum* genus was discovered a year ago, which, if indigenous to the locality where it was discovered, has been found for the first time in Britain. At the bottom of the slope, towards Hightae Loch, occurs a long abrupt ridge, which traverses the country for a considerable distance, and which has been reported by not sufficiently careful observers to be a portion of “The Deil’s Dyke,” one of the most, if not the most remarkable of the antiquities of Dumfries-shire and Galloway. This primitive wall is said to begin in the neighbourhood of Wigtown, to proceed along the line of the bay to Newton Stewart, crossing into the parish of Minigaff, and keeping the mountain ridges to proceed along the high lands of Galloway, entering Dumfries-shire at the head of Glencairn, and proceeding, by the way of Tibbers and Durrisdeer [sic Durisdeer], across the country towards Lochmaben, terminating somewhere in the vicinity of Annan. Of this work Daniel Wilson says – “It has been traced through a much larger district of the country than the whole length of the Antonine Wall; and though it lacks the historic interest of that structure, and the valuable legionary inscriptions found along its line, it is never-the-less a remarkable evidence of combined action and primitive engineering skill. . . This ancient wall measures eight feet broad at the base, and is mostly built of rough unhewn blocks of moor stone and trap. In districts where stone is more inaccessible, it is constructed of stones mixed with earth and clay, and at some few points it is entirely of earth. The fosse, which is still traceable along a great part of the wall, is on the north side, from whence we are justified in inferring that the vallum was raised by the natives of the southern districts. It is of course, impossible to assign the age of the builders of this ancient structure with absolute certainty. History is utterly silent on the subject. The very name, which ascribes its origin to the Master Fiend, shows how completely tradition has lost every clue to its builders. The correspondence of the general design to the true Roman walls seems very clearly to point to its erection by the southern Britons after the departure of the Romans, when we know that they frequently suffered from the inroads of the northern tribes.” The supposition thus doubtfully hazarded by Wilson would seem to make the wall a barrier between the Selgovae and the Picts of the north and west, a purpose which in some of its parts it might seem capable of serving, but scarcely at all in others.

On examination of the ridge near Lochmaben, however, it was at once made plain that it is no part of the Deil’s Dyke, but a natural ridge formed by aqueous or glacial action, or both combined, at a period infinitely older even than the times of the Picts and Cymri; so that if the deflection of the dyke from the parish of Durrisdeer [sic Durisdeer] towards Lochmaben and Annan rests upon no better footing than ridges of this description, it may be that the wall continues to keep the hill tops, or terminates, perhaps, in the high lands of Dumfries-shire; in which

case it could be better supposed to be a division between the Cumbrians and the Galweddyll Picts, erected in the fifth or sixth century.

The party reached Lochmaben, after having enjoyed a long and delightful walk, in which they were favoured with most enjoyable weather, and returned to Dumfries by the afternoon train.

Proceedings 1869-70

First Winter Meeting and Annual General Meeting: December 1870.

Second Winter Meeting: Tuesday, 18 January 1870.¹²

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- At a meeting of this society held last week, Mr Starke presiding, the Secretary Mr Corrie read a report of the proceedings of the society for the session 1868-9, including an interesting *resume* of the summer field meetings. Mr Dudgeon of Cargen then read a paper on the coins found at [sic] St Jergan's [sic St. Queran's] well, near Cargen, when it was recently cleaned out, and exhibited a large number of them, mostly of copper. He also intimated that he would present to the society a set of these coins. Mr Dudgeon then described verbally the following new minerals which he had discovered in some lead workings at Cassencarrie, in the Stewartry, viz., kupper-nikel, nikel ochre, cobalt bloom, and a white mineral containing cobalt, nikel and arsenic - the latter he stated he believed to be an entirely new mineral. He also thought he discovered in the same place native arsenic and emerald nikel, but these were doubtful. On the mention of Mr Corrie, seconded by the chairman, a special vote of thanks was given to Mr Dudgeon for his communications, his gift to the society, and his public spirit in clearing out, restoring, and beautifying St Jergan's well. Dr Malan read an instructive and interesting paper in reference to and descriptive of the recent discovery of ancient prehistoric dwellings beneath a deep deposit of volcanic pumice stone in the Grecian islands of Thermia and Santorin, &c., the discovery being made in excavating the pumice stone for use in making the breakwater forming the harbour of Port Said at the Mediterranean mouth of the Suez Canal. Dr Malan received a vote of thanks for his paper, a continuation of which was promised. Dr M'Nab made a communication on "the mode of examining the tissues of plants," giving interesting and elaborate details of experiments made by him, and exhibiting illustrative diagrams.

Third Winter Meeting: February 1870.

Fourth Winter Meeting: March 1870.

Fifth Winter Meeting: Tuesday, 5th April 1870.¹³

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. - The fifth monthly meeting of this society was held

¹² *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 26th January, 1870, page 5D.

¹³ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Saturday 9th April, 1870, page 3B.

on Tuesday night - Mr Starke, Troqueer Holm, presiding. The secretary presented two contributions to the society, and also exhibited a large piece of stone sent to him by Mr Scott, teacher, Clarencefield, covered with beautiful markings like ferns - the result of deposits of zinc. Mr Mitchell read a short notice of a cist or stone grave discovered on the farm of Drummillan, Troqueer. When opened, there were found in the bottom of the grave, mixed with dry gravel, a good deal of wood ashes (oak apparently), and a quantity of a black and calcined substance which had all the appearance of burnt bones. It was situated in a field wherein was a cairn, known as the "Picts' Cairn," erroneously named on the Ordnance Survey Map "Peter's Cairn." Mr Shaw read a highly interesting paper entitled "Notes on some large boulder stones in Tynron and Keir," giving details of them as examined by him in the bed of the Shinnel water and its affluents, and also in a burn near Barndennoch, Keir. Mr R. Maxwell read a long, interesting, and valuable historical sketch of the celebrated feud between the Johnstones of Annandale and the Maxwells of Nithside. A conversation followed upon the reading of this paper, and Mr Aitken, in illustration, read some interesting notes from a printed paper, entitled "Copy of a manuscript tract, addressed to Lord Broghley, illustrative of the Border Topography of Scotland A.D. 1590, with a plate or map of the Borders."

Sixth Winter Meeting: 3rd May 1870¹⁴

DUMFRIES-SHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The sixth meeting of this Society for the present session was held on Tuesday night - Mr Starke, Troqueer Holm, presiding. At the recommendation of the committee, arrangements were made for the annual excursions, and it was agreed, on the suggestion of Dr Gilchrist, that an invitation be given to the Berwickshire Club for another joint meeting during the present season. The secretary reported some observations he had made in regard to birds in the district. He stated that sand-martins were first seen on the banks of the Nith on the 8th of April; that on the 22d the house-martin and swallow appeared, and the cuckoo was heard; that on the 1st May a pair of sand-pipers were seen on the Nith; and that on the 2d May a brood missel-thrushes took wing. Dr Gilchrist read a short but highly interesting paper entitled, "Notes on the Antiquities of Devonshire," giving various details regarding them. The thanks of the meeting were awarded to Dr Gilchrist. Mr Lennon read a long and exhaustive paper entitled, "Notes on Entomology," which he illustrated by the exhibition of a most beautiful collection of butterflies and moths. A general interest was taken in this paper, and Mr Lennon was warmly thanked for his efforts to entertain the Society. The meeting then separated.

First Field Meeting: [June 1870?]

Second Field Meeting: 7th July 1870.¹⁵

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The second field meeting for this season took place on Thursday last,

¹⁴ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Saturday 7th May 1870, page 3E.

¹⁵ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Saturday 9th July, 1870, page 4C.

when a party of about a dozen, led by their veteran, President Sir W. Jardine, and including Professor Harkness of Cork, visited Kirkconnell, and the neighbourhood. Under the guidance of Mr Nivison, manager of Miss Whigham's collieries, who kindly volunteered his services for the occasion, the party travelled up and carefully inspected the glen formed by the Kirkburn, ending their walk at the old Churchyard of St Connell, on the farm of Kirkland, and at the foot of the hills separating this County from Ayrshire. The walk was both interesting and instructive, from the ease with which the various strata overlying the coal formation could be observed. On returning to Kirkconnell in the afternoon, the party crossed the Nith to the west, and while some of them busied themselves in gathering vegetable fossils, from what is literally a bank of them on the river side, others visited and inspected the remains of what is supposed to have been an ancient fortification, known as the "Picts' or Deil's Dyke," and which is said to have extended along the hill country from the sea in Wigtownshire into and through this County, until it again reached the sea about Annan. Whatever was its purpose, the sharp eyes of one of the party discovered on the line of it an ancient utensil, which satisfied those present that man, and not "the deil," had a hand in its formation. The day was a beautiful one, making the meeting most enjoyable; and through the kind courtesy of Mr Gilmour, of the Glasgow & South-Western Railway, who not only, without requiring the usual three days' notice, gave the members from Dumfries the benefit of a pleasure party order at single fare, but stopped the express at Kirkconnell Station for them, they were enabled to return home by 6.30 P.M. with comfort and speed.

Session 1870-71

First Winter Meeting and Annual General Meeting: 6th December 1870¹⁶

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The first winter meeting of this Society was held on the evening of Tuesday last – Mr Starke of Troqueer Holm in the chair. The office-bearers were elected as follows:- President, Sir Wm. Jardine of Applegirth, Bart.; Vice-Presidents, Patrick Dudgeon, Esqr., of Cargen, R. Murray, Esqr., St Catherine's and Dr Gilchrist; Committee, Dr Kerr, Messrs A. Crosbie, W. Lennon, James Aitken, W. Allan, J. Maxwell, J.C. Aitken, G. Kirkpatrick, Starke, and Jas. Barbour; Librarian and Curator, Mr Starke; Secretary and Treasurer, Mr Corrie, Procurator-Fiscal. The Secretary laid on the table several contributions to the Library. He then read an account of the excursions during the past summer and made some additions to his interesting observations of birds; among these was the fact of a wagtail passing under a young bird which was flying across the Nith in order to prevent its offspring falling into the stream; and an account of a Robin in the garden attached to the City of Glasgow Bank in Dumfries, which imitates the notes of other birds frequenting the same enclosure; a faculty on the part of the Redbreast which has not previously been observed.

Second Winter Meeting: [January 1871?].

16 Unattributed in the Society's cuttings-book but dated by George W. Shirley to 6th December 1870.

Third Winter Meeting: 7th February 1871.¹⁷

DUMFRIES NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- A meeting of this Society was held last night. The attendance was thin, owing to the meeting in the Town Hall, anent patronage. Dr Gilchrist was called to the chair. The Secretary said that the Transactions for last year were in the printer's hands and would soon be ready for distribution. Photograph of skeletons of the extinct *Dinornis* of New Zealand, presented by Mr Robert Scott, jun., New Zealand, formerly of Nithsdale Tweed Mills, was exhibited, and the thanks of the meeting were to be sent to Mr Scott. There was shown the bronze handle of a Roman sword, found at Broomhill, Lochmaben, and presented by Mr Robert Graham. Dr Gilchrist exhibited an ancient seal found at Carlaverock [sic Caerlaverock]. Mr Hastings, taxidermist, showed skins of the chough, pintail duck shot in Galloway; also stuffed specimens of the great crested grebe, spotted woodpecker, and hoopoe, shot in the district. Mr Lennon was to have read a paper on a subject of natural history, but from the paucity of attendance the reading was postponed.

First Field Meeting: [June 1871?].

Second Field Meeting: [July 1871?].

