

Transactions
of the
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History
and
Antiquarian Society



LXiii 1988

Transactions
of the
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History
and
Antiquarian Society

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862

THIRD SERIES VOLUME LXIII

Editors:

JAMES WILLIAMS, F.S.A.Scot.,
W. F. CORMACK, M.A., LL.B., F.S.A.Scot.

ISSN 0141-1292

1988

DUMFRIES

Published by the Council of the Society

OFFICE BEARERS 1987-88
and
FELLOWS OF THE SOCIETY

President

Mr J. Chinnock

Vice Presidents

Mrs M. Gemie, Miss B. Gerdes, Mrs M. Martin, Mr J. Gair

Fellows of the Society

Dr. J. Harper, M.B.E.; Mr D. Cunningham, M.A.; Maj. Gen. J. Scott-Elliot, C.B., C.B.E., J.P., D.S.O.; Mr J. Robertson, O.B.E., B.Sc., J.P., F.I.C.E.; Mr J. Banks, B.Sc.; Mr A. E. Truckell, M.B.E., M.A., F.M.A.; Mr Alex Robertson, M.A.; Mr Alex Anderson, B.Sc.; Mr Duncan Adamson, M.A. — as Past Presidents; Prof. Anne S. Robertson, D.Litt., F.R.S.E., F.M.A.; Prof. Eric Birley, M.B.E., F.B.A.; Mr W. F. Cormack, M.A., LL.B., W.S.; Mr J. G. Scott, M.A., F.M.A.; Mr J. Williams; and Mr L. J. Masters, M.A. — appointed under rule 10.

Hon. Secretary

Mr R. H. McEwen, 13 Douglas Terrace, Lockerbie. DG11 2DZ. Tel. Lockerbie (05762) 2101
assisted by Mr W. F. Prentice as Syllabus Secretary, and Mrs J. Muir as Minute Secretary

Hon. Treasurer

Mr K. Dobie, 2 Corbelly Hill, Dumfries. DG2 7SQ. Tel. Dumfries (0387) 54806
assisted by Mrs Wise
(for Hon. Treasurer at date of publication see Editorial)

Hon. Librarian

Mr J. Williams, 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries. DG2 7LZ. Tel. Dumfries (0387) 64516
assisted by Mr R. Coleman

Joint Hon. Editors

Mr W. F. Cormack, 16 Dryfe Road, Lockerbie. DG11 2AJ, and Mr J. Williams

Hon. Curator

Mr D. Lockwood, Dumfries Museum

Ordinary Members

Mrs J. Muir, Mrs M. Wise, Mr R. Coleman, Mr M. Meldrum, Mrs M. Williams, Mr R. Clarke,
Mr M. MacLure, Mr J. Neilson, Dr. J. Wilson, Mr W. McJannet, Mr K. Prince and Miss M. Stewart.

CONTENTS

<i>Pilularia Globulifera</i> in Kirkcudbrightshire, by Olga Stewart	1
Tailburn Earthwork, Moffat Water; Excavation 1987, by J. S. Rideout	5
Excavation of a Roman Temporary Camp at Annan Hill, Dumfriesshire 1985-86, by L. J. F. Keppie	13
Archaeological Landscapes; Recent RCAMS Survey in S.W. Scotland, by Jane Murray	22
The Origins of Dundrennan and Souleseat Abbeys, by J. G. Scott.. .. .	35
Drumsleet Barony; A List of Feuars and their Tenants in 1722, by James Williams	45
Kirkpatrick Fleming and the Records of Middlebie Presbytery 1699-1743, by Duncan Adamson.. .. .	48
Walter Newall, Architect in Dumfries, by Aonghus MacKechnie	78
Addenda Antiquaria:	
Possible "Axehead" Carvings at Knock, Wigtownshire, by Maarten A. M. van Hoek	89
Hills in Cummertrees, by Duncan Adamson	90
Holy Wells and Coins, by R. B. K. Stevenson	92
A Rammerscales Notebook, by James Williams	93
Proceedings 1987-88.. .. .	95
List of Members and Subscribers	96

EDITORIAL

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 instructions giving the nature and approximate size of their paper. Each contributor has seen a proof of his paper and neither the Editors nor the Society hold themselves responsible for the accuracy of the information in it.

A list of members appears in this volume, and a copy of the current Rules appeared in volume 61.

Exchanges should be sent to the Hon. Assistant Librarian, Mr J. Williams, 42 New Abbey Road, Dumfries DG2 7LZ. Enquiries regarding back numbers of *Transactions* — see rear cover — should be made to the Hon. Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 4 Lovers Walk, Dumfries DG1 1LP. 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. The Society is indebted to Professor Robertson for the gift to the Society for sale, of the last remaining volumes of her *Birrens (Blatobulgium)* — when these are sold no more will be available.

Payment of subscriptions should be made to the Hon. Treasurer who by date of publication will be Mr John Neilson, 2 Park Street, Dumfries DG2 7PH, who will be pleased to arrange Bonds of Covenant, which can materially increase the income of the Society, without, generally, any additional cost to the member. The attention of members and friends is drawn to the important Inheritance Tax and Capital Gains Tax concessions which are conferred on individuals by the Finance Acts, inasmuch as bequests or transfers of shares or cash to the Society 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 the Early Iron Age, Roman, Romano-British and Early Christian periods. Applications for grants should be made to Primrose and Gordon, Solicitors, Irish Street, Dumfries.

The Council is indebted to the Scottish Development Department (Historic Buildings and Monuments) for grants towards the publication costs of Dr Keppie's and Mr Rideout's reports on The Roman Camp at Annan Hill and Tailburn Earthwork, Moffat Water respectively and to the Hill Research Fund for a grant covering Mr Adamson's paper on the Records of Middlebie Presbytery. Publications of the Hill Fund are now coming forward and details are given on the inside of the rear cover.

The illustration on the front cover is of the Wamphray "grave slab" from the article "The Early Church in Dumfriesshire" by W. G. Collingwood, in volume 12, Series III (1926) of these *Transactions*.

PILULARIA GLOBULIFERA IN KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE

by

Olga Stewart

West Maryfield, New Abbey

Pilularia globulifera — Pillwort is a rare grasslike fern (Fig. 1), which is included in the European Red Data Book, those plants that are threatened with extinction. According to the World Conservation Monitoring Centre database, it is extinct in the Channel Islands and Czechoslovakia, rare in Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands, endangered in Yugoslavia, Italy, Switzerland, Poland and Norway and vulnerable in all the other European countries. In the British Isles it is not as rare but old sites are disappearing through drainage and water pollution. In 1962 when the Atlas of the British Flora was published, there were 51 10 km. squares where it was found, in the whole of the British Isles including Ireland, but over 90 other 10 km. squares, where it had been seen before 1930, but not since. South west Cornwall and the New Forest still have good populations of the plant, but there were only 12 extant sites in Scotland, including five in the Hebrides and outer Isles.

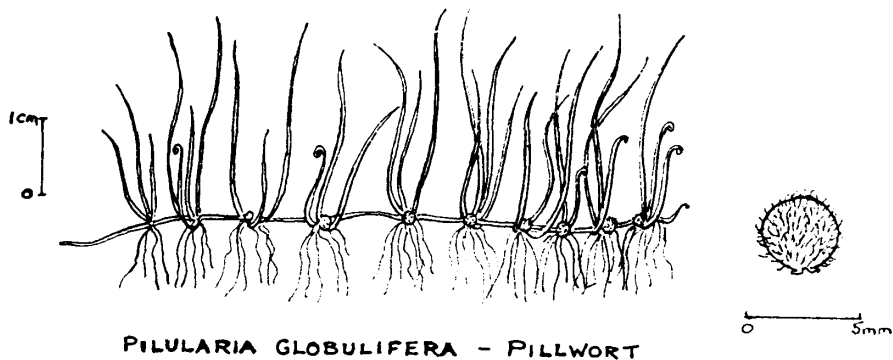


Fig. 1

Pillwort was first recorded in Kirkcudbrightshire by the edge of Lincluden House pond by Dr. John Hutton Balfour in 1843, but it has not been seen there for many years, and the pond has now been filled in, as it was in the middle of a housing estate and very much polluted.

The next record was in 1961 at Parton Ward by Alan McG. Stirling. This was the first time that Pillwort had been seen in Loch Ken. I found it again in 1976, 2 km. further south in a muddy area near Waterside, an inlet of L. Ken, extending over half an acre.

The R. Dee was dammed by the South of Scotland Electricity Board at Glenlochar around 1935, and this raised the lower part of L. Ken below the railway viaduct. Since then the level of the loch has been controlled by the Electricity Board and has fluctuated considerably, and for most of the time the inlet at Waterside is under water. This last year, 1988, in May and June, in order to carry out maintenance to the dam, the water level

was lowered and this coincided with 2 months of very dry weather. The area that had been flooded by the dam was now exposed, so I decided to look at the Pillwort sites.

Anne Carstairs and David Hawker from NCC and Ray Hawley, the warden of the RSPB reserve at Hensol, went with me to Waterside on 31st May and we found Pillwort still growing extensively over the same area where I had seen it in 1976. Besides growing on mud in the inlet bay, however, it also grew on fine gravel by the edge of L. Ken, usually 3 to 8 feet away from the shore bank, where *Carex vesicaria* - Bladder Sedge. *Carex aquatilis* - Straight leaved Sedge and *Phalaris arundinacea* - Reed Grass etc., grew in abundance. There it would normally be under a foot or so of water. We also refound it at Parton Ward. During the next few weeks most of the lower part of L. Ken was surveyed and Pillwort was found on both sides of the loch in suitable habitat, all in the area that is submerged when the dam is in operation. It did not grow where there were clay promontories or rocky banks, even though there was suitable habitat just above the rocks; nor was it found on soft mud, but only on mud with a firmer base, as on the two large bays at Finness and east of Mains of Duchrae, where it covered a large area. Also found there was *Limosella aquatica* - Mudwort in plenty. This was a new County record, though I later found it on other places by the loch and also by the R. Dee near Tongland Loch. This plant has extended its range into Scotland. It has disappeared from the few old historic sites, but in the last 15 years it has appeared by L. Leven and other lochs, maybe brought in by the geese, which is how, I think, it has arrived on L. Ken. On 13th July the area between Cogarth and Parton Ward was to be looked at, but the dam had been closed and four days of rain had filled the loch to capacity. There is a bank of rock along that shore so if Pillwort is there, it is only in limited quantity.

No Pillwort was found north of the viaduct, but there the banks of the loch are steep, and the dam has not made much difference to that area of the loch. It was, however, seen in one small area south of the dam, but the river bank was elsewhere not suitable and time precluded looking further south. Here *Isoetes* - Quillwort was very common, submerged at the edge of the river.

The map (Fig. 2) shows where *Pilularia globulifera* was found and the following list is of associated species.

- Littorella uniflora* - Shoreweed. Common associate particularly on the fine gravel.
- Juncus bulbosus* - Bulbous rush. Common associate particularly on the fine gravel.
- Callitriche hamulata* - Water starwort. Common associate particularly on the fine gravel.
- Apium inundatum* - Marshwort. Common associate particularly on the mud.
- Ranunculus peltatus* - Water crowfoot. Common associate particularly on the mud.
- Mysiophyllum alterniflorum* - Alternate water milfoil. Common associate particularly on the mud.
- Elatine hexandra* - Waterwort. Common associate particularly on the mud.
- Limosella aquatica* - Mudwort. Less common associate.
- Subularia aquatica* - Awlwort. Less common associate.
- Eleocharis acicularis* - Needle spike rush. Less common associate.
- Lythrum portula* - Water purslane. Less common associate.
- Baldellia rununculoides* - Lesser water plantain. Less common associate.

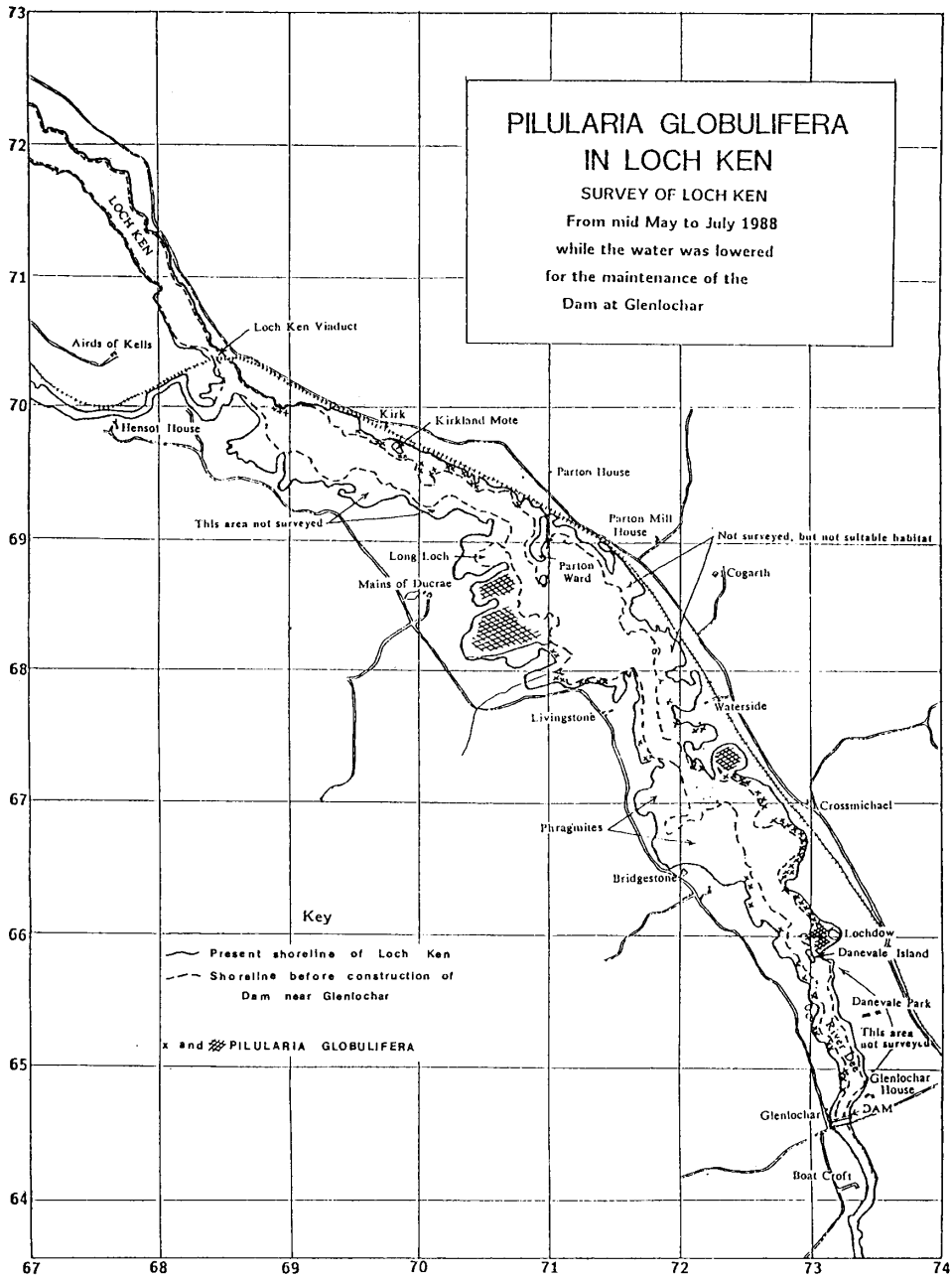


Fig 2

There is a second Kirkcudbrightshire site for Pillwort in Jordieland Loch east of Kirkcudbright. It was first discovered by Alan McG. Stirling when the loch was drained in 1961, in the SE corner where there is still a small amount under 3 feet of water. However, in 1986 it was found to grow more extensively on the west side of the loch. In the autumn of 1988 I found two floating islands of Pillwort about a yard and a half in diameter growing on a mat of its own detritus. This is an unusual way to find it growing.

Loch Ken must be one of the most extensive areas of Pillwort in the British Isles, and it is pleasing to see such healthy populations of such a rare plant.

TAILBURN EARTHWORK, MOFFAT WATER

Excavation 1987

by

J. S. Rideout*

Background

Tailburn earthwork (NGR NT 1867 1462, see Fig. 1) is situated on top of a terrace on the left bank of the Tail Burn, c 300 m downstream of the Grey Mare's Tail waterfall and c 200 m from the confluence of the burn with the Moffat Water, near the NE boundary of Dumfries and Galloway Region. The surviving remains consist of a curving length of rampart c 50 m long, with an external ditch and low counterscarp bank. The interior of the enclosure has been almost entirely eroded away and no entrance is detectable in the surviving remains. A linear bank, c 15 m long, runs SSE from the counterscarp bank at the S end of the earthwork.

The monument is scheduled and for many years has suffered damage at the N and S ends, caused by erosion of the path leading from the car park beside the A708 to the top of the waterfall. The path runs into the ditch at the S, rises to the top of the inner bank and follows its line, before crossing the ditch again at the N (Fig. 1, no. 3). As a result, the crest of the inner bank survives for only 2-3 m to the W of the path at each end of the earthwork. A second path, forking from the main one at the edge of the terrace and running E towards a viewpoint 20 m SE of the earthwork, is eroding part of the linear bank. In 1986 the Field Monument Warden for Dumfries and Galloway reported this damage to Historic Buildings and Monuments. As a result a small-scale investigation was initiated in advance of improvements to the area by the owners, the National Trust for Scotland. The excavation was carried out by the Central Excavation Unit in August 1987.

Description

The object of the excavation was threefold:—

- to investigate the nature of the remains;
- to establish a relationship between the earthwork and the linear bank;
- and to locate dating material.

A trench was opened by machine across the earthwork, at the point where the path crosses it at the S end, to obtain a section through the inner bank, the ditch, and the N terminal of the linear bank. The recorded section (Fig. 2) shows six main elements:

- 1 the inner bank;
- 2 the ditch;
- 3 the outer (counterscarp) bank;
- 4 buried topsoil under 1 and 3;
- 5 the linear bank;
- 6 the path and modern turf.

*Central Excavation Unit, Scottish Development Department, 9 Melville Street, Edinburgh.

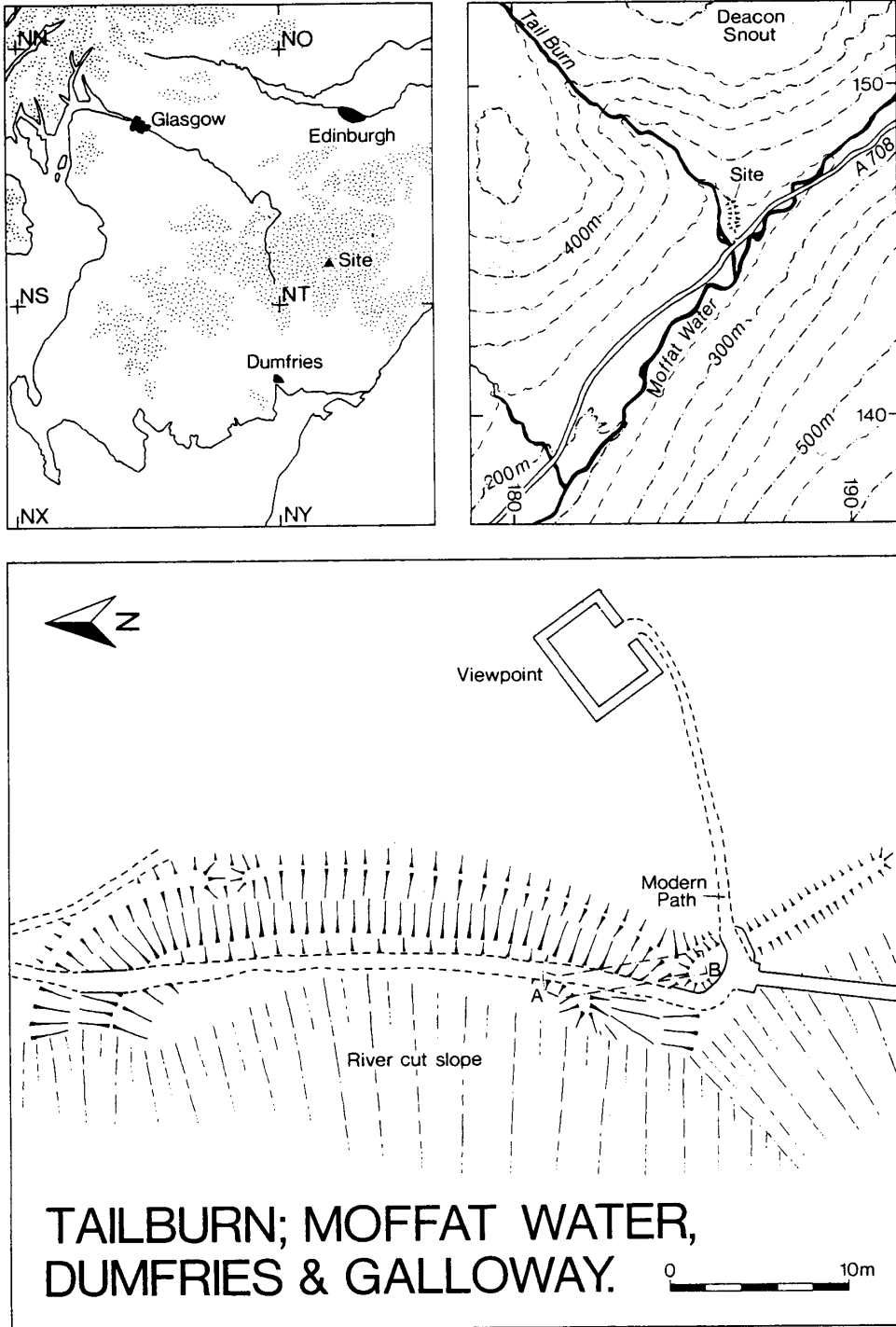


Fig. 1 1 and 2 Location maps. 3 Site plan.

The section cut the inner bank at the point where it was best preserved. Here it was c 4.5 m wide and c 1.0 m high. The bank consisted mainly of redeposited subsoil derived from the digging of the ditch, but towards the front of the bank, the lower layer was redeposited topsoil. Behind the bank, in the interior of the enclosure, were two layers of material presumably washed from the bank. The upper 0.3-0.4 m of the bank and bank-wash was heavily interpenetrated with roots.

The ditch was c 4.7 m wide and c 2.0 m deep below the old ground surface under the inner bank. A primary 'silting' of silty clay (context 16) was overlain by layers of gravelly soil, presumably derived from the erosion of the ditch sides and bank. Voided stones filled the centre of the ditch to a stabilization depth of c 0.8 m above the bottom. At this level a turf line developed (context 1), subsequently covered and preserved by the modern path.

The outer bank survived as a narrow band of rubble, with a matrix of humic soil, c 1.0 m wide and c 0.3 m high. The loose, humic nature of the soil matrix indicates that the bank was originally voided stone rather than a dump of soil excavated from the ditch.

A buried old ground surface survived under both inner and outer banks, but was best preserved under the inner. It comprised three clear horizons, possibly reflecting the original profile before the construction of the earthworks. The upper horizon, a thin layer of relatively stone-free silty clay, appears to be the old turf line, while the lower two horizons could represent the original A- and B-horizons. The buried topsoils also survived, although somewhat more altered by rooting, under the bank-wash of the inner bank and the linear bank.

The linear bank was composed of a single layer of soil which overlay the outer bank of the earthwork. The relatively stone-free soil and the lack of obvious evidence of quarrying suggest that the bank was constructed of turf.

The first two objectives of the excavation were fulfilled but the third proved impossible. No artefacts were found and only a few flecks of charcoal were noted, mostly in context 6 in the buried topsoil. Samples for possible future pollen analysis were taken from contexts 5 and 16, with control samples from contexts 4, 6 and 7.

Interpretation

The most likely sequence of events exhibited by the section through the earthworks can be summarised as follows:

- 1 excavation of the ditch and construction of the inner bank;
- 2 construction of the outer bank;
- 3 erosion of the rampart and ditch producing bank-wash internally and infilling of the ditch to stabilization point;
- 4 construction of the linear bank;
- 5 construction of the modern path.

There is no reason to doubt that the excavation of the ditch and construction of the inner bank took place at the same time. The bank appears to be of the simple dump type and no sign of revetment was found in the excavated area. If this were the case, the ditch would have begun to backfill shortly after construction. The bottom layer of the ditch, the silty clay (context 16), suggests that, for a time at least, the exposed surfaces of both ditch and bank were relatively stable with only the smaller particles running into the ditch.

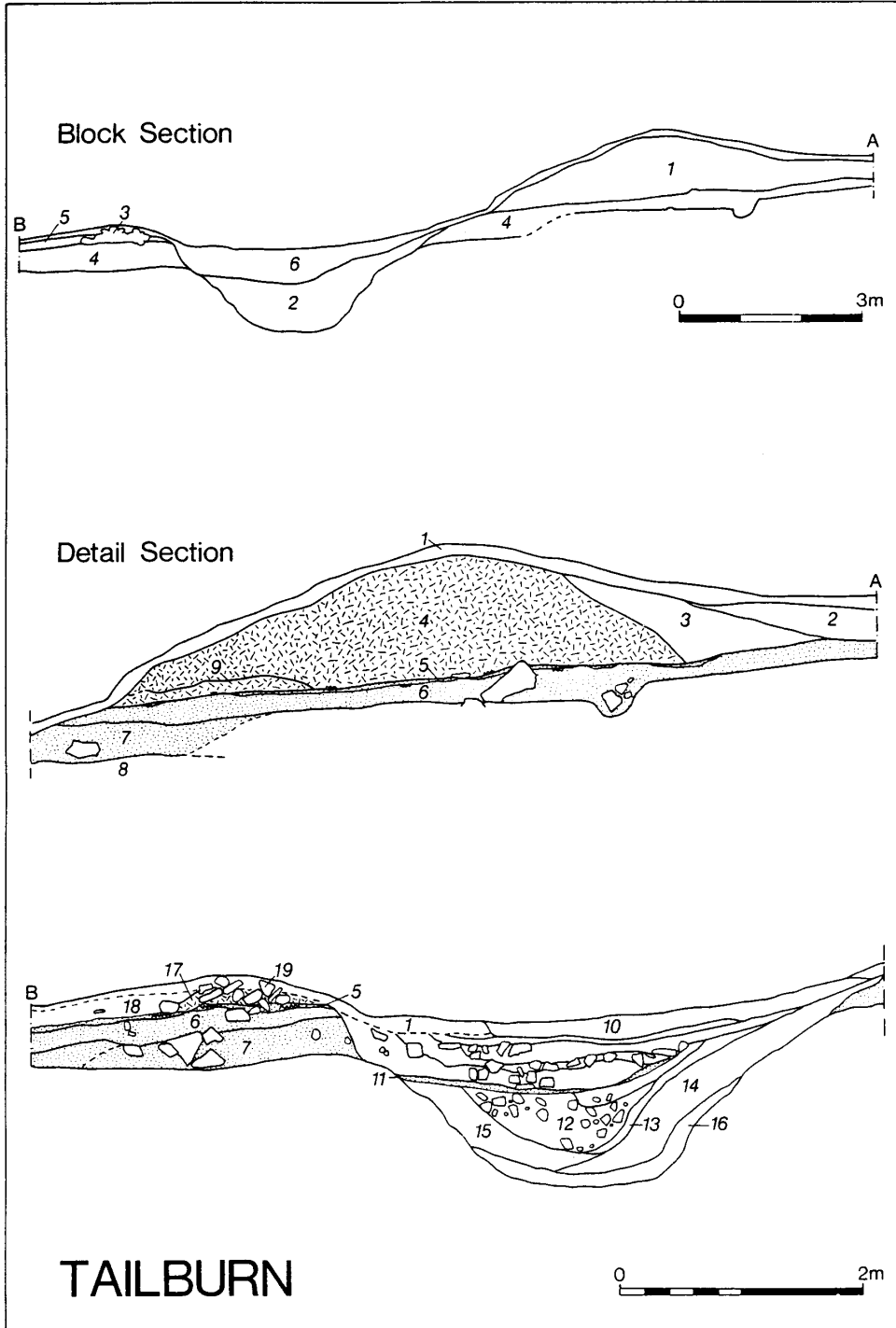


Fig. 2 1 Section A-B (for Key see infra).

Key to section drawing (Figure 2)**1 The Inner Bank***Context Interpretation/description*

- 2 Bank-wash: light grey-yellow-brown silty clay, abundant sub-angular stones average 7 cm, abundant roots, mottle of light yellow brown silty clay
- 3 Bank-wash: dark yellow-brown gritty clay silt, abundant small sub-angular stones, abundant roots
- 4 Main bulk of inner bank: fairly homogenous - average description - dark yellow-brown clay silt gravelly with abundant small sub-angular and rounded stones, abundant roots to c 50 cm deep, large mottles of grey brown clay silt, red-brown clay silt, rotted stone, lower 20 cm a red-brown silty clay.
- 8 Subsoil: compacted clayey silt, very hard, very stony
- 9 Lower bank layer: redeposited turf and topsoil: pale yellow-brown clay silt, heavy mottle of context 5 and context 6, abundant rotted stones, many flecks of charcoal, few sub-angular stones

2 The Ditch*Context Interpretation/description*

- 11 Buried turf line in ditch: dark grey-brown silty clay, upper and lower boundaries defined by discontinuous iron pan, mottles of light grey-brown clayey silt
- 12 Layer in ditch: voided sub-angular and sub-rounded stones less than 10 cm
- 13 Layer in ditch: dark grey-brown gravelly silt, slightly clayey, abundant sub-angular stones 3-5 cm
- 14 Layer in ditch: as 13 but no clay, stones less than 3 cm
- 15 Layer in ditch: dark red-brown gravelly silt, some clay content, many angular and sub-angular stones to 5 cm, abundant small sub-angular stones less than 3 cm, heavily mottled with iron staining.
- 16 Bottom layer in ditch: light grey silty clay

3 The Outer Bank*Context Interpretation/description*

- 17 Matrix of stones (context 19): very dark grey-brown silty loam, highly humic, almost peaty
- 19 Stones in outer bank

4 Buried Topsoil*Context Interpretation/description*

- 5 Buried turf line: light grey silty clay, upper and lower boundaries defined by discontinuous iron pan, abundant rotted stone, some magnesium deposits
- 6 Buried topsoil: as 5 but colour light yellow-brown, rotted stone present, many sub-angular stones average 6 mm, some boulders
- 7 Buried topsoil: light red-brown clay silt, many sub-angular stones to 3 cm, some large sub-angular stones to 15 cm, patches of dark red-brown clay silt

5 The Linear Bank*Context Interpretation/description*

- 18 Linear bank: light red-brown loam, some sub-angular and angular stones to c 5 cm, some light grey loam mottles, some iron staining

6 The Modern Turf and Path*Context Interpretation/description*

- 1 Modern turf
- 10 Modern path: various layers including a lower infilling of the ditch of flat stones, several layers of gravel, a layer of charcoal-stained soil, and an upper layer of gravel-and-cement hard-core

However, at some stage, heavier erosion and subsequent 'silting' in the ditch have occurred with much of the infill material coming from the ditch sides. The 'silting' on the inner face of the ditch was only slightly heavier than on the outer, suggesting that the bank was not a major source of 'silting' material and indicating, by inference, that originally the ditch sides were much steeper.

While there is no proof that the outer bank was constructed at the same time as the ditch and inner bank, its position, running around the outer lip of the ditch, suggests that it was constructed, if not at the same time, then shortly afterwards. The fact that the material used in the outer bank is totally different from that in the inner bank could be a result of deliberate selection rather than due to a difference in date. In fact, the lack of large stones in the matrix of the inner bank is notable in an area where stones are common in both topsoil and subsoil and it is possible that the larger stones encountered in the digging of the ditch were dumped on the outside, while the smaller stones and subsoil were dumped inside. Whether or not the stones were used to construct a wall rather than a rubble bank was not ascertained. Facing stones were not noted in the excavated area, nor in the rubble visible in the unexcavated part of the bank.

The matrix of the outer bank was a peaty soil which appeared to have formed gradually in the voided stones. The linear bank overlay this soil, suggesting that the outer bank was overgrown before the construction of the linear bank. It is not known how long after the construction of the outer bank this occurred. The linear bank is, however, identified as a sheep shelter on the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map of 1861 (First Series, Dumfriesshire, Sheet IV).