Third Field Meeting: Thursday 3rd August 1871.¹⁸

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The third field meeting of this society for the season was at Kirkcudbright on Thursday last. A party of six left Dumfries by the morning train, and were joined at Kirkcudbright by several members and the Rev. Mr Underwood. The route was along the Borgue shore of the Dee to the "Mickle Ross," whither the party drove. On arriving there the weather, which had been very cold, broke into a heavy driving rain, but it afterwards cleared, and a beautiful afternoon followed. The party walked round the Ross, and were enabled to gather a variety of botanical and geological specimens. The isthmus connecting the "Mickle Ross" with the mainland was examined with interest, and it was evident that at some distant period the sea at high water had swept over it, as it now sweeps between the Mickle and the Little Ross. On their return the party visited Senwick old church and churchyard, most romantically situated on a cliff overlooking the Dee, where that curious plant the Arum, or "lords and ladies," was found in abundance, in berry, and they walked thence through the wood along the shore to Nunton. At Nunton there are some slight remains of an ancient nunnery, and hence the name. Before reaching Kirkcudbright a visit was paid to Kirkchrist churchyard, also overlooking the Dee, where a curious slab of stone, bearing peculiar markings on its sides and on one of its surfaces, and which had been dug up, was examined. On their return to Kirkcudbright the party visited various places of interest therein, including the site of the ancient castle of "Caercudbright," on the bank of the river, south-west of the town, and thence walked to St Mary's Isle, where they were charmed by the beautiful scenery and flowers to be seen there, the pleasure of the visit being much

17 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday, 8th February, 1871, page 5D.

18 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 9th August, 1871, page 5C.

enhanced by the kind attention of Mr Aitken, gardener to Lord Selkirk. The party from Dumfries reached home at 8.35.

Fourth Field Meeting: Thursday 7th September 1871.¹⁹

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The monthly excursion of this body took place on Thursday to the romantic and picturesque shores of Colvend and Southwick. The weather in the morning was unfavourable, which caused the attendance to be limited, but the afternoon was fine, and the party separated into two bands, one botanizing, and the other examining the antiquities in the neighbourhood, and the geological aspects of the coast scenery.

Fifth Field Meeting: Thursday 12th October 1871.²⁰

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The members of this society had a fine excursion on Thursday last through part of Kirkgunzeon parish. Drumcoltran Tower, a fine old ruin, and Corah, a humbler relic of the past, but memorable as having afforded a resting place for Queen Mary, when hastening from Terregles to Dundrennan, were the special attractions of the visit.

Session 1871-72

First Winter Meeting and Annual General Meeting: [December 1871?].

Second Winter Meeting: 9th January 1872.²¹

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The second meeting of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society this season was held on Tuesday night - Mr Starke, Troqueer Holm, in the chair. A report by the secretary of the proceedings of the society during the session 1870-71 was read. The boots or shoes of the skeleton recently found near Racks, together with some of the bones and part of the woollen cloth in which the remains had been wrapped, were exhibited by the secretary, who also read a short explanatory notice in regard thereto. So far as can be judged, the remains must have been in the moss for several hundred years. A short conversation followed.

Third Winter Meeting: Tuesday 13th February 1872.²²

NATIONAL[sic] HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. – The third meeting of the season was held last night, when a specimen of the Lesser Guillemot, a rare bird here, was laid on the table. From a short notice sent with it to the meeting by Mr M'Kenzie of Barnhill it appeared that he had caught it in a ditch on his farm on 14th January last, having been, as he supposed, driven inland by one of the storms so prevalent last month. A paper by Mr M'Diarmid, at present in Cornwall, entitled "An Afternoon's Walk Across England," giving interesting and instructive

19 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 13th September, 1871, page 7D.

20 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday October 18th, 1871, page 5E.

21 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Saturday January 13th, 1872, page 4D.

22 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 14th February, 1872, page 5C.

notices of the various objects of natural and antiquarian interest, there so plentiful, was read by the Secretary. Dr Grierson of Thornhill exhibited specimens of that curious Lycopodium, the "Resurrection Plant" of California, and then favoured the meeting with a variety of his views on the subject of education of the young, and the influences of museums, local or otherwise, upon the mind.

Fourth Winter Meeting: Tuesday, 13th March 1872.²³

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The fourth meeting of the session was held last night, when a paper by Mr M'Diarmid, describing St Michael's Mount, Cornwall, and giving interesting details in regard to it and the neighbouring town of Marazion, an ancient Jewish colony, was read by the secretary. Dr Gilchrist read a paper on the "Granite Industries of the North of Scotland," by Mr T. R. Marshall of Edinburgh, and was followed by Dr Anderson, Southern Counties' Asylum, with an able and instructive address on "Muscles and Muscular Fibre." Each of these papers was accompanied by illustrations.

First Field Meeting: 1st August 1872.²⁴

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The August field meeting of this Society took place on Thursday week at Newabbey and neighbourhood. The party left Dumfries about mid-day, and were met near Newabbey by Mr Dudgeon of Cargen, Mr Stewart of Shambellie, and the Rev. Mr Downie, R C., Newabbey, whose knowledge of the locality proved of the greatest service. The first object visited was an ancient smelting place on the farm of Millhill, on the property of Mr Carrick Moore, where numerous pieces of slag and charcoal were found; the slag was very heavy, and estimated generally to contain about 50 per cent of iron. It is not probable that smelting operations were carried on here to any great extent; but that it was found profitable in days long gone by, when communication was difficult, and fuel abundant, and no metal was more precious than iron, to fuse and extract that metal from the ore in however small quantities it might be found, there seems good reason to believe. From this spot the party proceeded to a field at the foot of a hill on the farm of Martingirth, on the estate of Kirkconnell, where the locality of an ancient lead smelting place was examined with much interest. Here the soil over an extent of several square yards has been completely lead-poisoned. No vegetation will grow upon it, and it is black with mineral debris. Numberless pieces of charcoal, lead-slag, and some pieces of lead were picked up. Pieces of the slag were found to contain lead in the form of galena, and reduced lead, and also a sulphate of lead, the formation of which must have occupied a lengthened period. An old road, which apparently gave access to the smelting place has recently been discovered in the neighbourhood, and an obviously artificial mound not far off has the appearance of a huge spoil bank. Further up the hill, on the same property, is a field still known as the Leadbells, and here some years ago, a large mass of lead ore (now in the possession of Mr Witham) was turned up by the plough. Leaving Martingirth, the operations at present being

²³ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday, 13th March, 1872, page 5D.

²⁴ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Saturday, 10th August, 1872, page 3E.

conducted in search of minerals on the farm of Woodside, Kirkconnell, under the supervision of Mr Henderson, mining engineer, were examined. An excavation in the solid rock on the brow of the hill, and which was evidently formerly used in the smelting of lead, has been discovered in the course of these operations, and pieces of smelted lead adhering to the crevices, and lead slag have also been found, but as yet no traces of ore have been come upon. The exploration has taken place along the line of a deep trench cut through the field, and in this some extremely fine specimens of rock polished by glacial action may be seen. Mr Henderson furnished the party with a great deal of interesting information, besides supplying them with specimens; for which, on the motion of Mr Dudgeon, he was awarded a cordial vote of thanks. After this, Kirkconnell House was visited, where various antique relics and natural curiosities were examined. Retracing their steps, the party, on reaching Shambellie, ascended the hill, and on the summit examined the site and remains of the old "clachan" of Newabbey regarding which little appears to be known. On the southern slope of the hill a boulder of great size, deposited on another rock, and which had evidently been ice-carried, was examined with some curiosity. On the return to Dumfries, a tunnel in the solid rock at Whinnyhill was examined. Here also the search for minerals is being prosecuted at a point where the granite and greywack[e] meet and mineral traces are more likely to abound.

Session 1872-73

First Winter Meeting and Annual General Meeting: [December 1872?]²⁵

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

The first meeting of this society for the season took place on Tuesday week – Mr Dudgeon, Cargen, in the chair. The following office-bearers were appointed:-

President, Sir W Jardine, Bart. Vice Presidents, Messrs Dudgeon, Aitken and Starke. Librarian and Curator, Mr Starke. Secretary and Treasurer, Mr Corrie. The Secretary read a short report of the proceedings of the society during the season of 1871-72. He also exhibited an ancient leather shoe found in a moss near Lochmaben. Dr Grierson exhibited the skin of a stormy petrel, killed recently at the mouth of the Annan. Mr W G Gibson presented to the society an impression of an ancient bronze seal found in Dumfries a number of years ago, and which is mentioned in the Statistical Account of Dumfries, and is supposed by the Edinburgh antiquaries to be the Privy Seal of James V. Mr Dudgeon read a short paper on "The Evidences of the Subsidence of the Land," particularly in reference to a discovery made by him near Cargen.

THE VINE DISEASE

Dr Grierson then made an extremely interesting statement concerning the ravages of the insect *Phylloxera vastatrix* or vine-pest, and exhibited a piece of vine root from Drumlanrig on which the insect and its ova were seen. Dr Grierson said –

²⁵ Un-attributed in the Society's cuttings-book, but most probably the report of this meeting.

“A considerable time ago, vineyards in the south of France became attacked with an insect that had not before been observed; it was of the nature of an aphid and was found upon the roots of the vines. In the year 1868 its ravages had greatly increased and had become of national importance. It was ascertained that the insect was identical, or nearly so, with an insect that had been doing much injury to the vines in the United States of America, and which had been described by Mr Fitch, by the direction of the United States Government. Yearly the ravages of the insect in France have been extending, and to such an extent have they reached that the question is put whether France has suffered most from the war with Germany or from this insect. Every effort is being made to stay its ravages, the academy of Science of Paris has appointed a committee, and Government offers unlimited mean – a very large sum of money – as a prize is offered for a remedy. Hitherto the only remedy proposed that has received favour is that of stamping out, a phrase with which we in this country were only too familiar during the visitation of the cattle plague. A writer in *The Gardener* in July, 1869, dating from Kent, states that his vines are affected with the same pestilential insects as are in France, and that he believes that in England there are other places where the insect has appeared. Since then the insect has been known to be more or less in England, but there were no recorded cases of the insect having been observed in Scotland until this autumn, when on examining the roots of some vines of an unhealthy aspect in one of the vineries at Drumlanrig they were found to be covered with this insect, and vine after vine in the vinery became affected. The vines in the adjoining vinery next yielded to the devastating insect, and now the vines in both vineries are wholly destroyed. A week or two after the insect was first observed at Drumlanrig, a communication was made respecting it to the Society of Enquiry meeting in the Museum, Thornhill, and partly through this communication it became known to gardeners in Scotland and they were led to examine the roots of their vines that had an unhealthy aspect and up to last week no less than 12 or 13 places became known where the pestilence was. The insect is very small, not larger than a poppy seed; the colour is ochery yellow; and with a pocket lens it is seen to have the general aspect of an aphid. Rarely have they been seen winged, but occasionally they occur in countless numbers, myriads covering the roots of the vines. All individuals examined have been found to be females, all being found to contain eggs, and if there are males, such have not yet been met with. In France the history of the insect has been most carefully studied, but a vast deal of its life history has yet to be learned. To the question, how is the insect diffused, there is no satisfactory answer. The few that have been found winged might be supposed to carry the disease, but according to the French naturalists although they have wings they are quite unable to fly. But surely this will admit of question. At Drumlanrig the progress of the insect in the two vineries destroyed Mr Thomson compared to a fire beginning at one corner and extending to the other. None of the insects were seen above ground, they must have travelled beneath, and they would seem immediately to leave the vine roots they had destroyed and seek for more to destroy. No other plant but the vine does the insect seem to touch. At Drumlanrig it passed by the fig, the peach, and the currant, which were intentionally placed in its way, destroying the vine alone. The insect has been named *Phylloxera vastatrix*. He (Dr Grierson) would

suggest as a remedy, which he would gladly see tried, a decoction of the root of the white Hellebore (*Veratrum Album*) with which the ground wherein the affected vines grow should be saturated. It is immediately destructive to insect life but in no way affects vegetable life. It acts upon the nervous system which it immediately destroys. The white Hellebore can be obtained in quantity if required. Let the Phylloxera Committee of the Academy of Science of France experiment, and if the *Veratrum* is found to be effective, let them keep the money reward offered to themselves, as far as he (Dr Grierson) is concerned; and let the Scotch gardener make use of it, if required, without any fear of infringing upon patent rights.”

Second Winter Meeting: Tuesday 14th January 1873.²⁶

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY – The second meeting of the season was held last night – Sir Wm. Broun [sic Jardine?], Bart., in the chair. The Secretary laid before the meeting various old documents found in the Commissary Clerk's Office. One of these was a resolution, signed by forty-six gentlemen of the county, binding themselves not to allow any servant in their families to take vails or drink-money, nor after Whitsunday 1760, to give any such vails on any pretence to any servant; another document was a petition by John Neilson, huntsman for the shire, for an addition to his salary, and dated 30th April 1787, from which it appeared, in ten parishes of Dumfriesshire, killed 51 foxes, 3 badgers, 1 wild cat and 4 fougarts or polecats – the wild cat was killed in Penpont. The Secretary exhibited a pair of horns of the ancient and extinct red deer of Scotland, which had been found last summer in the bed of the Nith, near Glencaple, by Mr James Marshall, Friars Vennel; his net when fishing for salmon having been caught on one of the points of the antlers. The horns are attached to the frontal bone of the skull, and are quite sound and perfect. Each branch measures 3 feet 6 inches in length, and the width of the tips of the branches is about the same distance. Each horn has seven tines. The weight is 18 ½ lbs. It being mentioned that a portion of the ruins of Lincluden had lately fallen, the secretary was requested to inform the factor for Terregles of the circumstance. Mr Dudgeon of Cargen read a paper on an ancient smelting place in Troqueer, and showed specimens of the slag.

Third Winter Meeting: Tuesday 11th March 1873.²⁷

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- A meeting of the society was held last night – the Rev. Mr Laidlaw, Wanlockhead, in the chair. The secretary laid before the meeting letters of poinding, issued in the name of “Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.” Both creditors and debtors were denizens of Dumfries. A stone celt, nine inches long by 2 , found on the property of Mr Anderson of Netherwood, in the neighbourhood of the ancient camp, near Trohoughton, was exhibited. Dr Gilchrist read an interesting paper on the ancient Scandinavian burial place at Maeshowe, in Orkney, illustrated by excellent water colours. The thanks of the meeting were given to Dr Gilchrist.

²⁶ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 15th January, 1873, page 5C.

²⁷ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday, 12th March, 1873, page 5D.

Fourth Winter Meeting: Tuesday 8th April 1873.²⁸

ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY MEETING.- The fourth meeting of the session of the Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian and National[sic] History Society was held last night – Dr Gilchrist in the chair. The secretary, Mr Corrie, exhibited a copy of Geikie's Etchings of character, which was with much interest examined. Mr W.G.Gibson, presented plaster casts of bronze cells [sic: celts] and spearheads in the Crichton Institution Museum. A copy of Mr Wm. Carruthers' F.L.S. British Museum, most recently issued work "A Revision of the British Graptolites," presented by the author, was read before the meeting. Mr Shaw, Tynron, exhibited ten large and beautiful photographs of various objects in the British Museum, and read a variety of critical remarks on the sculpture delineated in the photographs. In connection with this subject Mr Shaw called attention to the propriety of having views taken of all local ruins and objects of antiquity. The thanks of the meeting were recorded to Mr Gibson, Mr Carruthers, and Mr Shaw.

[Fifth?] Winter Meeting: Tuesday 20th May 1873.²⁹

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday night, Dr Gilchrist presiding. Arrangements were made for out-of-door meetings during the summer at Auldgrith, Mable, Tynron and Cluden. An interesting paper on Duncow, communicated by Mr W.G.Gibson, was read by the secretary, and an ancient plan of Duncow and its neighbourhood was exhibited in illustration of the paper. The cordial thanks of the meeting were awarded to Mr Gibson.

First Field Meeting : 1873,Auldgrith.

Second Field Meeting: 1873, Mable.

Third Field Meeting: 1873,Tynron.

Fourth Field Meeting: 11th September 1873.³⁰

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The fourth field-meeting of the club was held on Thursday last, when a small party visited Irongray, Cluden Mills, Holywood and Lincluden. Driving direct to Irongray Church, the improvements recently effected therein, which have made it worthy of the beautiful site it occupies, were examined with interest, and a unanimous opinion was expressed that the heritors of the parish had set an example of liberality and good taste which might well be followed elsewhere. In the churchyard the tomb of Helen Walker, prototype of Jeannie Deans, was a source of attraction. Leaving Irongray and walking thence by Cluden Mills, the Druidical circle at Holywood, and the banks of the river to Lincluden and Dumfries, the fine scenery and the various objects of interest presented were much enjoyed. The stones forming the Druidical circle were carefully examined, with special reference

28 Un-attributed in The Society's cuttings-book, but most probably the report of this meeting.

29 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 21st May 1873, page 6E.

30 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 17th September, 1873, page 5C.

to certain cup-like hollows in several of them, which were at one time supposed to be artificial, and intended to convey some unknown symbolic meaning; but the party were quite satisfied that the most of these hollows were due to the action of water and small stones, by a process which they had just seen in actual operation at the waterfalls in Cluden close by. In one of the fallen stones certain holes were no doubt artificial, as they were evidently the result of an attempt to split the block up. It was with great regret, on reaching Lincluden, that the party observed numerous signs of quite recent mutilations of the carved stones in the chapel, - a regret deepened by the conviction that apparently nothing is likely to be done to save the beautiful remains of the building from utter destruction.

Session 1873-74

First Winter Meeting and Annual General Meeting : [December 1873 ?].

Second Winter Meeting: 16th January 1874.³¹

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The second winter meeting was held last night, when James Starke, Esqr., of Troqueer Holm, was elected President of the Society, in the room of Mr Dudgeon of Cargen, who had declined to accept the appointment, and Mr Lennon was promoted to the vice-presidentship. After some other business a paper on the birds of Troqueer, as observed near Maxwelltown Loch, was read by Mr Scott. The paper gave many interesting details of the habitats of the birds visiting the loch and its neighbourhood, and noted among them the following rare birds in this district, viz., green sandpiper, kinge fisher, little grebe, &c.

Third Winter Meeting: Tuesday, 17th February 1874.³²

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- At an adjourned meeting held last night, the President, Mr James Starke, of Troqueer Holm, read an address on his acceptance of the office, in which he indicated his intention of making an effort to revive the interest formerly taken in the objects of the society, which, with the attendance at meetings, has for some time considerably fallen off, and Dr Gilchrist gave notice of a motion on the same subject. There were exhibited from the Crichton Institution a fine specimen of the Castor Oil plant, some of its fruit and seeds, and a single fruit of the Bergamot Orange (*Citrus Bergamia*); a Wryneck, recently shot at Holywood; and a Bittern, recently shot near Lochmaben, both now rare birds in this country, were exhibited by Mr Hastings; and it was mentioned by the Secretary that recently when the Nith was low, a large flock of Gulls, sometimes accompanied by Jackdaws, might be seen feeding on the salmon roe deposited in the spawning beds opposite the foot of Assembly Street.

Fourth Winter Meeting : [March 1874 ?].

³¹ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Saturday 17th January , 1874, page 4C

³² *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 18th February, 1874, page 5A.

Fifth Winter Meeting: Tuesday, 14th April, 1874.³³

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. - The fifth meeting of the session was held last night, at which a report by a committee formerly appointed to affecting certain improvements upon the society was considered and approved of, and it will come up at next meeting for adoption. A valuable and instructive paper on "Blood and its tissue relations" was read by Dr Anderson, Southern Counties Asylum; and various exhibits were made by members, including a fine specimen of a male Golden Eagle recently trapped at Glenwhargen, Penpont, a Raven from near Newton Stewart, and a white Heron (foreign). The eagle measured 6 feet from tip to tip of the wings, and the raven 3 feet 6 inches.

First Field Meeting: Saturday, 6th June, 1874.³⁴

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The first field meeting of the season was held on Saturday last, when a considerable party left Dumfries for Thornhill by the midday train, and afterwards drove to Enterkinfoot and visited the ruins of the very old Pre-Reformation Church of Kirkbride, on the farm of that name, in the parish of Durrisdeer, where they were joined by a small party from Sanquhar. The church is believed to have been built in the 12th century, and like all other edifices of the kind and period, was of very small dimensions. One of the gables is still complete, and is surmounted by a belfry; a door-way, two small windows, and what looks like a channel [sic: *chancel*?] arch are also in wonderful preservation. The walls for a height of 2 or 3 feet and a portion of the western gable are also standing. The graveyard is extensive and is still the burying place of two or three families in the neighbourhood. The party greatly enjoyed the magnificent view from the elevated site of the church, which stands on the slope of a high green hill. Having partaken of the kind hospitality of Mr Hyslop, the worthy and respected tenant of Coshogle and Kirkbride - the inspection of whose splendid new dairy, though not strictly antiquarian, was not the least pleasing incident of the day - the party returned to Dumfries in the evening.

Second Field Meeting: Saturday, 4th July, 1874.³⁵

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The second for the season of this Society's field meetings took place on Saturday, the district visited being Closeburn and neighbourhood. The party, which was not very numerous, left by rail, and on reaching their destination visited the old tower of Closeburn, and the extensive lime quarries attracted a good deal of attention. Buchan Ha', which for several years was the residence of the notorious Lucky Buchan and her deluded followers, was visited, after which some time was spent in exploring some of the beautiful scenery between Closeburn and Thornhill.

33 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 15th April, 1874, page 5D.

34 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 10th June 1874, page 7A.

35 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 8th July, 1874, page 7C.

Third Field Meeting: Saturday, 8th August, 1874.³⁶

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The third field meeting of this society for the present season was held on Saturday last, when a small party left Dumfries by rail for Bridge of Dee, where they were met by a number of gentlemen from Kirkcudbright and neighbourhood. Crossing the Dee by the old bridge and passing through the policies of Dildawn, the party proceeded along the left bank of the river until they reached the ancient and beautiful churchyard of Kirkcormack - which derives its name from the Irish saint Cormack, to whom the church was dedicated some time in the ninth century. Some remains of the church, which was ruinous so far back as 1684, still exist. The cemetery was the burying place, among others, of the Maclellans of Auchlane, a branch of the noble family of Kirkcudbright; and a tombstone of millstone grit, and therefore in good preservation, records the death of the Hon. Patrick Maclellan, who died in 1534 at the age of 18. The ruins of Auchlane Castle are distant about three miles from the churchyard. On the opposite side of the river is pointed out the scene of the battle known as Druimcheate between Edward Bruce and the English on 29th June, 1308, in which the latter were defeated and many of them swept into the river. The adjoining farm of Miefield is a very ancient well dedicated to St Ninian, but modernized into "Ringan's." Passing down the valley various objects of natural interest attracted attention, and the geology and botany of the district did not pass unexamined, while the exquisite and constantly varying beauty of the river scenery, enhanced as it was by the broad and stately Dee being in full flood formed a source of pleasure rarely enjoyed. The fish "Doachs" at Tongland were examined and regret was expressed that such obstructions or such a mode of capturing salmon should be permitted to interfere with the rights of fishing in so noble a river. The site of the Roman camp a little further down the river was examined with interest, after which the party proceeded to Kirkcudbright.

Session 1874-75

First Winter and Annual General Meeting : [December 1874?]

[Second?] Winter Meeting: 12th January, 1875.³⁷

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. At a recent meeting of this society - Dr Gilchrist, president in the chair - an interesting paper on "The Transit of Venus" was read by Mr Macfadzeon of the Inland Revenue. After a glance at the result of previous observations, Mr Macfadzeon gave a description of the three methods of utilising the transit of Venus for the purpose of establishing the sun's distance from the earth, viz:- The direct method, De L'Isle's method, and Halley's method. Mr Macfadzeon concluded with a brief account of the results of the recent observations so far as these had been ascertained. The paper, which was illustrated with diagrams, was listened to with much attention, and was highly appreciated.

³⁶ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 12th August, 1874, page 7A.

³⁷ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 20th January, 1875, page 5D.