Discussion

With so much of the earthwork gone, its original form can only be the subject of conjecture. The surviving earthworks are presumably the last remnants of a defended knoll or promontory sited beside the Tail Burn. At present the burn's course is down the W side of the valley, about as far W as possible in the channel, and c 40 m away from the present E bank on which the earthwork sits. Presumably the burn has changed its course across to the E side of the valley and back at least once since the construction of the site, destroying most of the site in the process. The position of the earthwork and its proximity to the present course of the burn suggest that it was built originally to defend a small promontory or area of terrace edge and that it cut off the approach to the site rather than entirely surrounded it. In effect, the site appears to have been a small promontory or terrace-edge fort.

The method of construction of the defences is of little help in the dating of the site. The form is not fundamentally different to that of excavated forts of Iron Age date which have ditch and rampart defences, such as Torwoodlee in Selkirkshire (Piggott 1951, Fig. 4, facing p98) and Woden Law and Hownam Rings in Roxburghshire (Richmond and St Joseph 1982, Fig. 2, facing p280; C. M. Piggott 1948, Fig. 7). The site is listed in the *Dumfriesshire Inventory* as a fort (RCAHMS 1920, 170, no. 481). The *Inventory* recognizes two general classes of earthwork type enclosures: forts ' . . . whose main purpose has been, by choice of situation and construction of defences, the prevention or repulsion of attack . . .' (*ibid*, p.L), and enclosures. Of the forts, the curvilinear type is presumed by the *Inventory* to be Iron Age in date, while the straight-sided forts are Roman or Medieval. The earthwork at Tailburn does appear to be defensive in nature with internal bank and external ditch, and obviously sited for defence on the only suitable

position in the valley bottom. Although the defences are less impressive than those of probably similar forts in Dumfriesshire, such as Auchencat Burn (*ibid*, 172, no. 485) or Tanner's Linn, Mollin (*ibid*, 117, no. 320), it is possible that they all belong to the same, broadly Iron Age, date. The location of Tailburn, however, is unusual in that it is remote and in the bottom of a deep and narrow glacial valley near the headwaters of the Moffat Water.

The nearest earthworks to the site are two enclosures at Roundstonefoot and Selcoth, both in the same valley but c 7 km and c 8.5 km respectively downstream from Tailburn. The nearest forts to Tailburn are mostly in Annandale, running down from Auchencat Burn and Ericstane, c 11 km to the WSW, to The Dod and Laverhay Height, c 15 km to the SSW. Over Cassock fort, in Eskdalemuir, lies c 11 km SSE of Tailburn, while the nearest forts in Selkirkshire are over 25 km away, to the NE.

The location of the fort at Tailburn suggests that it may have been so sited in order to defend and control the narrow pass from the eastern Borders via the Yarrow Valley and Moffat Valley into what is now Dumfriesshire. Although its location is unusual for defended enclosures in the Southern Uplands, another class of monument has been observed which possibly serves a similar function of controlling movement. Some linear earthworks of the kind referred to as 'cross-dykes' in the *Roxburghshire Inventory* (RCAHMS 1956, 52) are seen as non-defensive works which '. . . might well have served as obstacles to traffic, particularly to driven animals . . .' (*op cit*), because they appear to cut off passes and known ancient roadways. Although these monuments are numerous in Roxburghshire, there are fewer of them in Selkirkshire and Dumfriesshire, the nearest to Tailburn being c 19 km away in the Yarrow Valley at Snouthead and Feuars Hill (RCAHMS 1957, 122, nos. 192 and 193). These examples may be late Medieval, possibly associated with nearby Catslack Tower. However, the *Roxburghshire Inventory* points out that an earlier date is suggested by the weight of evidence from other parts of Britain where such earthworks can be prehistoric, Roman, or Dark Age.

Part of an earthwork of similar character to the 'cross-dykes' — the Deil's Dyke in Nithsdale — was investigated in 1981 (Barber 1982, 29-50). This monument has been identified as a Medieval march dyke (RCAHMS 1920, lvi-lvii; for a recent reappraisal see Tabraham in Barber 1982, 47-9). The 1981 excavations, however, showed that part of the earthwork was constructed in the Middle Ages and another part was originally Iron Age, later refurbished (*op cit*, 45). Although the *Inventory* only recognizes mottes and straight-sided earthworks as Medieval in date, it is not impossible, given its unusual situation, that Tailburn is later than the Iron Age.

Acknowledgements

The excavation was carried out with the assistance of Eoin Halpin and Chris Russell-White. Special thanks are due to the National Trust for Scotland for their help during the excavation. The illustrations were prepared by Keith Speller.

The Society is indebted to the Scottish Development Department (Historic Buildings and Monuments) for a grant towards the publication costs of this report.

References

- Barber, J. 1982. 'The Deil's Dyke, Nithsdale', *Trans Dumfries Galloway Nat Hist Archaeol Soc*, 3rd Ser 57 (1982), 29-50
- Piggott, C. M. 1948. 'The Excavations at Hownam Rings, Roxburghshire, 1948', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, LXXXII (1948-8), 193-225.
- Piggott, S. 1951. 'Excavations in the Broch and Hill-Fort of Torwoodlee, Selkirkshire, 1950', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, LXXXV (1950-1), 92-117.
- Richmond, I. and St. Joseph, J. K. S. 1982. 'Excavations at Woden Law, 1950', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 112 (1982), 277-84.
- RCAHMS. 1920. *Seventh Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Dumfries*, Edinburgh.
- RCAHMS. 1956. *Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Roxburghshire*, Edinburgh.
- RCAHMS. 1957. *Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Selkirkshire*, Edinburgh.
- Tabraham, C. J. 1982. 'Observations on its Date and Function' in Barber, 1982, 47-9.

EXCAVATION OF A ROMAN TEMPORARY CAMP AT ANNAN HILL, DUMFRIESSHIRE, 1985-86

by

L. J. F. Keppie

The presence of a Roman camp atop Annan Hill (figs. 1 and 2), 1 km S. of Annan town centre, was first established from the air by Professor J. K. S. St. Joseph in 1958, when parts of the S. and W. sides including the S.W. corner were plotted (St. Joseph 1961, 122; see fig. 1). Subsequently the alignment of the S. side was confirmed in 1966 by Dr. Alan Gibbs who also established the position of the S. gate. The ditch proved to have a width of 1.5 m. and a depth of 0.7 m.; the width of the S. gate passage was 10 m. (*DES* 1966, 20). The camp occupied a prominent hill overlooking the junction between the River Annan and the Solway Firth with fine views over the latter. The hilltop is now crowned by a water tower. Further aerial photography by Professor G. D. B. Jones in 1977 suggested the presence of a civil settlement outside the defences, which would be more appropriate to a fort than to a camp (Goodburn 1978, 418). Little can now be seen on the ground, except that a faint hollow marks the line of the S. ditch, and another, less distinct, that of the E. ditch N. of the E. gateway.

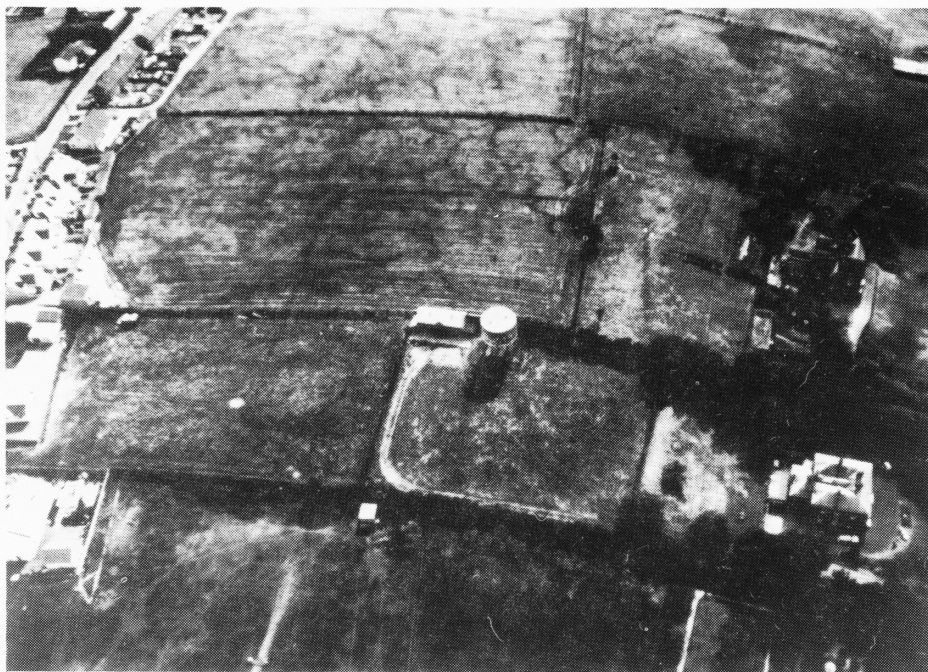


Fig. 1 Annan Hill from the air, showing ditches of Roman camp, seen from the East (Prof. G. D. B. Jones, Department of Archaeology, University of Manchester).

In 1984 the Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate of the Scottish Development Department learned that a field containing the S.E. quarter of the camp including the likely site of the E. gateway had been sold for housing, and arrangements were made for a rescue excavation, which the author of this report was invited to supervise.

In September 1985, preliminary trenching established the alignment of the E. defensive ditch of the camp some way S. of the likely position of the gateway (1985, Area 1). The ditch here was u-shaped in profile, with a width of 2.2 m. and a depth of 0.7 m. from the Roman ground surface (fig. 3). At the bottom was a 0.25 m. deep layer of silty soil with some turf blocks which seemed likely to have derived from the rampart which must be assumed to have accompanied the ditch on its W. side. In the very bottom of the ditch a number of large stones were sealed in by this silt.

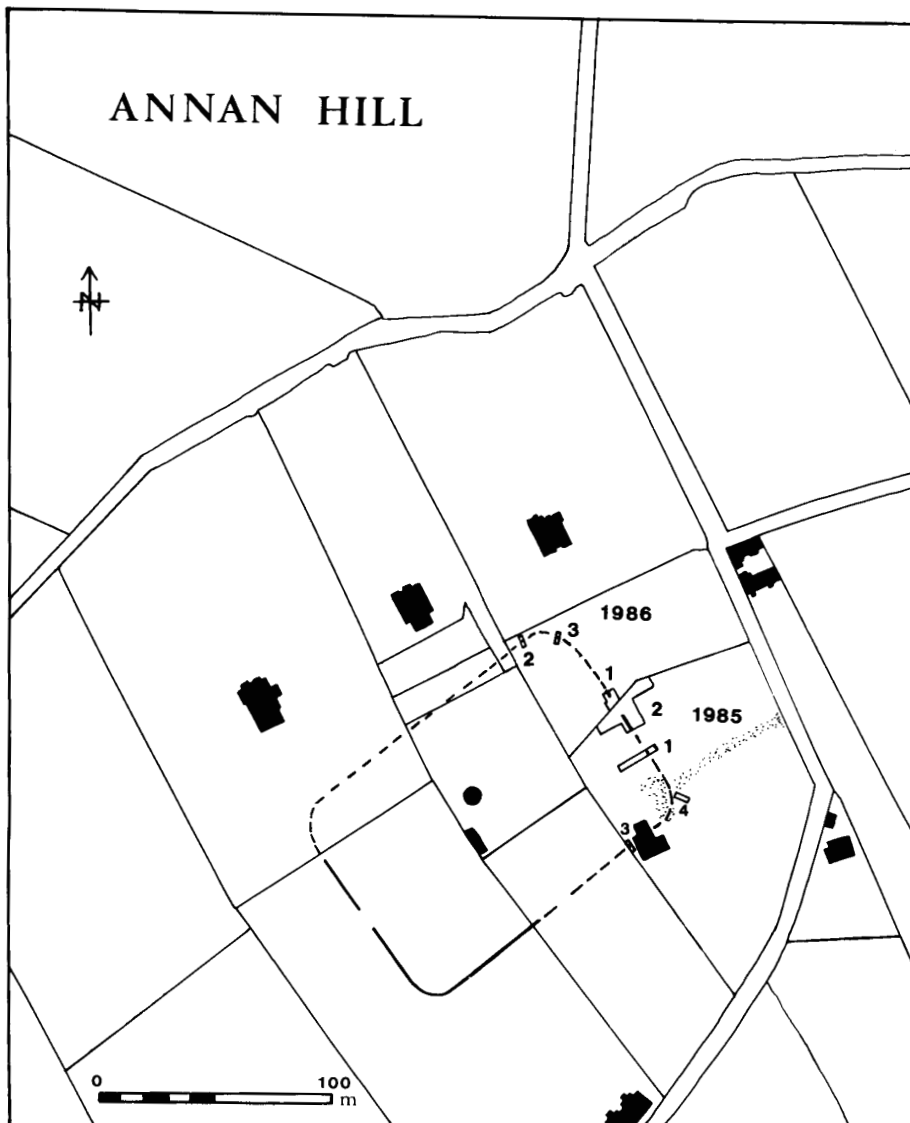


Fig. 2 Annan Hill: general plan of Roman temporary camp, showing location of trenches dug in 1985-86.

An old vegetation layer above the silt may be assumed to testify to a time-gap before further silting or infilling took place. Of the rampart itself no trace remained, but the outer lip of the ditch was heightened by a counterscarp bank, of compacted pinkish-red clay and orange clayey sand, presumably deriving from the digging out of the ditch. This bank was 1.3 m. wide and 0.25 m.-0.3 m. high (see fig. 3); it seemed to have survived the centuries with its profile almost intact. Investigation of an area within the camp in line with this ditch-section revealed three possible postholes.

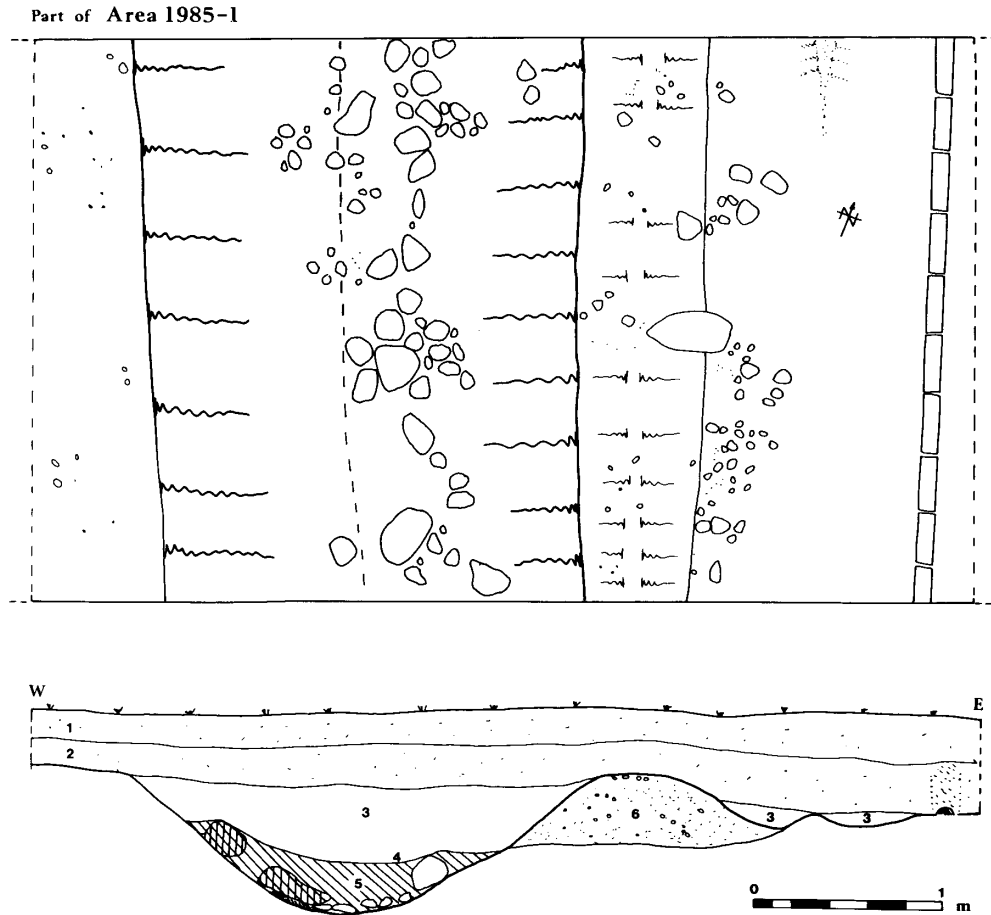


Fig. 3 Annan Hill, 1985: plan and section of ditch S. of E. gateway (Area 1985-1).
 Note: 1 = topsoil; 2 = mixed clayey soil and small stones; 3 = light grey silty soil
 4 = old vegetation line; 5 = darker silty material, with some turf (cross-hatched);
 6 = orange clayey sand.

The S. side of the camp was located in a small trench beside the W. boundary fence of the field (1985, Area 3). Here the ditch proved to have a width of 1.8 m.; it was not completely sectioned. An attempt to locate the S.W. corner-angle of the camp (1985, Area 4) was abortive; it must have lain concealed under the access road into the building site.

Attention was then directed towards the N. edge of the field under threat, where the E. gateway of the camp might be expected to lie, and a large area was cleared by machine (1985, Area 2). The camp-ditch was found to terminate 5 m. S. of the boundary fence; the terminal was wedge-shaped, so reducing the width of the gateway against an attacker (fig. 4). Removal of fill revealed large stones carefully laid in the ditch bottom, again sealed by silty soil material. The ditch as it approached the gateway was 2.2 m. wide and 0.65 m. deep; there was no trace of a rampart or counterscarp bank. A search was made outside the gateway for a short defensive ditch (or *titulus*) which seemed to show on aerial photographs, but none was present. An area W. of the ditch, in line with the gateway, was also examined for traces of a gate-structure or internal buildings. Numerous postholes or post-settings were identified, but as none was related stratigraphically to the ditch, a Roman date cannot be certain; we must consider the possibility of either pre-Roman or post-Roman occupation on the hilltop, or both. One set of postholes appeared to run E.-W. across the presumed line of the camp-rampart. No gate-structure was identified, but some light cobbling, passing through the gateway on a N.W.-S.E. alignment, could be thought of as a remnant of an access track. Within the camp, in line with the gate, was a peculiar elongated feature, comprising a linked sequence of rectangular depressions of various depths; one was lined with cream clay. There was no associated burning. We could think here of a sequence of settling-tanks. Later these depressions were deliberately infilled with large stones.

The N. half of the gateway lay outwith the zone under threat, in a separate field to the N. Nevertheless it seemed advisable, before a final report on the work could be written, for additional work to be undertaken, in order to establish the width of the gateway. This was achieved in May 1986, by kind permission of the landowner, Dr. J. W. H. Elder, M.B.E., and with the financial support of the Mouswald Trust.

The camp-ditch was successfully located on the N. side of the gate passage, without undue difficulty (1986, Area 1). The ditch, as it approached the gateway from the N., had a width of 2 m. and was cut into the natural clay to a depth of 1.1 m. (fig. 4). The ditch-terminal was somewhat wedge-shaped, but did not match exactly the S. terminal located in 1985. Lying in the ditch were numerous large stones. The gap between the ditch-terminals was 8.2 m. There was again no evidence for a gate structure, and the only possible traces of a rampart which presumably accompanied the ditch were occasional flecks of turfy material which also filled two small depressions in the gate-passage itself. The opportunity was also taken to pinpoint the N. ditch of the camp where it entered the field being examined (1986, Area 2). The ditch here was 1.8 m. wide and 50 cms. deep (fig. 5). A slight ridge in the ground immediately N. of the ditch did not appear to have been man-made. Dark silty soil, a layer 20 cms. thick, was again present at the bottom of the ditch, and some trace of turfwork (fig. 5); above were two distinct layers of lighter clayey silt. The N.E. corner-angle of the camp ditch was also pinpointed (1986, Area 3).

The only certain Roman find from either season of excavation was a glass-paste melon bead, not closely datable, found unstratified in 1985 within the camp at the E. gateway. A sample of silty material from the bottom of the ditch-fill (1986, Area 2) was removed for analysis (see below).

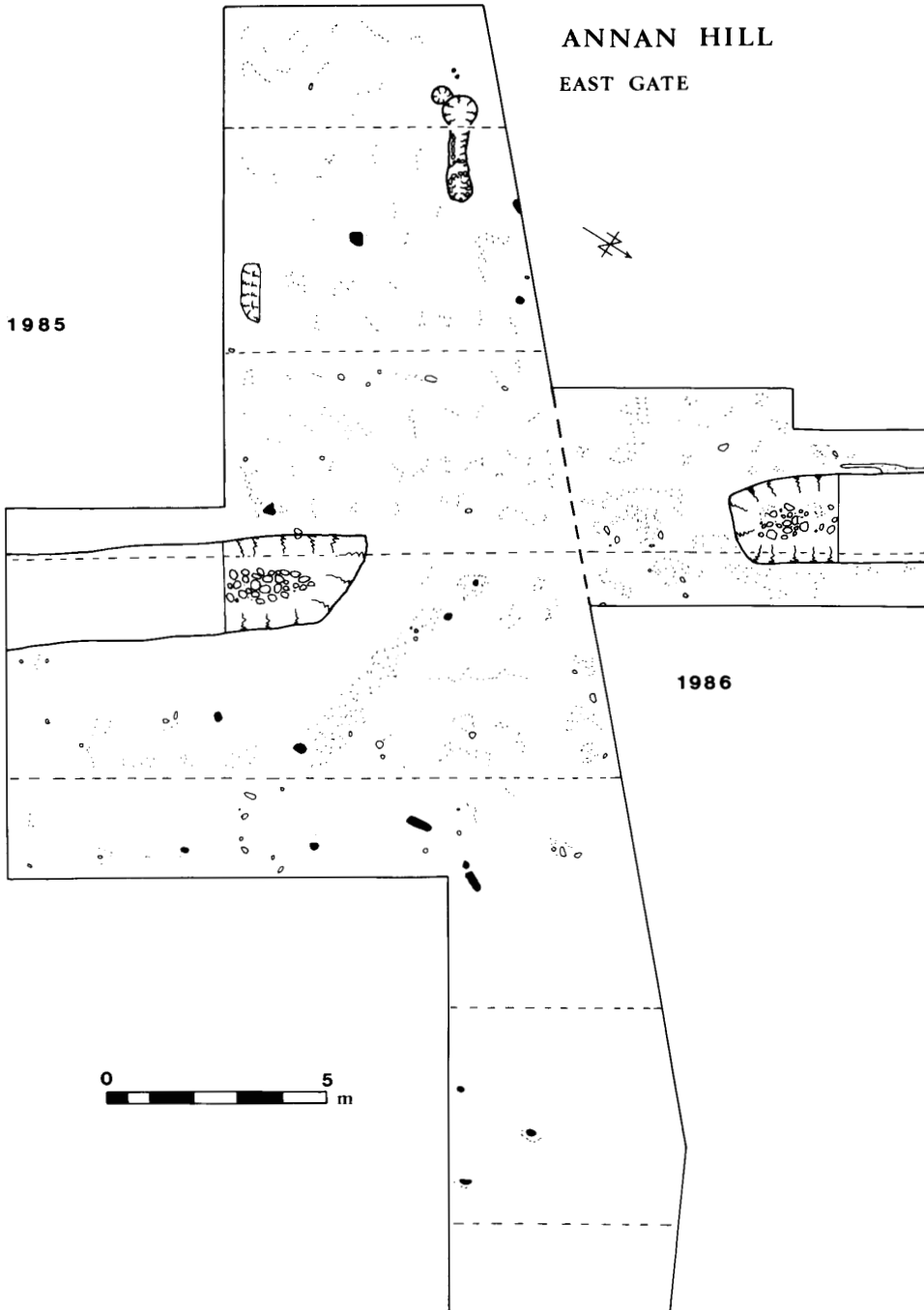


Fig. 4 Annan Hill: plan of E. gateway, excavated 1985-86.

Area 1986-2



Fig. 5 Annan Hill, 1986: plan and section of ditch on N. side of camp, close to N.E. corner (Area 1986-2).

Note: 1 = topsoil; 2 = brown sandy soil with some stones; 3 = mixed loam and greyish silty soil; 4 = greyish silty soil; 5 = darker silty soil with some whitish buff turfy material.
Soil sample taken at point x.

Discussion

The plan which can now be drawn indicates that the site measured c. 98 m. N.-S. by c. 140 m. E.-W. over the ditches, an area of 1.37 hectares (3.38 acres). The single ditch and lack of a gate-structure, and indeed of any streets or internal buildings in the limited area examined, seem to preclude identification of the site as a fort. The presence of a little turfwork in the ditch-sections could suggest that the camp rampart, while probably of clay, may have been turf-revetted.

The camp on Annan Hill is one of a number identified in recent years along the N. coast of the Solway Firth. One such site lies at Waterfoot, just W. of the mouth of the River Annan. It had an area of at least 12.8 acres (5.2 ha.). (Goodburn 1978, 418; Higham and Jones 1985, 24; Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 35.) Exploratory excavation in 1977 by Professor G. D. B. Jones who originally located the site from the air, awaits publication. A further camp was identified by the RCAHMS in 1978 at Ruthwell, 9 km W. of Annan (RCAHMS 1978, 9); no excavation has taken place there. Doubtless other sites will be found in due course, testifying to the movement of Roman troops along the Solway coastline.

The presence of any Roman military installations at Annan itself was not seriously considered before these aerial discoveries. However, a splendid bronze arm-purse, said to have been found 'near Annan', was presented by the late Mr. J. E. C. Carrick to Carlisle Museum in 1942; the late Sir Ian Richmond gave the provenance as Hallguards, close to Hoddom Bridge (Birley 1963, 16). Interestingly, a second purse, now in the British Museum, is also assigned to Hoddom, but the provenance is more open to question (Birley 1963, 14) and we may wonder if some confusion has arisen between the two purses. A small fragment of pottery claimed to be Roman, was found in 1983 during excavation of Brydekirk Chapel, 5 km N. of Annan (DES 1983, 6; Crowe 1984). A bronze coin of the emperor Hadrian was dug up in a garden in Annan in the 1920s (Macdonald 1924, 328). Further discoveries must be awaited with interest.

Sediment sample from ditch-fill (Area 1986-2) (by Coralie A. Mills).

A sediment sample was taken from a defensive ditch (Area 2) during the 1986 excavation. Soil and pollen analyses were performed to investigate the nature of the sediment and of the vegetation at the time of deposition. (A fuller report, including details of methods and results, is deposited with copies of the excavation archive at the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow and at Dumfries Museum).

1. Soil analysis

The sediment is a dark grey brown acidic loam which contains clasts of reddish brown silty clay. The field soils in the area are likely to be of the Holywood association, which are brown forest soils which have developed on drift derived from Permian sandstones and conglomerates (Bown *et al.* 1982, 91). In some areas the drift has a high clay content. Thus the clay clasts present within the sample are likely to be derived from the local parent material. Manganese staining within the clay clasts indicates periodically wet conditions (Maté pers. comm.).

The reasonably low pH of the sediment indicates that the phosphates would have been leached relatively slowly over time. Therefore the low phosphate content indicates that this sediment does not contain much refuse or animal wastes and remains.

The possibility of the ditch incorporating some turfwork is mentioned in the main text. But the organic matter content of the present sample (which in fact derived from the silty rather than turfy fill) is not particularly high and a figure of at least 12% organic matter would be expected for the A horizon of a brown forest soil (Maté pers. comm.). Retrieval of samples above and below the present one would greatly have enhanced the quality of the interpretation of these results.

2. Pollen analysis

On the basis of the range and frequency of taxa present, there seem to be two or three major vegetation types within the locality. One of these is woodland made up mostly of alder and hazel: alder prefers wet conditions and hazel grows well in damp moderately acid soils (Clapham, Tutin and Warburg 1962). The other tree taxa present occur in small quantities only and it seems likely that they were not major components of any local woodland. Many of the ferns represented could be associated with damp woodland, especially *Polypodium*. The second major vegetation type present is heathland, since Ericaceous pollen represents 17.7% of the assemblage. A proportion of the Ericaceous pollen could be identified as *Calluna vulgaris*, which usually grows on reasonable well-drained acid soils (Clapham, Tutin and Warburg 1962, 609).

The other major component of the assemblage is grass pollen: grasses may have been growing within the heath areas and the woodland or possibly as areas of sward. The presence of *Lotus* type pollen indicates the presence of grassland within the area.

Damp areas within woodland, heathland or grassland may have supported sedges and *Sphagnum*, or these may have been growing within the ditch itself. *Pteridium* could also be associated with any of the three major vegetation types. Bracken encroachment is often taken to indicate a decrease in land-use pressure (Taylor 1985, 19). This cannot be assumed to be the case here, as it would be necessary to examine the pollen assemblages from earlier sediments to assess whether any expansion occurred. Indeed more detailed sampling through the ditch deposits would have greatly enhanced the interpretation of the results of pollen analysis.

The presence of one '*Avena-Triticum*' type pollen grain is a tentative indicator of the cultivation of oats or wheat in the region. However, the grain could be from a wild oat (*Avena fatua*) although the fact that this

species is commonly found as an arable weed means that cultivation is strongly indicated. The Chenopodiaceae are generally associated with cultivated ground or waste places, and their presence lends some support to the presence of arable land in the area.

Dimbleby (1985, 88-91) has discussed the difficulties in interpreting pollen spectra from ditch deposits. He shows that it is likely that the lowest deposit in a ditch will contain a mixture of pollen from the contemporary topsoil, from the lower layers of soil exposed in the sides of the ditch, from vegetation growing in the ditch and from the pollen rain. Any refuse entering the ditch might also have a pollen component. Therefore the pollen assemblage considered above is likely to be a mixture of contemporary pollen of greater age, and so may represent a broad timescale rather than a moment in time.

Acknowledgements

The excavation in 1985 was financed by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate of the Scottish Development Department, and I am grateful to Dr. D. J. Breeze for inviting me to supervise it. Access to the site was granted by the then owners, Plumdon Park Estate Ltd., through the agency of Murray, Little and Knox, Solicitors, Annan. Dr. Alan Gibbs kindly made available some of the original plans of his 1966 excavation; the remainder, deposited with Dumfries Museum, cannot be located at present. Mr. G. S. Maxwell, of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, provided a valuable computerised plot of the camp outlines as revealed on aerial photographs. In 1986 financial support was generously made available by the Mouswald Trust; I am grateful to the Trustees for their invaluable support. My thanks are due also to Dr. and Mrs. Elder for access to their land, and for their never-failing co-operation and hospitality, which it is a pleasure to place on record here. Professor G. D. B. Jones of Manchester University made available a splendid colour photograph of the site taken from the air (here reproduced, by permission, as Fig. 1), which greatly aided the placing of the trenches. Mr Colin Richardson (Carlisle Museum) and Mr. David Lockwood (Dumfries Museum) supplied information on Roman finds from the Annan area. Local interest in both seasons of excavation was considerable. Several members of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society participated in the work, among them Mr. Scott Mason and Mr. Alan Wilkins (formerly Department of Classics, Annan Academy). The specialist report on a ditch sample was prepared by Ms. Coralie Mills (Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate). Finally I am grateful to Mr. James Walker who acted as assistant supervisor throughout the work, and to an experienced band of volunteers who laboured in unaccustomed sunshine.

Bibliography

- Birley 1963 E. B. Birley, 'Roman bronze arm-purses', *Archaeologia Aeliana*. ser. 4, xli (1963), 5-17
- Bown, C. J. Shipley, B. B. and Bibby, J. S. 1982 *Soil and Land Capability for Agriculture: South-West Scotland*. (Aberdeen, Macauley Institute for Soil Research).
- Clapham, A. R., Tutin, T. G. and Warburg, E. F. 1962 *Flora of the British Isles* (Cambridge).
- Crowe 1984 C. Crowe, 'Excavation at Brydekirk, Annan, 1982-84', *Trans. Dumfries & Gall. Nat. Hist. & Antiq. Soc.* lix (1984), 33-40.
- Dimbleby, G. W 1985 *The Palynology of Archaeological Sites* (London).
- DES *Discovery & Excavation in Scotland*, annual publication of Council for British Archaeology Scotland .
- Goodburn 1978 R. Goodburn, 'Roman Britain in 1977: I. Sites Explored', *Britannia* ix (1978), 404-72.
- Higham and Jones 1985 N. Higham and G. D. B. Jones, *The Carvetii* (Gloucester).
- Macdonald 1924 G. Macdonald, 'Roman Coins found in Scotland. II'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, lviii (1923-24), 325-29.