Final Winter Meeting: Tuesday, 11th May 1875.³⁸

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. - The last home meeting of the session was held last evening, when arrangements were made for excursions during the summer and autumn. Among other interesting notes, it was mentioned by the Secretary (Mr Corrie) that he had this season observed that the brown martin, which usually arrived on the Nith in the first week of April, was not seen in any numbers until the first week of May; that he had as yet noticed only one house swallow on the Nith; and that the swift had arrived simultaneously with the martin, being its usual time, or at least only a few days late. He also stated that he noticed the common birds were generally later than usual in nesting. It was mentioned that a fine young plant of mistletoe raised from the berry, was growing on an apple tree in the garden of Chapelmount, Maxwelltown. A paper on the Druidical remains at Albury [sic: Avebury?] Wiltshire, which are of great extent, was read by Dr Gilchrist, giving many interesting details from personal observation and the works of various antiquarian authors, for which the thanks of the meeting were awarded to him.

Unattributed meetings

The following reports of meetings are taken from the Society's cuttings-book, but cannot be attributed to a date at present. They give further details of the activities of the Society.

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The third field meeting of this society was held on Thursday last at Kirtlebridge and the neighbourhood. The party confined themselves principally to the bed of the Kirtle, which they carefully explored for several miles, noting the interesting series of rock strata therein exposed, and ending their walk upwards at the romantic and beautifully situated old churchyard of Kirkconnell, within the domains of Springkell. Among many curiously carved and inscribed stones in the grave-yard, the greatest interest was centered on those of "Fair Helen" and Adam Fleming lying side by side. On the stone covering the latter a large sword is carved, but the inscription once quite plain of hic jacet Adamus Fleming is now illegible. After spending a pleasant time in a beautiful country, the members from Dumfries reached home by the Caledonian train about 6 P.M.

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. - At a meeting of this Society on Tuesday night - Mr Carlyle presiding - the Secretary read a communication from Mr Hamilton of Ardendee, Kirkcudbright, as to the probable origin of the name of the burgh being "Caercuabrit," instead of, as popularly believed, "Kirk-Cuthbert," and also as to the origin and meaning of many place-names near Kirkcudbright and elsewhere in the Stewartry.

NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- At the monthly meeting on Tuesday evening - Dr Gilchrist presiding - Mr Maxwell of Breoch read a paper

38 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday 12th May, 1875, page 4F.

on the derivation of the word "Galloway," pointing out the probability that it was formed from the Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon word "Gal," and the word "Heth," corrupted to "Weth," with the Latin termination "ia," forming together "Galwethia." The paper, which was highly interesting, led to an animated conversation.

DUMFRIES & GALLOWAY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The third meeting of the session was held at Dumfries on Tuesday night – Dr McNab in the chair. Dr Gilchrist read an interesting paper descriptive of the natural features and the antiquities observed by him during a visit last autumn to "St Mary's" one of the Scilly Isles. Dr Gilchrist also exhibited a specimen plant of "Colula Coronopifolia," found by Mr Peter Gray, formerly of Dumfries, in the neighbourhood of London, but not, so far as known, found previously in England. Dr Grierson read a paper, "Some account of my old Garden," giving many interesting details of the doings of the many reptiles, insects, &c., introduced by him thereto, and of the plants growing therein. Dr Grierson also exhibited a number of drawings of ancient stone crosses found in Nithsdale and now in his possession; and showed a specimen of "Tappa" cloth manufactured by the South sea Islanders from the bark of a tree. Dr McNab exhibited a large number of microscopic specimens of the embryos of various seeds, which were examined with interest by the members present.

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.- The fifth meeting of this society for the season took place on Tuesday night, Mr Starke, Troqueer Holm, in the chair. Dr Gilchrist read a continuation of the paper given at the last meeting, illustrative of "A coal field." Mr Lennon read a short paper on "The functions of the Antennae." Mr M'Diarmid read a "Note on Carlaverock [sic Caerlaverock] Castle." Mr Kirkpatrick mentioned that the "Haw Finch" had recently been shot in Wigtownshire, and that a wood pigeon's nest had been discovered built upon the ground on a hillside, a fact which is believed to be unique.

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA

TWO LETTERS FROM JOSEPH TRAIN RELATING TO HIS EARLY LITERARY CAREER
AND COLLABORATION WITH (SIR) WALTER SCOTTDavid F. Devereux¹

A recent review of the archive collections held in The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright has brought to light two letters² written by Joseph Train to his friend John Stobo, a Sergeant in the Ayrshire Militia. Joseph Train (1779-1852) was an Excise officer from 1808, working in various parts of Scotland until his retirement to Castle Douglas. He was one of south west Scotland's earliest antiquaries and is particularly known as a correspondent of Sir Walter Scott for whom he collected and supplied traditional and historical information from this area³. This information inspired and provided the historical basis for several of Scott's poetical and prose works.

The first letter is addressed to 'John Stobo Sergeant, Ayrshire Militia, Musselburgh Barracks', and dated 'Ayr 26th Jany 1810'. From the tone of the letter, John Stobo was clearly a close friend, presumably a comrade-in-arms from the time of Train's own military service in the Ayrshire Militia from 1799 to 1802. The letter conveys New Year greetings to Stobo, and ends with the lyrics of the 24 line song 'The Maid of Pinmore' set in three verses. Prefacing this, Train writes, 'While I was employed at the Rural Wake I was resolved to write no more but it was no sooner finished then I yoked the following bagatelle'. The 'Rural Wake' is the title of a long descriptive poem which Train later published in his collection of poems and songs entitled *Strains of the Mountain Muse* (Edinburgh, 1814). This volume also included the 'The Maid of Pinmore', but with significant revisions to the lines in the second verse.

The second letter was written almost four years later and is addressed to 'John Stobo Sergeant, Royal Ayrshire Militia, Cavan, Ireland - Or else where'. It is dated 'Newton Stewart 11 December 1814'. In 1813, Train had been posted to the Newton Stewart Excise office, where he remained until 1820. The letter contains a number of points of interest and is quoted in full below, with the spelling and punctuation retained in its original form:

Dear John

I am greatly favoured by your kind letter of 17 Oct by which I hope to make some use. It gives me a good deal of additional information upon the subject of illicit distillation. I have long been collecting materials for an Essay on that unlawful business but one thing or another has always come in the way and prevented me from proceeding any considerable length in it. I am confident that there are insurmountable defects in the present system, and without adopting other measures it can never be stoped. To show these defects and to propose other more substantial measures is the object I have in view. I was determined to have gone on rapidly with it this winter but I have been prevented by unforeseen obstacles that has come in my way, one circumstance vexed me a good deal that was the failure of my bookseller and publisher in Edinburgh by which I unfortunately loose every farthing that I

1 Fellow of the Society; The Stewartry Museum, St. Mary Street, Kirkcudbright, DG6 4AQ.

2 Accession numbers 931/01 and 931/02. Both letters were donated to The Stewartry Museum in April 1881 by J. Stobo of Argyle Street, Glasgow.

3 See *Memoir of Joseph Train F.S.A. Scot* by John Patterson (1857) for a full biography or Train's entry in *Dumfries and Galloway a literary guide* by Julia Muir Watt (2000) for a more concise account.

could have calculated upon as profit on my late publication. This was the more aggravating as the whole of the copies he had in his possession is disposed of, which was upwards of 300 for which I never received anything, but the only thing that has prevented me from answering your favor of the 17 Oct before this time sooner is that I have been ranging All Ayrshire for traditions and historical anecdotes to Walter Scott for his new poem of the Lord of the Isles, part of the scene of which is to be laid in Carrick, the incident to be described is the landing of Robert Bruce from the highlands where he had been with his friend Lord Angus. I am happy to say that I have been fortunate enough to collect a great deal of curious information which please The Mighty Minstrel of the North exceedingly well. I thought that I would have had the pleasure of seeing you in Ayrshire long before this time but I think at all events your stay in Ireland cannot be long now. I feel very much for your being kept in a state of uncertainty for such a long time I know myself the truth of the old proverb "Better a finger off as aye wagging" however it is generally thought that the Americans will now soon Knock under and then there will not be any pretext for keeping up any part of the Militia. I have not heard this long time from Robert Stobo I suppose he is kept so busy at Port Glasgow that he has not time to write any of his old acquaintons. I am myself a lazy correspondent I may be long in writing, some of my old friends may put an unfavourable construction upon my silence but I positively say that nothing will ever alter my attachment to any of them, and you may believe me John when I tell you, that to recognise your wellknown hand on the back of a letter gives me the most pleasure of any I receive in the same way. Let me hear from you as soon as you find it convenient. I cannot expect much further information respecting the Excise but as the application for charity usually conclude "The smallest donation shall be thankfully received". Mary joins me in kindest love to Mrs Stobo and yourself My respects to all old acquaintons and believe me to be Dear John your true friend

Joseph Train

In 1814, the Ayrshire Militia was in full military service providing home defence during the Napoleonic Wars, when the regular regiments of the British Army were serving abroad. Napoleon had abdicated in April 1814 and went into exile on Elba. This allowed the British to concentrate more resources on the Anglo-American War of 1812-1815, hence the reference in the letter that 'the Americans will now soon Knock under and then there will not be any pretext for keeping up any part of the Militia'. Napoleon's return from Elba and the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 could not have been anticipated.

In his letter of October 17 1814, Stobo had sent Train information about illicit distilling, a subject already well-known to Train through his Excise duties in Perthshire in 1810. Train eventually completed the Essay he referred to in his letter. This was considered by the Board of Excise and Customs in Edinburgh in 1816 and his proposals were eventually adopted in legislation.

Of particular interest is Train's mention of the failure of his bookseller and publisher in Edinburgh. In 1806 he had published his first book of poetry, *Poetical Reveries*, in Glasgow. This was followed in 1814 by *Strains of the Mountain Muse* which is the book referred to in the letter. Its title page identifies the Edinburgh bookseller as George Goldie of 34, Prince's Street. Goldie's business went bankrupt in 1814, and he left for London⁴, having sold more than 300 copies of the book, for which Train received nothing. The title page does not give the name of the printer, just the simple statement, 'Printed for the Author'. The printer was in fact Ballantyne and Co.⁵, in which Walter Scott had a substantial financial interest⁶. Scott saw the proofs of *Strains of the Mountain Muse* at Ballantyne's. He was impressed by Train's knowledge and use of historical and traditional

4 See the Scottish Book Trade Index website, <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti>

5 Patterson op.cit.

6 Scottish Book Trade Index op. cit.

source material and wrote to him to order copies of the book. So began an association which lasted Scott's remaining lifetime until 1832, with Train supplying not only information on the legends, history and traditions of south west Scotland, but also archaeological and historical artefacts for Scott's antiquarian collection at Abbotsford. Train's financial setback resulting from his Edinburgh bookseller's bankruptcy may have been a factor in dissuading him from further publication projects, preferring instead to supply material to Scott. Train's next book did not appear until 1845.

Scott's first specific request to Train was for background information for his poem 'The Lord of the Isles' and as the letter confirms, Train researched assiduously for him in Carrick and Ayrshire in the latter part of 1814. He had sent his results to Scott by December, which pleased 'The Mighty Minstrel of the North exceedingly well'. Scott completed the first half of the poem by 10 November 1814, and had completed it by 16 December. It was published on 2 January 1815, and sold out so quickly that Scott was unable to reserve a copy for Train with his bookseller in time; he had to wait until March to receive a complimentary copy of the second edition.

These two letters from Joseph Train to his close friend Sergeant John Stobo provide additional information on Train's early literary career and confirm his first significant collaboration with Walter Scott over the writing of 'The Lord of the Isles'.

REVIEWS

Whithorn's Renown in the Early Medieval Period: Whithorn, 'Futerna' and 'Magnum Monasterium', by Fiona Edmonds. Sixteenth Whithorn Lecture, 13 September 2008. Whithorn: Friends of the Whithorn Trust. 2009. 40 pp. £4.00. ISBN 978-0-9563687-0-6.

St Ninian and the Earliest Christianity in Scotland: Papers from the Conference held by the Friends of the Whithorn Trust in Whithorn on September 15th 2007, ed. Jane Murray. BAR British Series 483. Oxford: Archaeopress. 2009. 82 pp. £27.00. ISBN 978-1-4073-0428-1.