- Maxwell and Wilson 1987 G. S. Maxwell and D. R. Wilson, 'Air Reconnaissance in Roman Britain 1977-84', *Britannia* xviii (1987), 1-48.
- RCAHMS 1978 Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Catalogue of Aerial Photographs, 1978*, (Edinburgh n.d.).
- St. Joseph 1961 J. K. St. Joseph, 'Air Reconnaissance in Britain, 1958-60', *Journal of Roman Studies* li (1961), 119-35.
- Taylor, J. A. 1985 'The relationships between land-use change and variations in bracken encroachment rates in Britain', in Smith, R. T. (ed.), *The Biogeographical Impact of Land-Use Change: Collected Essays* (Biogeographical Monographs 2, Leeds).

The Society is indebted to the Scottish Development Department (Historic Buildings and Monuments) for a grant towards the publication costs of this report.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPES:

Recent RCAMS survey in south-west Scotland

by

Jane Murray

4 Moray Place, Edinburgh

Summary

This paper reviews the programme of field-survey in south-west Scotland carried out by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAMS) during the 1980s, published in the series 'The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of Scotland'. The aims of the survey and the methods followed are considered, and results in the south-west of the country are discussed.

Introduction

Scotland is a country richly endowed with archaeological remains. This survival is in direct proportion to the lack of intensive agriculture or other land use in upland areas, and poses the concomitant problems of a high ratio of material in relation to the population and resources available for the exploration of the potential present. Historically this imbalance can be seen in the relatively low numbers of recorded excavations of Scottish sites as compared to the situation in England, where, for example, the "barrow-diggers" (Colt Hoare, Cunnington, Bateman, Greenwell and Mortimer) provided both the basis of the museum collections on display today, and the framework for the reconstruction of Bronze Age chronology and funerary practice. The paucity of comparable records in Scotland, while an undoubted facet of the larger corpus of surviving sites on this side of the border, has induced a heavy reliance on English models in the interpretation and explanation of Scottish prehistory, a situation which still hampers the escape from diffusionist perspectives. Yet, given the constraints of economic reality, there can be no expectation of adequately-scaled programmes of research-orientated excavation being initiated in the near future.

In these circumstances field survey offers the most productive alternative avenue of approach. Survey is not only an essential preliminary if future excavation is to be directed meaningfully to the particular problems of the Scottish past, but has, in addition, its own unique contribution to make in demonstrating the spatial element of settlement patterns. This role is especially appropriate in the conditions provided by the high survival rate of upland areas. While excavation must concentrate on the single site, incurring associated problems of assessing how typical or how exceptional that site may be, the discovery of regularly recurring forms of structure may provide the evidence for whole contemporaneous landscapes and the social and economic relationships that they express.

Responsibility for recording and mapping the archaeological landscapes of Scotland rests with the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, who, since 1983, have maintained the National Monuments Record in Edinburgh, based on information previously compiled by the Archaeological Division of the Ordnance Survey. Since its inauguration in 1908 the RCAMS has been fulfilling its obligations by the production of Inventories of Monuments arranged by counties. After eighty years of work, however, great swathes of Scotland, from Ayrshire north to Ross and Cromarty, have not been surveyed for an Inventory. Constantly rising standards, both of survey and of

presentation, impede an increase in the pace of publication, while the price of each volume has risen beyond the reach of most individual purses, or the budgets of many local libraries. Yet a serious problem of rapid obsolescence means that these expensive productions can never be regarded as definitive. For example, in the ten years since the publication of the Lanarkshire Inventory (RCAMS 1978) developing interest in prehistoric agriculture has come to demand a much fuller treatment of the many small cairnfields, enclosures and field systems, touched on briefly in that volume; while some circular, ditched enclosures, listed in 1978 as being possibly of a ritual nature (No.46(7) Easton, No.270 Bizzyberry Hill; No.326 Windygates), might in the light of recent excavations at Broxmouth, Dryburn Bridge and Douglasmuir, now be suggested to represent ring-ditch houses (Hill 1982).

The pressing need for a programme of rapid survey and publication was recognised by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who, in 1977, initiated their own Archaeological Field Survey through the appointment of three archaeologically trained surveyors (Proudfoot 1982). The results, published in the series 'The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of Scotland', proved so valuable that in 1981 the project was taken over by the RCAMS. Over the period 1977 to 1988 twenty-eight of these lists have been published, a few of these having been compiled for the Commission by outside individuals. The present writer joined the survey team on field-work in Wigtownshire in the course of producing an undergraduate dissertation (Murray 1986), and, as a member of the Midlothian Field Group, helped in compiling the volume on Midlothian (Vol.28 1988). As the decision has now been taken to discontinue the series in favour of a fuller, and illustrated, format, it seemed appropriate to use the experience gained to summarise and review some of the achievements of the programme, with particular reference to south-west Scotland.

RCAMS Survey in south-west Scotland

Fig. 1 shows the extent of the areas covered by 'The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of Scotland'. Seven of these lists are concerned with the south-west, involving widely contrasting types of terrain and of archaeological remains. Volumes 12, *Upper Eskdale* (1980) and 13, *Ewesdale and Lower Eskdale* (1981), encountered the narrow valleys and grassy hills of the Border uplands, with only a narrow strip of ground reaching down to the coast near Gretna. The RCAMS Inventory for Dumfriesshire, published in 1920, was now seriously out of date, and some urgency attached to the need for new survey in view of the large areas of Eskdale undergoing afforestation. Volumes 14, *South Carrick* (1981) and 17, *North Carrick* (1983) included northern parts of the Galloway hills and moorland, again in the process of some afforestation, but they also covered lowland areas devoted to agriculture and dairying. Similar coastal lowlands formed the bulk of Volume 25, *North Kyle* (1985). No Inventory exists for Ayrshire, and these three booklets could be said to provide the first published archaeological survey since John Smith's *Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire* of 1895. Wigtownshire had been the subject of one of the earliest Inventories (RCAMS 1912), and was seriously in need of new work. Volume 24, *West Rhins* (1985), dealt with the double peninsula west of Stranraer, with its rocky coastline but agricultural and livestock rearing land use. Volume 26, *East Rhins* (1987), included the low-lying isthms around Stranraer bordered on the south by the sand dunes of Luce Bay, but also the upland grazing and moorland between Loch Ryan and the Water of Luce.

Equally wide variability is displayed in the subject matter of the lists. Chronologically the range extends from flint scatters presumed to indicate sites of Mesolithic occupation, or at least activity, to deserted farmsteads still in use into the nineteenth century. There may be nothing visible on the ground, for example in the case of records of demolished sites or of cropmarks seen only from the air; other sites survive as upstanding earthworks, stone structures or ruined buildings. As a general rule houses still in occupation at the time of the first Ordnance Survey in the mid-nineteenth century are not listed unless they include features of notably earlier date. Stray finds are not included unless they are held to be indicative of settlement or burial. Urban areas and recent industrial sites are omitted, as are buildings which are eligible for listing by the Scottish Development Department (SDD) as buildings of special architectural or historic interest.

In view of the very broad range being covered it is relevant to ask for what specific purposes and groups of people the lists are intended. Mrs Proudfoot has pointed out that a fundamental problem derives from the need to tailor the presentation of material to meet different requirements, from, for example, "the SDD (AM) itself, Regional and District Planning Departments, developers, scholars, educators and tourists" (Proudfoot 1982, 6). Such a wide remit must result in some ambivalence in formulating priorities. It is clearly intended that the lists should supply a usable tool for planners and developers, although the sites included have no specially protected status except in the case of those few monuments asterisked as being scheduled for protection under the Ancient Monuments Acts. In this area of use the volumes are seen as being complementary to the SDD lists of scheduled buildings, and houses included in the latter category are therefore omitted from the archaeological lists. Such an exclusion does reduce the value of the publications for more general purposes, particularly in relation to the categories of 'Ecclesiastical Monuments' and 'Castles and Tower-houses'. For example, in the *West Rhins*, under the latter heading mention is briefly made of Ardwell House (No.190) and Lochnaw Castle (No.204), both of which are still lived in, on the pretext that the surviving buildings replace earlier structures; the tower house at Auchness (NX 106 447), on the other hand, is omitted, being currently occupied as a wing of a farmhouse, and the completeness of the inventory of sites is thus denied.

Key to areas covered in south-west Scotland (see Fig. 1)

12.	Upper Eskdale, Annandale and Eskdale District, Dumfries and Galloway Region	1980
13.	Ewesdale and Lower Eskdale, Annandale and Eskdale District, Dumfries and Galloway Region	1981
14.	South Carrick, Kyle and Carrick District, Strathclyde Region	1981
17.	North Carrick, Kyle and Carrick District, Strathclyde Region	1983
24.	West Rhins, Wigtown District, Dumfries and Galloway Region	1985
25.	North Kyle, Kyle and Carrick District, Strathclyde Region	1985
26.	East Rhins, Wigtown District, Dumfries and Galloway Region	1987

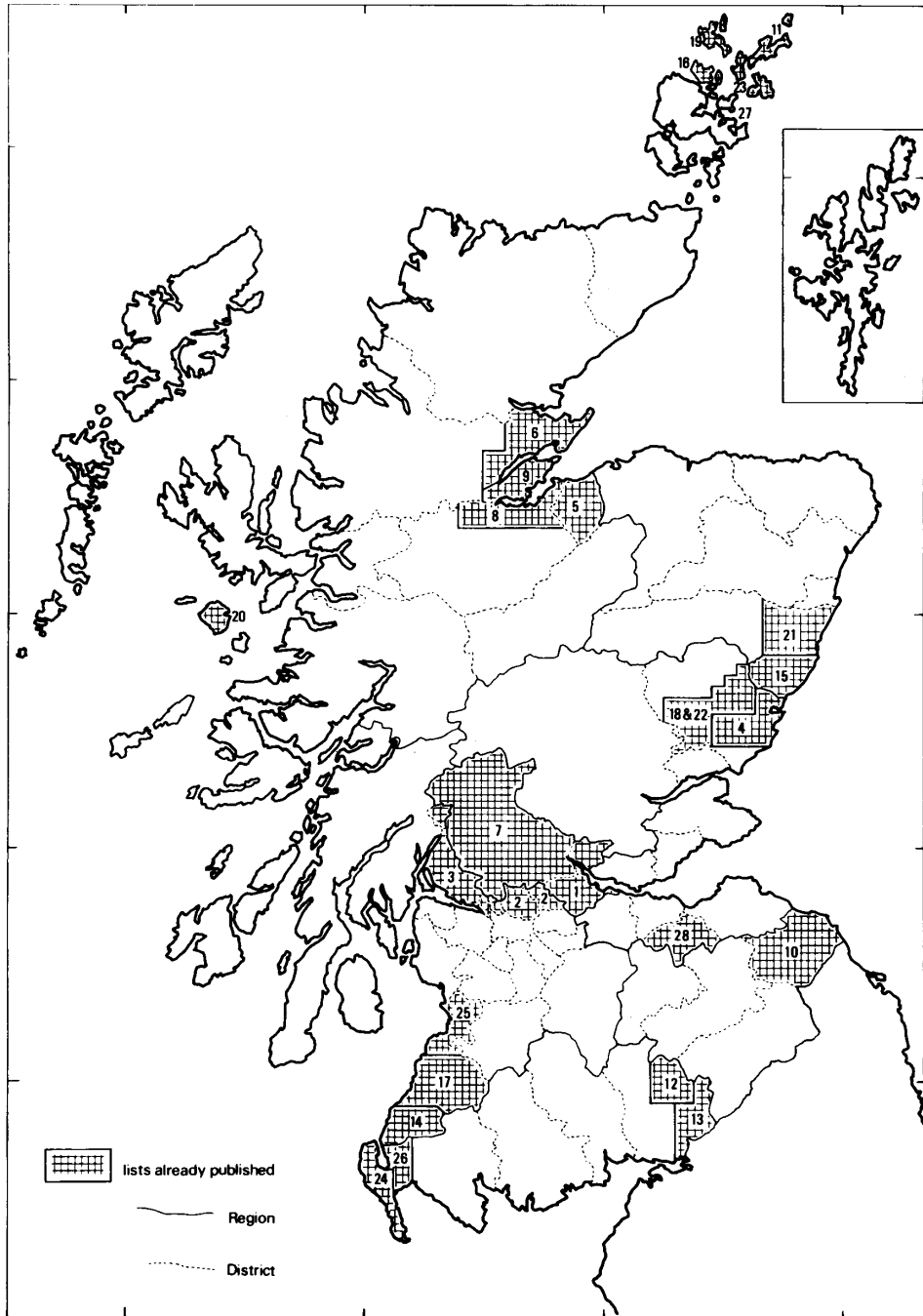


Fig. 1
 The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of Scotland: published lists.
 (For Key see facing page.)

Planning departments are well served by the high standards of accuracy attained. Since 1985 National Grid References have been given the increased precision of eight rather than six figures, making it possible to locate the centre of any site exactly on the 1:10,000 map. Increasingly sophisticated equipment is being used in establishing site locations, although it must be recognised that complete accuracy is not always possible to achieve from the evidence of oblique aerial photographs. The occasional misprints that do creep into the lists appear to be rigorously excluded from the map references.

The maps which accompany each volume, based on The Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 series, are not sufficiently detailed to offer more than a general indication of site location. Each entry, however, contains directions based on topographic features which would assist the user in the field. Few other 'Guidebook' concessions are made, however, and the impression is gained that the 'heritage industry', whether in the form of tourism or education, has not received high priority. Each volume has a short introduction, which sometimes mentions a few of its highlights, but there is no general discussion of the material. The entries are brief and concentrated in style, and the terms and concepts they employ are never explained. To identify the 'settlements', 'enclosures' and 'house platforms' of the lists from among the uneven patches of ground found in the field does require some guidance. Without further information or expert advice it would hardly be possible, for example, to use the material in a school history or geography project.

In recognition, perhaps, of this lack of general appeal few efforts are made to advertise or market the publications. Copies are sent to locally interested bodies, such as Museums, and are available at a charge of £2 from the RCAMS at 54, Melville Street, Edinburgh. The information that the lists contain is not, however, even communicated to farmers and landholders on whose property the sites occur. This negative approach to publicity may in part derive from a recognition that sites are on private land and that farmers are not anxious to see an increase in public access. Indeed it may be judged that preservation through neglect is a safer option than risking an increase in vandalism motivated either by curiosity or the desire to circumvent planning restrictions. Nonetheless, 'cultural resource management' should be acquiring a higher priority among public bodies today. It can only be deplored as a Commission failure in communication when, within months of publication, hut circles are ploughed out (*West Rhins* No. 103) or enclosure banks quarried away (*East Rhins* No. 199(2)) by proprietors who had not even been informed of the existence of such antiquities on their land.

A further important justification for the work lies in the needs of archaeological and historical research. In this respect, while publication of the lists is of value, providing easy access to newly updated information, of even greater importance is the achievement of the actual field survey, with the resultant modernisation and standardization of the National Monuments Record. No survey can ever be complete, and doubtless these lists have omitted many sites and categories of relevant material, and they will themselves be in constant need of revision. Nonetheless, what has been achieved does demonstrate how inadequate the record had often previously been. 40% of the items in the *Berwickshire* list (Vol. 10 1980) were new discoveries, as were 50% of the sites recorded in *Upper Eskdale* (Dunbar 1983, 5). In the *East Rhins* open settlements in the moorland area produced such a proliferation of features that no direct comparison of statistics is possible, but probably

80% of the items were hitherto unrecorded. As this paper will show, it is not only the quantity of material that has been increased by new survey but its range and the variability of types recorded.

Historic sites

The approach used in the compilation of the lists is primarily archaeological and directed to a consideration of material remains. Very full references open the way to the pursuit of historical or genealogical aspects or a record of interpretative controversy: each entry, however, has, as its first aim, the description of the remains as they survive today or as they can be reconstructed from available records. The lists therefore can be used as a guide to the constructional details of upstanding buildings, such as castles and tower houses. In *North Kyle*, for example, it is pointed out that a late fourteenth century tower has been incorporated into the later medieval building at Dunure Castle (No.107); that a T-plan sixteenth century house at Auchans (No.97) was converted into an L-plan in the seventeenth century; and that the parapet walk and crenellations of an earlier hall house can be seen immured in the upper hall of the more spacious fifteenth century reconstruction of Craigie Castle (No.102). Remains of subsidiary buildings and out-works are always noted; earthwork features, such as the bailey and outer ditches at Greenan Castle (No.111) relate the castle sites to the class of 'Medieval Earthworks', such as mottes (Nos.91-96).

In discussing 'Ecclesiastical Monuments' similar attention is given to structural sequence. Medieval stone-work surviving in post-Reformation churches is picked out at the *North Kyle* sites of Barnweil (No.64), Coylton (No.68), Monkton (No.81), St. Quivox (No.87) and Symington (No.88). Traces of the sites of earlier, demolished churches have sometimes been observed (*North Carrick*, No.141 Girvan; *East Rhins*, No.331 Inch). Where surviving remains do not support 'tradition', archaeological evidence is preferred, as, for example, at Chapel Donan, near Girvan, where a building reputed to represent the remains of a chapel is dismissed as being 'probably no more than a farm building of 18th- or 19th-century date' (*North Carrick* No.137). Nonetheless, where remains themselves are lacking several tenuous attributions do make an appearance. The *West Rhins* 'chapels' of Killantringan (No.165), Killingeane (No.166), Kirkleish (No.171) and Kirkmabreck (No.172) survive as little more than likely place-names; yet all are listed as 'Ecclesiastical Sites', while Kirkbride (No.228) is relegated to the heading of 'Medieval and Later Settlement' on the basis of the present appearance of the group of ruins that carry the name. Perhaps the recent successful recovery of an early ecclesiastical site at Barhobble, Mochrum from below a secular occupation may encourage more respect for such local traditions (Cormack 1985; 1986; 1987). The almost total lack of early Christian remains observed at reputed church sites in the *West Rhins* has been a disappointing aspect of the survey.

'Medieval and Later Settlement' is a very broad category constituting one of the most exciting sections of the lists. Historians, relying by preference and training on documentation as a source of evidence for social and economic conditions, seldom explore the opportunities provided by surveying field remains. Yet documentation is thinnest in relation to the basic elements of rural settlement — farmsteads or fermtouns, crofts, cottars' houses and herdsmen's bothies — for which material evidence, on marginal land at least, is most abundant. Interpretation of remains certainly poses problems. An essential preliminary

to understanding, however, must be the location and description of sites, enabling site types to be classified and distributions mapped and analysed.

Some of the larger farmsteads can be identified with sites named on 17th and 18th century maps, thus allowing the remains to be correlated with documentary evidence from estate papers and legal documents. Groups of buildings around a yard, with enclosures and often a corn kiln, may have been substantial 'fermtouns', perhaps housing multiple-tenancies in pre-Improvement times. Areas of rig and furrow cultivation and enclosed fields may survive around upland farms, offering a real potential for detailed economic analysis.

In localised areas this pre-Improvement settlement could adopt distinctive forms. The two Eskdale lists include numbers of 'rectangular platform settlements' recurring along the slopes at the sides of valleys; the details have been described by Peter Corser (1982). At these sites rectangular houses were built at right angles to the hillside, necessitating a considerable depth of scooping and platforming to create a level area usually between nine and thirteen metres in length. Two to five such platforms are commonly grouped together, although single platforms occur and a few larger groups are found. One such settlement at Boyken Burn (*Ewesdale and Lower Eskdale* No. 167) consists of twenty-nine platforms and has records going back to the 14th century; these include reference to a chapel, although no such site is distinguishable on the ground today. Several other settlements are depicted in Blaeu's 17th century Atlas. Again, in some instances, enclosed fields and areas of cultivation appear to be linked to the settlement. The particular form of house construction seems to have been a response, probably in the late medieval period, to the steep hillsides of Eskdale.

Less substantial settlement remains are also recorded in some numbers in areas of rough grazing or on the moorland fringes in the west. The footings of single rectangular buildings occur, often within a small enclosure or beside a patch of rig and furrow. These sites hardly constitute 'farmsteads', but it seems to be an open question whether they are the dwellings of independent tenants or crofters engaged in animal husbandry, or whether they relate to employed labour, the patch of cultivation providing subsistence for cottars or herdsmen. In either case settlement patterns would appear to have been more dispersed than the usual picture of 'fermtouns' suggests.

Some buildings, consisting only of turf foundations, are referred to in the lists as 'huts' or 'shieling huts'. These are oval or sub-rectangular in form and usually no more than eight metres in maximum overall length. The smallness and irregular shape suggest primitive buildings, but it is not clear whether this is the outcome of an early, perhaps pre-medieval, date, or of a temporary function as shieling huts used in summer pasturing, or whether it merely represents the poverty of Scottish peasant dwellings as commented on by 18th century travellers. Again accurate recording must form an essential preliminary to any assessment of function or chronology.

Prehistoric sites

Moving backwards in time to consider the prehistoric sections of the lists provides relief from the problems of reconciling historical sources with archaeological remains but encounters other difficulties in relation to changing perceptions of the material. Little space is devoted to discussion of earlier interpretations, site descriptions simply being presented

on their own terms. The references, however, cover more controversial aspects. Thus, for example, the Girdle Stanes (*Upper Eskdale* No.11) are said to be "spaced along the inner edge of what is probably an old plantation bank", and no mention is made of earlier designations of the site as a 'circle-henge' based on the supposition that the bank was an original feature, although the references show that the suggestion has been noted. Full discussion of such reclassification might extend the lists unduly. Nonetheless, confusion could be created by the lack of explicitness here. An attempt to trace two duns previously noted in the *West Rhins* (Feacham 1977, 186) might fail to find them under their new headings, one as a cairn (No.32 Jamieson's Point), the other as a probable tower-house (No.198 Craigoch). In the first case no mention is made of any other possible interpretation, although a reference is given to a 19th century plan of the site which shows it as a fort (Wilson 1885, facing p.65).

Much of the new survey material, however, enriches established views of distribution patterns rather than replacing them. For example, several new promontory forts have been added to their well-known corpus of sites along the dissected rocky coastline of the *West Rhins*. A ruined dun discovered on a rock-stack at Killantringan Bay (No.99) falls into this local pattern more happily than did the two rejected sites mentioned above (cf. No.98 Doon Castle Broch). Similarly, the settlement pattern recorded in eastern Dumfriesshire of scooped and banked enclosures, known as 'birrens', has been reinforced by a rise in the number of such enclosures in *Upper Eskdale* from twenty-eight to forty-seven and in *Ewesdale* and *Lower Eskdale* from twenty-two to thirty-seven. The added information is particularly welcome here in view of the complexities revealed by excavation in *Upper Eskdale*. Boonies (No.27), situated on the edge of a river terrace at 125m OD, yielded a radio carbon date of 108 ± 47 ad (SSR - 300) from below a comparatively massive bank (Jobey 1974), while Long Knowe (No.47), on the spur of a hill at just over 300m OD gave dates of 630 ± 135 bc (GU - 1130) and 300 ± 60 bc (GU - 1131) from charcoal located on top of primary silts within the enclosure ditch (Mercer 1981). The apparently homogeneous settlement form clearly encompasses considerable variations in chronology and economy. The first line of approach to issues of this kind must be the establishment of reliable standardised information base such as is created by the Sites and Monuments lists.

Despite the often substantial nature of the banks, the scooped enclosures are to be distinguished from forts on the grounds of their non-strategic situations, emphasised by the characteristic scooping into a hill-slope. The forts of Eskdale, while mostly comparable in size to the 'birrens', either possess more complex defences or occupy hill-top positions. Two palisaded enclosures in *Ewesdale* and *Lower Eskdale* also sit on summits, one on Potholm Hill (No.25), the other an interesting new discovery on Gibb's Hill (No.24). At this latter site three successive phases of palisading succeeded an unenclosed homestead consisting of the stances for at least two timber houses, one of ring-ditch type. Traces of cord-rig cultivation in the vicinity demonstrate the agricultural potential of the situation.

The discovery of unenclosed timber house sites, not only at Gibb's Hill but also at Cleuchfoot (*Ewesdale* No.69) and in *Upper Eskdale* at Clerk Hill (Nos. 30, 66 and 67), Mid Knock (No.68) and Tanlawhill (No.69), extends westwards the distribution of this settlement type hitherto best known in the Borders and south-east Scotland. The new sites include circular house platforms, ring grooves and ring ditches, comparable to those observed within many of the forts.

An interesting contrast is apparent between the record of enclosed and strategically sited settlements of upland Dumfriesshire and the position in the extreme south-west. The Introduction to *South Carrick* comments (p.1) on "the dearth of recognisable defensive works of Iron Age date"; in the *East Rhins* only one upstanding fort is included (No.155 Cruise Back Fell); while only three of the twenty-two forts listed in the *West Rhins* are not directly coastal (No.75 Cairn Pat; No.80 Core Hill, Kirkmaiden; and No.96 Tor of Craigoch). Such small enclosures as do appear (e.g. *South Carrick*, No.134 Knockmalloch) are in no way comparable in defensive potential even to the scooped enclosures of Eskdale, quite apart from the forts. However, the record of cropmark photography offers some redress to this balance suggesting that the explanation may lie in the different ecological niche occupied by Iron Age settlement in the south-west from that of Dumfriesshire and the Borders.

Since 1976 the RCAMS has carried out a regular programme of flying when conditions are suitable for photography, the results being housed in the National Monuments Record in Edinburgh where they are accessible to the public. When the material has been processed, annual catalogues are issued, giving a National Grid Reference for each new site recorded, together with a general descriptive classification such as 'Ring ditch', 'Enclosure' or 'Linear Cropmark'. The Archaeological Sites and Monuments lists extend this information to include dimensions and other descriptive details, making it possible to classify site types without necessarily needing to consult the photographs themselves. These entries do, of course, suffer from rapid obsolescence as new photographs, taken under different conditions, reveal hitherto unrecorded features, allowing sites to be redefined, reclassified and, in some cases, rejected. Nonetheless, the information provided in the lists makes a valuable addition to published sources, and can be used in a re-appraisal of distributions and settlement patterns.

The two Eskdale lists, being concerned largely with upland areas of hill pasture, were not productive of cropmark sites, only two such enclosures, near Gretna, being included. Large numbers of cropmarks are, however, noted in the other five lists, and some interesting items make an appearance. Each of these booklets includes at least one 'ring ditch', the numbers rising in the *West Rhins* to five isolated examples and two groups of ditches. On present indications and in the absence of excavation in the area, these cropmarks would appear to extend the distribution of unenclosed timber round houses into the extreme south-west. Constructionally such houses may have been identical with those revealed by surface traces in the grasslands of the Borders; functionally they could be the lowland equivalent of the better known 'unenclosed hut-circles' observable as stone-built foundations in the moorlands of the west.

The cropmark material also includes a great variety of enclosed sites, although the marks concerned are not always easy to interpret. Most distinctive, perhaps, are the circular or oval enclosures delineated by the narrow line of a palisade trench. A group of such sites in the lower Girvan valley may represent a contemporary group of settlements (*North Carrick* Nos. 108, 109, 110 and 112). One of these sites, however, at Enoch (No.109) displays a more complex sequence, a double palisaded enclosure being overlapped by a palisade with outer ditch, each enclosure containing ring ditches indicating the presence of timber houses. Another group of palisaded enclosures which occurs in the low-lying

ground south-east of Stranraer also includes some double palisades and combinations of palisade and outer ditch. At Cults Loch (*East Rhins* No.160) a broad ditch runs around the south and east sides of what is apparently a double palisaded enclosure, while to the west the ground drops towards the Loch; a defensive element must be present here, as also in the choice of hilltop locations in Dumfriesshire. The absence of defensive sites in the hill country of the south-west is not therefore attributable to a lack of interest in strategic siting in the area, and can more plausibly be associated with the limited agricultural potential of the moorlands. The whole phenomenon of enclosed settlement may indeed be directly associated with the pressures of a deteriorating environment, which, in the Atlantic west, contributed to the spread of blanket bog over areas which had hitherto supported considerable populations, whereas in the Border hills increased precipitation enhanced the attractiveness of well drained hill slopes previously regarded as being ill-adapted for settlement.

Circular or oval ditched enclosures could be expected to overlap chronologically with similar palisaded enclosures, themselves also sometimes ditched. Evidence from Rispain, near Whithorn, shows that rectangular ditched and banked enclosures containing timber houses were also being constructed during the later first millennium bc (Haggarty and Haggarty 1983). Where double ditches occur the RCAMS usually classify the site as a fort on the supposition (not inevitably true) that twin ramparts will have been constructed from the upcast (e.g. *East Rhins*, No.156 Cults Loch - a promontory site opposite the palisaded enclosure; No.157 East Galdenoch). Large numbers of ditched enclosures, exhibiting a wide variety of shape and size, appear in each of the five western lists. Few of these sites, however, display traces of occupation and it is by no means clear that their function was always settlement. For example, in the *East Rhins* three 'Miscellaneous Enclosures' are listed at Fox Plantation: No.318 is subrectangular and measures about 9m by 6m; No.319 is about 30m square; No.320 is roughly oval, and measures about 170m by 140m. Clearly this group does not form part of a single category, and it would not be surprising if such sites included some quite recent agricultural or plantation ditches. Nonetheless the numbers of enclosures listed do suggest that the south-west carried a considerable later prehistoric population which, not surprisingly, was settled in some of the best agricultural land.

For earlier prehistoric periods quite different distribution patterns are revealed, although, again, a contrast between Dumfriesshire and the west is present. The situation may be illustrated by the figures for round cairns and barrows recorded in each list (Table 1). For a comparison the numbers of round cairns in the same areas as recorded by Michael Yates (1984) are given for Dumfries and Galloway. Yates' figures, based on sites already recorded by the Ordnance Survey before the new work, show that again recent survey has reinforced earlier perceptions rather than reversing them. Additional fieldwork has not greatly increased the small numbers of sites in Dumfriesshire nor in the agriculturally developed *West Rhins*. The large number of cairns already recorded in the *East Rhins*, however, has been nearly doubled. The 102 cairns now recorded here, together with 117 in *North* and *South Carrick*, represent an entirely different scale of distribution from the scatter of sites in Eskdale.

Table 1 Round cairns and barrows

	RCAMS	Yates (1984)
Upper Eskdale	9	4
Ewesdale and Lower Eskdale	15	5
West Rhins	29	24
East Rhins	102	59
South Carrick	67	—
North Carrick	50	—
North Kyle	6	—

The majority of the cairns recorded are in rough grazing or moorland country, a situation which may, of course, be largely a product of higher destruction levels on agricultural land. The same type of country has also been found to carry other types of monument which hardly feature in the Eskdale hill country. In *South Carrick* nineteen groups of 'Small Cairns' are listed and ten 'Unenclosed Settlements' consisting of circular stone-walled houses, or 'hut-circles'. In the *West Rhins* there are seven entries under the heading 'Hut-circles and Field Systems', which, it may be noted, occur on almost every surviving stretch of unreclaimed moorland. The *East Rhins* list is dominated by a category of 'Open Settlements', consisting of sixty-three entries, each subdivided into individual items - hut-circles, small cairns, field banks and enclosures. The close proximity of these various features makes it impracticable to separate them typologically, and they have therefore been treated as being inter-related elements of a single settlement system. Most of the remains occur (or survive) at an altitude above that of medieval settlement, so that a relatively complete system might be expected to have been preserved. However major discontinuities have been caused by peat which visibly swamps the remains: field banks regularly disappear into peat-filled hollows, and small cairns can sometimes only be observed in peat cuttings. One entry on Brown Hill, Little Larg (*East Rhins* No.210) consists of a single small cairn exposed in a drain: the insignificant cairn has been taken to be the sole visible representative of more extensive remains on the peat-encrusted hill. The environmental change which has taken place since these sites were occupied is massive, and it seems entirely probable that their abandonment can be associated with the development of the phenomenon of enclosed settlements, confined in the extreme south-west to the limited space provided by better agricultural land.

One other category of site is recorded in some numbers in the uplands of the East Rhins: a heading of 'Burnt Mounds' in this list includes seventy-four entries. Sites of this type, well known in Ireland and the Northern Isles, had been recorded sporadically in Dumfriesshire and the Stewartry (e.g. DES 1961, 28, 34), but their frequency in Wigtownshire had hitherto been entirely overlooked. Fortunately it has been possible for the Central Excavation Unit of the SDD to follow up this lead by excavation or investigation of seven threatened sites (Russell-White and Barber 1987). At the two sites most fully examined, burnt stones were found to have been piled up around a pit or trough which filled naturally with water from adjacent streams. At a site on Dervaird, now demolished by the Glenluce by-pass, the base of the central pit was lined with a piece of oak timber, 2.25m in length. Radio carbon dates both from this timber and from charcoal within the mound fall within the thirteenth century bc. This particular site, at an altitude of 75m OD, was at a lower level than those in the *East Rhins* list, from which dates are still awaited.

Like them, however, it was in an area of rough grazing and peat bog, and, in similar fashion it was situated a few hundred metres from 'open settlement' remains.

The wealth of archaeological survival in and around the moorlands of the south-west presents an opportunity to examine a major segment of prehistoric settlement and social organisation. It is hoped in a forthcoming paper to discuss the nature of these settlement patterns and possible relationships to the cairns and burnt mounds in the vicinity.

On a less dramatic scale, survey has achieved a small increase in the numbers of long and chambered cairns, one of the few well-catalogued fields of Scottish prehistory (Henshall 1972). Round cairns exhibiting probable Bargrennan-type chambers have been noted at Baing Loch (*North Carrick* No.22) and Claywarnies (*East Rhins* No.27). A robbed cairn below a sheepfold at Loch Hill (*South Carrick* No.5) appears to have terminated in a concave forecourt to the east with three surviving orthostats. Less convincing is a 'long cairn' at Shennas (*South Carrick* No.6), the reported 'forecourt' here appearing to be no more than the effect of robbing one side of a round cairn. A tiny robbed-out long cairn on Philstabban (*East Rhins* No.30), measuring 13m by 7m to 5m, may be no more than an elongated version of the many clearance cairns on the hillside. However, an unusual oval cairn at Craigance (*South Carrick* No.4), measuring 16.8m NW to SE by 14.5m transversely, has a small chamber, 1.25m long, opening onto its flattened SW side.

Finally, locations of flint scatters have been included, collating records from various collections and collectors. The resultant maps demonstrate the very close correlation that exists between the upper margins of the raised beaches of Ayrshire and Wigtownshire and the recovery of flint artefacts and debitage.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed a few of the highlights of the series 'The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of Scotland' in relation to the south-west of the country. It is hoped that by drawing attention to the richness of the material it may stimulate others to studies of particular aspects or localities based either on the published information or on new survey work extending into areas which may be illuminated by comparison with the material now available.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the RCAMS first for the use of the map from the Archaeological Sites and Monuments series, reproduced here as Fig. 1, and secondly for the help and encouragement received from members of the Commission staff both during earlier work with them and in relation to this paper. Above all she has benefited from stimulating discussion of the various problems raised with members of the survey team, in particular Stratford Halliday.

She would also like to thank John Barber and Chris Russell-White of the SDD Central Excavation Unit for information on radio-carbon dates from burnt mounds and for the welcome that they extended to her to join in excavation of the sites in 1987.

References

- Cormack, W. F., 1985, 1986 and 1987 'Barhobble, First, Second and Third Interim Reports'
- Corser, P., 1982 'Platform-buildings: Medieval settlements in Eskdale, Dumfriesshire'. *Scottish Archaeological Review* I Part 1, 38-44.
- DES *Discovery and Excavation, Scotland*. The Council for British Archaeology in Scotland.
- Dunbar, J. G., 1983 'Scottish Field Archaeology: the role of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland'. *Scottish Archaeological Gazette* No. 3 Spring 1983, 2-6.
- Feachem, R. W., 1977 'A Guide to Prehistoric Scotland' (2nd ed.) London.
- Haggarty, A. and Haggarty, G., 1983 'Excavations at Rispain Camp, Whithorn 1978-1981'. *TDGNHAS* LVIII, 21-51.
- Hill, P. H., 1982 'Settlement and Chronology', 4-43 in Harding, D. W. (ed.), 'Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-east Scotland' University of Edinburgh Department of Archaeology Occasional Paper No. 8.
- Jobey, G., 1974 'Excavations at Boonies, Westerkirk and the nature of Romano-British settlement in eastern Dumfriesshire'. *PSAS* 105 (1972-4), 119-140.
- Mercer, R., 1981 'The Excavation of an Earthwork Enclosure at Long Knowe, Eskdale, Dumfriesshire, 1976'. *TDGNHAS* LVI, 38-72.
- Murray, J., 1986 'The Meaning of the Archaeological Record: the parish of Inch, Wigtownshire'. *MA Dissertation*, University of Edinburgh (unpublished).
- Proudfoot, E. V. W., 1982 'The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Archaeological Field Survey. *PSAS* 112, 1-16.
- RCAMS The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland:
 1912 *Fourth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway, Vol. 1, County of Wigtown*, Edinburgh.
 1920 *Seventh Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Dumfries*, Edinburgh.
 1978 *Lanarkshire: An Inventory of the Prehistoric and Roman Monuments*, Edinburgh.
- Russell-White, C., and Barber, J., 1987 'Burnt Mounds in the East Rhins of Galloway', *Central Excavation Unit and Ancient Monuments Laboratory Annual Report 1987*, 55-61.
 SDD Historic Buildings and Monuments, Edinburgh.
- Smith, J., 1895 'Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire', London.
- Wilson, G., 1885 'Distribution of Ancient Forts etc. in Wigtownshire', *Arch. and Hist. Coll. Ayr and Gall.* V, 62-73.
- Yates, M. J., 1984 'Bronze Age Round Cairns in Dumfries and Galloway', BAR British Series 132, Oxford.

THE ORIGINS OF DUNDRENNAN AND SOULSEAT ABBEYS

by

J. G. Scott

“1142 . . . *eodem anno fundata est abbatia de dundraynan in Galwaya* (in the same year the abbey of Dundrennan in Galloway was founded)”. So states the Chronicle of Melrose.¹ A list of Cistercian abbeys places the founding of the “abbey of Brundrem” on 23 July 1142, and this also may refer to Dundrennan.² Easson cites one source for a foundation date of 1141.³ Most recently the foundation date of 1142 is repeated, in a list in which Dundrennan appears along with Warden (1136), Melrose (1136), Revesby (1143) and Rufford (1146) as one of the daughter houses of Rievaulx Abbey, in Yorkshire.⁴ However, Cruden maintains that Revesby was the third daughter house of Rievaulx, and that a foundation date “sometime after 1143” is therefore acceptable for Dundrennan.⁵

However, the Melrose Chronicle entry is not a contemporary annal of 1142 but a note added in a 13th century hand.⁶ Despite this the 1142 date has been tacitly accepted by most authorities, and this acceptance in turn seems to have formed the sole basis for attributing the foundation of the abbey to David I of Scotland (1124-1153), to Fergus, lord of Galloway (x1136-1161), or to David and Fergus jointly.⁷ Certainly the foundation of an abbey could not proceed without the support of a patron or patrons of wealth, power and influence, and in the Galloway of 1142 only David and Fergus would appear likely or even possible candidates.

Fergus, lord of Galloway, once called *rex Galwitensium*⁸, at other times *regulus*⁹ or *princeps*,¹⁰ must be considered, but understandable unease is shown by Stringer, who has pointed to the “poor press” which Walter Daniel, himself a monk of Rievaulx, gave to Fergus and his family. Stringer considers that, although David had no demesne reserves in eastern Galloway, he could have prevailed upon Fergus to provide an endowment.¹¹ So far as the “poor press” for Fergus and his family is concerned, it could be argued to the contrary that, if David had been the founder, he might have expected a “good press” from Walter Daniel, since a royal link would surely have enhanced the status of Ailred, the subject of Daniel’s *Life*, but the king is not mentioned in this connexion. It must be said that the evidence hitherto has not been convincing for either candidate.

What Stringer has established beyond doubt is that Dundrennan was a daughter house of Rievaulx.¹² It was incumbent upon each Cistercian abbot to visit every daughter house and his mother house at least once a year, and even if visits were occasionally intermitted

1. A. O. and M. G. Anderson, W. C. Dickinson, *Chronicle of Melrose* (facsimile ed., 1936), 34; A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* (1922), II, 204, with footnote 1.

2. *Ibid.*

3. D. E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland* (1957), 64.

4. J. Burton and R. Stalley, “Tables of Cistercian affiliations: II The family of Clairvaux (Rievaulx and Boxley)”, in C. Norton and D. Park (eds.), *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (1986), 396.

5. S. Cruden, *Scottish Medieval Churches* (1986), 76.

6. A. O. Anderson, *op. cit.*

7. *Ibid.*, with references.

8. R. C. Reid, “Wigtownshire Charters”, *Scottish Hist. Soc.*, 3rd ser., LI (1960), xviii.

9. F. M. (Sir Maurice) Powicke, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel* (1950), 45.

10. A. O. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 247.

11. K. J. Stringer, “Galloway and the Abbeys of Rievaulx and Dundrennan”, *TDGAS* 3rd ser., LV (1980), 175.

12. *Ibid.*?

they must have been expected and frequent.¹³ Ailred was Abbot of Rievaulx from 1147 to 1167, and his journeys to Galloway mentioned in Daniel's *Life* may therefore be viewed in the context of his duties as visiting abbot for Dundrennan.

But was Dundrennan Abbey Ailred's only responsibility in Galloway? There is evidence from a contemporary source of the highest dependability that Saulseat in Wigtownshire was founded as a Cistercian abbey. In his *Vita Sancti Malachiae* Bernard of Clairvaux, one of the founders of the Cistercian order, records that Prince Henry, son of David I, who died in 1152, was still alive at the time of writing.¹⁴ Malachy, Bishop of Armagh, the subject of the *Vita*, was the foremost cleric in Ireland and legate of Pope Innocent II in that country. He three times traversed Galloway on the way to and from Rome, but on the third journey did not reach Rome, dying at Clairvaux on 3 November 1148.¹⁵ The *Vita* must therefore have been written between that date and 1152.

In the *Vita* Bernard describes Malachy's journey of 1148. "On the third day (i.e. after leaving Ireland) he reached the place called *Viride Stagnum*, which he had caused to be prepared, in order that he might establish an abbey there. And he left there some of his sons, our brothers, the convent of monks and the abbot, since he had brought them with him for this purpose: and bidding them farewell he departed".¹⁶ *Viride Stagnum* (the green pool) has been identified with Saulseat: the name accords well with others given by the Cistercians to their abbeys.¹⁷ Presumably Bernard obtained his information either from Malachy himself or from members of his following at Clairvaux in 1148, within a few weeks of the establishment of the abbey at *Viride Stagnum*. He is clearly in no doubt that "our brothers, the convent of monks and the abbot", were Cistercians.

Some years previously, in 1140, Malachy had made his first visit to Rome.¹⁸ On his return Malachy stayed at Clairvaux with Bernard when, as Reid suggests, church matters in Ireland and in Scotland were discussed.¹⁹ With this in mind it is significant that Malachy is recorded, later on his way home, as passing through Cruggleton, in Wigtownshire, for Cruggleton may be said with some certainty to have been a stronghold of Fergus, lord of Galloway, and it would be difficult to believe that Fergus and Malachy did not then meet.²⁰

It is, in fact, possible to infer that not only did they meet but also that Fergus then granted land for the establishment of a (presumably Cistercian) monastery. After passing through Cruggleton and Kirkmichael²¹ Malachy is next recorded at *Portus Lapaspari*, presumably on the coast. "But when he came to *Portus Lapaspari* he waited for a passage some days. But the time of delay did not pass idly. In the interval an oratory is constructed of twigs woven into a hedge, he both giving directions and himself working. When it was finished he surrounded it with a wall and blessed the enclosed space for a cemetery."²²

13. C. Holdsworth, "The chronology and character of early Cistercian legislation on art and architecture", in Norton and Park (eds.), 53.

14. A. O. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 184-5.

15. Reid, *op. cit.*, 88.

16. Cited from A. O. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 208.

17. Easson, *op. cit.*, 67; R. Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland* (1987), 40.

18. Stalley, *op. cit.*, 11.

19. Reid, *op. cit.*, 85.

20. *Ibid.*, 86.

21. Kirkmichael is probably to be identified with Little Sorbie, about 4 miles NW of Cruggleton, in the direction of Saulseat. Cf. *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, 18 (1921), 319.

22. Cited from Reid, *op. cit.*, 87.

The importance of this statement has not been realised. It seems to have been assumed that Malachy constructed the oratory near the harbour simply as a way of occupying his time whilst waiting for a vessel to Ireland, and attention has been directed, with predictably inconclusive results, towards identifying the site of *Portus Lapaspari*.²³ But the oratory could not have been built nor the cemetery laid out without the sanction of the local lord, the grant by him of the necessary land and permission to cut timber from his forest and to take wattle from his coppiced trees. It is hardly likely that sanction, grant and permission could have been given and construction completed all within “some days”. What is likely to have happened is that, as already suggested, Malachy whilst at Cruggleton had obtained from Fergus of Galloway a grant of land presumably at Saulseat, with sanction to construct a Cistercian monastery there. Since his return to Ireland was imminent, Malachy would have arranged with Fergus for Fergus, as founder, to construct the first buildings. This was normal Cistercian practice:²⁴ the requirement was that an abbot and monks should not take up residence until such places as an oratory, a refectory, a dormitory, a guest house and a gatekeeper’s cell had been provided, so that the monks could immediately serve God and live in religious discipline. It may also be apposite, since particular reference is made to the cemetery, to point out that Cruden records that when Premonstratensian canons arrived at Dryburgh on 10 November 1150 a cemetery was consecrated on that very day, “that no demons might haunt it”; yet the canons were not in residence until two years later.²⁵

If Malachy had made this agreement with Fergus he could well have taken with him to Saulseat some of the builders assigned by Fergus to construct these required buildings, so that the layout of the site could be determined. The Cistercians tried very hard to achieve uniformity in the design of their abbeys, and it is highly likely that Malachy had brought with him from Clairvaux lay brothers who could supervise the layout of an abbey. What could then have happened was that Malachy seized the opportunity of the delay in his passage to Ireland to return to Saulseat and to take part personally in the physical and religious labour of founding Saulseat Abbey. If so, he might well have had in mind that Bernard himself had laboured on the new stone church at Clairvaux not many years before.²⁶ This interpretation of this passage (literally the act of founding Saulseat Abbey) would give new meaning to Malachy’s actions on his return to Galloway after eight years, in 1148 — “On the third day he reached the place called *Viride Stagnum*, which he had caused to be prepared, in order that he might establish an abbey there. And he left there some of his sons, our brothers, the convent of monks and the abbot, since he had brought them with him for this purpose: . . .”²⁷

Such is the case for the foundation of Saulseat as a Cistercian abbey. Yet the only certain 12th century references to Saulseat describe it not as a Cistercian abbey but as a house of Premonstratensian canons. Moreover Saulseat, if founded by Malachy as suggested above, might be considered a daughter house of Mellifont in Ireland.²⁸ But there is no record of this, nor of any Cistercian affiliation. Reid has raised a further objection, pointing out that in the *Vita* Bernard recorded that Malachy had appointed as

23. *Ibid.*, 87-8.

24. C. Brooke, “St Bernard, the patrons and monastic planning”, in Norton and Park (eds.), 11.

25. Stalley, *op. cit.*, 39; Cruden, *op. cit.*, 85.

26. R. Halsey, “The earliest architecture of the Cistercians in England”, in Norton and Park (eds.), 67.

27. Cf. note 16.

28. Burton and Stalley, *op. cit.*, 399.

abbot to the latest of all his foundations (which must be *Viride Stagnum*) a certain Michael, from Bangor. Reid argues that if Michael came from Bangor he must have been an Augustinian.²⁹ He may have been, but this objection may be ruled out, for in the 12th century it was by no means uncommon for religious from one order to be accepted into another. No less a person than Waltheof, stepson of David I and prior of the Augustinian house at Kirkham, in Yorkshire, left the Augustinians to become a Cistercian in or about 1143.³⁰ Nevertheless, even if it be admitted that Abbot Michael and his monks were installed as Cistercians in Sauseat in 1148, it seems incontrovertible that Sauseat became a house of Premonstratensians not long afterwards. Certainly it must have been a severe blow to the new colony when Malachy died within the year, for upon him would have fallen the task of guiding and supporting the fledgling community during the first few critical years. The Abbot of Mellifont, if as mentioned above Sauseat was in any sense a daughter house of that abbey, should have acted as visiting abbot. But Mellifont itself had been founded only in 1142, in other words no earlier than Sauseat, and its first abbot, Christian, had to be sent back to Clairvaux for further training; the abbey was not consecrated until 1159.³¹ It is therefore both possible and likely that the General Chapter would have called upon Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, the foremost Cistercian abbey in the north and already the mother house of Melrose, founded by David I,³² to act as visiting abbot from 1148/1149 onwards.

With this possibility in mind one may take a fresh look at certain of Ailred's activities which have, or may appear to have, a bearing upon events in Galloway, as recorded by Walter Daniel. Stringer points out that Daniel's object was to eulogise Ailred and the achievements of Rievaulx Abbey.³³ But there is no reason to believe that Daniel invented the actions of Ailred which he records, though of many of them he must have heard at second hand, whilst because of his narrow viewpoint he was not interested in and may well have misunderstood the wider significance of those actions. Ailred, quite apart from his eminence as a man of religion — that side of him in which Daniel was interested, was evidently a man of worldly ability and standing, a friend and admirer of David I and an experienced arbiter between secular powers, as Stringer shows.³⁴

First to be considered is the curious incident in which an unnamed abbot of a daughter house, during his statutory annual visit to Rievaulx, was so insolent that Ailred was moved to pass a prophetic judgment upon him. The abbot died soon after his return home.³⁵ Powicke believes that this incident occurred just before one of Ailred's latest visits to Galloway, and identifies the abbot as Philip of Revesby. But Daniel goes on to record “ - *pater in Galwadiam descendens ad filiam unam Rieuall' uisitandam et consolandam* (the father going down to Galloway to visit and to console a daughter of Rievaulx)”. An excellent reason for Ailred to visit and to console a daughter house would have been because its abbot had just died. It may also be seen as significant that at this point Daniel breaks into his narrative to make some derogatory remarks about Galwegian monks: “*Quidam tamen homines terre illius, si fuerint in domo quauis regulari constituti, redduntur*

29. Reid, *op. cit.*, 88-9.

30. R. Marks, “Cistercian window glass in England and Wales”, in Norton and Park (eds.), 213.

31. Reid, *op. cit.*, 88, footnote 3.

32. Burton and Stalley, *op. cit.*, 396.

33. Stringer, *op. cit.*, 175, with footnote 3.

34. *Ibid.*, 175-6.

35. Powicke, *op. cit.*, lxx.

*admodum religiosi, aliorum tamen consilio et ducatu, nam propria industria uix aliquando in uirum occurrent perfectum; sunt enim naturaliter ebetes et animalem habentes spiritum ac per hoc semper intendentes uoluptatibus carnis. In hac tamen barbarie plantauit Rieuall' plantacionem unam, que nunc fructificat fructum plurimum adiutorio Dei, qui dat incrementum nouelle plantacioni.*³⁶ This may be rendered as: "Some men of that country, however, if they have been placed in a house established according to strict rule, are very successfully transformed into men of religion, although through the counsel and tutelage of others. Through their own efforts only occasionally and with difficulty do they achieve perfection, for they are by nature oafish, and have an animal spirit which always directs them towards the pleasures of the flesh. In this savagery Rieuvalx established a plantation which now, by the help of God who gives increase to a new plantation, bears much fruit." This strongly suggests that the cause of the quarrel between Ailred and the Galwegian abbot was what Ailred considered the lax and unsatisfactory standards of the Galloway abbey. It can hardly be supposed that Dundrennan, established by Rieuvalx itself and presumably strictly supervised *ab initio*, was that house. Saulseat, however, with its entirely Irish and local fraternity, would fit all the facts, and possibly fitted all the defects recounted by Daniel. In the climate of earlier 12th century Cistercian monasticism such laxity would not have been tolerated, and drastic action would have been taken to put matters right. It is suggested here that the action authorised was the transfer of the Saulseat community to a new foundation at Dundrennan.

It remains to be seen whether what is known of events in Galloway in the 1150's would allow of such a conclusion, and to determine the time limits within which any such transfer must have taken place. It has been mentioned above that Daniel's account of Galwegian Cistercians was interpolated into the narrative of Ailred's visit to Galloway. The resumed narrative continues " - *pater inuenit principes illius prouincie dissencientes inter se, quorum odia et rancores animorum et tirannidem ad inuicem nec rex Scocie humiliare potuit nec episcopus mitigare suffecit, set filii in patrem consurgentes et pater in filios et frater in fratrem et e conuerso multo sanguine infelicem terrulam polluerunt cotidie. Quos omnes conueniens Alredus pacificus uerbis pacis et uirtutis natos iratos firmissima pace federuait in unum dileccionis unicum, et ueteranum genitorem illorum religionis habitum suscipere uiuaciter admonuit et admonicione mirabili ad quod intimaui flexit, et illum qui multa milia hominum uita priuauerat uite participem eterne fieri docuit et docendo ad hoc profecit, ut uir ille in monasterio religiosorum fratrum diem uite clauserit extremum, - - Filii uero eius postea colentes patrem multa ueneracione, adhuc perdurant in tranquilla pace: - -*" " - the father found the princes of that province quarrelling with each other. The King of Scotland could not repress nor the bishop soften the hatreds and rancours in their minds and their despotic acts towards one another, whilst day by day the unfortunate little country bore the stain of much bloodshed, as sons rose against their father, the father against his sons and brother against brother. Ailred the peacemaker brought all of them together. With words of peace and goodness he bound the furious brothers in the firmest of pacts and in a single bond of affection. He eagerly exhorted their timeworn father to take up the habit of religion: by a miracle of persuasion he influenced him towards what he suggested, and taught a man who had taken the lives of many thousands of men to partake of eternal life. By that lesson he brought that man to

36. *Ibid.*, 45.

the point of ending the last day of his life in a house of brothers in religion. --- Thereafter indeed the sons treated the father with much reverence, and still continue in tranquil peace."³⁷

With all due allowance for Daniel's enthusiasm and possible exaggeration of the part played by Ailred in these negotiations there is no doubt that Ailred's achievement was considerable. What Daniel describes is nothing less than civil war in Galloway, which the king was powerless to bring under control. Under such conditions it is hardly surprising that the recent arrivals at Saulseat should have fallen below the standards demanded by Cistercians. These conditions suggest the earlier years of Malcolm IV, when rivals for the throne felt the time ripe to press their claims. One of these claimants was Malcolm MacHeth, with some probability a bastard son of Alexander I. In 1156 one of Malcolm MacHeth's sons, Donald, was captured at Whithorn and delivered to Malcolm IV, who imprisoned him at Roxburgh along with his father.³⁸ What Donald had hoped to achieve by landing at Whithorn is not stated, but the year is significant. The whole of the western seaboard was in turmoil, as Somerled of Argyll fought against Godfrey, King of Man, and in the name of his son Dugald deprived him of half his kingdom.³⁹ Donald was either the nephew or the grandson of Somerled, and must have been in alliance with him at this time. Under these circumstances, and presumably with the victorious Somerled's backing, Donald could have ventured to Whithorn hoping to enlist support for his father's claim from the family of Fergus. If so, the failure of the attempt would in no way have diminished the hostility felt by the temporarily powerless king and his followers towards the guilty member or members of that family. If this was the occasion when Ailred attempted to persuade Fergus to take up the religious life, it would be not unreasonable to infer that Fergus was the guilty one, and furthermore that it was the joint action of his sons, not without bloodshed, which had foiled their father. Even though Malcolm IV was then powerless to bring Fergus personally to account, for his sons could hardly have been expected to hand their father over to the king, Fergus may have felt it prudent to insure against the future wrath of the king.

The evident satisfaction with which Gilbert and Uhtred received the settlement suggests that Fergus may have been compelled to make concessions to them, too. Perhaps it was at this time that Fergus handed over control of much of Galloway, of the west to Gilbert and of the east to Uhtred, foreshadowing the arrangement which obtained after the death of Fergus — "*Filii uero eius - adhuc perdurant in tranquilla pace -*" That Fergus retained estates near Kirkcudbright is suggested perhaps by the choice of the abbey site at Dundrennan and with some certainty by his gift of Dunrod to Holyrood, apparently at the time when he took the habit in 1160: possibly the confirmations of that gift by Uhtred and by Bishop Christian completed a series of acts stemming from agreements reached in 1156.⁴² Having undertaken to become an Augustinian canon, Fergus must have remained in the world, for it would have fallen upon him, as founder, and as at Saulseat, for the first few years to oversee the construction of the first buildings at Dundrennan. The important consideration for him would have been to die in the habit of a canon, and this he succeeded in doing at Holyrood on 12 May 1161.⁴³

37. *Ibid.*, 46.

38. G. W. S. Barrow (ed.), *Regesta Regum Scottorum I* (1960), "The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots 1153-1165", 8, with footnote 4.

39. A. O. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 231-2.

40. *Ibid.*, 233, footnote 3.

41. Reid, *op. cit.*, xviii-xix.

42. A. O. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 245; Barrow, *op. cit.*, 253-4; C. Innes (ed.), *Liber cartarum Sancte Crucis* (1840), 20, no. 25.

43. A. O. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 247.

If the history of the Cistercian foundation at Saulseat had followed the lines suggested above, Ailred's wish to make a fresh start at Dundrennan, where he could exercise closer supervision, is understandable. It is conceivable that he exploited his position as arbiter (in which he might have had royal backing) to obtain the grant of the site. He could have justified the foundation of Dundrennan as a change of site for an already established community. This would have been a not unimportant point to make, for in as recently as 1152 the General Chapter of the Cistercians, alarmed at the growth in the number of houses had laid down that no new houses were to be created.⁴⁴ Thus it would have been an advantage to Dundrennan to be able to claim the founder and foundation date of Saulseat as its own. Fergus, for his part, could not but have been happy to retain the status of founder.

But if Fergus and his family would have raised no objections to the transfer of the monks of Saulseat to Dundrennan, what would have been the attitude of the Bishop of Whithorn, whose consent would surely have been necessary? That bishop was probably Christian (1154-1186). He was an admirer of the Cistercians, and was active in his diocese on behalf of the Cistercian abbey of Holm Cultram, in Cumberland, where he had arranged to be buried and where he died.⁴⁵ Holm Cultram had been founded in 1150 by Prince Henry,⁴⁶ son of David I, the childhood friend of Ailred. This link, one would imagine, would have predisposed Ailred and Christian towards friendship and cooperation. Christian would surely have shared the ideals and strict standards of the Cistercians, and so have been inclined to welcome any move to reform Cistercian Saulseat.

It is likely, too, that with this background Christian would have agreed with Walter Daniel's description of Galwegian clerics at this time. To plan and carry out reforms must have been a daunting task, not made the easier because he could not, in all probability, speak to the Galwegians in their native tongue. It can be assumed as certain that he found a monastic establishment in being at Whithorn, and that this was in direct descent from the Anglian establishment of the 8th century. This is proved by the survival until Christian's episcopate of a book, "written in a barbarous style", recounting the life and miracles of St. Ninian.⁴⁷ If the monastery (where it may be assumed the book had been kept) had lapsed during the intervening centuries that book would surely not have been available in Whithorn in the 12th century. The character of the monastery is not known, but however respectable it may have been it could not have reached standards acceptable to Christian, imbued as he was with Cistercian ideals. Indeed, if the monastery had been organised on the same lines as many Irish monasteries at this time, it is possible that Christian's predecessor, Gilla-Aldan, had been both Abbot and Bishop of Whithorn. His contemporary Malachy, for example, was made Bishop of Connor and Abbot of Bangor in 1124, and remained Abbot of Bangor until his death in 1148.⁴⁸ If the offices of abbot and bishop had been combined at Whithorn, the office of abbot would have lapsed at Gilla-Aldan's death, and since it would have been uncanonical for Christian to become abbot this may be why Whithorn remained a priory thenceforth.

It is likely that the brethren of Whithorn performed the equivalent of parochial duties, but they would to a bishop of Christian's background have appeared to lack regular train-

44. Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, 46.

45. F. Grainger and W. G. Collingwood (eds.), *Register and Records of Holm Cultram* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Soc., Record Ser., 1929), 54; A. O. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 311.

46. Burton and Stalley, *op. cit.*, 396.

47. Mrs N. K. Chadwick, "St. Ninian", *TDGAS*, 3rd ser., XXVII (1950), 19-20.

48. H. G. Lawlor, "Notes on St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy, and his two sermons on the passing of St. Malachy", *Proc. Royal Irish Academy* XXXV (1918-20), 254.

ing. How he tackled this problem is not known. He would have received no help from Cistercians, since they formed closed communities of monks who were not allowed to undertake such duties. However, there were orders of canons, such as the Augustinians and Premonstratensians, who could perform those duties: their assistance would surely have been welcome to a bishop with Christian's problems.

Relations between Cistercian monks and Premonstratensian canons were close and friendly in the mid 12th century.⁴⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux himself helped in the promotion and spread of the Premonstratensians. The Statutes of the Premonstratensians were strongly influenced by Cistercian regulations for religious life, and it was even agreed in 1142 that Premonstratensian houses should have annual visits from Cistercian abbots.⁵⁰ It is certain that Premonstratensian canons were established in Saulseat, and that Saulseat claimed the primacy in the Scottish *circaria*, with precedence over Dryburgh, probably founded by 1152.⁵¹ The most likely explanation is that Premonstratensians took over at Saulseat immediately after the Cistercians (as proposed above) had left the site, an arrangement which surely would have been agreeable both to Christian and to Ailred. Fergus for his part would have retained the status of founder, and thus have secured for himself the prayers of no fewer than three religious communities — the Augustinians, the Premonstratensians and the Cistercians. The Premonstratensians would have retained the date of 1148 for the foundation at the site — hence the claim to primacy. It is even possible that the canons came directly to Saulseat from Prémontré.⁵² That the new foundation was successful is suggested by its becoming the mother house of Premonstratensian Whithorn, which Radford argues took place about 1177:⁵³ this must represent the success of Bishop Christian's efforts at regularisation of the clergy. A final instance of the cooperation of Christian and Ailred may be surmised. It can only have been by the invitation of Bishop Christian that Ailred was led to write a fresh life of St. Ninian, and only through the bishop that Ailred gained access to the account of the life and miracles of St. Ninian, "written in a barbarous style", to which he refers.⁵⁴

Finally Daniel gives some intriguing details of conditions at Dundrennan when Ailred, as visiting abbot, was staying there in 1165, two years before his death.⁵⁵ Because the abbey had begun to build its regular offices, presumably in stone, only a short time before (*parum ante*), Ailred and his party were lodged in a small dwelling. Unfortunately the roof could not keep out the rain, which soaked the sleeping places of all but Ailred: not a single drop was known to have fallen on to his bed. Cruden describes this incident, and points out that, if a leaky hovel was all that the resident monks could offer an illustrious visitor, a community with a formal foundation date of c. 1142 must have been in a sorry state after twenty years in residence.⁵⁶ However, it must be made clear that Cruden, following Powicke, has perpetuated a serious and misleading error in his account. Daniel wrote two works concerning Ailred. The incident described above comes from the second, the

49. P. Fergusson, "The twelfth-century refectories at Rievaulx and Byland Abbeys", in Norton and Park (eds.), 177.

50. Cruden, *op. cit.*, 82-3.

51. Easson, *op. cit.*, 86-7.

52. *Ibid.*, 87.

53. C. A. R. Radford, "Excavations at Whithorn, First Season, 1949", *TDGAS*, 3rd ser., XXVII (1950), 104-5.

54. Chadwick, *op. cit.*; Powicke, *op. cit.* xcvi-ix.

55. Powicke, *op. cit.*, 74-5.

56. Cruden, *op. cit.* 76-7.

Epistola ad Mauricium, in which Daniel is endeavouring to justify what he had said about miracles performed by Ailred. But Cruden states that the incident took place when Ailred was in Galloway “in 1165 . . . to comfort a daughter-house in the savagery of an altogether barbarous country.”⁵⁷ This, of course, relates to the visit discussed above in connexion with Saulseat, and is recounted by Daniel in the *Life* and not in the *Epistola*.⁵⁸ The two accounts are of separate incidents, and cannot be connected, for in 1165 Fergus, whom Ailred is said to have on that occasion persuaded to take up a religious life, had been dead for four years.