These smartly-produced booklets focus on Whithorn, which they glorify as Scotland's first Christian site and (in a sense) her oldest university. They are serious publications, are essential reading for their subject, and will long remain useful. Yet, for all the efforts put into them, they have some flaws. They contain lessons not only on ancient evidence, but on how modern scholars interpret it.

We begin with Dr Fiona Edmonds, Lecturer in Celtic History at Cambridge University. She works with a will and a long bibliography. She starts with Whithorn and the Age of the Saints; goes on to St Finnian of Moville, regarded as educated at Whithorn; cites testimony from the ninth-century Martyrology of Tallaght and *Félire Óengusso*; and concludes with supposed eleventh-century evidence for Whithorn's fame. Her pamphlet sets out much useful material for analysis.

Unfortunately, below the smooth turf of Dr Edmonds' prose is a colossal geological fault, which is bound to shift and wreak havoc on her conclusions. She assumes that, if Whithorn was not the mysterious 'Rosnat' and 'Magnum Monasterium' of Irish hagiography, it was later regarded as such. There is not the slightest reason to think that. Some will know that this reviewer locates both places at Old Kea, far from Galloway on a tidal creek near Truro in Cornwall. He believes that this remote spot (with an abandoned medieval church, its tower thick with ivy) was the site of a Celtic monastery which, in the fifth and sixth centuries, was a Cornish equivalent of Iona or Jarrow.

Let us review Dr Edmonds' words in the light of this. Problems arise at the beginning, with the bland declaration that Whithorn was in Irish scholarly circles 'renowned for its school', where 'several Irish saints' were allegedly educated (p. 4). Whithorn hence appears in their texts as *magnum monasterium*, *Futerna*, *candida casa*, and *Rosnat* (p. 5). That the second and third of these were Whithorn cannot be doubted: that the first and fourth were must be vigorously denied. Later, with the life of St Finnian, we hear (p. 13) that the portrayal in his life of *magnum monasterium* 'matches our earliest written descriptions of Whithorn'. But the Latin text says merely that *Pontifex nomine Nennio* took Finnian to Britain, where he studied the monastic life *in eius sede, quae Magnum vocatur Monasterium*. This does not prove the place to be Whithorn, and the life of St Eógan of Ardstraw, which refers to Nennius *de Rosnacensi monasterio*, suggests another conclusion. Last of all is the statement (p. 26) that, whether or not *Rosnat* originally meant Whithorn, 'the *Rosnat* of the medieval saints' lives is clearly meant to be Whithorn'.

It is a pity Dr Edmonds does not set out the actual words of these lives. Let us do this briefly. That of Tigernach says he was trained in *Rosnatensi monasterio, quod alio nomine Alba vocatur*; Eógan's teacher was *Nennio, qui Mancennus dicitur, de Rosnacensi monasterio*; Énda was commanded to go *ad Rosnatense monasterium*; and Finnian was a student of 'Nennio' at *Magnum Monasterium*. These may be compared with references in Breton hagiography and the medieval Cornish play of St Kea to Old Kea as being by the forest of *Rosené/Rosewa*, in the manor of *Alba Landa*, where students were taught by St Meugan or Mawgan. With their parallels to 'Rosnat', *Alba*, and *Mancennus* in the Irish sources, these suggest that this famous monastic school (where St David also studied) lay not at Whithorn but 300 miles to the south, in Cornwall. On this basis, Dr Edmonds' lecture must seem a classic instance of going wrong with confidence.

Now for Jane Murray. She assembles six writers, a judicious combination of historians and archaeologists. After an introduction by Alex Woolf of St Andrews, Jonathan Wooding informs us on archaeology and the cult of Ninian. His commitment here is beyond doubt, since in 1987 he took part in major excavations at Whithorn. In 23 pages Katherine Forsyth provides exhaustive treatment of the Latinus stone, which it thoroughly deserves as Scotland's oldest known Christian monument. Dave Cowley surveys early Christian cemeteries of south-west Scotland, many discovered from the air during the parched summer of 1992. The scientific importance of this is evident. Yet non-specialists may also find something moving in his diagrams and photographs. The dead were forgotten, as expected; but that their very place of burial was forgotten, their graveyards now being in ordinary ploughland or pasture, is more surprising. Mike McCarthy sets out what we know of Christianity in Roman Scotland. Finally, Ian Wood places Ninian in the context of Britain and the Continent in the post-Roman era.

There is much to praise here. We are in safe hands. How far studies of the age of the saints (though Jonathan Wooding warns us against the term) are advancing is shown not merely by this report, where history and archaeology walk in harmony, but by the way it may be added to. This is quite apart from the continuing debate on 'Ninian'= Finnian or Uinnian, as argued in a sensational paper by Professor T. O. Clancy. Here are some linguistic criticisms. The name of Triphun, ruler of Dyfed, cannot be from Latin *Tribunus* (p. 26): a dud idea of the late Professor Alcock, as this writer has pointed out in *Welsh History Review*. Identification of St Patrick's *Bannaventa* as Birdoswald in Cumbria (pp. 58, 64, 75), deriving from a wild notion of Professor Charles Thomas, is out of the question. Patrick came from the lowland Britain of villas; possibly (using Ludwig Bieler's emendation) from *Bannaventa Tabernae* 'hill market of the tavern', now perhaps Banwell in Somerset/Avon. Still more bizarre is the explanation by archaeologists (not linguists) of *Arbeia* or South Shields (p. 62) as having a Semitic name meaning 'The Arabs', even though *Arbeia* is an obvious Celtic form and can be explained as 'stream of wild turnips', like Irvine in Scotland or Erfin in Wales. On the birthplace of Gildas, the *Arecluta* of his Breton-Latin life is hardly Strathclyde (p. 76) but may be Arclid, near Chester; *Iren* in the same life, where Gildas perfected his knowledge of Latin rhetoric and invective, may be a corrupt form of *Cerin*, which would be Old Welsh for *Corinium* or Cirencester.

These significant and thought-provoking booklets deserve wide attention. They should be cited and discussed by many. They also underline the importance of primary material, which is neglected at one's peril. It is there, where the spade strikes stone, that linguists and historians should start to dig.

Andrew Breeze, University of Navarre, Pamplona.

NOTICE OF PUBLICATIONS

Further Glimpses into Lochmaben's History by John B Wilson. 2009. 52pp. (Although already out of print this volume can be consulted in local libraries.)

'This small volume of 51 pages brings the history of Lochmaben up to date. In it, various subjects and events which have come to light since the publication of the second edition of *The Royal Burgh of Lochmaben* in 2001 are described. Perhaps the two most interesting discoveries were of the two sketches from 1843 of Lochmaben High Street and the fascinating history of Corncockle Quarry at Templand.

The account, from the Annandale Herald of 4th February 1906, of Dr Sanders's fall through the ice of the Castle Loch, relates the true story of this oft repeated episode in Lochmaben's history. A full account of the long standing dispute over the rights of the inhabitants of Lochmaben to fish in the Castle Loch is detailed for the benefit of future generations of Lochmaben residents.'

A History of Dumfries & Galloway 1650 to 1850 in One Hundred Documents, Volume 1, by Frances Wilkins. September 2010. £10.00. (Available from Frances Wilkins, 8 Mill Close, Blakedown, Kidderminster, Worcs. DY10 3NQ. www.franscript.co.uk)

This first volume contains ten full length articles. Topics include: '1685-1688: James Maxwell of Kirkconnell, customs commissioner and, with the Duke of Perth, King James II's treasurer in Edinburgh; 1784: Reward offered for information about the person who forged the name of the Reverend Smith of Cummertrees; 1797: Quirk, Craine & Clark (The Mull of Galloway Company) & The Story of Balcarrie [sic]; 1801: The Herries brothers, cattle drovers & James Dalyell, agent of the Bank of Scotland in Kirkcudbright; 1810: *The Galloway Mermaid* & young Maxwell of Cowhill and 1850: Henry Dobson & the crime of forgery and uttering, and falsehood, fraud & wilful imposition at various locations, including Rhonehouse'.

Spitfires Over Scotland: First Blood to the Auxiliaries. The Life of Squadron Leader Patrick Gifford DFC, by Bill Simpson. Wigtown: G C Books Ltd. 2010. 220pp. £12.99. ISBN 978-1-8723-5044-8 (Available from GC Books Ltd, Wigtown or Solway Books, Kirkcudbright)

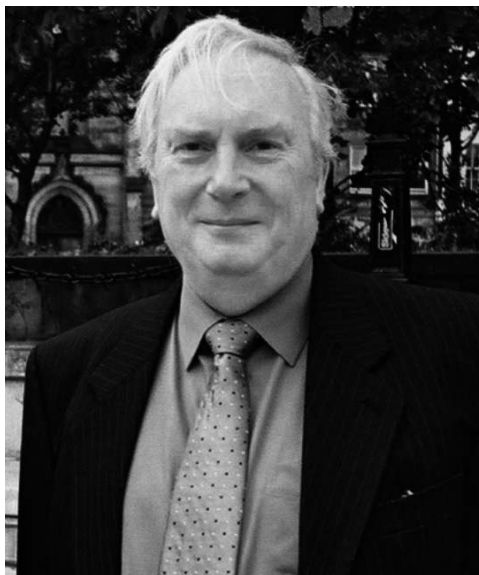
'In 1939 Flight Lieutenant Patrick Gifford became the first pilot to shoot down an enemy aircraft in British airspace during the Second World War. Tragically just seven months later he was dead, killed in action.

Patrick Gifford lived what was almost a double life. During the week he worked as a country solicitor for his father's firm in Castle Douglas. But at weekends he was a pilot, a proud member of 603 (City of Edinburgh) Squadron Auxiliary Air Force.

From his school years to those final months as a brave fighter pilot struggling against the onslaught of German forces in the Low Countries, author Bill Simpson's extensively researched book brings Patrick Gifford, deservedly, once again into the spotlight. The mysterious circumstances of this young hero's death during an action over Belgium are also explored. Featuring original photographs and evocative illustrations, *Spitfires Over Scotland* recreates the excitement and tragedy of those desperate early days of the war and helps the modern reader understand why a young man would volunteer to leave the safety of his life as a solicitor to defend his country.'

OBITUARY

JAMES WILLIAMS
 INDUSTRIAL CHEMIST AND ANTIQUARIAN
 1944 – 2009



James Williams was a central figure in the study of the natural environment and human history of the region of Dumfries and Galloway for almost 50 years. During this time he safeguarded and expanded our knowledge of the region and made it available to both the local community and academic interests nationally and internationally.

Williams will long be remembered for his voluntary and dedicated contribution to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, which he joined in 1964. He served the Council of the Society in various capacities, such as Secretary and Librarian. However, it has been as co-editor along with the late Bill Cormack and latterly as senior editor of the Society's *Transactions* that he has excelled and left an indelible mark. He was involved in 30 editions, including this one.

The *Transactions* is a local studies journal which dates back to 1862. Thanks to Williams' voluntary endeavours, diligence and wonderfully retentive memory the journal, which has a deservedly high reputation for the quality of content, has been able to maintain its editorial standard at the highest level of academic publishing.

Had his contribution been limited to that of editor it would have been a praiseworthy enough achievement for one person; but Williams' meticulous research enabled him to contribute a stream of papers from 1962 to present times.

On his own initiative he set up the Society's website¹ in 2000, which he maintained as long as he was able. In addition he responded to academic inquiries from all corners of the globe. He had begun single-handedly the herculean task of digitising the Society's *Transactions* to enable DVDs to be issued in response to such queries.

¹ www.dgnhas.org.uk

Though he was born in England, Williams' maternal connections hailed from Dumfries, to which the family returned early in his life. He attended St Joseph's College for secondary schooling. It was there that his interest in chemistry blossomed and the study of mineralogy was fostered. He acquired the residue of the school's mineral collection to which he added specimens from south west Scotland throughout his life. When the Grierson Museum at Thornhill was dispersed 1965-1967 he provided the mineralogical cataloguing for the process. His very first publication in the Transactions was 'The Mineralogical Collection of the Dumfries Burgh Museum'.