However, Cruden’s point about the slow progress of work at Dundrennan between 1142 and 1165 (his dates) appears architecturally valid, but does not arise if, as argued above, the monks did not reach Dundrennan until 1156 at earliest. The same point has concerned Fergusson in his discussion of the architecture of Dundrennan.⁵⁹ He accepts the traditional date of foundation, and states that “work began on the first church shortly after settlement of the wooded valley in the early 1140s.”⁶⁰ In a footnote he adds, “The dates are mine and are not given in the Royal Commission report. Backing for them is provided by architectural detail and the general character of the walls remaining from the first church. The architectural details are chiefly bell bases, visible in pl. XLIIb, in the rebuilt southwest crossing pier. The profiles of these bases are similar to those in the nave at Fountains c. 1145-65 and Kirkstall c. 1155-75. At Kirkstall the handling of the walls has much in common with Dundrennan.”⁶¹ There seems to be nothing in these dates to discount 1156 as the year when Dundrennan received its first Cistercians. As for Ailred’s rain-affected visitation of 1165, the roof no doubt leaked because the founder, who would have been responsible for the upkeep and repair of the buildings which he had provided, had died four years previously. His loss would inevitably have led to such difficulties, but these were overcome. As Walter Daniel wrote in the 1170’s, the *plantacio* made by Rievaulx *nunc fructificat fructum plurimum* - “now bears much fruit.”

A summary of the argument follows, with dates proposed.

1140. St. Malachy, returning from Rome, visits St. Bernard at Clairvaux. Agreement is reached between them to try to establish Cistercian houses in Ireland and Galloway.

Continuing his journey home, Malachy visits Fergus, lord of Galloway, probably at Craggleton, and persuades him to found a Cistercian abbey at *Viride Stagnum*, or Saulseat. Malachy himself, before crossing to Ireland, consecrates an oratory and dedicates a cemetery at Saulseat.

1148. On his second journey to Rome Malachy brings with him from Ireland Abbot Michael and monks, and establishes them at Saulseat.

Malachy dies at Clairvaux, without having reached Rome.

1148x1156. Fergus and his sons, Gilbert and Uhtred, are at odds with one another.

The Cistercians at Saulseat do not prosper.

57. *Ibid.*, 76; Powicke, *op. cit.*, xciv.

58. Powicke, *op. cit.*, 45-6.

59. P. Fergusson, “The Late Twelfth-Century Rebuilding at Dundrennan Abbey”, *Antiquaries Journ.*, LIII (1973), 232-43.

60. *Ibid.*, 234.

61. *Ibid.*, footnote 1.

1149(?). Ailred of Rievaulx is appointed visiting abbot for Saulseat by the General Chapter of the Cistercians.

1154. Christian is consecrated Bishop of Whithorn, but is unable to reconcile Fergus with his sons, or the sons with one another.

x1156. The abbot of Saulseat, on a statutory annual visit to Rievaulx, quarrels with Ailred. He dies after returning to Saulseat.

1156. Donald, son of Malcolm MacHeth, lands at Whithorn, perhaps by invitation, to further his father's claim to the throne. Malcolm IV is powerless to intervene, but Donald is captured and handed over to the king, possibly by Gilbert and Uhtred, acting against the wishes of their father.

Ailred visits Galloway to tackle the problem of Saulseat, still presumably without an abbot. He warns the supporters of Donald, probably headed by Fergus himself, of the king's displeasure.

Ailred strengthens the accord between Gilbert and Uhtred, probably by inducing Fergus to grant them virtually independent control over parts of western and of eastern Galloway respectively. He persuades Fergus to agree to the establishment of a Cistercian abbey at Dundrennan, and to the transfer to it of the monks from Saulseat.

Perhaps with the help of Bishop Christian Ailred induces Fergus to allow Premonstratensian canons to take over the site at Saulseat from the Cistercians. Both Dundrennan and Premonstratensian Saulseat are thus allowed to claim the original foundation date of Cistercian Saulseat as their own, whilst Fergus is recognised as founder of both establishments.

Ailred persuades Fergus to undertake to enter a religious community. Fergus agrees, chooses the Augustinians, but does not actually join the community until 1160, probably because, as founder, it was his responsibility to ensure the construction of the first temporary buildings at Dundrennan. During this period he is regarded with veneration by his two sons.

1156x1167. Bishop Christian persuades Ailred to write an account of the life and miracles of St. Ninian.

DRUMSLEET BARONY

A List of the Fewars and their Tenants, in 1722

by

James Williams, F.S.A.Scot.

The Barony of Drumsleet lies west of, and contiguous to, the town of Dumfries and comprehends much of the parish of Troqueer with subsidiary portions of the adjacent parishes of Terregles and Lochrutton — the old suburb of Dumfries, on the West bank of the River Nith, known as the Bridge-end, is included within the lands of the Barony. A complete list of its Heritors and Tenants for the year 1722 is to be found in a document presented to the Ewart Library, Dumfries, by Professor Edgar P. Dickie of St. Andrews: it is entitled a "List of the Fewers of the Barony of Drumsleet and their Tenants who are to be summoned to appear in a court to be held in the Bridgeend of Drumfries on the 29th of June 1722." The reason for calling the court is not presently known but it was at the instance of Joseph Corrie, Writer in Dumfries, in his capacity as Factor to the forfeited Estates of Nithsdale. It is interesting to note that a Minute Book (1757-94) of the "Barron Courts of the Estate of Nithsdale" is still extant and is presently lodged with the collections of the Society within the Observatory Museum, Dumfries (Nithsdale District Museum). It was acquired at the Lennox Sale in February 1918 and much of its contents are reproduced in an article by the late A. Cameron-Smith in the *Transactions* of the Society for 1928-29 (Third Series, Volume XV, pp. 12-50). Although frequent mention is made of the Baronies of Caerlaverock, Duncow, Holywood, Lochrutton, Kirkgunzeon and Terregles we unfortunately find no references to that of Drumsleet.

The Baron Bailie is noted, in the subscription of the document, as "J. A. Brown" and was probably one of the Browns of Nunland in Lochrutton Parish. His Officer was a John Palmer who notes that "upon the twenty seventh & twenty eighth days of June 1722 years I . . . lawfully summoned all those persons containt in the . . . written list except George Maxwel of Munshies, Janet Rae & her husband, Wm. Gilchrist, John McKinnel, George Moorhead, John Rae, [] Blair, Robert Ferguson, Mr John Fraser, John Costine, Edward Kirkpatrick, Mr John Carlile, John Gordon, George Sharp, Elisabeth & [] Maxwels, & James Mitchelson to compear etc. . . ." All the foregoing have been prefixed "x" in the list with the exception of George Maxwel of Munshies and Janet Rae & her husband.

On the 29th of June, the day of the Court, the Bailie records the presence of "Sir Robert Grierson, . . . George Hair, Wm. Houat, John McKie, James Shortrig, Wm. Newal, Margaret Fisher, John Hope, John Mason, Charles Hairstaines, John & John Shortrigs, Richard Houat, Wm. Welsh, Alex^r. Lewars, Robert Currow, Agnes Lindsay, Janet Halyday, James Broun, and David Ogilbie." Most, but not all, of these persons have been prefixed "p" in the transcribed list.

A full transcript of the list, with all contractions expanded, is reproduced below as it may prove a useful source to genealogists operating within the area in question. Its contents could well form the basis of a more detailed study of the Barony and its Inhabitants during the 18th century should additional material ever become available.

LIST OF FEUARS

- Robert Grierson of Lag. Heritor.
 Thomas Martin in Bilbow
 James M'Craith in Reidbrae } his Tenents.
 John Grierson at Cargainbridge.
- John Kennan, late Bailie of Drumfries, Heritor.
 George Hair in Troqueer his Tenent.
 George Maxwel of Munshies &
 George Maxwel of Carnsalloch } Heritors.
 Robert Sturgeon in Rotchel their Tenents.
 John Hoyland, smith in Drumfries, Heritor & possessor.
- p. Wm. Houat, Elder, Wright in Bridgeend of Drumfries, heritor & possessor of a part.
 John Fullerton in Bridgeend, Tenent of a part.
 Janet Rae, Daughter to umqle. Wm. Rae in Lantonside & Francis Carruthers in Whitecroft, her
 husband for his interest, heritors.
 James Wilson in Troqueer, Tenent.
 James Shortrig in Bridgeend foresaid. } heritors.
 John Shortrig son to umqle. John Shortrig there
 Agnes Whirk, Relict of William Broadfoot, Shoemaker, in Drumfries, heretrix.
 John Wilson in Bridgeend, Tenent.
 Robert Boyd, Writer in Drumfries, heritor.
- x. Wm. Gilchrist in Maryholm, Tenent.
 John Shortrig in Bridgeend } heritors.
 Marion Shortrig there
 Charles Wauch in Maryholm, Tenent.
- x. John McKinnel in Woodhead, heritor.
 Jean Whitehead there, Tenent.
 James Young of Gulihill, heritor.
 James Wright in Jardington. } Tenents.
 John Shankiland in Woodhead.
 James Walker in Auchencairn, heritor.
 Robert Maxwell in Woodhead } Tenents.
 James Fergusson there.
 Janet Wilson, Spouse to Robert Houat Wright in said Bridgeend, and him for his interest, heritors.
 Wm Houat, younger, Wright there, Tenent.
- x. George Moorhead, Chirurgeon, lately in Drumfries } Heritors.
 x. John Rae, merchant, there
- p. John McKie in Bridgeend, Tenent.
 Marion Shortrig, Spouse to the said Wm. Houat & him for his interest. Heritors.
- p. Wm. Newel in Terraughty, heritor.
 Wm. Williamson.
 Janet Duncan. } in Bridgeend, Tenents.
 John Anderson.
- x. [] Blair in Glenstocken, heritor.
- p. Margaret Fisher in Bridgeend, Tenent, paid 4s.
- x. Robert Ferguson of Isle, heritor.
- p. John Hope in Bridgeend, Tenent, paid 4s.
 John Broach, Shoemaker there, heritor.
 John Mason there. } Tenents.
 Charles Hairstanes there.
- x. Mr John Fraser of Laggan, heritor.
 George McMin, Smith in Bridgeend, Tenent.
 John Mason, younger, Shoemaker there. ("Charles Hairstanes, Shoemaker, there" deleted in original.)
 Heritor & possessor.
 John Irving, late Conveener of the Trades in Dumfries, Heritor.
- x. John Costine in the said Bridgeend, Tenent.

- p. Richard Howat, there, Heritor.
Robert Howat, Wright, there, heritor.
- x. Edward Kirkpatrick, son to the deceased Robert Kirkpatrick, Shoemaker, there, heritor.
James Biggar there.
- p. Wm. Welsh, Shoemaker, there. } Tenents.
John Paterson, Workman, there.
- p. Alexander Lewars, Shoemaker, there & Agnes Newal, spouses, heritors & possessors.
- p. Robert Currow in Troqueer, Liferenter & possessor.
Robert Grierson, merchant in Drumfries, & Marion Jaffray, spouses, heritors & possessors.
- x. Mr John Carlile in Bankend, heritor.
Robert Gordon, Dyer in Drumfries. } Tenents.
x. John Gordon, Dyer in Bridgeend thereof.
- p. Agnes Lindsay, relict of John Lawson of Bilbow, Liferentrix.
- x. John Costine in Bridgeend, Tenent.
- p. Janet Holyday, Relict of Robert Edgar, Weaver in Troqueer, Liferentrix & possessor.
- x. George Sharp of Hoddam. } heritors.
James Hynd, Bailie in Drumfries.
- x. Elizabeth Maxwel alias Irving, Relict of Thomas Maxwel in Bettieknows, Liferentrix.
Wm. Rain in Braecroft.
Andrew Currow. }
Alex^r. Currow } in Cloonie. } Tenents.
Samuel Currow.
- John Smart in Doowell
George Crocket, late Deacon of the Glovers in Drumfries, heritor.
Mary Lawswon, Relict of John Cuninghame, Taylor there, Liferentrix.
Margaret Mulligan, Relict of Robert Harbertson, in Halmyre, Tenent.
John Currow in Colledge, heritor & Tennent.
- x. [] Maxwel, Lady Hills, heretrix.
James Paterson in Terraughty. } Tenents.
Robert Currow, there
Helen Cuninghame in Colledge. } Tenents.
Hugh Hunter there.
Peter McCormock there.
- John Broun of Nunland, heritor.
- p. James Broun of Staikfoord.
Robert Wright in Starrihugh. } Tenents.
Robert Milligan in Nunland.
James Kilpatrick in Lochrootengate.
John Neilson there.
The said James Broun, heritor.
- p. David Ogilbie in Staikfoord, Tenent.
- x. James Mitchelson, merchant in Drumfries, heritor & his Curators for their interest.
John Pain in Colledge, Tenent.
John Edgar, Wright, in Colledge, Tenent.

KIRKPATRICK FLEMING AND THE RECORDS OF MIDDLEBIE PRESBYTERY 1699-1743

by

Duncan Adamson

The article which follows is two things at once — a description of Middlebie Presbytery in general terms and Kirkpatrick Fleming in particular. The reasons for this dualism are historical, a product of the Ann Hill Bequest for research into the history of Kirkpatrick Fleming. Since there are no surviving ecclesiastical records for the parish for the period it was necessary to look to presbytery records for material, and indeed a rich vein it turned out to be, with more than three hundred parishioners named, with numerous parochial visitations recorded, and with a degree of human interest. But, of course, Kirkpatrick Fleming did not exist in a vacuum. One could not read the records, nor understand them, without achieving some insight into the workings of the presbytery. Consequently the first section of the article will concern the whole of the presbytery, and the second the parish.

One of the odd things about Middlebie Presbytery is its name. Perhaps at first it met at Middlebie — we cannot tell, for the first volume of records is lost — but certainly it seldom did so later. The commonest venue for their monthly meetings was Half Morton, which was as convenient a place as any for the ministers concerned, who came from the whole of Eskdale, Dornock, Annan, Hoddam, Kirkpatrick Fleming and Middlebie. There were also meetings held each year at Langholm, which was more suitable for the Eskdale ministers. Other meetings took place as circumstances dictated. When there was business of particular concern to Kirkpatrick Fleming, for example, the meeting might be held there. But in truth Half Morton might better be termed ‘the least inconvenient’ meeting place, for attendance was imperfect, especially as time went on. By 1730 it is as if we are dealing with two separate bodies, for Annandale ministers were as loath to travel to Langholm as were the Eskdale brethren to venture to Annandale.

From the historian’s point of view the most unfortunate feature of the presbytery was its system of rotating clerkship. Clearly it was an unpopular job, taken by the ministers in turn, but foisted at every opportunity on to a new arrival. The result was chaotic minutes. During his half year stint the clerk would keep a record of meetings in a notebook or perhaps loose sheets of paper, and wait until the previous clerk had handed him the register to write up the minutes. In times of relative presbyterial efficiency he might wait five years, at other times eight years. When we consider that the clerk did not himself attend all the meetings, that sheets of paper get lost, that ministers die or leave the area, the wonder is that records are as good as they are. One might expect that the clerk would be tempted to write what ought to have happened rather than what did. Instead my impression is that most of them simply copied out and amplified their notes without bothering too much whether the record was consistent. It is commonplace, for example, to be told that a matter is to be considered at the next meeting and then to find no further reference to it. But, if quite a lot was preserved, so was quite a lot of the record lost. The doings of February 1708 till February 1709 have sunk without trace. Likewise there is a two year gap from 1721 to 1723 and for practical purposes a longer gap, interspersed with the occasional entry, from 1727 till 1730. By and large the records were much fuller in the earlier half of the presbytery’s existence.

The business of presbytery might be described generally as the oversight of religion, or at least the Church of Scotland, within its bounds. It was able to help individual sessions in difficult cases of discipline, for those who defied the local church often — but not always — bowed before the united will of presbytery. But equally presbytery was responsible for ensuring that each congregation was operating satisfactorily. This was done through visitations, where there was a searching examination as can be seen from the list of questions asked at Langholm in 1727. First the brethren put nine questions to the minister. Was there a parish school? Did he preach both Sabbath morning and afternoon? ‘Do you frequently administer the sacraments?’ ‘Do you look after the poor’s money well? Is it lent on good security?’ Were there registers of discipline, baptisms, marriages, burials, payments and collections? ‘Do you examine the parish once a year?’ Did he visit the sick? And so on. Then there followed questions to ‘the librarian’, to the session clerk and to the officer. At other times the practice in a visitation was to gather together the minister, elders and heritors. Then first the minister would be removed while the others vouchsafed to his conduct, after which the elders and heritors would similarly take their turn to be removed and to be commented on.

That the church’s concerns extended to the education, health and welfare of its members can be seen from the questions above, and also in the list of books purchased for their library in 1730:—

‘The Bishop of London’s Pastoral Letters’ 1/2d

‘Lock on Education’ 2/10d

‘Dr. Cheen on Health and Long Life’ 4/6d

‘Acts of the Assembly 1690-1712’ 14/6d

One minister who enjoyed a long life, but not perhaps regular good health, was James Gowanlock, whose ministry virtually coincided with the life of the presbytery. He was ordained, according to the *Fasti* in September 1696, the year in which the presbytery was formed, and he died in 1744, the year after its demise, without ever attending the new presbytery of Annandale. As minister of Kirkpatrick Fleming he should be chief subject of this article, and yet his character and personality remain hidden in the shadows. *Fasti* could find only six lines — ‘James Gowanlock, M.A. (Edinburgh, 18th July 1692); ord Sept. 1696; died 18th Dec. 1744 aged about 73. He marr. and had issue — Matthew, physician in Moffat; Jean (marr. James Gatt min. of Gretna); Janet — [Dumfries Tests]’.

We can add that he was presented by the Marquis of Annandale and was probably on friendly terms with the family, for a gift from the Marquis to his son is mentioned in his testament. For the last ten years of his life he attended only the occasional meetings of presbytery which were actually held in Kirkpatrick. Presbytery did not demand an excuse for his absence from meetings elsewhere — as they normally would — which suggests that he was known to be unfit to travel. Gout perhaps? Apart from that the presbytery records supply only hints, which may well be misleading. One might picture him as a conciliator, for it was he who persuaded his Middlebie colleague, Robert Bicket, to return after several years’ absence from presbytery. If he was an effective driving force, all we can say is that the records do not show it. The visitations, for example, tend to highlight faults, as will be seen, and throughout the record, whenever Mr Gowanlock is appointed to do something one learns to expect that at the next meeting he will either be absent or report some excuse for it remaining undone. In this latter fault he was not alone.

What was surely the biggest dispute of his ministry goes quite without reference in the presbytery minutes, and is known only from other sources. It concerned Thomas Irving of Broats and the Porteous Act. In Kirkpatrick Fleming most of the landowners were surnamed Irving and most were probably Episcopalian and Jacobite in sympathy, but in the latter respect Broats was the exception. For a number of years he had been the leading figure in the session and he had even acted on presbytery committees, which was comparatively rare for an elder and no doubt reflected Mr Gowanlock's incapacity. Then, in 1737, came the Porteous Riots, familiar to those of us who were raised on the older classics through the narrative in *Heart of Midlothian*. Captain Porteous was dragged from the chimney where he was hiding and lynched by the Edinburgh mob. The failure of the Edinburgh magistrates to punish the murderers so angered Walpole's government that it issued a proclamation which denounced the murderers and offered a reward for their capture. And it ordered the proclamation to be read from every pulpit in Scotland. Here, it seemed to many, was the re-enactment of the cause for which the Covenanters had suffered fifty years before — the presumption by the national government of its authority over the national church. One of the many to object was Broats. He demanded that the minister defy the authorities. But Mr Gowanlock read out the proclamation and thereby lost his key elder — for Broats left the session. This probably left the minister without a friend among the resident lairds.

Much of our knowledge of the Kirkpatrick Fleming church in this period comes from the numerous visitations which are summarised below. To the reader who is unfamiliar with the parish it should be explained that the parishes of Kirkpatrick Fleming and Kirkconnel had been united in the 17th century, Kirkconnel (the home of 'Fair Helen' of the ballad) being the northern part of the combined parishes, owned wholly by the Maxwells of Springkell. Sir Patrick Maxwell was openly Episcopalian and was constantly at odds with the presbytery. He was by far the largest heritor in the united parish, the heritors being responsible for building and maintaining the church and manse, and one can appreciate that he would drag his heels as much as possible when presbytery demanded money for a manse. No doubt many other heritors were equally reluctant — but the law was on the side of presbytery and in the end the manse was built.

The first visitation of Kirkpatrick Fleming was on the 20th of June 1700.

- * 'Sederunt: James Armstrong, moderator, John Laurie, John Mein, Robert Darline, James Moffat, Robert Bickitt, James Currie, with elders — Thomas Armstrong (Kirkpatrick Fleming), Francis Chisholm (Cannabie), and William Bertram, clerk. James Gowinlock preached "the ordinary" and was approved. He was recommended to keep a Kirk Bible and fill up his session book.

James Gowinlock was then removed, and the elders and heads of family answered questions about him to presbytery's 'contentment'. James Gowinlock was recalled and exhorted to administer the sacrament at the first convenient opportunity, to visit his families "ministerially", "as also to use his outmost diligence for settling elders in the paroch of Kirkconnell".

Elders were removed, satisfactory answers given, recalled, exhorted to visit their quarters once a month, and to wait more punctually on presbytery and synod.

*All quotations are taken from a summary made by D. and S. Adamson and I. MacDonald of Kirkpatrick Fleming references in the Middlebie Presbytery. Double quotation marks indicate passages copied verbatim from the record.

Heads of family were then removed. The minister and elders said “That the generality of Kirkconnell parish does not attend ye ordinances, (it) is recommended to them to exhort them privately. That some have been suspended *a sacris*, qo (who) are now removed to other paroches”. They had no school except in winter. Cursing, swearing and drunkenness are common sins of the place. Presbytery recommended James Gowinlock to read the “abbreviatt” of acts of Parliament against profanity (to the congregation) and apply to the magistrate for civil punishment.

John Stewart behaved scandalously before the session.

Heads of families were then recalled. All were asked and gave a good character to George Graham, the schoolmaster, session clerk and precentor.

Presbytery found the Church ruinous and no Manse, so decided to refer the matter to ‘the committee’ (see 6th March 1700) unless heritors begin to build and repair, conform to the former visitation (of which the record seems to be lost).

James Gowinlock was recommended to provide communion cups and other utensils.

He said his stipend was £46 sterling, but according to Ferguson’s inventory it should be £48 — and there were differences between him and some of the heritors over their particular quotas. Presbytery invited him to lay these difficulties before them at his convenience.

Beltenmont’s compearing despite citation, suspended *a sacris* . . .

Is it not a depressing picture? It would seem that Gowanlock had not held a communion for some time, if ever, that he did not visit his congregation regularly, that he kept no session book, and that he was underpaid. For practical purposes he was minister of half a parish, for there were no elders and few who attended services from Kirkconnell. At least he did have a session, and the parish expressed itself content with him. The manner of this expression is not stated — no doubt without their allegedly habitual cursing and insobriety. Nor did the other elements of the parish come out well: the elders did not visit enough; the heritors disputed their stipend payments and allowed the church and manse to become ‘ruinous’ (an expression which in 17th century parlance carried a meaning less extreme than it would today). The only man to emerge with credit is George Graham, the part-time schoolmaster.

Two months later, on 21st August 1700, presbytery followed up the visitation with action. Gowanlock was told to produce his session book by Michaelmas. As for the manse, the Earl of Annandale was to be asked to get it built (he being patron, a significant heritor and the most powerful man in the area. Were it not built by Candlemas (2nd February) the matter would be referred to the General Assembly.

There was no immediate progress on the church and manse as can be seen from a summary of the entry on 27th May 1702:

‘Kilpatrick. James Gowinlock and Irving of Brootts (elder) there.

Visitation.

Asked about having Kirk Bible, Acts of General Assembly, a kirk box, answered they now had everything except a session register, which was produced and given to Mr Black and Mr Currie to visit (i.e. to examine), and a kirk box, which they are to provide as soon as possible.

James Gowinlock removed. Questions 1 to 5 (not stated) were answered satisfactorily. Q. 6 — He begins at 11 in forenoon, dismisses between 3 and 4 in the afternoon, each sabbath. 7 — satisfactory. 8. “They answer he visits not”. 9 & 10 satisfactory. 11. “No, he hath but seven, non from Kirkconnell (Obviously a question about the eldership).

Elders removed, 1, 2, 3 and 5 satisfactory. 4. They have no quarters assigned, but visit those who live near them.

Heads of family removed. 1, 2 satisfactory. 3. They give too little obedience to Church discipline. 4. Satisfactory, except Robert Johnston in Righeads who is slandered with adultery by Edward Harkness with Agnes Ile, which is believed to be in retaliation for Robert Johnston delating Harkness to the session. 7. Too much vice. 8. No “schismes” (i.e. all belong to Church of Scotland).

James Gowinlock said the Church was insufficiently thatched, and the manse not yet built. There was some difficulty in that a great many heritors were clear that it should be built upon the old glebe, whereupon presbytery sent Mr Mein, Mr Laurie and James Reid, with commission from William White, Chamberlain to the Marquis of Annandale, and Irving of Brotts to visit the ground and say which glebe it should be built on. On their report, it is recommended to build on the old glebe. This to be recommended to the Earl of Annandale.

George Irving, not compearing *pro tertio*, to be cited from the pulpit.’

Once again the heritors had found an excuse for delay. The reference to the ‘old glebe’ will be found to be explained at the next visitation in 1710.

An entry on 24th February 1701 suggests that at last some progress had been made in Kirkconnel — “ * James Gowinlock reported that Thomas Johnston did attend Kirkpatrick-Fleming but there was no session that day since James Gowinlock was preaching at Kirkconnell”. This entry suggests that the old church of Kirkconnel may still have been in use.

There are occasional references in the next few years to Mr Gowanlock’s stipend and manse, or rather to their absence. On 30th May 1705 the heritors were to be spoken to because “they detain wrongously part of the stipend”. The appointed delegation failed even to meet the heritors so another one was chosen — Mr Currie (Hoddam), Mr Bicket (Middlebie) and Gowanlock himself. They reported that they spoke to Sir Patrick Maxwell, but without satisfaction, and presbytery advised Gowanlock to consult with lawyers (25th July 1705). The result is not recorded.

As for the manse, on 30th November 1709:

“Presbytery takeing that affair into consideration and considering the circumstances of Mr Gowenlock and the many unnecessary delays yt have been made in yt affair they appointed a letter to be written to the Marquess theranent and Mr Gowenlock to have the draught thereof ready against the next (day) and Mr Graham to speak to Sir Patrick Maxwel, Mosknow and Mr Scot, Mr Howy to Bonshaw, Mr Currie to Cove and Wysebie and Mr Gowenlock to Brotts anent the same.”

*Mr Gowanlock’s name was spelt with an ‘a’, ‘e’ or ‘i’ according to the practice of the clerk — Gowanlock, Gowenlock, Gowinlock.

Mr David Graham, minister of Langholm was the son in law of Graham of Mossknow and might therefore be expected to have the ear of the Kirkpatrick Fleming heritors. 'Mr Scot' was a Dumfries wine merchant, proprietor of Beltenmont, a near neighbour and friend to the Mossknow family. The infamous 'murder' which divided the families was as yet some 30 years off. The other heritors mentioned, Bonshaw, Cove, Brots and Wysebie were all Irvings. Although Bonshaw was a heritor in Kirkpatrick Fleming the bulk of his estate was in Annan parish, where Mr Howie was minister. The idea was obviously to match ministers to heritors in the hope that the manse would be built. It was not. David Graham apparently did his best. On 11th January 1710 he reported that both Sir Patrick and Graham of Mossknow had declared their willingness to co-operate. In February he reported agreement by Scott. Nonetheless there seemed no immediate prospect of the building being erected, and so on 6th April 1710 it was agreed to send a letter to the Marquis asking for "a speedy issue of the Grievances of their brother" (Mr Gowanlock), especially with regard to building a manse and repairing the Church. This was followed up with another visitation of the parish on 7th June 1710:

'Kilpatrick. James Gowanlock present, with Thomas Anderson. David Irving and James Edgar, elders (from unspecified congregations but probably Kirkpatrick Fleming) also present.

James Gowanlock preached on Psalm 15 — approved. He said he intimated the visitation to residing heritors and wrote to non-residing.

Kirkpatrick Fleming had no Kirk bible, no Confession of Faith, nor the Acts of the Assembly. They were told to try to get them.

They had a poors box which was lying in the hands of one of the elders. They had a session register.

James Gowanlock being removed, the elders and heads approved of him except that he held no communions, and there were no elders in the upper end of the parish. James Gowanlock, being returned, was recommended to find Kirkconel elders and to celebrate communion.

The elders were removed. The Minister and heads of family spoke satisfactorily of them.

The session clerk was likewise approved.

The heads of family being removed, the Minister and elders said they were satisfactory except that the upper end of the parish did not attend punctually on the ordinances ('punctually' = regularly).

The heritors were then called. Mr William Grahame of Mossknowe compeared for himself and James Scott of Beltenmont, and with a letter from Mr John Hendersone of Bradelholme, Chamberlain to the Marquis of Annandale empowering him to concur. Compeared also the lairds of Bonshaw, Cove and Mr James Reid for Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell.

Gowanlock said the Church was not watertight, and there was no Manse nor ever had been since he came to the parish. He produced workmen, Francis Irving in Newtown, William Johnston in Gratney Green, John Semple, formerly there, wrights, masons and thatchers, with whom the heritors declared themselves satisfied. They were told to value what would be sufficient for a watertight Church and Manse.

There were no communion cups or other utensils. The session was recommended to get them.

Anent the glebe, James Gowanlock said that a long time before his settlement his predecessor excambed (exchanged) the glebe, but he was satisfied with what he now possessed except that he had no grass for any sumes nor any allowance for it.

The workmen then reported thus: In regard that all materials were to be turnpiked, it would cost about 1,700 merks (£1133 Scots) to lead and hew stones, burn lyme, buy timber and transport the same for the Manse. They could not estimate for the Church. All it needed was glass and heather for the thatch — but “they did not weell understand these prices” (presumably of glass since one of the workmen was a thatcher).

The presbytery found the estimate for the Manse exceeded the allowance granted by Act of Parliament, and so modified it to £1000 Scots. It was agreed to have another visitation for the Church.

A report was received from Mr Milligan that John Graham had purged himself of fornication, but the mother named him as father, so Gowanlock and Kirk Session are to continue the case if they see fit. (Mr Milligan was a Minister in a parish to which Graham had gone.)

Messrs. Black and Gowanlock are to take Jean Harkness' deposition at Howgillside tomorrow, anent the lybell against Isobel and Margaret Bell.

James Gowanlock reported that the session were in *curso diligentia* about Glover.'

Apart from their production of a session register there was little improvement to report. This register must have been in existence in the mid 1830s when it is referred to in the Second Statistical Account, where it is stated that the earliest register of marriages begins in 1709. It was a not uncommon practice to include marriages with general sessional material, so we may surmise that that is the date of Gowanlock's first register. It was probably lost before 1855 when it, or a copy, should have gone to Register House.

It will be seen that there were still no communion elements, nor any need for them since Mr Gowanlock never held communion. Nor had progress been made in Kirkconnel. As for the Kirk Bible, which they had in 1700, it seems to have disappeared by 1710.

There are some points of economic interest. Mr Gowanlock's going outside the parish to obtain suitable workmen to give estimates suggests a lack of skilled tradesmen in Kirkpatrick Fleming itself. We see, too, how Kirkpatrick Fleming suffered from transport costs. In a parish which was later well known for its sandstone and limestone quarries it may seem surprising that local materials were not available, although the main sources of lime were in the north of the parish, a fair distance from the church.

The saga of the manse dragged on. It is next mentioned — unbuilt — in 1718. In December 1719 presbytery made its fourth recorded visitation, or fifth if we include the one which is implied in the first report, a visitation which must have taken place in the period of the lost volume of minutes from 1696-1699. This visit concerned, solely, the buildings. The Lairds of Beltenmont, Cove and Broats appeared with other unspecified heritors. John Mein, mason, and William Crocket, wright, offered to build a manse for £76.4.3d sterling, about £7 less than the 1710 estimate. Repairs to the church would cost £49.9.7d. Mr Gowanlock was told to organise the collection of the money through a heritors' meeting. And, who knows, he may have been successful. It is about this time

that gaps appear in the presbytery minutes, and we cannot say when the manse was built, but this is the last positive reference to there not being a manse.