Williams found employment with ICI and later Dupont on the outskirts of Dumfries. There he was to serve as an industrial chemist, an appointment which lasted for 38 years, the last two of which were on a part-time basis. Ultimately he moved into the field of Quality Assurance, in addition to holding the post of Laboratories Manager.

Early in his career he was sent on a microscopy course, as a result of which he developed a skill and fascination that remained throughout his life. Much of the work was polymer based but there was a strong emphasis on contamination and failure analysis, which involved forensic skill processes. Williams became a Fellow of the Microscopical Society in 1986.

Another life-long passion remained his antiquarian interests and the organisation of collections, coupled with the communication of knowledge. The unpublished memoirs of the former curator of Dumfries Museum, Alfred E. Truckell, MBE, MA, and Fellow of the Museums Association² record the arrival of Williams, 'a shy lad of sixteen' in 1960. At this time Truckell was the sole professional on the museum staff. In his day he was a legend in the field and he welcomed Jimmy as his protégé - and unpaid assistant.

He recalls how Williams was equipped with a good knowledge of mediaeval history and how he rapidly became a competent archaeologist, developing a sound grasp of the archaeological features of Dumfries and Galloway and practical skills in investigation and excavation. Williams actively assisted Truckell in the field by organising squads of young volunteers to mount investigations of local sites, such as Carzield Roman Fort and the Iron Age forts of Mote of Mark and Tynron Doon. He assumed responsibility for cataloguing the finds and publication of the results.

Williams has been responsible for identifying many previously unknown sites and collecting material from across the region from Luce Sands in the west to Dalton in the east. These included Mesolithic flint tools of the first settlers ranging to late mediaeval ceramics from the castles and abbeys that characterise the region. In all he has collected over 500 archaeological assemblages. Without this dedicated work, understanding of the prehistoric past in south west Scotland would be much less detailed. He became the youngest Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland at the age of 20 in 1963.

Other responsibilities shouldered by Williams included serving as Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society's representative on the Whithorn Trust from 2003 and as a Church of Scotland elder of Lochrutton and later Maxwelltown Churches for 33 years.

In 1970 Williams married his wife, Pauline, who shared a number of his interests. She and their three children, James, Allan and Sarah survive this devoted family man, whose diligence and dedication has left a remarkable legacy for academe.

'Good Saint Ninian carved his strong faith in stone.'

School song of St. Joseph's College, Dumfries.

James Williams; born 27 February, 1944, at Stourport-on-Severn; died 27 November 2009 in Dumfries, aged 65.

Morag Williams.

2 Held at Dumfries Museum, The Observatory, Dumfries.

PROCEEDINGS

9th October 2009

Annual General Meeting

Tommy Henderson, Dalbeattie Museum

Hard Stones and Warm Hearts

Dalbeattie Museum, holder of the Queen's Award for Community Service, was founded 21 years ago by volunteer townspeople determined to safeguard the town's industrial heritage. In previous centuries, the bulk of trade was by sea and Dalbeattie, despite being five miles inland, fully participated in such trade by using horsepower to haul sailing craft up the Urr from Kippford. Its best known export was granite – Craignair Quarry has been producing granite since 1820 and the first polished granite was produced in Craignair Street. Liverpool was at one time an important market, but Dalbeattie granite can still be seen in many places, a local example of the skill of the 200-300 men once employed in sculpting being Lochmaben's King Edward Memorial Fountain.

Other businesses, however, also flourished in Dalbeattie. In confirmation of the old adage, 'where there's muck there's money', cargoes of guano, bones and rags were imported and processed by steam (and later diesel) power in this industrial and recycling capital of south west Scotland. James Biggar's Port Mills and Carswell's Mills converted these seemingly valueless materials into fertilisers, feed and cartridge paper. There were also nail factories, saddlers, bobbin mills, glove factory, creameries and paper mills. The Skeoch motor car was produced in Dalbeattie and, in 1858, Dalbeattie became the first town in the Stewartry to have a gasworks.

'*Respice, Prospice*' is the town's motto and a double-headed eagle its coat-of-arms: look back, look forward. Dalbeattie Museum records, preserves and reminds visitors of the town's proud history.

23 October 2009

John Gillespie

Colvend and Southwick, Its Estates and Religious Sites over the Centuries

In the 12th Century, the influence of David I of Scotland and his son, Prince Henry, spread into Cumbria. The origins of the names of Colvend and Southwick vary in interpretation and spelling, *Cowen* or *Coen* being the name used by local people. The Lords of Colvend or Culwen were granted land around Workington, Cumbria a charter also being granted about this time to the Lords of Southaik (Suthayk, perhaps meaning 'blasted oak' from *aik*, a Viking word for 'oak'). Similarities in Viking place-names on both sides of the Solway include Beckburn/Beckfoot, Almorness/Skinburness and Suthaik/Aikshaw. Robert de *Suthayk* was an abbot at Holme Cultram, founded in 1150 by Cistercian monks from Melrose who, by virtue of their experience in land management, were also granted the poorest lands in the parish of Colvend by the Lords of Galloway, holding land and a grange at Kirkgunzeon, and draining marshland for sheep grazing.

Under the Stewart kings, the Murrays of Cockpool owned Barnhourie Estate and Mansion, Sir David Murray of Clonyard, a kinsman, being Master of the King's Stables. Where the Clonyard Hotel now stands was the site of a fortified tower at the time of James VI. It was replaced by a mansion occupied by Sir David, but was ruinous by the 1830s. When Richard Oswald purchased the whole area, he resided at Cavens and so Barnhourie Mansion, too, was allowed to fall into disrepair. Cloaks was also owned by Sir David Murray, the place-name being found in the records of Holme Cultram and the Priory at St Bees near Workington (which serve history well as the records of Sweetheart Abbey and Dundrennan Abbey have not survived). The Priory held rights to extract salt at Colvend.

On the death of Sir David, the lands passed to his illegitimate son, Charles, a Jacobite Catholic. He married a Maxwell, taking the name of Maxwell of Cowhill but lost his lands. The Murrays also married into the Cutler family of Dundrennan, one of whom was a Writer to the Signet who bought Clifton and other local lands, and nearly bankrupted the family, who had him detained in Dumfries and then Edinburgh. The Barony of Barcloy came into the hands of the Lindsay family of Wauchope, known as the Lindsays of Barcloy, but was later bought by the Hutton Trustees of Caerlaverock, who held money for the relief of the poor, giving rise to the observation that 'the poor of Caerlaverock became the lairds of Colvend'.

6 November 2009

John Gair; Fellow of the Society

Thomas Telford

Thomas Telford was born in 1757 at Glendinning, Westerkirk, near Langholm. Attendance at Westerkirk School was followed by a lifetime of self-education, beginning with a mason's apprenticeship at Langholm which led to work in the New Town of Edinburgh. With help from the Johnstones of Westerhall, he then went to London and worked on the construction of Somerset House. A post at Portsmouth Dockyard began his move into architecture. Sir William Pulteney, M.P., a member of the Westerhall family, engaged Telford to restore Shrewsbury Castle. Soon after, he became County Surveyor for Shropshire, where he built many bridges, several churches and many other structures. His first iron bridge was at Buildwas on the Severn. While still working in Shropshire, he became the engineer of the Ellesmere canal, resulting in the building of the astonishing Pont Cysyllte Aqueduct in Wales. Now essentially a civil engineer, Telford built more canals and many roads. The main road from London to Holyhead involved the construction of the immense and very beautiful Menai Suspension Bridge, while the Chester to North Wales road produced the Conway Suspension Bridge.

By now, Telford's services were widely in demand and he carried on many projects concurrently in many different places. In Scotland, he built the new Glasgow to Carlisle road and the first large Scottish bridge which he designed at Tongland. Many other roads and bridges followed, especially in the Highlands, where he transformed the means of travel. Harbours were built in many parts of Scotland and also what was really a pioneer industrial estate at Pulteneytown in Wick. His largest Scottish work was the famous Caledonian Canal, but he also built many churches and manses in the Highlands. Elsewhere, he played a major role in the design of the Gotha canal in Sweden, and in London he created St. Katherine's Dock. Telford became the first President of the Institute of Civil Engineers and, on his death, was buried in Westminster Abbey. An immensely likeable man of prodigious energy and skill, he never forgot his native Eskdale, where he endowed libraries at Langholm and Westerkirk.

20 November 2009

David Reid and Jym Francey, Dumfries Aviation Museum

The History of Aviation in Dumfries

The volunteer-run Aviation Museum at Tinwald Downs was set up in 1977 to preserve the memory of the airfield that was once there and had been an important bomber-training base in WWII. The Museum covers 1.3 acres, centred on the former Control Tower, a listed building which when first taken over had no windows, doors or balcony but did have three feet of cow dung (sold by the resourceful team to raise much-needed funds). At the official opening, the tape was cut by Michael Cwynar, an upholsterer in Dumfries but, more importantly, one of the most highly decorated Polish pilots in the RAF.

Amongst the many exhibits are a Meteor, a Lightning, two Merlin Engines (to be cannibalised into one functioning engine), a Gannet which turned out to be the very first aircraft flown to the airfield by a visitor to the site, and a mobile Canberra display unit. Among other internal exhibits is a war-time Control Room, a small cinema and a selection of the huge range of memorabilia held by the Museum. Future developments include a Prisoner-of-War display and an Oral Archive of those involved with Dumfries's aviation heyday.

4 December 2009

THE CORMACK LECTURE

Peter Yeoman, Historic Scotland

Preserving Candida Casa

Whithorn is unique as the only place in Scotland where evidence can be found of every phase of the development of Christianity from earliest times in the 5th century AD to beyond the Reformation. This is apparent through the remains of early crosses and in the ruined Premonstratensian Priory, all of which contribute to Whithorn's distinctive character and sense of place. This is important to the local community as well as attracting small but significant numbers of visitors in search of the Age of Saints. Whithorn's extraordinary cultural significance has long been recognised, its early Mediaeval carved stone crosses being among the first monuments brought into State care when the first Ancient Monuments Act was passed in 1882. Following extensive repair works to the cathedral priory by architect William Galloway, funded by the 3rd Marquis of Bute, its ruined remains were taken into care in 1908 by the Office of Works, predecessor body to Historic Scotland (HS). The old school house nearby was leased to display the crosses where they can still be seen today.

In 1949, Angus Graham, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, supported by the Society, sought Ministry of Works' agreement to fund an extended programme of excavations at the priory, chapel and cave. B. H. St J O'Neil, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in London was supportive: *'we shall stand to gain knowledge which we should have obtained years ago'*. Over 1949-53, Raleigh Radford re-excavated the remains of what Galloway had described as St Ninian's *Candida Casa*, beneath the east end of the later church, although his work around the crossing of the church proved unsuccessful in identifying pre-12th century remains on the main part of the hilltop. 1957-67 excavations by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments discovered the famous Whithorn crozier, buried with a 13th century bishop of Whithorn. One of the treasures of the Museum of Scotland, the crozier is now lent each summer for display in the Whithorn Trust visitor centre. HS published *Clothing for the Soul Divine* in 2009, detailing the 1950s discovery of this group of Mediaeval bishop burials. HS provided significant financial support for the Whithorn Trust's major excavations in the 1980s and '90s, revealing evidence of the long and continuous history of ecclesiastical settlement focused around the churches on the hilltop. The results from the dig demonstrated that international links with the monastery placed Whithorn within trading networks spanning the western seaboard and into the Mediterranean. The Big Whithorn Dig was successfully marketed by the Trust, some years attracting 50,000 visitors. In recent years, without the excitement of the dig, visitor numbers stand at around 5,000 pa.

HS has a close and successful working relationship with the Whithorn Trust (founded in 1986), which manages ticketing, retail, visitor orientation and catering. HS maintains the Priory and museum and employs stewarding staff to welcome visitors to the site and the museum. It also provides an observer at regular meetings of the Trust's Board of Management and on the Trust's Research Committee, giving professional support and advice. HS works with the Trust to ensure that joint activities complement each other in attracting visitors to Whithorn. In 2005, HS completed redisplay of the early Mediaeval carved stones, supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund and working closely with the Trust to complement their own archaeological displays. The new museum features

an extraordinarily rich collection of stones, including the 5th century Latinus stone, the 7th century Petrus stone, and the Monreith Cross representing the artistic zenith of the Whithorn-based school of carving that flourished over 1000 years ago. In 2007, HS sponsored a Friends of the Whithorn Trust conference, *St Ninian and the earliest Christianity in Scotland*, celebrating the 21st birthday of the Whithorn Trust, publishing the conference proceeding in 2009. Historic Scotland remains committed to conservation and research at Whithorn Priory, improving physical and intellectual access and continuing the successful partnership with the Whithorn Trust, as it enters a second century of caring for Scotland's Cradle of Christianity.

22 January 2010

Michael Ansell, Forestry Commission

Mediaeval Woodland and Hunting in Galloway: Some place names and other indicators

Gaelic was spoken in South West Scotland from the 10th to the 17th centuries, its influence still evident in present-day place names, often derived from Gaelic words relating to woodland or hunting. Woodland examples include *Doire* (grove or thicket), evident at Derskelpen, which refers to scrubby woodland; *Dervaird* (the wood of the bard); and *Dirclach* (wood of the stones). Such names are found on the moors north-east of Glenluce. *Coille* is also a wood and is revealed in Killiegowan (the wood where the blacksmith worked). This root is found in the lower arable valley around Gatehouse of Fleet: a modern housing development has now grown up on Killiegowan at Bracken Wood. *Beoch* (a birch) is prevalent in the uplands, for instance at Upper Beoch, and *Bhile* refers to a sacred tree as in Knockville, the hill of the sacred tree.

Hunting indicators are equally widespread. *Eileirig*, of which there are many examples in Galloway, especially in the Rhinns, means a deer trap. Loch Neldricken in the heart of the Forest of Buchan near the Merrick is an example of that root. Similarly *Creag Eileireag* indicates a rock commemorating where deer were driven and trapped. At Craigneldar near New Galloway is said to be a spot where deer were driven over a cliff, a claim treated with some scepticism. However, in the vicinity are non-Gaelic names suggestive of hunting practices being conducted there, e.g. 'Flesh Market' and 'Foul Loup'. There is another Craigneldar up the Polmaddie Glen, very capable of being the scene of the same horrors. Mulwharchar, *maol adhairce*, means the bold hill of the huntsman's horn. *Tinchell* is a modern Gaelic word for going round: three south-west places bear variations of the name Knocktinkle. These were locations where a multitude of beaters would assemble to learn their orders for the hunt. Such was the reason for the title arising near Kenbridge, at the Gatehouse Viewpoint and at Knockytinnal in South Ayrshire.

5 February 2010

David Cranstone

Solway Salt Survey

The speaker, a specialist in the archaeology of industry, has studied the history, mainly from monastic records, and evidence for extracting salt from sea water along the Solway coast from southern Cumbria to the Mull of Galloway. Of the main processes used from the 5th to the 19th centuries, *solar evaporation* of sea water in shallow ponds was used from Mediterranean Europe to southern Britain, with partial *solar evaporation* requiring fuel to complete the process practised in Hampshire and Dorset. *Sleeching*, used in Lincolnshire, was the washing of air-dried sand raked up from just below high tide mark and loaded into puddled clay pits lined with straw or rushes to filter the concentrated brine effluent, which was then boiled using peat or wood fuel. Sleeching mounds of waste sand, about 2m high and 100m across, can readily be mistaken for natural features. The *Pan House* process needed large amounts of fuel to boil sea water, and was much used in Fife. *Refineries* extracted salt and are hard to distinguish from pan houses. Other methods were used elsewhere in

Europe: *Selnering* (sleeching from peat) in the Netherlands, *Sostering* (burning eel grass to a salty ash) in eastern Denmark and Holland and *Graduation* (partial wind evaporation) in Norway.

In the present study, 58 sites along the Solway were assessed, only three being confidently identified - Caerlaverock in Dumfries and Galloway, and Rockcliffe and Newton Arlosh in Cumbria, where sleeching mounds and salt-working debris were found in the 20th Century. Although once claimed that the Ruthwell area had about 30 boiling sites in the 19th Century, no evidence for this was found, apart from Midtown being built on a sleeching mound, much disturbed by landscaping and ploughing. At a further five recorded sites - Southwick, Mersehead, Sarkfoot, Ravenglass and Waberthwaite - there were no appreciable sleeching mounds nor, despite it formerly being known as Salterness, was there any evidence of salt-working at Southernness. In Cumbria, there were two pan houses at Saltom Pits near Whitehaven, a possible one at St Bees Priory, and a salt refinery at Parton in Cumbria. North of Maryport at the end of the promenade are rock-cut pits and gullies that defy explanation. At Crosscanonby, there was a direct boiling works or refinery. Salt glazed burnt clay at Sillith is another puzzle. There is a disappointing dearth of archaeological evidence for salt extraction sites in post-mediaeval Scotland, but the intriguing concentration of ten sites on the West coast of the Rhinns of Galloway raises the suspicion of salt laundering i.e. smuggling salt across the shortest crossing from Ireland to avoid the salt tax.

19 February 2010

Professor Michael J. Tooley, St Andrew's University

Samuel Arnott of Dumfries, Carsethorn and Maxwelltown: A distinguished Scottish Horticulturalist, 1852-1930

Samuel Arnott was born in 1852, above his parents' bakery at the corner of Friar's Vennel and Greyfriars/ Irish Street in Dumfries. He married Mary Kinstry in 1877 and they lived in Academy Street until 1884 when they moved to Rosedene in Carsethorn with their son. In 1905, after the death of their daughter, they moved to Sunnydene in St. Cuthbert's Avenue, Maxwelltown. Three years later, Mary Arnott died and in 1910 he married his housekeeper, Elizabeth McMinn (née Clark), acquiring three step-children. In 1921, they moved to Fernlea in Newall Terrace, Dumfries, and finally in 1928 to Loveland, a bungalow on the Castle Douglas Road, given to him by Mrs Hope-Henderson of Argaty near Doune. Despite living the whole of his life within 15 or so miles of his parent's shop, Samuel Arnott made a signal and outstanding contribution to horticulture, which has passed almost unnoticed and unmarked.

Notwithstanding poor health, he travelled extensively in the United Kingdom, visiting gardens and gardeners, and corresponding with the foremost horticulturalists and gardeners of the day, such as William Robinson, Gertrude Jekyll, James Allen, Charles Wolley Dod, Henry Elwes and E.A.Bowles in Britain and Max Leitchlin in Germany among others. He exchanged plants and seeds, and bred plants, particularly scillas and snowdrops, one of which bears his name, *Galanthus* 'S.Arnott.' He wrote over a thousand articles for the gardening press such as *The Garden*, *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, the *Journal of Horticulture* and *The Gardener*. He also wrote two books and collaborated with R.P Brotherston, the head gardener at Tynninghame, on a book about plants hardy in northern Britain.

Simultaneously, Samuel Arnott engaged in civic duties, becoming the penultimate Provost of Maxwelltown from 1915-1926, and was a member, Secretary and Honorary Vice-President of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, as well as editor of the *Transactions*. He also travelled regularly to Edinburgh, serving on the Scientific Committee of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society. When he died in 1930, the following was written about him: '*Few members of the community were better known, and none more highly respected for his devotion to the public interest and his sincerity of purpose. Indeed, the whole narrative of his life is a chronicle of duty well and faithfully done in a wide variety of spheres.*'

5 March 2010

Members' Night

The Society's new *Transactions* editor, Elaine Kennedy, formerly of Dumfries Museum, was introduced to members.

Changes to the Society's Website by James Foster

Dr Foster, a retired Mathematics lecturer from the University of Sussex, took over in 2009 as webmaster of the Society's website, set up in 2000 by the late James Williams. Members present were given an offline tour of the new website, www.dgnhas.org.uk, which now has readily accessible information on key office holders, current programme of talks, news items, etc.

The bulk of the website's database, however, concerns the *Transactions*. There is a full index from 1862-2008, compiled by James and Pauline Williams, also listing volumes out of print and still in print. An index search by author or title can be made, with the complete contents document, including abstracts, freely searchable using Adobe Reader. The Natural History Museum in London has made the articles of Series I and Series II available for downloading and printing if required, and James Williams had already begun Series III. It remains that recent articles will still require to be purchased from the Society. Various further refinements to the search procedures are planned.

A Tale of Two Surgeons and a Medical Bibelot by Francis Toolis

Dr Toolis, a retired Haematologist at Dumfries and Galloway Royal Infirmary, spoke on the history and significance of a small silver case recently returned to Dumfries and destined for its Museum.

The 6 cm high, sterling silver case was made in London in 1798 by John Lambe, a silversmith better known for his silver spoons and not above forging the hallmarks on them to avoid the duty imposed on silver in 1774. The case contained two surgical lancets, protected within tortoise shell sheaths and made by Archibald Young & Son of Edinburgh. These lancets were used for Blood-letting or Bleeding, a medical intervention dating back to the days of the Pharaohs and given a 'scientific' justification by Hippocrates' Four Humours theory of Medicine.

The case was engraved with two sets of initials, a gift from one 19th Century Dumfries surgeon, James McLauchlan, to a younger colleague, Alexander Borthwick. McLauchlan may have been present at the first ever administration in Europe – in Dumfries Infirmary – of ether, the first effective general anaesthetic, and died in the Cholera outbreak of 1848. Borthwick worked as a surgeon until 1872, retiring then through ill-health at the death in childbirth of his young wife, and was succeeded in post by William Smith Kerr, who also succeeded to the silver case and contents, which remained in his family through three generations of doctors until finally being returned, 'because Dumfries is where it belongs', by the widow of the third doctor, Peter Murray Kerr, formerly a Castle Douglas GP.

19 March 2010

Christine Matthews

Beekeeping: An Art? A Craft? A Science?

In Prehistoric times, we were honey collectors, not beekeepers: cave paintings show bees being quietened with smoke. The discovery that a swarm of bees introduced in the evening into a hollow log, earthenware pot or straw, reed or willow skep would stay there marked the transition to beekeeping. At this stage, the lightest and heaviest containers were sacrificed: to harvest the honey, the bees were burned using sulphur. Only the middle-sized containers went forward to the next year. In 18th century Scotland, a number of publications were recommending advances in beekeeping. Robert Maxwell's treatise of 1746 demonstrated that the bees need not be killed. Developments in hive design were being put forward by others.

Beekeeping as an art is evidenced by examples such as batik and encaustic painting, which involves using heated beeswax to which pigments are added. An impressive example of a Lost Wax Casting is the 12th Century Gloucester Candlestick, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Beekeeping is a craft for a few people in Britain and many thousands throughout the world, especially in Mexico, Argentina, China and Hungary, to whom it is their occupation. Beeswax candle-making also gives employment. At an exhibition in Melbourne, Ukrainians displayed a pillar of wax that took a year to make, depicting 100 years of their nation's beekeeping. Beekeeping as a science has been practised for millennia - from Aristotle in 350 BC to Karl von Frisch (Nobel Laureate discoverer of the famous *Waggle Dance* of bees) to the Los Alamos scientists who trained bees to detect explosives.

Beekeeping is indeed an art, a craft and a science, but more importantly it maintains biodiversity and is a major factor in food production: without bee pollination, it has been estimated that one third of our food would be lost. Does beekeeping also ensure human happiness and fertility? In former times, it was certainly believed so, a newly married couple traditionally being given enough mead for a month: hence, honeymoon.