Until this point it has been impossible to sing the praises of Kirkpatrick Fleming or its heritors, but thereafter there is a different picture — perhaps partly because there was a new man in charge of Springkell, Sir William Maxwell, perhaps because of the influence of Thomas Irving of Broats. At the next visitation on 14th June 1726 it was agreed unanimously that the church should be slated and enlarged, and the lights (windows) improved. On this occasion the heritors present were listed — Sir William Maxwell of Springkell, Mr John Douglas for Sir William Douglas of Kelhead, Mr Robert Irving of Bonshaw, Mr William Grame of Mossknow for himself and William Scott of Baltinmount, John Irving of Cove, Thomas Irving of Broats and Mr George Blair for the Marquis of Annandale. Of the more substantial heritors only Irving of Wyseby was missing.

Can we legitimately infer from the need to enlarge the church that there was a rising population? Probably not. An alternative explanation is that the Kirkconnel people were beginning to attend with some regularity. At any rate, whatever the reason, the alterations went like clockwork. By the first of March the work was completed and presbytery met to allocate seats.

The division is described in detail (see appendix), but not in such a way as to make possible a clear reconstructed plan. For example the Kirk was said to measure 1117 feet square, which is probably too small if it means 'square feet'. The two largest divisions were those of Annandale (19½ feet square) and Springkell (15 feet square), Annandale being in the north area, Springkell beside the large south door. Two doors are mentioned, in the north and south, and one imagines that there would be a clear connecting passage between them. If so, as one entered by the south door Cove and Wyseby's area would be on the left, Springkell on the right. Moving towards the north door Mossknow and Beltenmont divisions were on the left, Broats and Bonshaw on the right — Bonshaw being owner of Woodhouse. The rest of the northern area was Annandale territory. That leaves the minister whose seat would be near the pulpit, and the Laird of Wamphray, somewhere in the south. But the descriptions are complicated by Sir William Maxwell's area being described as 'through the whole church' as if it did not form a single geographical unit. There is no mention of galleries. The heritors agreed to provide seats for their respective areas.

The next requirement was a bell and a 'bell house'. Presbytery appointed the estimates to be obtained on 31st December 1735, and approved the expense of the work on 28th January 1736, less than a month later. The bell still exists — dated, one of the few surviving items from the old Kirkpatrick Fleming church.

There were two more visitations, both concerning repairs to the church, in 1737 and in 1741. In neither case is much added to our knowledge of the parish.

In 1742 presbytery decided to make a list of stipends. As the figures given below show, not only was Kirkpatrick Fleming the lowest of all the parishes but Mr Gowanlock's stipend had actually fallen:

Kirkpatrick Fleming — £42 sterling
 Graitney — £55.4.1¾d
 Hoddom — £790.2.5d Scots (about £66 sterling)
 Langholm — 1400 merks (about £79 sterling)
 Ewes — £67.15.3½d

Westerkirk — 1200 merks (about £60 sterling)

Cannobie — £65.5.3d

Dornock — 760 merks (£42.2.4d sterling)

Middlebie — £61.2.2²/₃d

Annan — £66.13.4d

It is not stated whether these figures include the value of the glebe; presumably they did not.

* * *

Over the half century a great many cases of discipline were referred by Kirkpatrick Fleming session to presbytery. Some of the more interesting or significant of these are presented below, chronologically, with explanation where required.

26th April 1699 — James Gowinlock reports that when suspending Margaret Bell *a sacris*, her husband William Weightman stood up, spoke against him and the session “And the said William being ordered to hold his peace and remove, he answered yt the sermon was ended” and that his wife would never acknowledge herself a fault in defaming her neighbour Mary Irving — “as also he required the whole paroch to disown the said session. Quoropon the Prie (Presbytery) finding this ane interruptione of publick worship and ordinances, Appointed yt the said William Weightman should be summoned to compeir befor ym att their next dyett”.

The church could impose various sanctions on defiant defaulters. One was suspension from communion (*a sacris*), sometimes known as the Lesser Excommunication.

In Kirkpatrick Fleming, of course, there was no communion at the time to be suspended from. The Greater Excommunication, which was considered a very awful proceeding, was an attempt virtually to send the recipient to Coventry.

‘10th May 1699 — William Weightman, in Wickethorn, confessed his fault and agreed to be rebuked before the congregation.’

‘26th June 1699 — William Weightman failed to obey censure. To be suspended before next presbytery with certification that, should he persist, they will proceed to the sentence of greater excommunication.’

At the next meeting he was reported to have obeyed.

‘30th August 1699 — Robert Maxwell, brother of Sir Patrick of Springkell gave petition that Sir Patrick had written an unsigned letter to him, wherein Sir Patrick says he lay with Agnes Martin, the petitioner’s wife, before their marriage “inferring therfrom that his issue by her was incestuous” and also that Sir Patrick said to Dalswinton that John Agnew had carnal dealings with her. Robert Maxwell produced the unsigned letter, which was read. Messrs. Laurie, Moffat & Colvill to commune with Sir Patrick Tuesday of next, taking an extract of the petition. Consideration of Agnew delayed.’

‘4th October 1699 — Half Morton. It is reported that Sir Patrick refuses to say anything until he’s shown the letter, so the clerk is to give it to Mr Maxwell, who will get it attested by two witnesses who know Sir Patrick’s hand writing.

“Likeas Sir Patrick owned” that John Agnew lay with Mrs. Maxwell some years ago the most part of a night with their clothes on. John Agnew compeared, denied fornication, but confessed lying in bed with her, others being in the bed too. Presbytery find presumption of guilt, be it he offers to purge himself, and is given a copy of the oath to consider.

Soon there were further signs of feuding within the Maxwell family, when John Scott of Giblestone accused Robert Maxwell of slander.

'8th November 1699 — The Committee report that John Agnew solemnly purged himself. The scandal has gone through the whole presbytery, so his purgation is to be likewise announced from all pulpits.

Robert Maxwell refused to say whether he called his sister a whore, so Giblestone nominated these witnesses: Mr James Gowanlock, Mr Patrick Smith in Burnfoot, James Tailzeour in Craighsaws, Jean Martin in Sarksheills, Mrs Maxwell, William Maxwell her son, and Patrick Carruthers in Blackcleugh, and protested that his mother should name what other witnesses she could think of.'

Purgation was a remedy open to one who considered himself falsely accused. Agnew would have stood in front of the congregation and made a solemn statement of his innocence. In all the cases noted purgation was done by a man. Never was the woman invited to swear an equally solemn oath as to the man's guilt.

'22nd November 1699 — Sir Patrick failed to appear. Giblestone produced a letter from him. Presbytery refer the affair to the Commission, unless Sir Patrick appears before it meets. James Armstrong, James Black, Robert Bickit, James Moffat and James Gowinlock appointed a committee to meet at Half Morton Wednesday next. Presbytery prohibits them to answer any questions put by Sir Patrick, but simply to get his 'yea or not' to the letter.

Lady Giblestone adhered to her former petition, which was read in Robert Maxwell's presence, who objected only to one witness, James (?) Aitchison in Burnfoot.

Mr James Gowinlock, solemnly sworn, purged of malice or partial counsel, deponed negative to hearing Maxwell call his sister a whore.

Mr Patrick Smith in Burnfoot, 23, unmarried, deponed that last summer in Edinburgh Robert Maxwell called his sister Lizzie a whore, "that she lay with the Generall" and that he could prove it.

Rejecting the objection, presbytery heard Janet(?) Aitchison, aged about 51, who had several times heard him say it.

Maxwell was called in, and told the presbytery considered it proved.

'20th December 1699 — Sir Patrick refused to admit or deny authorship of the letter until they told him what would be the consequences of acknowledging it.'

'21.1.1700 — The process sisted (left in abeyance) because Sir Patrick is in Edinburgh, Robert Maxwell in prison in Dumfries.

Mrs Maxwell produced testimonials of her marriage to Robert Maxwell. Presbytery find that they were married, and the disorder thereof has already been censured (which usually means that they were married other than Church of Scotland). It says that Robert Maxwell "in Kirkpatrick Fleming married Agnes Martin, in the same parish, lawfully at Heytoun 20.7.1679 by Thomas Knight, minister with John Robison and William Johnston witnesses".'

(There follows what must be an extract from either Kirkpatrick Fleming session or Presbytery.) "Kirkpatrick Fleming February 21. 1687 The Whilk day conforming to appointment of presbytery Robert Maxwell son of the Laird of Springkell and Agnes Martin compared before the minister and session of Kilpatrick, produced the above written testificat and solemnly declared they were married by a Church of England minister, and subscribed the same. . . ."

Note the inference from the above that there may then have been extant a Kirkpatrick Fleming session book for 1687.

'24th April 1700 — Kirkpatrick Fleming referred the case of Mr John Stewart who, accused of guilt with ----- Paterson, compeared at Kirkpatrick Fleming and with horrid oaths protested that he would not come before them again.'

At the visitation in June John Stewart's misconduct was noted.

'10th September 1700 — Gowanlock reported that he saw John Stewart, who said that he regarded not the sentence of excommunication, and that "the said John was in a furrie and rage".'

'25th September 1700 — The Stewart process to be sent to the next Commission..'

A petition was received from William Maxwell on behalf of his father, Robert, who wanted a testimonial of good behaviour and asking for the process against Sir Patrick to be renewed.

'Presbytery, considering that Robert Maxwell "is a stranger to them", and that both Sir Patrick and he are not "in the countrie (i.e. not in the district) refused to grant the same, qrupon William Maxwell appealed to the Synod and took instruments".'

'20th November 1700 — Presbytery find it inadvisable to give Robert Maxwell a testimonial to his disadvantage "and that can give him non to his advantage so long as he has not cleared himself of threating publicly to take away his father's life. As his Brother Sir patrick aledges in a letter to proveist Johnstoun of DrumFreis dated Edrh 8.1700 qch was this day read''.'

'May 1701 — Gretna referred the case of John Stewart, bailiff for Sir Patrick Maxwell, who refused to appear for an irregular marriage and who had threatened one of the session for carrying a letter to him from presbytery. Another process against him is depending on the General Assembly. None in the bounds dare summon him because of his threatening attitude, so he is to be referred to the General Assembly.'

'27th August 1701 — Mr Currie (minister of Hoddam) reported that he failed to table John Stewart's affair before the General Assembly. He forgot!'

Mr Currie's son succeeded Gowanlock as minister of Kirkpatrick Fleming. This apparent pusillanimity was uncharacteristic of Currie who was one of the more outspoken members of Presbytery.

'1st December 1703 — It was represented that an Episcopalian minister is preaching daily in Kirkpatrick parish in Sir Patrick Maxwell's house, and baptises and marries there, and "that Sir Patrick threatens the tenants that unless they come and hear him he will turn them out of his land". James Gowanlock is to draw up these heads of grievances and condescend upon particular circumstances against the next day.'

'2nd February 1704 — The Annandale brethren are to meet anent the Episcopalian minister "against Tewsday next", at Kirkpatrick, and report'. On 29th March 1704 we are told the Episcopalian minister's name — Mr Ferguson.

'6th March 1704 — M(r) James Armstrong (Canonbie) and Mr Gowanlock attended the General Assembly.

The selection so far has concentrated on Maxwell of Springkell, at the top of the local scale, and it is the case that landed proprietors gave more trouble to the church than other groups, partly because they were more able to defy it, partly because a number of them

were Episcopalian in sympathy. In 1705, for example, presbytery were unable to take any action against John Irving of Wyseby, who refused to purge himself before the congregation. But many lesser beings feature in the records. A good example is from 25th July 1705 which shows how the records help us to pinpoint people and places.

‘Kirkpatrick referred, on 20th June 1705, the case of George Irving and his wife Margaret Armstrong, both in Raeburn, who complain that George’s mother, Janet Bell in Red Hall, said that Richard Johnston in Reidhall had lain with Janet — or at least, she said that Agnes Millar had thrown it on the said Margaret. Janet Bell denied the allegations but declared that Janet Irving had told her daughter thereof before Agnes Dickson in Reidhall. Janet Bell was again summoned by the session but refused to give a direct answer. All are cited to the next presbytery.’

Later Janet Bell explained to the session ‘‘that she did no more but in a friendly way tell her son and daughter in law that there was report of such a thing’’.

Although the parish was sometimes referred to as ‘Kirkpatrick’ or ‘Kirkpatrick Fleeming’, the usual spelling at this time was ‘Kilpatrick’. Likewise we commonly find the form ‘Reidhall’, as above, but Red Hall and Redhall were variants, and on 19th November 1707 William Bell in ‘Ridhall’ promised presbytery that he would start attending church services.

In September 1711 began the case of Thomas Kirkwood, chaplain at Springkell and Elizabeth Smith. Kirkwood claimed that they had married and offered to pay a guinea to Kirkpatrick parish poor and accept a rebuke for an irregular marriage, if presbytery would stop the process (6th August 1712). Naturally presbytery refused and the case was eventually referred to the General Assembly. Presbytery’s chief concern was to prove that there had been no legal marriage at all:

‘3rd September 1712 — Thomas Kirkwood compeared and said they were married in the fields near Kirkconnel, without any witnesses save the subscribers . . . Presbytery suggested that he should produce witnesses in regard that his testimony conflicted with her confession and that the names of the minister and the witnesses appear all to be in the one hand. Kirkwood replied that one witness, John Murray, had subscribed but Mr Smith signed for George Maxwell who could not write. Mr Kirkwood alleged that this was usual when one witness could not write.’

At the same time another process had come before presbytery, a tangled affair involving John Deans elder and younger in Howgillside and various members of the Harkness family, and which was to continue to agitate presbytery, in its various ramifications, until 1718. It is the only time when Mr Gowanlock’s personal character became a matter of public dispute. It would be impossible to go through the whole process, but some points are selected below.

‘18th June 1712 — Half Morton. James Gowanlock present with Rolland Rumsey (one of the Kirkpatrick Fleming elders). The officer reported citing John Deans younger in Howgillside . . .

Kirkpatrick referred . . . *a fama clamosa* that John Deans elder in Howgillside was guilt of adultery with Janet Armstrong.

On 9th July 1712 depositions were heard from John Armstrong in Loganhouse, (aged 45, married) Esther Harkness in Howgillside (unmarried, about 30, unable to write), William Bell in Smallholme, ‘near 60’, and James Harkness in Knowehead, about 30. When ages are given they are almost always in round figures. The man nearly always is able to sign his disposition, the woman is equally likely to be illiterate.

It was thought that more evidence was required, so a committee was formed to hear depositions — consisting of Mr Black (Gretna), Mr Gowanlock and the exotically named Rolland Rumsey. The inclusion of an elder in a presbytery committee was rare. Rumsey, now, and Irving of Broats twenty years later were the only Kirkpatrick Fleming elders so honoured.

‘24th December 1712 — Annan. In regard James Gowanlock’s present circumstances, the John Graham case was delayed . . . Mr Gowanlock reported that one Esther Harkness had brought forth a child. . .’

The reference to ‘Mr Gowanlock’s present circumstances’ is, one suspects, deliberately vague. But something was going on.

11th February 1713 (the clerk has actually written ‘1717’, presumably the year in which he wrote the minutes up) — “Graitnae. Esther Harkness, Kirkwood and Smith all did not compear . . . Mr Gowanlock complained that James Harkness, Raeburnfoot, had slandered him and carried very falsely towards him”.

‘4th March 1713 — Half Morton. James Harkness denied calling James Gowanlock “a perjured fellow, fouel murrderer etc”’. A committee of Mr Black, Mr Currie (Hoddam) and Mr Graham (Langholm) are to meet at Kirkpatrick 16th inst. and examine witnesses.’

4th April 1713 — Half Morton. Kirkwood referred to Synod (and later to Assembly).

‘The committee reported that Harkness was ready to acknowledge offence and accept a public rebuke for his unchristian carriage. Mr Black is to rebuke him and James Gowanlock to preach at Gretna that day.’

That would appear to be the whole story. A big row which was probably connected in some way with Esther Harkness’ case. In August we have what may be a tail-piece.

‘5th August 1713 — Gowanlock produced minutes of a committee at Kirkpatrick on 23rd June 1713 “anent divers scandalous persons”’. Various persons are named. The satisfaction of Bess Rumney is delayed because James Aitchison, the alleged father of her child, is in England.’

After hearing the report presbytery “remitted Janet Gowanlock to the said committee”.

Rumney (or Rumsey) and Gowanlock were exceedingly rare surnames in Kirkpatrick Fleming. It looks as if members of the minister’s and elder’s families were in trouble. Whether this had any connection with Harkness’ outburst is impossible to tell. As for Rumsey, he never again is recorded as an elder. Hints of scandal at the top!

‘28th July 1714 — Half Morton. Mr Gowanlock reported that Howy (?) baptised a child to John Carruthers in Floss.’

Mr Howie, of Annan, had left presbytery to join with Mr Taylor, the deposed minister of Wamphray in promoting an extreme presbyterianism. There were many complaints from other parishes of a similar nature, and there seemed to be a danger that a schismatic church would be established.

‘2nd March 1715 — Kirkpatrick Fleming. It was reported that Janet Irving in Calvertsholm had confessed fornication “with Fergus Graham, son of Mr William in Mossknou”’.

Here we have the first reference to a man who was to trouble presbytery for the next twenty-five years. Just as Sir Patrick Maxwell was the chief enemy in the first half of

presbytery's life, so was Graham in the second. In his case he was to show an almost total disregard for any sanction presbytery imposed or threatened to impose for his misbehaviour. It was he who was alleged later to have murdered John Scott of Beltenmont, which, if true, was a crime for which he was to go equally unpunished.

In 1715, as it so happened, Sir Patrick and Fergus Graham were united, for both were Jacobites.

12th August 1715 — Half Morton. Presbytery held a special meeting because of the rebellion, to discuss emergency procedures. It was agreed that the Annandale ministers should meet the following Tuesday for further discussions, at Kirkpatrick Fleming church. Obviously they had no fear that Graham might regard them as useful prisoners, for Mossknow was no distance from the church, and he might have been tempted to take hostages.

'12th October 1715 — Dumfries. (The only presbytery meeting until February 1716, when the danger was over.)

'Fergus Graham's case is sisted because he is out of the Kingdom.' In fact he had joined the Jacobite army which was to surrender at Preston.

The rebellion represented another opportunity for Esther Harkness to get into trouble.

14th March 1716. "Esther Harkness compeared and confessed herself with child to John Stewart, one of the prisoners at Chester. (The same John Stewart, could it be, as we met before?)

Fergus Graham must have been free and back home by August 1718, but nothing daunted, for the Kirkpatrick Fleming church officer complained that when he delivered the session's latest citation, Graham was very rude in reply.

Presbytery frequently authorised collections for charitable purposes such as helping to build a bridge at Lanark. Seldom do we see the results, so a table of contributions in December 1718 and January 1719 is unusual. The collection was for Lithuanian Protestants. At first sight Kirkpatrick Fleming is the least generous parish in the presbytery, but in fact Eskdalemuir gave no contribution at all.

TABLE I

Collections on 3rd December 1718 and 7th January 1719 for Lithuanian Protestants

	£	s	d
Hoddam	2	18	1½
Middlebie	5	17	6
Cananbie	7	11	4
Kilpatrick	1	11	0
Graitney	4	15	2½
Dornock	3	6	8
Annan	7	0	0
Westerkirk	8	16	0
Langholm	6	4	0
Ewes	9	11	6

It will be obvious to the reader that the figures are totally unrelated to population — unless one imagines that the hillsides of Ewes were teeming with people. Special collections depended largely on the attitude of the local lairds who in the case of Kirkpatrick Fleming would be for the most part absent from church and unlikely to sympathise with the Lithuanian Protestants.

No doubt some ministers enjoyed the excitement of the General Assembly, but not Mr Gowanlock.

‘29th April 1720 — Hoddom. The Synod recommended that Mr Currie go to the Assembly instead of Mr Gowanlock, as he might not have the funds to travel. The Presbytery refuse, as Gowanlock is just as able now as when he was first chosen.’

In general Mr Gowanlock’s evasions were more successful. Between 1717 and 1730 (with two years’ records blank) he is recorded as having gone to the Assembly only twice, 1720 and one other year. After 1730 he could no doubt plead ill-health and old age. Mr Currie by contrast was a regular attender.

Meanwhile the name of Fergus Graham keeps appearing on the pages. At last in November 1720 he showed a willingness to pay for his latest misdemeanour.

‘31st November 1720 — Kirkpatrick Fleming. Mr Gowanlock present. George Carruthers ruling elder..’

Fergus Grame, son of William Grame of Mossknow compeared and confessed to a relapse in fornication. He said he wanted to satisfy, but he begged for a delay for some time, for reasons which he would tell only the moderator. This was granted.’

At this time Kirkpatrick Fleming was generally represented at presbytery by one of their elders. Apart from George Carruthers and Irving of Broats we find James Aitchison, James Johnston, and George Little between 1719 and 1721. At no time before or after did the elders attend so regularly.

A case a little different from usual was that of Mary Rumney in Woodhouse.

‘1st March 1721. Mary Rumney compeared. She confessed that she had married William Steel just after hearing that her first husband, John Wilson, was dead, but she could give no proof of his death. He had left her six years ago, and she married Steel last year. She was ordered to prove that her first husband was dead.’

The result of the inquiry is not recorded.

Meanwhile Fergus Graham sent excuse after excuse for failing to attend presbytery, and had not done so by November, when the minutes enter a twenty month gap.

‘17th March 1725. Mr Gowanlock chosen to attend the General Assembly.’

‘12th January 1726. Fergus Graham and Mary Irving were referred to presbytery for fornication.’

Mary later claimed but Fergus denied, that they were married. Both were constantly on the move, sometimes out of the parish, sometimes in, but never long enough for the machinery of presbytery to deal with them. So it went on for years. In 1730, for example, they were still the subject of inquiries. Then in 1732

‘31st May 1732. Consideration of the affair of Mary Irving in Kirkpatrick was delayed until the next dyet.’

‘25th July 1732 — Middlebie. . . . A reference was received from the session of Kirkpatrick dated 23rd July 1732 relating to Mary Irving in Raeburnhead. She was summoned before the presbytery and warned that they would proceed against her “to the highest censure”.’

So the procedures for excommunication were begun — against her, but not apparently against Fergus. After Mr Gowanlock’s death it became a matter of legal dispute to ascertain whether or not Fergus Graham had been excommunicated. If so he could have no say

in the choice of the next minister, but his opponents could not prove that the sentence, if passed, was ever carried out.

'30th May 1733 — Graitney. Mary Irving affair delayed because of the absence of Mr Gowanlock.

'21st July 1733 — Middlebie. James Gowanlock absent. William Moffat, elder from Kirkpatrick Fleming present. The Kirk Session report that Mr Graham of Mossknow and Mary Irving are not married, yet living together. She admits to having four children by him. Mary Irving ordered to appear the Session and Congregation of Kirkpatrick on Sabbath next come eight days, or to face the penalty of greater excommunication.'

At last Mary Irving made a token submission — with the effect of spinning things out for several months.

'6th February 1734 — Annan. Mr Gowanlock reports by letter that Mary Irving has compeared only once before the congregation of Kirkpatrick . . .

Consideration of the affair of Mr Graham of Mossknow delayed. Mr Gatt to speak to Mr Gowanlock about it.'

Mr Gatt, who married Mr Gowanlock's daughter, was the assistant minister at Gretna, where he was to serve for half a century.

Soon another Mossknow name appears — Janet Fullerton, who was to be excommunicated (26th February 1735) for uncleanness with 'Mr Graham' of Mossknow. Gowanlock sent presbytery a "very disagreeable" letter on the subject which Mr Graham had written. Whether 'Mr Graham' and Fergus Graham are one and the same is not made clear. What is clear is that once again presbytery could achieve little. In 1738 we learn that Janet Fullerton is back in Mossknow, with a third child to Mr Graham. In 1740 he had a child by Mary McCubbin. Finally there was Katherine Douglas:

'6th August 1740 — Kirkpatrick. James Gowanlock present. George Carruthers from Kirkpatrick, elder . . . Mr Gowanlock reports that Janet Fullerton has removed to England.

Consideration of the affair of Mary McCubbin delayed. A reference was received from the parish of Kirkpatrick anent Katherine Douglas who stays at Mossknow "Bearing that she is under a very bad character". She is to be cited before the session of Kirkpatrick. Also Mr Graham, "who interlainst (?) with her, notwithstanding of the *fama clamosa* of their living in guilt".'

A year later presbytery was still attempting and no doubt still failing to put pressure on Mr Graham. This is the last we hear of them.

The story of Fergus Graham and/or 'Mr Graham' shows presbytery at its weakest. But another point should be made — that the session thought it worth its while to ask for presbytery's help. It is true that neither the Maxwells of Springkell nor the Grahams of Mossknow ever submitted to a single presbyterial judgement, and that such as Deans in Howgillside could spin a case out for six years. But the fact is that, ultimately, despite the inefficiency of its procedures, presbytery usually got its way. Few families in the parish community were prepared to be excluded from the church. They wanted their children baptised. They wanted help in time of need. They wanted to be part of the local community. And, of course, they wanted to be part of God's church.

Mr Gowanlock was one of several long serving ministers in the presbytery. His immediate northern neighbour was Robert Bicket, whose grievances there were so burdensome that for several years he stopped attending presbytery. He ministered there from 1695 until his death in 1742. There followed the most enormous row about his successor, as will be recounted later, just as there was concerning the succession to Mr Gowanlock himself. To the south was Mr James Black, in Greta, minister from 1693 to 1735. He was Mr Gowanlock's closest associate in presbytery. One finds them working frequently together on committees. When Black became unable to carry out his duties fully, Greta became the only parish in the presbytery's history to obtain an assistant minister, James Gatt, son in law of Mr Gowanlock, and author, among other things of a published diary. In Annan Thomas Howie's fifty-year ministry, by no means without controversy, is skated over in *Fasti* with a nine line entry (1917 edition). In Hoddam the minister from 1700 to 1726 was James Currie, whose son succeeded Gowanlock at Kirkpatrick Fleming and whose grandson wrote a biography of Burns. Currie appears to have been one of the most active members of presbytery. The Dornock minister for many years after 1715 was yet another James, James Hunter, whose part in the Middlebie controversy will be described later.

From time to time the ministers were themselves the subject of controversy. The greatest internal controversy in the presbytery's history concerned Thomas Howie, the minister of Annan. As is so often the case the actual grounds of disagreement are never spelt out clearly and can only be deduced from scattered references. What is clear is that for several years Mr Howie and Mr Bicket both stopped attending presbytery, but for different reasons — Bicket because of unspecified grievances at Middlebie, Howie on grounds of theology or of church government.

It seems likely that Mr Howie was sympathetic to the extreme presbyterianism of John Hepburn, who was reported in 1710 to be pursuing 'irregular practices' within the presbytery — a phrase which usually meant holding services and baptising children. Such activities were deplored by the established church as 'schismatic'. The danger of schism grew when Mr John Taylor, the Wamphray minister, began to preach and baptise in Annandale, and Howie joined him.

In April 1714 presbytery desired synod to consider 'the carriage of people that separate within the bounds' and complained of unauthorised baptisms. A fortnight later, 28th April 1714, Mr Howie was specifically accused of baptising the child of John Reid while in Jockside, Hoddam. Mr Gowanlock was asked to negotiate with Howie, as he had now successfully done with Bicket, but to so little avail that the next complaint against Howie was for the baptism of a child at Floss, in Kirkpatrick Fleming. Meanwhile there were numerous similar complaints against Mr Taylor, from which we can see that the two errant ministers were working in harness. Thereafter, however, their stories were very different. Ultimately Taylor was deposed from Wamphray, but in Howie's case there was a reconciliation. This was not until after two years of bitter conflict. Howie turned up at presbytery in 1715 only twice. First he produced a paper which Messrs. Darling, Currie and Graham (the brains of the presbytery?) were instructed to answer. The other occasion was the special meeting held on the outbreak of the '15 Rebellion. At the time there were widespread fears that the Hebronites would join with the Jacobites — an alliance of opposite-minded malcontents, but in fact Hepburn raised an army to defend Dumfries, and Howie appears likewise to have remained loyal. This may have helped to reconcile the

parties, or perhaps Howie was worried by threats to refer him to the General Assembly. We shall never know. What we do know is that in April 1716 presbytery met at Annan, and that Thomas Howie was listed as present. Whether as a punishment for the past or, perhaps simply because his turn was long overdue, he was immediately appointed moderator!

So ended the only dispute which appears to have had a theological basis. Much commoner were disputes over calls to vacant churches. In 1716, for example, there was a heated dispute over the call to Alexander Meikle, to be minister of Langholm. *Fasti* records that an 'almost unanimous petition' favoured him, but at that time it was alleged that many were pressurised into signing. The protest failed, and Meikle became minister.

In the 1740s there were two great 'succession' controversies, one within the provenance of Middlebie Presbytery, the other just after its close, so that it does not belong to the scope of this article. This is unfortunate, since the parish concerned was none other than Kirkpatrick Fleming itself.

The earlier controversy concerned the succession to Mr Bicket, who died in 1742. Bicket had always wanted to leave Middlebie, where he complained of many grievances, and presbytery had promised to help him leave, yet when a call did come to him from Mouswald in 1716, presbytery unanimously rejected it. Consequently Bicket's entire ministerial career was spent at Middlebie. His death is mentioned in June 1742.

In February 1743 Sir William Maxwell of Springkell informed presbytery that the patron, the Duke of Queensberry, had made a presentation in favour of James Hunter of Dornock, and Hunter had agreed. That the presentation was acceptable to the parish was demonstrated by a petition signed by numerous heritors, elders and heads of families. Great! It seemed that all the essential elements had been speedily established. The patron had put forward a nominee within the required six months, and the congregation had signified acceptance. All presbytery had to do, it seemed, was to ratify it. Not so. In March there was presented a petition in favour of Robert McMorran, probationer — 'or any other probationer the Presbytery think fit'. In short, it was a petition against Hunter.

There began at once an argument about numbers and qualifications. The McMorran case was put in the name of 16 heritors, 2 elders and 49 heads of families. 4 of the latter, it was established, were cottars, so the number was reduced to 45. Cottars don't count! When the support for Hunter was examined in April, it included two separate petitions as well as a number of individual letters of support. The main petition was adhered to by 18 heritors, 2 elders and 35 heads of families, the second by 33 heads. Then came the objections and answers. John Guffie was a cottar: No: he entered a farm at Candlemas (2nd February) at 40/- a year. A rental so small looks suspiciously like an artificially created 'vote'. We learn the names of the other cottars who were rejected — John Scott, John Bell, William Scott, Bridget Baty, William Forsyth, Agnes Clerk, Mary Nicol, Mary McJane, Margaret Armstrong, Janet Graham, Jean Irving and William Snaddin. Then we have the names of a number of tenant farmers, among whom are two unspecified cottars: Christopher Nicol, Andrew Baty, Adam Hislop, Walter Baty (tenant of Frank Carruthers), John Johnstone, John Dixon, William Baty and Margaret Byers. If only the actual petitions had been preserved we would have almost a census of the families in the parish. As it is we have a fair collection of the names of cottar families, those least likely to be found in other records. The cottars would have no vote presumably because they paid no teinds.

Hunter's supporters objected to John Currie and were answered that 'he is a Half manner and is the head of a family'.* Another objection was that a number of signatures

*The expression 'half-manner' usually indicates someone who was almost of full age, that is a little under 21.

were but marks and possibly not genuine. The call for McMorran was prosecuted by William Bell. Three of his leading supporters (George Young, John Bell, Francis Thomson) gave reasons for their opposition to Hunter. When there was a happy settlement between a minister and his people, they said, transportation was always a grievance, which was why General Assembly had recommended against it in 1694. Thus, Mr Hunter should remain in Dornock with his flock. Besides, Hunter was too old to cope with a parish such as Middlebie — populous and extensive. Finally, his transportation could not be a success since the majority were against him. (11th April 1743).

Presbytery did not agree. At no time did it suggest that a simple head count was all that was required, but it argued that there was a clear majority in Hunter's favour, even after the elimination of illegal votes, and the call was sustained. Preparations for Mr Hunter's transportation were put in hand. The battle appeared to be over.

Hunter should have been admitted to Middlebie on the first Wednesday in July. But when the brethren assembled at Middlebie on July 6th it was to discover that "at the solicitation of Mr Hunter and another brother" Mr Gatt had failed to serve the edict. Mr Hunter had had second thoughts and was absent, conveniently, with a fever. The moderator recorded his displeasure at Mr Gatt's conduct — either he should have called a special presbytery, or he should have served the edict.

When Middlebie Presbytery met for the last time at — appropriately — Middlebie Kirk on 14th September 1743, Hunter's supporters were preparing their retreat. Bell of Stockbridge and other heritors declared that they would not force a reluctant minister upon the parish. Dornock had at last organised a petition in favour of keeping Hunter — something they ought to have done three months earlier if they were seriously opposing the move.

The last major decision taken by the presbytery was to refer the matter to the Synod. Subsequently Synod vetoed Hunter's transportation. In September 1744 John Laurie was ordained at Middlebie. A month earlier Robert McMorran had become minister of Kells.

The dispute gives some insights into how power struggles were conducted, at a parish level, and perhaps shows how patronage could be resented when it was held by an absentee landlord — although in this case local opinion was divided. One might think that the figures could be used to estimate the population of the parish at that time, but there are too many doubtful factors. How many people did not sign either petition? How many cottars were there in the parish? What happened when the head of the family was a woman? Could one count both as a head of family and as a heritor? If not, then there appear to be some 160 non-cottar petition-signing families in the parish. According to Webster's census, about ten years later the population then was about 992. Perhaps that is not far from what we would have guessed from the data.

At its demise the presbytery was split. Eskdale parishes joined with Castleton to form the new Presbytery of Langholm. The Annandale parishes became part of the new Presbytery of Annan. The records of Middlebie Presbytery seem to have been divided three ways — a volume to Langholm, two volumes to Annan, the earliest volume lost.

The Society is indebted to the Ann Hill Research Fund for meeting the cost of printing this paper and the appendices.

APPENDIX 1

Kirkpatrick Fleming People

The following people were found in a Kirkpatrick Fleming context. Most lived in the Kirkpatrick Fleming parish, some may have stayed there only a short time. It is possible that some entries duplicate the same person. Where one spelling is used normally in the text, such as Reidhall, or Elderback, it is used here. In other cases (e.g. Irvine, Irving, Irwing) it is modernised.

Name	First Mention	Place/Designation
Agnew John	8.1699	
Aitchison James	8.1713	
Aitchison James	3.1720	presbytery elder
Aitchison Janet		
Armstrong George	6.1701	
Armstrong Janet	7.1711	
Armstrong Jean	11.1717	wife of William Carlisle
Armstrong John	12.1714	Kirkhill, son of Patrick
Armstrong John	9.1713	husband of Mary Johnston
Armstrong Margaret	6.1705	wife of George Irving
Armstrong Patrick	12.1714	father of John
Armstrong Thomas	11.1699	presbytery elder
Armstrong —	3.1715	
Baxter William	7.1741	
Beattie David	8.1713	Woodhouse
Beattie George	6.1704	an elder
Beattie Janet	6.1718	Wyseby
Beattie Jean	6.1736	
Beattie Robert	7.1717	Hollee, married
Bell Bess	12.1718	mother lives Hillhead
Bell Elizabeth	7.1714	Howgillside
Bell George	10.1714	servant in Cove
Bell George	10.1715	Faldingleugh
Bell George	3.1720	husband of Janet Halliday
Bell Isabel	6.1710	
Bell ?	8.1713	wife of William Irving
Bell Janet	6.1702	midwife, wife of David Johnston, Reidhall
Bell Janet	6.1705	Reidhall, 61, mother of George Irving
Bell Janet	6.1714	Howgillside
Bell Janet	4.1718	Hollee
Bell Janet	1.1719	over 30, wife of George Irving, Hillhead
Bell John	8.1712	Laverockhall
Bell John	7.1716	
Bell John	9.1716	Hollee
Bell Margaret	4.1699	wife of William Wightman, Wicketthorn
Bell Margaret	6.1710	
Bell Mary	8.1712	
Bell Mary	6.1735	Upper Nutberry
Bell Richard	7.1735	formerly Middlebie
Bell Robert	6.1702	in Drumhead, or possibly Cairnhill
Bell Sarah	1.1719	

Name	First Mention	Place/Designation
Bell Sarah	5.1737	Middlebie, child in Newton
Bell William	11.1707	Reidhall
Bell William	4.1717	husband of Jean Carruthers
Bell William	7.1717	Hollee, father of John there
Bell William	7.1735	Gair
Beltenmont, Laird of		see Scott, Irving
Blair Bryce	8.1741	Annan provost
Blair George	6.1726	
Black Janet	6.1702	gone to England
Bonshaw, Laird of		see Irving
Broats, Laird of		see Irving
Brown John	3.1736	an elder
Byers Mary	6.1737	
Carlyle John	1.1718	
Carlyle William	11.1717	husband of Jean Armstrong
Carlyle William	9.1719	dead by 1721
Carruthers George	3.1720	an elder (to 8.1740)
Carruthers Isabel	4.1715	wife of James Irving in Elderbeck
Carruthers Jean	6.1702	Reidhall
Carruthers Jean	4.1717	wife of William Bell
Carruthers John	7.1714	Floss
Carruthers John	10.1715	husband of Janet Graham
Carruthers Margaret	11.1714	wife of George Bell in Cove
Carruthers Mary	9.1717	Holmhead
Carruthers Patrick	11.1699	Blackcleugh
Carruthers Robert	6.1702	Reidhall, husband of Isabel Pain (60)
Chalmers Andrew	12.1702	from Middlebie
Cove, Laird of		see Irving
Cowan Marion	6.1702	Scales
Craig Margaret	6.1709	
Crone John	7.1709	and parents
Crone —	7.1709	father of John
Crocket William	12.1719	wright
Dalgliesh —	5.1731	wife of John Montgomery
Davidson Blanch	11.1704	in Byers — probably wife of John Gass

Name	First Mention	Place/Designation
Deans John	9.1711	in Howgillside, elder
Deans John	11.1710	in Howgillside, younger
Dickson Agnes	6.1705	Reidhall (also 9.1717)
Dickson James	8.1741	glazier
Dickson John	6.1718	Sarkshields
Donaldson Jean	7.1735	wife of John Miller
Douglas John	4.1726	
Douglas, Sir William	4.1726	of Kelhead, heritor
Edgar James	6.1710	possibly a Kirkpatrick Fleming elder
Ewart James	10.1704	
Farish Janet	7.1716	Elderbeck
Ferguson Mr	3.1704	Springkell Episcopalian minister
Fisher Jean	4.1699	testificat
Fisher Jean	6.1702	wife of James (Ra?), Woodhouse
Forsyth Robert	8.1712	son of John in Ecclefechan
Forsyth Robert	8.1740	husband of Agnes Rogerson
Foster John	7.1709	
Fullerton Janet	10.1734	Mossknow
Gass John	11.1704	Byers, husband(?) of Blanch Davidson
Gillespie Agnes	3.1705	formerly Hoddam, wife of John Glover
Glover John	3.1705	Kirkpatrick, husband of Agnes Gillespie
Glover Richard	5.1710	from Ireland
Gowanlock James	4.1699	minister (and throughout)
Gowanlock Jane	8.1713	
Graham Rev. David	12.1705	brother in law of Mossknow
Graham Fergus	3.1715	Mossknow (and thereafter)
Graham George	12.1699	kirk officer
Graham George	6.1700	schoolmaster
Graham Janet	7.1735	wife of William Bell(?), Gair
Graham Janet	10.1715	wife of John Carruthers
Graham Jean	6.1720	
Graham John	6.1709	
Graham Robert	5.1712	kirk officer
Graham Robert	1.1736	Kirkpatrick Fleming elder
Graham William	1.1710	off Mossknow (and thereafter)
Graham Mr	2.1735	off Mossknow

Name	First Mention	Place/Designation
Halliday Janet	3.1720	
Halliday Rosie	6.1702	
Hamilton William	6.1707	
Harkness David	12.1742	Blackethouse
Harkness Edward	6.1702	
Harkness Esther	12.1712	daughter James, over 30, in Sarkshields
Harkness George	6.1736	
Harkness James	6.1712	Knowhead
Harkness Janet	7.1709	
Harkness Jean	6.1710	Howgillside
Harkness John	6.1702	Burnfoot, Middlebie
Harkness William	11.1712	
Harkness Mr William	7.1712	Howgillside
Hope Blanch	7.1717	wife of Richard Imrie
Howat Janet	1.1718	wife of John Carlyle
Hunter Janet	10.1715	Beltenmont
Ile Agnes	4.1702	
Imrie Jean	4.1717	
Imrie Richard	7.1717	husband of Blanch Hope
Irving Andrew	7.1738	
Irving Catherine	5.1710	
Irving David	6.1710	possibly Kirkpatrick Fleming elder
Irving Edward	1.1738	of Wyseby
Irving Francis	6.1710	wright, Newton
Irving Francis	4.1738	wright, Newton
Irving Francis	8.1712	Cove
Irving George	4.1702	Wyseby
Irving George	6.1710	husband of Margaret Armstrong, Raeburn
Irving George	10.1714	servant of Cove
Irving George	12.1714	Ridgeheads
Irving George	12.1716	Ellerbeck — now Warambie
Irving George	1.1719	Hillhead, husband of Janet Bell
Irving Herbert (dec)	5.1709	Laird of Kirkconnell
Irving James	4.1715	in Elderbeck, husband of Isabel Carruthers
Irving James	4.1718	
Irving Janet	4.1702	Wyseby
Irving Janet	6.1707	

Name	First Mention	Place/Designation
Irving Janet	5.1709	
Irving Janet	3.1715	Calvertsholm
Irving Janet	9.1719	Dickhead
Irving Japhrae	3.1700	husband of Janet Miller
Irving Japhrae	4.1700	of Beltenmont
Irving Jean	4.1741	wife of Thomas Bell, younger, of Lawns
Irving John	8.1712	of Cove
Irving John	7.1715	Sarkshields (to Hawick, 1716)
Irving Margaret	3.1732	
Irving Mary	4.1699	
Irving Rachel	4.1738	
Irving Richard	1.1718	Burnfoot
Irving Robert	6.1726	of Bonshaw
Irving Sarah	1.1738	daughter of Robert
Irving Stephen	5.1709	
Irving Thomas	11.1701	and thereafter, of Broats
Irving William	4.1700	son of Japhrae
Irving William	8.1713	husband of Isabel Bell/Isabel Scott
Irving William	2.1721	
Irving William	6.1721	Kirkpatrick Fleming elder
Irving William	6.1726	writer, Edinburgh, son of Bonshaw
Irving William	3.1727	son of Francis, wright (and 4.1738, wright)
Irving William	12.1719	of Cove
Johnston David	6.1702	Reidhall
Johnston David	6.1702	Reidhall, elder (both David Johnstone 'elder' in Reidhall and also session elder)
Johnston James	1.1707	Kirkpatrick Fleming elder
Johnston Janet	2.1718	
Johnston John	11.1701	servant Loanwath
Johnston Mary	8.1712	of Cove
Johnston Mary	9.1713	wife of John Armstrong
Johnston Richard	6.1705	Reidhall
Johnston Robert	5.1702	Riggheads
Johnston Robert	2.1712	Kirkpatrick Fleming elder
Johnston Robert	9.1713	Beltenmont
Johnston Sybil	6.1702	aged 30, Reidhall, wife of Robert Carruthers
Johnston William	2.1718	
Kirkwood Thomas	8.1712	Springkell, chaplain
Lawson Mary	9.1713	Reidhall, wife of Edward Maxwell
Little Grizel	11.1707	
Lorimer George	12.1718	possibly in Hoddam
Lorimer George	6.1726	mason Kirkpatrick Fleming
Lorimer James	4.1738	
Lumsden Christian	12.1710	
Lumsden Katherine	11.1704	
McCubbin Mary	12.1739	Scales

Name	First Mention	Place/Designation
Martin Agnes	8.1699	wife of Robert Maxwell
Martin Andrew	7.1715	chapman
Martin Jean	11.1699	Sarkshields
Mather Hannah	9.1716	
Mather Edward	9.1713	Newton, husband of Mary Lawson
Maxwell George	8.1712	
Maxwell Grizel	11.1699	
Maxwell Sir Patrick	8.1699	of Springkell
Maxwell Capt Patrick	5.1710	to 10.1716
Maxwell Robert	8.1699	brother of Springkell
Maxwell Robert	10.1715	Beltenmont
Maxwell William	11.1699	son of Robert
Maxwell Sir William	6.1726	and thereafter, of Springkell
Miller Agnes	6.1705	
Miller Janet	3.1700	wife of Japhrae Irving
Miller Janet	8.1710	
Miller John	7.1735	husband of Jean Donaldson
Moffat William	7.1733	Kirkpatrick Fleming elder
Murray John	8.1712	
Neilson Euphemia	10.1715	
Neilson George	6.1702	Scales
Neilson James	3.1727	Kirkpatrick, husband of Agnes Rogerson, dead by 8.1740
Newcell (?) John	6.1721	Cathronlea, (Newall ?)
* Pain Agnes	9.1755	gone to Cummertrees
Pain Isabel	6.1702	Calvertsholm, about 60, wife of John Scott
Pain Isabel	3.1715	
Paterson —	12.1699	
Rae (?) James	6.1702	Woodhouse
Rae Janet	7.1716	
Rae Janet	7.1741	
Rae Jean	11.1709	Hollee
Reid Mr James	6.1710	
Ricket John	6.1714	footman Springkell
Robson Mary	3.1721	
Roddick Margaret	2.1718	

* A fragment of the Annan Presbytery records has been put in the Middlebie minutes

Name	First Mention	Place/Designation
Rogerson Agnes	3.1727	wife of (1) James Neilson and (2) c1740, William Forsyth
Rule Margaret	7.1725	
Rumney Bess	8.1713	
Rumney Mary	9.1720	wife of William Steel, Woodhouse
Rumney Rollance	6.1712	Kirkpatrick Fleming elder
Scott David	6.1714	
Scott Isabel (or Bell)	8.1713	wife of William Irving
Scott James	2.1710	of Beltenmont
Scott James	6.1721	Damhead
Scott Jean	12.1742	
Scott John	6.1702	Calvertsholm, husband of Isabel Pain
Scott Thomas	11.1717	Scales
Scott William	6.1726	of Beltenmont
Smith Elizabeth	9.1711	servant Springkell
Smith James	9.1755	
Smith Patrick	11.1699	Burnfoot
Smith Sarah	8.1713	
Steel William	9.1720	Woodhouse, husband of Mary Rumney, died 2.1721
Stewart John	12.1699	chamberlain Springkell
Taylor James	11.1699	Craigshaws
Thomson Francis	7.1711	
Thomson Janet	9.1721	Cove
Thomson William	5.1711	Sarkshields, aged 40, married
Wamphray Laird of	3.1727	heritor
Well (?) Mary	11.1717	
Wightman William	4.1699	Wicketthorn, husband of Margaret Bell
Wilson Janet	10.1706	
Wilson Janet	7.1717	probably Hollee
Wilson Janet	12.1731	Beltonmont
Wilson John	3.1721	deceased
Wyseby Laird of Wyseby, Lady, elder	3.1721	see Irving

Note: In many of the entries for which no place is given there may be a clue found in the context. To take an example, Sarah Smith had a child to David Beattie in Woodhouse and so probably lived nearby.

APPENDIX 2

Elders from Kirkpatrick Fleming in attendance at Presbytery

Thomas Armstrong	11.1699 - 8.1710	11 meetings
George Beattie	6.1704	1 meeting
John Brown	3.1736 - 6.1740	4 meetings
George Carruthers	3.1720 - 8.1741	4 meetings
James Edgar ¹	6.1710	1 meeting
James Ewart	19.1704	1 meeting
Robert Graham	1.1736 - 6.1741	5 meetings
William Graham	6.1703	1 meeting
David Irving ¹	6.1710	1 meeting
Thomas Irving of Broats ²	10.1720 - 7.1737	9 meetings
William Irving	7.1741	1 meeting
David Johnston ³	6.1702	
James Johnston	1.1707 - 8.1707	4 meetings
Robert Johnston	2.1712 - 2.1712	2 meetings
William Moffat	7.1733	1 meeting
Rollance Rumney	6.1712 - 7.1712	2 meetings

1. Parish of residence not stated but in Kirkpatrick Fleming context.
2. Also represented Presbytery at General Assembly. All references to Irving of Broats are assumed to be to the same man.
3. Mentioned incidentally, apparently as a member of the session.

APPENDIX 3

Analysis of Discipline 1699 - 1703, Kirkpatrick Fleming

In the early years of its existence presbytery found it difficult to impose its will on offenders, especially when the offenders were themselves landowners with Episcopalian sympathies. The list of cases below shows that in less than half could presbytery claim a complete victory, i.e. that the offender submitted. In some other cases a partial success might be claimed: one of those who stood firm against presbytery, Sir Patrick Maxwell, seems to have got off scot free, John Stewart was excommunicated but appeared not to care, George Irving in Wyseby was suspended from communion, and the Irvings of Beltenmont were referred to the civil magistrates for refusing to give evidence. In this last case their evidence ultimately proved unnecessary.

Summary of discipline cases.

William Irving of Bonshaw. First referred pre 26.4.1699 — finally asked to be absolved on 9.9.1702, presumably having given satisfaction.

George Armstrong — Start pre 26.4.1699. Suspended (26.4.99), submitted 11.6.1701.

William Weightman — Start 26.4.1699 — disturbance in church. Closes 25.7.1699, with submission.

Sir Patrick Maxwell 30.8.1699 to 24.1.1700 — slander. Case went to Synod, but no conclusion reported.

John Agnew 13.9.1699 to 8.11.1699. Absolved on oath — fornication.

Robert Maxwell 24.10.1699 - 20.12.1699. Found guilty of slander, but no action recorded.

John Stewart 20.12.1699 to 27.8.1701 — fornication. Case remitted to General Assembly, excommunicated — did not submit.

Japhrae Irving 6.3.1700 to 20.3.1700 — irregular marriage — submitted.

Jeffrey and William Irving of Beltenmont 21.6.1700 to 5.1701 — refused to act as witnesses — referred to civil magistrates. suspended *a sacris* — but no submission.

Margaret Bell 5.1701 to 1.7.1701 — slander — submitted.

John Stewart 5.1701 — irregular marriage — to be referred to General Assembly — no submission.

John Stewart 12.11.1701 — irregular baptism — to be referred to General Assembly — no submission.

George Irving in Wysby 22.4.1702 to 17.6.1702 — fornication — suspended *a sacris* — no submission.

Edward Harkness 17.6.1702 to 16.6.1703 (unfinished) — fornication — suspended *a sacris* — to take oath.

Robert Bell 17.6.1702 to 28.10.1702 — fornication. No decision recorded, but willing to satisfy.

Sir Patrick Maxwell 22.12.1701 (unfinished) — fornication.

Thomas Johnson 26.11.1701 (unfinished). Adultery. Appears willing to purge himself.

It should be remembered that cases were referred to the presbytery only when the offender had refused to satisfy the kirk session. It follows that the proportion who successfully defied the authority of the church was smaller than it might appear from the list above.

APPENDIX 4

Active and less active ministers 1713 - 1717

An analysis was made of attendance at 44 sederunts from October 1713 - January 1717. During the earlier part of the period Mr Bickett (Middlebie) and Mr Howie (Annan) were refusing to attend presbytery. 13 of the meetings were at Half Morton, 8 at Langholm, 7 at Dumfries, during the synod, 6 at Kirkpatrick Fleming, 6 at Annan, the others elsewhere. During the period two presbytery members died, James Moffat of Dornock in 1714 and Robert Darling of Ewes in December 1716, aged only 47. Darling — despite having probably the longest distances to travel — had been the most regular attender, at 36 out of 41 meetings before his illness and death. By the end of the sample period at least two ministers were in their 60s — and might have been able to plead their years as an excuse for avoiding travel. These were John Mein of Westerkirk (65), and John Laurie of Eskdalemuir (61). It is possible that James Armstrong of Canonbie was also suffering from ill-health. His attendance became very poor in 1716, and he died early in 1719.

David Graham was called to Kirkmahoe in 1716. James Hunter was ordained at Dornock in April 1715.

The activists, those who enjoyed big occasions and church business, would be regular in attending the synod in Dumfries. In this category were Darling, Graham, Currie and Bicket. Others like Mein, Armstrong and Gowanlock did not attend synod even when he was moderator of presbytery. The table suggests that Gowanlock was extreme in his dislike of travel. He was among the most regular attenders in Annandale, in which we include Half Morton, which was within easy reach of Kirkpatrick. He went only twice to Langholm — once when he was moderator. If we were to sub-divide Annandale into Half Morton and all the points westward we would find that Armstrong seemed to draw the line at Half Morton, which was conveniently close to Canonbie. Beyond that he was unwilling to go.

Minister	Attendance			Attendance in		
	possible	actual	%	H.M & Ann.	Lang. & Esk.	Dumfries
Robert Darling (Ewes)	41	36	88	22	8 (max 8)	6
James Currie (Hoddam)	44	34	78	21	8	5
David Graham (Langholm)	36	29	81	10	6 (max 7)	4
James Black (Gretna)	44	31	70	21	6	2
Robert Bicket (Middlebie)*	44	29	66	21	4 (max 7)	4 (max 5)
James Gowanlock (Kirkpatrick)	44	28	63	25	2	1
John Laurie (Eskdalemuir)	44	27	61	19	5	3
John Mein (Westerkirk)	44	26	59	20	5	1
James Armstrong (Canonbie)	44	22	50	16	6	0
James Hunter (Dornock)	17	11	65	7	2 (max 4)	2 (max 2)
Thomas Howie (Annan)*	44	11	25	7	2 (max 3)	2 (max 2)
James Moffat (Dornock)		1				—
*After their return to the fold						
Robert Bicket	34	29	85			
Thomas Howie	10	8	80			

APPENDIX 5

Division of Kirkpatrick Fleming Church — 1st March 1727

Kirkpatrick Fleming. Mr Gowanlock present.

Francis Irving and his son William were chosen to do the measuring. The Kirk was found to measure 1117 feet square.

The division:

The Marquis of Annandale: 19½ ft. sq. in the north side of the area.

Sir William Maxwell: 15 ft. sq. through the whole church including the door on the south end.

William Irving of Bonshaw and Thomas Irving of Broats: from the west end of the Marquis' in length to the east side of the north door and to the area in breadth all that way as also that proportion between the minister's seat to the south side of the area allowing the minister to put up his footgane before his seat next to the area.

Mr William Grame of Mossknow and William Scott of Baltinmount: their proportion from the west side of the north door in length to the west gavel in breadth to the north side of the area.

Cove and Wisby: their proportions from the south side of the area at the west gavel to the west side the large south door as also that part from the east side of the area in breadth.

Wamphray: from the west end of Sir William Maxwell's to the south side of the minister's seat end in length and to the south side of the area in breadth.

The report was accepted. The heretors were asked to provide the interior with seats, according to the said division. They agreed.

WALTER NEWALL, ARCHITECT IN DUMFRIES

by

Aonghus MacKechnie

This article originated from a talk given in Dumfries during the Octo-Centenary celebrations of 1986.

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to, and briefly outline, the importance of one particular Scottish local architect whose work is now recognised as exceptional. Walter Newall was born at Doubledyke, New Abbey, on 3 April 1780. His working life was spent mainly in Dumfries and he retired to New Abbey, where he died in 1863. He is buried in St. Michael's Kirkyard, his grave marked by a plain slab of Kirkcudbright granite. His work has not as yet attracted serious study, beyond some preliminary notes by W. J. Wolffe of Gatehouse which in turn incorporates work by Richard Emerson and material from Howard Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*.¹

Documentary evidence identifies only a few of his works and until more is discovered, a great many buildings must remain only attributions (see Appendix). Stylistically Newall's work is readily recognisable, characterised by distinctive well-proportioned elevations, often with chunky architraves, a variety of single-light and mullioned windows with a distinctive horizontal glazing pattern, doors with pedimented hoods or massive doorpieces with plain pilasters as deep or deeper than they are in breadth; some porches have square monolithic Doric columns without entasis, paralleled at Arthur Lodge, Edinburgh (? by Thomas Hamilton), and comparable to those popularised in Glasgow by David Hamilton² (although Hamilton's square columns usually divide into three blocks and have entasis); Newall also favoured Egyptian-inspired deep cavetto cornices to openings, chimney stacks and gatepiers.³ Sometimes in his domestic designs the main door was placed on the flank rather than on the main long elevation, as in the more advanced country house designs of the period, so that the principal rooms could be *en suite* with greater privacy from callers at the door, and in some of his compositions two or more sides of the building were given similar elevational treatment (see in particular Glencairn Manse, 1840).

The whole Dumfriesshire series of smart late Georgian classical and Greek revival buildings, following Smirke's Kinmount and Burn's Craighielands, is clearly by someone who was fully aware of architectural developments elsewhere in Britain at this time. This seems certain to be Newall, not only by analogy with his documented works, but because his authorship is not challenged by any other contender. His only other local rival, the unlucky and less proficient James Thomson (cf. the quality of Thomson's Sanquhar Manse⁴ with those by Newall), who moved to Dumfries from Edinburgh, had died in the cholera epidemic of 1832.⁵ But, more importantly, Newall's superior mastery of the classical idiom is proved by his documented works such as his spectacular conversion of the Maxwelltown windmill to an observatory to coincide with the 1835 visit of Halley's comet.⁶ His Greek

1. Copy of Wolffe's paper lodged in National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS); H. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1660-1840*, 1978.

2. For example St. Fillans (now Manor Park Hotel), Skelmorlie c. 1843; Western Club, Glasgow 1840.

3. This particular detail became fairly popular in Dumfriesshire.

4. SRO, CH2/298/10 p. 304ff.

5. W. McDowall, *Memories of St. Michael's Churchyard, Dumfries*, 1876, p.126 (quoted in Colvin op.cit., p. 824).

6. Observatory Committee Minutes held at Dumfries Museum.

revival buildings show full awareness of the fluted Doric porches of the 1830's and '40's in Edinburgh and exported by George Smith⁷ to Glasgow; they also have consoles with distinctive anthemion ornament, and this can be paralleled, for example at what is now the Beattock Hotel (attributed) which is closely related in design to "Glassmount House, Moffat" (now Hunter's Croft) for which drawings survive.⁸ The former National Commercial Bank in Irish Street (attributed) is of the form popularised by William Burn, with advanced outer pavilions, but with its colonnade seems an original variant of the design.⁹ The best of these buildings are fully the equal of their big city counterparts.

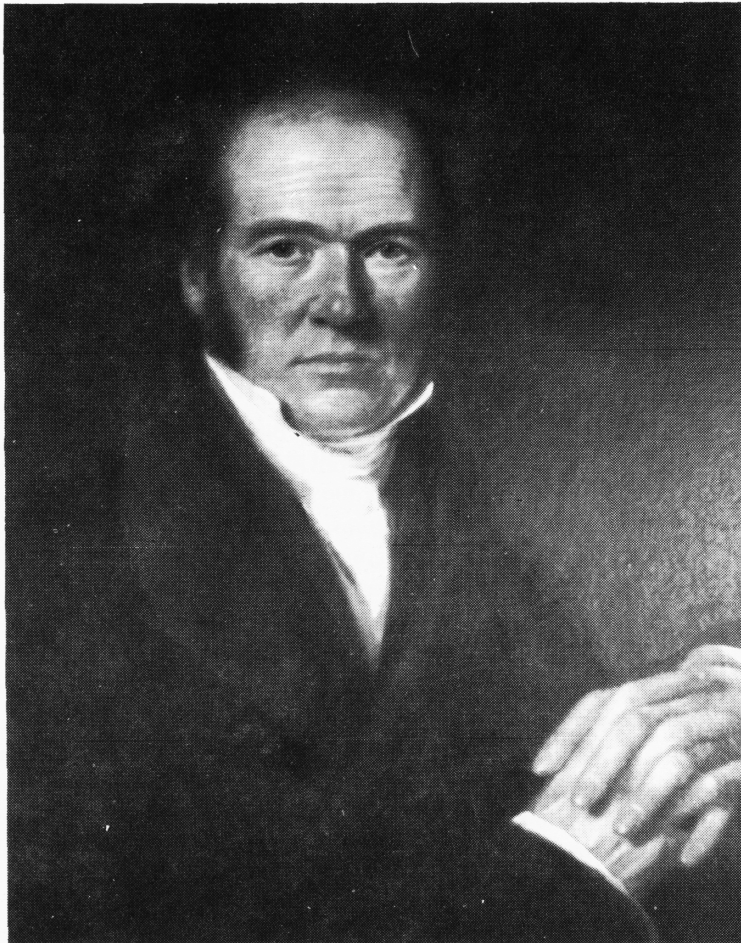


Fig. 1 Walter Newall. From a painting belonging to Margaret Graham-Bell (date and artist unknown). Reproduced by permission.

7. For Smith see Colvin, *op.cit.*, p. 754; also Gomme & Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow*, 1968.

8. Copies in NMRS.

9. For this type of design see D. M. Walker in *Scottish Pioneers of the Greek Revival*, 1984 (pub. Scottish Georgian Society).

Nothing is known of Newall's architectural background beyond Loudon's remark that Newall ". . . had and profited by every advantage that an architect can have, not only in Britain, but in France and Italy".¹⁰ But the sophistication of Newall's compositions indicates that he must have been apprenticed to a fairly up-to-date metropolitan architect; and he must have kept himself continuously up-to-date, since he was back in Dumfries as early as 1811 before the Greek Revival was common currency even in London. In that year (according to Wolffe) he supervised improvements to the River Nith for the Nith Navigation Committee, to a design by Holinsworth. In 1845 he produced, also for navigational purposes, a drawing showing water levels and depths between Dumfries and Southernness¹¹ (the Southernness lighthouse had already been given roughly its present appearance by him in 1842-3),¹² perhaps with reference to the well-known Stevenson family of engineers whose office ink-stamp the drawing bears and in whose drawings collection it was retained. Perhaps it is significant that the Stevensons, like Newall, also favoured deep cavetto cornices to openings, e.g. at Ardnamurchan lighthouse, 1846-9.¹³ In addition to such surveying work, he also undertook civil engineering contracts (he appears on the 1851 Census as "Architect and Civil Engineer"),¹⁴ and in 1849, in conjunction with William Gale of Glasgow he helped bring Dumfries and Maxwelltown their piped water supply from Lochrutton Loch.¹⁵ Another ambitious engineering project was his unexecuted 1824 design for a suspension bridge with a span of 100 feet.¹⁶ It was a comparatively early example of this bridge type, designed only 4 years after construction of the United Kingdom's first large-scale suspension bridge at Dryburgh.¹⁷ If executed, it would have been one of the earliest such bridges to be built in Scotland.

Like his better-known contemporaries, Newall produced designs in various of the styles popular in the Regency period. Although most at ease with Classical Facades, his individually-detailed and picturesque Hunter's Croft and his neo-Tudor Bank Street/High Street corner tenement in Dumfries show competent mastery of their style. Dalawoodie house, a handsome Italianate villa, is almost certainly attributable to him, and this composition successfully includes neo-Greek detailing including lotus chimney-cans to a pattern designed by Alexander "Greek" Thomson and presumably brought from Glasgow.

Newall's Gothic buildings, while still perfectly competent, are stylistically less innovative. Few Gothic domestic designs by him are identified (Lincluden, 1824 and Kerrfield c. 1820, but see Appendix), and his Gothic churches — only Gothic examples are identified — are, externally, straightforward spiky-pinnacled boxes, usually with a square tower central on one gable as on contemporary churches by Gillespie Graham, David Hamilton, William Stirling and others.¹⁸ But there are points of originality in their planning, and the marked similarity between Thomson's and Newall's churches must merit

10. Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Lodge & Villa Architecture*, 1837, p. 458.

11. National Library of Scotland, Stevenson plans collection held in map library annex.

12. Nith Navigation Committee minutes in Dumfries Archives.

13. For illustrations see, e.g., Ritchie and Harman *Argyll and the Western Isles*, 1986, p. 52 (HMSO *Exploring Scotland's Heritage*, Regional Guide).

14. Quoted by Wolffe, *op.cit.*

15. Plans in SRO (see Appendix). From about 1845 William Gale was involved with the Gorbals Gravitation Water Co. (Strathclyde Regional Archives — T-PM 134-20; RV 11/20); he was probably the father of James Gale who "designed and executed with conspicuous skill and success" the Glasgow Water Works authorised by the Act of 1885 (Archives, AGN, 1929).