3 April 2010

Gatehouse of Fleet Meeting

Dr Michael McCarthy, Archaeology Department Bradford University
The Kingdom of Rheged and Whithorn

The Dark Age kingdom of Rheged (*Reget*) and the monastic centre at Whithorn occupy prominent places in the mediaeval archaeology and history of north Britain, yet the two are rarely linked together. In the absence of supportive historical evidence, scholars have long disputed the 6th/7th century kingdom's location, suggested sites including the North of England, Cumbria, the Eden Valley, along the Solway shore into South West Scotland, or even all these combined because of the gap in ancient maps showing known contemporary kingdoms e.g. Strathclyde, Dalriada, Northumbria. Welsh poets of the 12th Century associated Carlisle with Rheged but they betray confusion over similar-sounding names, for instance Caerleon and Carlisle. This lecture, while accepting that Rheged (and Erechwydd), both closely associated with Urien, were territorial units possibly in the west during the late 6th Century, challenged the received doctrine, arguing that, by virtue of being a major ecclesiastical centre and important trading area, Whithorn should be considered.

The basis of power for 'dark-age' kings included success in battle and strength of personality, but a well-endowed hinterland capable of yielding good cereal crops and grazing for livestock could have been an additional bonus. In the region extending from the Rhinns to the Lake District that some scholars attribute to Rheged, only two areas have these physical qualities: Cumbria's Eden Valley, and the land west of - and controlled by Dunragit - in the Rhinns. Either are a possibility, but its excellent sea communications and equable climate give the Rhinns a stronger claim.

It is in this context that the monastic site of Whithorn can be viewed. The presence of an important ecclesiastical community, founded *before* Rheged is attested and continuing *after* it disappears from history, would have done Urien's prestige no harm at all. Peter Hill's excavations at Whithorn in the 1980s yielded an astonishingly rich array of imported goods including glass and ceramics, as well as evidence of new stone technologies, gold and silver working. These would have been valued at any 6th century king's court. A likely port-of-entry for this material may well have been the Isle of Whithorn, where a recent topographic and geophysical survey by the University of Bradford has demonstrated that this is not a conventional Iron Age promontory fort but could be the secular counterpart to the monastic site, as other scholars have suggested.

Urien, a great king, and his son, Owain, were associated with Rheged (which means the givers of gifts, possibly from God) and Erechwydd. A difficulty faced by archaeologists is that the small pockets of surviving information give inconclusive pointers to understanding the past. A number of late prehistoric tribal areas were mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd Century AD - tribes such as the Brigantes, Selgovae and Novantae – and a Tribal Hidage document of the 8th century names some 30 kingdoms for tax purposes, their territories being measured in hides. But a hide size in different parts of the country might vary from 50 to 150 acres, with kingdoms also ranging from 300 to 30,000 hides. Rheged and Erechwydd may have been an extensive polity comprising a number of small sub-kingdoms or *cenela* along the northern shore of the Solway Firth, but with the real power base in the far west where a combination of factors - climate, fertile soils, good sea communications and an important church - underpinned Urien's successes. Such attractions will certainly have been known to the Northumbrian kings from Aethelfrith onwards and could have been a factor behind their westward expansion between the late 6th and mid-7th centuries.

The Isle of Whithorn was indeed once an island evidenced in the Ainslie map of 1782. The speaker's recent topographical survey of the ancient fort on it found ramparts all the way round with an identifiable entrance, and a geophysical survey revealed a rectangular building in the centre. Could this have served as a beachhead port where the luxury goods arrived and might 'The Isle' have been the secular counterpart of Whithorn, the ecclesiastical centre? A meaningful equation is formed: luxury imports plus good soils around Dunragit plus Christendom. In the speaker's view the only other area to rival this is the Eden Valley. Might it have been Erechwydd?

RULES OF DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

The Rules of the Society as revised and adopted at the Annual General Meeting held on 6th October 2006 were published in these *Transactions*, Volume 84 (2009), pp. 253 – 255. There follows two addenda to these rules, adopted at the Annual General Meeting held on 8th October 2010.

1) Authorised Signatories

There should be a minimum of two authorised signatories, who are not connected as per the definition of “connected” within the Charities and Trustee Investment (Scotland) Act 2005.

2) Dissolution

If the Society, upon the recommendation of its Council, shall decide to dissolve the Society, any money or property belonging to the Society, after payment of all expenses and liabilities properly incurred, shall be distributed among such other bodies with charitable objectives similar to some or all of the objectives of the Society, operating in Dumfries and Galloway.'

Publications funded by the Ann Hill Research Bequest

The History and Archaeology of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish

- No.1 Ann Hill and her Family. A Memorial, by D. Adamson (1986)
- No.2* Kirkpatrick Fleming Poorhouse, by D.Adamson (1986)
- No.3* Kirkpatrick Fleming Miscellany
Mossknow Game Register 1875
Diary of J. Gordon Graham 1854
edited by D. Adamson and I.S. MacDonald (1987)
- No.4* Middlebie Presbytery Records, by D. Adamson (1988)
- No.5* Kirkpatrick Fleming Miscellany
How Sir Patrick Maxwell worsted the Devil
Fergus Graham of Mossknow and the Murder at Kirkpatrick
by W.F. Cormack (1989)
- No.6 Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire - An Anatomy of a Parish in South West Scotland,
by Roger Mercer and others (1997) – Hardback, out of print;
Reprint in laminated soft cover, 1997.

Nos.1 to 5 are crown quarto in size with a 2-colour titled card cover.
Publications marked * are reprinted from the *Transactions*.

The Records of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish

- No.1 Old Parish Registers of Kirkpatrick Fleming, 1748-1854, indexed and in 5 parts
- No.2 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1851
- No.3 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1861
- No.4 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1871
- No.5 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1841
- No.6 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1881
- No.7 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1891
- No.8 Kirkpatrick Fleming Graveyard Inscriptions

The Record series was duplicated in A4 size with a titled card cover but may now be obtained as Acrobat pdf files on CD-ROM.

Information on the availability and prices of Ann Hill Publications can be obtained from
Mr J H D Gair, Clairmont, 16 Dumfries Road, Lockerbie DG11 2EF.

Publications of the Society

Transactions and Journal of Proceedings: 1st Series - (a) 1862-3*, (b) 1863-4*, (c) 1864-5*, (d) 1865-6*, (e) 1866-7*, (f) 1867-8*. **New or 2nd Series** - (1) 1876-8*, (2) 1878-80*, (3) 1880-3*, (4) 1883-6*, (5) 1886-7*, (6) 1887-90*, (7) 1890-1*, (8) 1891-92*, (9) 1892-3*, (10) 1893-4*, (11) 1894-5*, (12) 1895-6*, (13) 1896-7*, (14) 1897-8*, (15) 1898-9*, (16) 1899-1900*, (17) 1900-5 (in 4 parts)*, (18) 1905-6*, (19) 1906-7*, (20) 1907-8*, (21) 1908-9*, (22) 1909-10*, (23) 1910-1*, (24) 1911-2*.

3rd Series - (i) 1912-3*, (ii) 1913-4*, (iii) 1914-5*, (iv) 1915-16*, (v) 1916-8*, (vi) 1918-9*, (vii) 1919-20*, (viii) 1920-1*, (ix) 1921-2*, (x) 1922-3*, (xi) 1923-4*, (xii) 1924-5*, (xiii) 1925-6*, (xiv) 1926-28*, (xv) 1928-9*, (xvi) 1929-30*, (xvii) 1930-1*, (xviii) 1931-3*, (xix) 1933-5*, (xx) 1935-6*, (xxi) 1936-8*, (xxii) 1938-40*, (xxiii) 1940-4*, (xxiv) 1945-6*, (xxv) 1946-7*, (xxvi) 1947-8*, (xxvii) 1948-9* (Whithorn Vol. I), (xxviii) 1949-50*, (xxix) 1950-1 (with Index of Vols. i to xxvii), (xxx) 1951-2*, (xxxi) 1952-3 (Hoddum Vol. I), (xxxii)* 1953-4, (xxxiii) 1954-5, (xxxiv) 1955-6 (Whithorn Vol. II), (xxxv) 1956-7*, (xxxvi) 1957-8, (xxxvii) 1958-9, (xxxviii) 1959-60, (xxxix) 1960-1 (with Index of Vols. xxvii to xxxviii), (xl) 1961-2 (Centenary Vol.), (xli) 1962-3, (xlii) 1965 (new format), (xliii) 1966, (xliv) 1967, (xlv) 1968, (xlvi) 1969, (xlvii) 1970, (xlviii) 1971, (xlix) 1972 (with Index of Vols. xxxix to xlviii), (l) 1973, (li) 1975, (lii) 1976-7, (liii) 1977-8, (liv) 1979 (Wanlockhead Vol.), (lv) 1980, (lvi) 1981, (lvii) 1982, (lviii) 1983, (lix) 1984 (with Index of Vols. xlix to lviii), (lx) 1985, (lxi) 1986, (lxii) 1987, (lxiii) 1988, (lxiv) 1989, (lxv) 1990 (Flora of Kirkcudbright Vol.), (lxvi) 1991 (Hoddum Vol. II), (lxvii) 1992, (lxviii) 1993, (lxvix) 1994 (Birrens Centenary Vol. with Index of Vols. lix to lxviii), (lxx) 1995 (Barhobble Vol.), (lxxi) 1996, (lxxii) 1997, (lxxiii) 1998, (lxxiv) 2000, (lxxv) 2001, (lxxvi) 2002, (lxxvii) 2003, (lxxviii) 2004, (lxxix) 2005, (lxxx) 2006, (lxxxi) 2007, (lxxxii) 2008, (lxxxiii) 2009.

Prices: Single Volumes (to Members) - Current Vol. £14, previous Vols. £1. All plus post & packing.

Single Volumes (to non-Members) - Current Vol. £14, previous Vols. £6. All plus post & packing.

Runs of Volumes - on application to the Hon. Librarian.

A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, by James McAndrew, 1882.*

Birrens and its Antiquities, by Dr J. Macdonald and James Barbour, 1897.*

Communion Tokens, with a Catalogue of those of Dumfriesshire, by Rev. H.A. Whitelaw, 1911.*

History of Dumfries Post Office, by J.M. Corrie, 1912.*

History of the Society, by H.S. Gladstone, 1913.*

The Ruthwell Cross, by W.G. Collingwood, 1917.*

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. I, 'Edgar's History of Dumfries, 1746', with illustrations and ten pedigree charts, edited by R.C. Reid, 1916*.

Records of the Western Marches, Vol II, 'The Bell Family in Dumfriesshire', by James Steuart, W.S., 1932.* (for reprint see Reviews in Vol 75)

Records of the Western Marches, Vol III, 'The Upper Nithsdale Coalworks from Pictish Times to 1925', by J.C. McConnel, 1962*.

Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire, by H.S. Gladstone, 1923*

A Bibliography of the Parish of Annan, by Frank Millar, F.S.A. Scot, 1925*

Thomas Watling, Limner of Dumfries, by H.S. Gladstone, 1938*

The Marine Fauna and Flora of the Solway Firth Area, by Dr E.J. Perkins, 1972, Corrigenda to same*.

Cruggleton Castle. Report of Excavations 1978-1981 by Gordon Ewart, 1985, 72pp 33 figs. £3.50 plus post and packing to Members. £4.50 plus post and packing to non-Members.

Excavations at Caerlaverock Old Castle 1998-9 A4 format 128pp. £5 plus post and packing.

* Indicates out of print, but see Editorial.

Reprints

The Early Crosses of Galloway by W.G. Collingwood from Vol. X (1922-3), 37pp text, 49 crosses illustrated and discussed. £1.50 plus post and packing.

Flowering Plants etc. of Kirkcudbrightshire by Olga Stewart, from vol. LXV (1990), 68pp. £3 plus post and packing.

Publications in print may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 2 Loreburn Park, Dumfries DG1 1LS

Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire - an Anatomy of a Parish in south-west Scotland, by Roger Mercer and others, Hardback*. Reprint in laminated soft cover, 1997. This publication was funded by the Ann Hill Research Fund - see inside back cover for details of availability.

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