16. Original plan held by Stewartry Museum, copy in SRO (see Appendix).

17. J. Hume, *Industrial Archaeology*, Vol. 1, 1976, pp. 82-3

18. For example Campsie & Larbert.

consideration; Sanquhar, 1822-4, and Kirkmahoe, 1822, have both been internally remodelled, but Thomson's Dunscore, 1823, and Newall's Lochmaben, 1819-20 (attributed), have fared better. Both retain their pulpit on the tower gable, with the vestry in the tower second stage directly behind, an ingenious arrangement which seems to derive from Burn's Greek Revival North Leith, 1814-16.¹⁹ The drawback to this plan arises if the doors are at or near the tower, when latecomers interrupt the proceedings, and it is perhaps with this in mind that both Kirkmahoe and Dunscore have their tower placed on the gable furthest from the village. The requirement of the sites at Sanquhar and, more especially, Lochmaben, render this latter arrangement impractical in these cases.

Perhaps Newall's most interesting Gothic design is that for a Latin cross-plan building which can now be identified as St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, New Abbey, 1824; straightforwardly detailed, only the "nave" is given over for worship, whilst the presbytery occupies the remainder of the building. It is thus an imaginative and perhaps solitary offshoot from a sequence of Roman Catholic Churches (e.g. Tombae; South Uist c. 1830)²⁰ built in the early 19th century which combine church and presbytery under one roof.

Newall often experimented with variants of one composition, and, consequently, we often find the same design re-used in little-altered form; thus it is hard to imagine that the architect of Hunter's Croft was not also the architect of the Gracefield Arts Centre in Dumfries and the Beattock Hotel, or the designer of Tinwald manse was not also responsible for that of Caerlaverock.

In 1810, the then Duke of Buccleuch succeeded to the Queensberry estates. These estates had been run down by "Old Q" (the 4th Duke of Queensberry) and in the early 1820's improvement on the Duke's Kirkmichael estates was progressing.²¹ There is no documentary evidence that Newall was involved with the Kirkmichael improvements, but around 1829/30 he produced designs for upwards of 50 farm houses, cottages and steadings in the Drumlanrig area. These steadings are of exceptional interest, with their very elegant and well-proportioned astylar elevations, each steading designed for the particular requirements of each individual farm. Some of these designs were published by J. C. Loudon²² as model farms and so Newall's ideas were disseminated throughout Britain and beyond. This connection with Loudon is intriguing, and even allowing for Loudon being Scots, shows a metropolitan regard for Newall's work as a planner of farm steadings and villas. Besides the selection of Newall's designs in Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, two headstones by him are illustrated in the 1831 *Gardener's Magazine*, together with accompanying prices and freight charges to Whitehaven, and it may be that the distinctive tall aedicular monuments of the 1820's-1860's found throughout Dumfriesshire stem from designs by Newall, whose interest in this field might have been stimulated by Loudon (who, incidentally, considered Dumfries Churchyard one of the finest in Scotland).²³ In 1828, William Burn secured the almost exclusive patronage of the Duke through the influence of Sir Walter Scott who had been the Duke's guardian; by then, Burn already enjoyed a national reputation, particularly as a designer of country houses, and he seems to have displaced Newall just as he did Atkinson and as he was later to see off Charles

18. For example Campsie & Larbert.

19. D. M. Walker in ed. Fawcett, *Seven Victorian Architects*, 1976, p. 148; Colvin, op.cit., p. 161.

20. Ardkenneth, for example, is said to have been built in or around 1828.

21. SRO SC15/65 (Records of Entailed Estates).

22. Loudon, op.cit., p. 441 ff; for Loudon see Colvin, op.cit., pp. 524-5; also reference within next footnote.

23. Quoted by J. S. Curle in *Garden History*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1983 (paper on Loudon). It was common practice for architects to provide such designs; for example cf. David Neave of Dundee's designs for funerary monuments, copies in NMRS. Loudon also says of Dumfries (*Gardener's Magazine*) "Erecting tombstones here is quite a mania among the middle classes . . . brought about chiefly by the cheap and easily wrought red freestone, and the talents of the late mason and sculptor Mr. Alexander Crombie."

Barry, architect of the Houses of Parliament, when the Duchess was toying with the idea of remodelling Drumlanrig. Subsequently, on some of the larger farms, Newall's steading designs were used, while the farm-houses were built to Burn's designs.²⁴ For the more important works, therefore, after about 1830 the Duke turned to Burn, and Newall fades from the scene. Although most of Newall's farmhouses had been merely single storey cottages with attics, most of which were enlarged in the 1860's, his farmhouses at Gateslack and at Holestane are fine buildings, and — ironically — of greater architectural interest than the more mechanically produced farmhouses from Burn's drawing office.

Dumfries Museum has recently had the good fortune to obtain from Canada some of Newall's sketch books and bound volumes of his drawings, as well as some volumes from his library. While the drawings comprise only a fragment of his life's work, all this material will nonetheless repay close study. Some designs are recognisable as having been copied from John Plaw's *Ferme Ornée* of 1795, and John Papworth's *Rural Residences*, 1818, but others can be identified as executed projects, e.g., Kerrfield Cottage (now Mount St. Michael's) and Netherwood House as well as the almost identical Woodlands House (now the Embassy Hotel).

Newall had retired by 1861, having worked in Dumfries for close to 50 years and he died at his home at Craighend, New Abbey, on 25 December 1863. W. J. Wolffe tells us that in 1851 he had two assistants working with him, and also that John Gegan, the Dumfries-born Manchester architect (he designed the Dumfries Savings Bank building, 1847²⁵ and the Sinclair Memorial "Temple", 1841²⁶), was apprenticed to him. James Barbour's obituary²⁷ 1912 states that he was apprenticed to "Adam[sic] Newall", and Barbour apparently carried on Newall's firm, becoming Barbour and Bowie late in the 19th century. The firm still operates as Sutherland Dickie and Copeland, and some of Newall's drawings are still held in that office.

In one sense Newall was unremarkable, for the early 19th century saw for the first time a generation of local architects who, at their best, could fully equal their metropolitan counterparts. Newall in the south-west, and in the north-east, William Robertson,²⁸ who was responsible for highly sophisticated designs such as Aberlour House, are prominent examples. This high standard was achieved in part by the increasing availability of published sources such as those we know Newall used, but both Robertson and Newall seem to have been trained in a city office before returning home, probably through choice, and while at an early stage in their careers.

Walter Newall was not perhaps one of Scotland's foremost architects. But that has been more because the largest commissions did not come his way rather than from any want of accomplishment as a designer and he gave to the south-west a great number of buildings of very considerable quality many of which have an innovative individuality which, as his contemporary Loudon recognised,²⁹ deserved a wider national reputation.

24. For example, Drum, Drumcork, Hayfield, Burn, etc.

25. Information supplied by A. C. Wolffe.

26. Observatory Committee Minutes, information from David Lockwood of Dumfries Museum. In Manchester. Gegan built e.g. The Mechanics' Institute, 1854 and Williams & Glyn's Bank, St. Ann Street, 1848 (see P. Atkins, *Guide across Manchester*, 1976, pp. 30 & 77).

27. *Dumfries & Galloway Standard & Advertiser*, 5.5.1912.

28. For Robertson see E. Beaton, *William Robertson*, 1984.

29. Loudon op.cit., described Newall as "... our excellent contributor ..." (p. 454) and "... most intelligent and experienced architect ..." (p. 457).

Acknowledgements

Advice and help in preparing this article was given by Judith Anderson, Alistair Cowper, Richard Emerson, David Lockwood, Gill MacKechnie, Ann Riches and David Walker. Thanks are also due to Margaret Graham-Bell for authorising figure 1 which is from a photograph which she provided of the original painting belonging to her.

APPENDIX

LIST OF WORKS BY, OR ATTRIBUTED TO, WALTER NEWALL

Amisfield House, 1837: Front range only (Rear built in 1631). Wide margins, canted single storey window in pedimented advanced centre, aedicular entrance on flank — all as seen in a single storey version at nearby Newall's Riddingwood and Cleughheads. Date from a 1901 Sale Catalogue in Ewart Library (Estate advertised for sale in the *Dumfries & Galloway Courier* of 2.4.1834.)

[Attributed.]

Anwoth Parish Church. Produced designs, 1825-6; Received payment in 1831.

[Wolffe, quoting *Heritors' Records*.]

Barjarg, 1811: Repairs only. Estimate for Mr Hunter.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition* — includes sketch elevation of house.]

Borgue Parish Church, 1814:

[Attributed.]

Broadholm, "Mr Johnston's Cottage": n.d. but post 1830.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]

Broomlands House, Dumfries, n.d. (c. 1820): Demolished. Lodge survives as 83 New Abbey Road.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]

Brownhall, Dumfries, Powder Magazine, 1820. Built in a field, the property of Mr Brown of Brownhall, near to the New Quay; Mr Cowan, Landsurveyor, to confirm that the site was the required 1 mile distant from the town.

[*Minutes of the Commissioners of Supply* in Ewart Library, D1/1/15, pp. 396-7, 569-70, etc.]

Buittle Parish Church, 1817-19.

[Wolffe, quoting *Heritors' Records*. 1902 plan by James Barbour in SRO RHP 7847.]

Caerlaverock Manse, 1837: Closely related in design to Tinwald Manse.

[Attributed.]

Bridge over the River Cairn at Jardington, n.d. (?) Executed.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]

Castledykes, Dumfries, "for Ebn' Stott": n.d., demolished.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]

Cavens House, Kirkbean, n.d.: Incomplete estimate for proposed additions. (?) Executed.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]

Cleughheads, near Annan: Design closely related to Sidmount Cottage, Moffat. (cf. Tinwald House).

[Attributed.]

Comlongan Estate. Series of farm-houses and steadings.

[Information ex Mr Simon Green.]

Courance House: Earlier house retained to serve as rear wing.

[Attributed.]

Dalwoodie, c.1840: House, gate piers and Lodge. House is a comparatively early Italianate composition with Greek revival detailing. Tower similar to Granton.

[Attributed.]

Douglas (Lanarkshire), Earliston, 38 Ayr Road.

[Attributed.]

Dumfries, Aldermanhill House: Now within extended Dumfries burgh boundary. Classical villa with urn finials similar to those on Newall's churchyard monuments.

[Attributed.]

Dumfries, 39 Castle Street/42 George Street.

[Attributed.]

Dumfries, 41 Castle Street, 1820. "Involved in the building of" though the street lay-out, and perhaps the elevations, were by Robert Burn (1806). (David Walker has pointed out the similarity between Burn's Forth Street, Edinburgh, and some of the Castle Street/George Street elevations. A copy of Burn's lay-out is in SRO, RHP 1241, and another copy is in Dumfries Museum.)

[Wolffe, citing A. E. Truckell.]

Dumfries Courthouse, 1817-21: Demolished. Designed by James Gillespie Graham, but Newall was employed "for improvements" and "for superintending".

[*Minutes of the Commissioners of Supply* in Ewart Library, D1/1/15, pp. 76, 555.]

Dumfries, Crindau House. Now within extended Dumfries burgh boundary. Classical villa, originally with pyramidal roof, flues gathered into a single apex stack; additions.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition* (drawings).]

Dumfries, Gracefield Arts Centre, Edinburgh Road: Design closely related to Newall's Glassmount House, Moffat, and Beattock Inn.

[Attributed.]

Dumfries, 96-100 High Street, n.d. Tenement with shops at ground level.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition* (drawings).]

Dumfries, 107 & 109 High Street/51 Bank Street. 1827. Date from David Lockwood; occupies the site of "The Pillars". (Adjoining tenement, 43-39 Bank Street is in similar style and may also be attributed to Newall.)

[Newall's will in SRO, SC 16/41/25 p. 564.]

Dumfries, 61 Irish Street (now Albert Club), 1828: Greek revival villa; design closely related to Moat Brae. Unusual composition, 2 front elevations each with Greek Doric central porch. Date from *S.D.D.* list.

[Attributed.]

Dumfries, 92-94 Irish Street, Commercial Bank, c. 1820/30: Adjoining tenement, 30 Bank Street, seems to be part of same building phase.

[Attributed.]

Dumfries, Irving Street Congregational Church, 1835: Interior re-modelled. Date from McDowall, op.cit. 698.

[Attributed.]

Dumfries, Kerrfield Cottage (now Mount St. Michael's and within the extended burgh boundary of Dumfries); n.d. but shown on Clark's view of Dumfries, 1824, (Dumfries Museum). Acquired by the Marist Brothers in 1877.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition* (drawings).]

Dumfries, Moat Brae, George Street, c. 1832. Greek revival villa; design closely related to 61 Irish Street. For Robert Threshie, writer: Newall is known to have made measurements of the garden boundary in 1832. (Information from Dr George Gordon and James Williams, Dumfries.)

Dumfries Observatory, 1835-6. Conversion of 18th Century windmill for the then recently formed Astronomical Society to view Halley's Comet.

[*Astronomical Society Minutes* held by Dumfries Museum — also an alternative design by Ady of Edinburgh.]

Dumfries, St. Michael's Kirkyard. 2 headstones for the Hood Family. Designs similar, or comparable to these, are commonplace throughout the County.

[Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine*, vol. VII (1831), p. 529. (Cited in H. M. Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*.)]

Dumfries & Maxwelltown Water Supply, 1849-51. Designs dated 1849; Supply opened 1851. Carried out in conjunction with William Gale of Glasgow.

{SRO RHP 12047 and RHP 30173.}

Drumlanrig Estate, extensive series of buildings: Documented farms include:

Alton, n.d.	[Loudon, op.cit., pp. 456-7.]
Castlehill steading, 1829, incorporating existing barn.	[Unsigned copy plan in NMRS.]
Coshogle, 1829.	[Copy plan in NMRS.]
Crairiehill, 1829.	[Copy plan in NMRS.]
Gateslack.	[Loudon, op.cit, pp 444-8.]
Holestane.	[Loudon, op.cit., pp 441-3.]
Ingleston.	[Loudon, op.cit., p 454.]

Friars Carse: Cottage: old house (presumably alterations) and offices.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]

Gelston: Douglas of Castle Douglas Mausoleum, Egyptian in style.

[Attributed. Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*: includes (copy) series of drawings — including project with obelisk; also Greek revival variant.]

Glencairn Manse, 1840.

[J. Corrie, *Glencairn Annals* . . . etc., 1910.]

Granton House, near Moffat: (?)1839. Incorporates previous house. Greek revival country-house composed about a central tower in the manner of Smirke's Kinnmount (1813-20) and William Burn's Craigielands (1817). These are discussed by David Walker in *Scottish Pioneers of the Greek Revival*, 1984). cf. entrance with that of Newall's Dumfries Observatory.

[Attributed.]

Halleaths, double cottage (now Moss-side Cottage), 1839. Altered 5-bay elevation, now with central door — original doorways in 2nd and 4th bays (now windows). The stables (1843) a sophisticated composition with colonnaded angles and deep eaves, may also be by Newall.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition* (drawings).]

Hannahfield, now Ladyfield West, Dumfries, c. 1812.

[Loudon, op.cit., pp 850-3; Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition* — accounts dated 1812.]

Holecleuch Farm, n.d. Unidentified.

[Loudon, op.cit., pp 457-8.]

The Holm, Balmaclellan: Proposed "house for William Taylor", c. 1820.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]

Justenlees, Annan, n.d., House.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*: specifications for the building of a house.]

Kells Church: 1822 datestone.

[Attributed.]

Kilwharity (?Kilwhanity, Kirkpatrick Durham): Estimate for Mr Martin's house, n.d.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]

Kirkbean Cottage, n.d. (Unidentified):

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]

Kirkbean Parish Church, 1835: Addition of steeple only to William Craik of Arbigland's Church. Newall made no charge for his services.

[*Heritors' Records*: SRO, HR 759/1 (cited by Colvin).]

Kirkcolm House, n.d., proposed additions.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]

Kirkcowan Church:

[Attributed.]

Kirkmahoe Parish Church, 1822-3.

[Colvin, *op.cit.*, p. 588, quoting *Heritors' Records*; Alterations by James Barbour, 1889 — copy plans in NMRS.]

Lincluden House (also called Youngfield), 1824. House now demolished. A large stable-block, also by Newall, survives.

[Dumfries Museum: plans of house in *Newall Acquisition*; also 1821 account for stables; McDowall, *History of Dumfries*, 1867, p. 165.]

Lochmaben, 34 High Street: Said to have been built for Buccleuch Estates factor; double-pile house with twin-gabled flanks, compare design with Newall's Nether Corsock, fenestration with garden elevation of Lochmaben Parish manse.

[Attributed.]

Lochmaben Parish manse, 1838-9.

[SRO HR 624/1.]

Lochmaben Parish Church, 1819.

[Attributed. Original plan in vestry, if unframed, might reveal artist's signature. Dr John Wilson for his otherwise helpful *The Churches of Lochmaben* 1981, was unable to identify the architect.]

Lochrutton Parish Church, 1819: Building contract refers to Newall as arbiter, but query if his design.

[Wolffe, quoting *Heritors' Records*: unsigned plans dated 1818 in SRO RHP 7094-5.]

Lockerbie, High Street? Bank.: Distinctive composition, deep cavetto cornices, detailing as seen, for example, at Hunter's Croft.

[Attributed.]

Mains House, n.d., for General Dunlop: Proposed additions.

[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]

Moffat, Glassmount House (now Hunter's Croft), 1851. Villa, bow window an amendment to original design.

[Copy plans in NMRS.]

- Moffat, Huntly Lodge: Villa, closely related in design to Newall's nearby Hunter's Croft.
[Attributed.]
- Moffat Schools, n.d. Executed?
[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*. Project sketches.]
- Moffat, Sidmount Cottage, 1832: Villa, design closely related to Cleucheads, near Annan.
[Attributed.]
- Mouswald Parish manse, c. 1830. Probably alterations rather than built anew.
[Dumfries Museum, plans in *Newall Acquisition*: compare plan SRO RHP 8263; *New Statistical Account*, p. 448.]
- Murraythwaite House, n.d., unexecuted. Palladian design, central pediment, thermal window in tympanum as seen at Dumcrieff House. Murraythwaite (nucleus 1766) was remodelled in 1844 in a neo-Jacobean style, but no architect for this work has been identified. The house was subsequently remodelled by Sir Reginald Blomfield, 1902.
[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*, contains proposed elevation drawing.]
- Nether Corsock (later Glenlair) House, 1830, for James Clerk Maxwell. Double-pile with twin-gabled flanks, perhaps enlarging an existing house. Newall's house relegated to the status of rear wing following additions by Peddie & Kinnear.
[Plans in Peddie & Kinnear Collection, index held by NMRS.]
- Netherwood House, n.d.
[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*.]
- New Abbey, Devorgilla Cottage, survey plan of grounds, 1845. 1847 dated conversion of outbuildings is in the style of Newall.
[Plan held by owner.]
- New Abbey, Kindar Lodge: Additions to existing house.
[Attributed.]
- New Abbey, Roman Catholic combined Church with Presbytery, 1824. Cruciform-plan design.
[SRO RHP 3545. Plans as executed and with alternative design — both Gothic.]
- Nith, River: 1811 — supervised river improvements to scheme by Holinsworth.
[Wolffe, op. cit.]
- Nith, River: 1847 — drawing showing levels and depths; Dumfries to Southernness.
[NLS, ms 6867.22]
- Parton Parish Church: Contract dated 1832; payment made 1834. Newall had previously submitted a design in 1818.
[Wolffe citing *Heritors' Records*.]
- Riddingwood House, "Villa residence and farmery", n.d. Published design has only 3 bays (none of Newall's designs published in the *Encyclopaedia* are exactly as built) to garden elevation which, as executed, is symmetrical, having 5 bays, the centre set forward.
[Loudon, op.cit., pp. 642-5.]
- Southernness Lighthouse, 1842-3: Remodelling of existing navigational pillar.
[G. Stell in *Transactions, Dumfries & Gall. Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Society, IIIrd Series, Vol. LIX*.]
- Stroquan House, 1845: Additions to existing house.
[Attributed.]

Tinwald Parish Manse, 1837:
[NMRS — copy plans.]

Upper Cluden, n.d., Farmhouse & steading.
[Loudon, op.cit., pp. 459-60.]

Wallacehall Academy, 1842: The rear wing of the present (1795) main block is the original 1724-9 school and schoolhouse, by William Luckup, which was remodelled by Newall. Other additions were made to Wallacehall in 1777 and 1882.

[Ramage, *Drumlanrig & the Douglasses*, 1876, pp. 270-303.]

Woodlands (now Embassy Hotel, Dumfries): House. Lodge and gatepiers. Design of house closely related to that of Newall's Netherwood. Lodge compares with that of Broomlands.

[Attributed.]

Un-named and unexecuted.

Accounts in Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*, include:

- a. Estimate for Benjamin Bell, n.d. (alterations).
- b. Estimate for Mrs Copeland, n.d., but c. 1811 (alterations).
- c. House for Archibald MacDougall, probably 1811-2; cost £1310.
- d. Alterations for William Monies, n.d., but c. 1812.
- e. William Thomson, for "making a meal chest", n.d. but c. 1812.
- f. Estimate for Messrs Thomson & Kerr, 1817 (alterations).
- g. Estimate for Mrs Williamson, n.d., but c. 1811.

"A Farm-house and farmery for four ploughs, designed, and in part executed, in Dumfriesshire". Possibly a project for Muirhouse, near Lockerbie.

[Loudon, op.cit., pp. 460-2.]

Church, 1817:
[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition* — estimate for a church.]

Glencairn Parish Church (unexecuted): Submitted design in 1835, but design by William MacCandlish of Dalry was preferred.

[Wolffe quoting *Heritors' Records*].

Gribton, Suspension Bridge at, 1824. Unexecuted. Design entitled "Mr Newall's Plan of a Suspension Bridge over the Cairn at Gribton Ford". Span 100 feet. Stone pylons in neo-Egyptian style. Original drawing in the Stewartry Museum; copy in SRO, RHP 35863; an alternative design in stone (RHP 35864) by [John] Seggie entitled "Copy by Mr Newall of Mr Seggie's Plan of Bridge over Cairn at Gribton Ford"; also dated 1824.

Maxwelltown House, 1824, unexecuted: Scheme for west range.
[Dumfries Museum, *Newall Acquisition*].

POSSIBLE "AXEHEAD" CARVINGS AT KNOCK, WIGTOWNSHIRE

by

Maarten A. M. van Hoek

Taking advantage of a fine sunny day for photography at Knock (NX3662 4059) in March 1989, Mrs Elles van Hoek noticed some faint grooves on an exposed rock surface at this rough outcrop ridge, which is at an altitude of 52m OD., some 350m inland from Monreith strand.

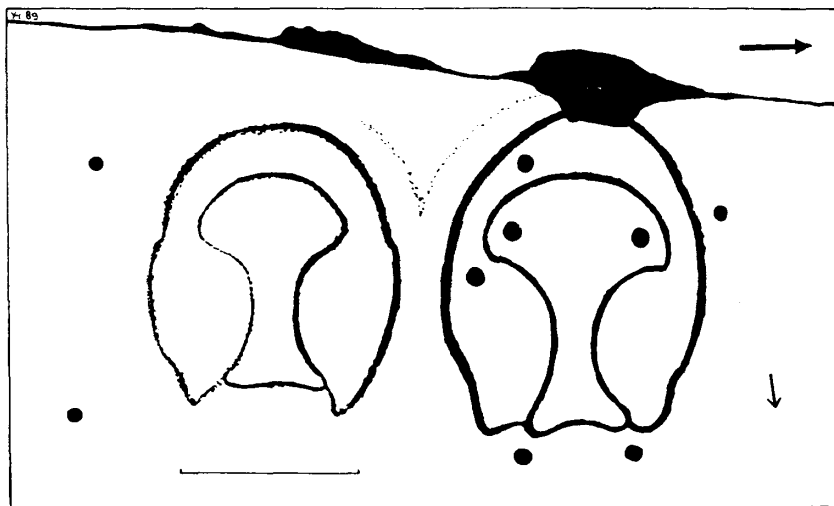


Fig. 1 Knock 3E. The larger arrow indicates the magnetic North, the smaller arrow shows the slope of the rock. The scale is 10cm.

After cleaning, a set of most interesting figures (Knock 3E) was revealed on a panel of rock sloping 40°E. (Figure 1). There are two shield-like devices enclosing a figure shaped like an axehead each in the same position, the "blade" facing upwards. Although quite worn, pockmarks can still be seen in places. The left figure is more weathered and is somewhat smaller. The right one is better preserved and moreover has two dots carved at symmetrical positions on the "blade". Seven more of such dots occur, but some may be natural. Similar dots, however, also appear on halberd engravings in Galicia, N.W. Spain, and probably these depict ornamental knobs, commonly found on Bronze-Age metal weapons. The two devices are some 3cm apart and form a unity by the style of carving, their relative positions and by a faint V-shaped groove in between the two "shields".

If indeed these engravings represent real axeheads (which is not at all certain) and if the two dots on the larger "blade" are intentional, the carvings may depict ceremonial axeheads, perhaps of the Early Bronze Age. Together with these "axes" Knock 3 now shows a remarkable mixture of art-styles: spirals (Knock 3D), cup and rings (Knock 3ABC) and a group of single cupmarks occur on this site, therefore being a good example of a multi-period site. These "axe" engravings are unique in rock art as far as the author could check and must be carefully protected. Therefore the site has been completely covered up with new turf and field-clearance stones.

HILLS IN CUMMERTREES

by

Duncan Adamson

When researching the ancestry of Miss Ann Hill who endowed the funds for research into the history and archaeology of Kirkpatrick-Fleming Parish, a possible connection with the Hills in Cummertrees had to be checked. In the event it was found that her family had originated elsewhere, but the work threw up some interesting notes on the local family of which only the introductory material is reproduced here. The detailed results of the research will be lodged in the Ewart Library, Dumfries, and eventually elsewhere. Meantime interested parties may obtain photocopies from the Honorary Secretary, Mr R. H. McEwen, Seaforth, Douglas Terrace, Lockerbie. (Editors:).

The earliest reference I could find to the Annandale Hills was in 1459 when George Hill 'dominus de Ryale' is mentioned in the *Exchequer Rolls*.¹ He had been fined for non appearance, and the fine was remitted.

The designation 'of Ryale' indicates that the family were the owners. Most of the leading local families can produce records from an earlier date, and it may well be that somewhere in a monastic record or elsewhere there is a charter for Ryehill, or however it was then spelt, to the first of the local Hills.

The family still had Ryehill in 1493 when Katerine Hill, Jonete Hill and Blance Hill received sasine of 'Ryall, Cummertrees'.² It looks as if three sisters inherited, in which case we would expect the next owner to have a different surname. However, there was a George Hill of Ryehill who died in 1513, which was of course the year of Flodden. He appears to have died without male heirs because it was through his death that the estate passed, via the Johnstones of Newbie, to Johnstone of Ryehill in 1606.³ This process took almost 100 years, during which it would seem that a branch of the Hill family continued to call themselves 'of Ryehill', even if without full legal justification for so doing. In 1597, for example, an entry in the Register of the Privy Council refers to 'Geordie Hill of Ryill' and numerous others who had raided the property of Rigsidie.

In 1607 the estate was worth a yearly rental of 126 merks. Not a particularly large estate.⁴

The Hills were not significant enough to be listed as a 'clan' in the turbulent period from the mid 16th century on — nor did I find them among those who were 'assured' with the English in the 1540s. Again, this is no doubt simply because they were too small a group to be listed on their own. They were probably regarded as 'men' of the laird of Johnstone. Their occasional mention in the numerous lists of outlaws and the like shows that they behaved as other men did and joined in the feuding and reiving that characterised the period.

In 1611 we find a Geordie Hill in Cummertrees among those who were 'execute'.⁵ This was the period of the Maxwell-Johnstone wars, during which, as another document shows, Annandale folk didn't think it safe to go to Dumfries, which was Maxwell country. The Register of the Privy Council for 9-12-1628 records a petition from John Johnstone of that ilk.⁶ He, along with Walter Hill in Netherfield and others, were to be tried in Dumfries, but dared not go there because of the feuds. They asked if they could stand trial elsewhere.

Although they were no longer landowners, the Hills in Cummertrees were still of considerable status and respectability. In 1617 John Hill was constable of Cummertrees, responsible for supplying horses from the parish for King James VI's visit to Scotland.⁷ Six years later John Hill in Cummertrees, possibly the same man, was cautioner for the testament of Mr Robert McIldowne, the parish minister. This was a year of terrible famine when the country people flocked to the town of Dumfries, presumably in search of food, and died there in great numbers.

1. *Exchequer Rolls* for 1459 p.556

2. *Ibid*, vol IX, for 1493

3. See, for example, Edinburgh Testaments 18-3-1578 (*RCR*); *R.P.S.* VI 1942 (2-3-1565); Acts & Decrees 20-12-1606 (*RCR*); Reg. Deeds 12-8-1623 (*RCR*). The Johnstones of Newbie claimed that since the death of George Hill in 1513 they had had rights of wardship and non-entries. Such rights would be consistent with George Hill having died young, (perhaps killed at Flodden), and perhaps leaving a family, but the evidence does not warrant making that anything other than a speculation.

RCR refers to the R. C. Reid collection in the Ewart Library, Dumfries, an invaluable source for 16th and 17 century history.

4. *Register of Deeds* 1623, quoting a Decree of Apprising April 1607.

5. *RPC* IX '16 Dec. 1611

6. *RPC* XI p.618

7. *SRP* CC5/6/1 4 Nov 1624

The next minister was Mr Andrew Ruat who is mentioned in the 'Fasti' as coming 'before 1636'. We can now place him about 1629, in which year he took the tenantry of the parish to court for failure to pay their teinds during the vacancy.⁸ There were three separate court cases, and it can be assumed that the great majority of Cummertrees tenants are listed in at least one of the three. Altogether over 70 families appear, from which it is clear that Hill and Irving were at that time by far the most common names in the parish.

Sometimes the clerk had difficulty in finding ways to distinguish one from another. Thus we have John Hill in Cummertrees, John Hill there called Jockie's John, and John Hill there called Davie's John or Davies-son. Likewise we have to distinguish between David Hill in Ryehill, David Hill in Meydseick, and David Hill called the tailor. Edward's Willie, in Cummertrees, is not to be confused with his near neighbour, William Hill in Ryehill, or with William Hill in Littlewhat. If there is an 'Edward's Willie', we would expect to find an Edward Hill as well, but he is not listed. Perhaps he was dead.

The list of claims is of interest in the agricultural history of the area. It indicates that the tenants were expected to supply the minister with hemp and lint as well as the standard crops of oats, beir and peas. There was no mention of wheat. Cheese, wool, butter and hay were also demanded. From the list we may be able to deduce the size of the twenty different 'ferm-touns'. Nine tenants are listed in Burne, each being asked for a like amount, from which we can assume that they were deemed to have equal shares. In Preistsyd Charles Wadill was asked for more than the combined total of the other two tenants, John Coulter and David Johnstoun. It is not always possible to allocate each name with certainty to a specific farm. It seems, however, that there were three major units in the parish — Cummertrees and Burne, each held by 9 tenants, and the farm of Hill by 7. Five are named in Trailtrow. On the other hand, there were no fewer than seven farmers who seem to have been sole tenants. Other farms were shared by two, three or four tenants. (Acts and Decrees.)

At almost the same date there was a court case in Annan, involving an even longer list of defendants, in which not a single Hill is to be found. There was still only one Hill in the Annan parish Hearth Tax list of 1691, but by the early 18th century several Hill families were living there. This suggests that some members of the clan moved eastwards towards the end of the 17th century. There are also a number of references to Hills from Cummertrees in the Dumfries burgh records — including the fine in 1656 of Thomas Hill, merchant in Cummertrees, apparently for 'unfree' trading.⁹

About the same time, in 1675, a tack was agreed between James Douglas of Kelhead on the one hand, and Michael Richardson and George Hill on the other, whereby the latter took an eleven year lease of land at a place specified only by the name of its previous possessor, but near the Outerford Mill.¹⁰ The terms are typical of the pre-agricultural revolution period, except, perhaps, that eleven years was an unusually long lease, and the rent, 126 merks, relatively large. They are 'thirled' to the mill, had to help with hay and harvest, to supply peats, and so on — all normal enough conditions for the period. George Hill, who could not write, added 'I bind myself not to revoke the tack but will ratify at perfect age and 25 years under payne of 500 merks'.

By the time of the Hearth Tax in 1691,¹¹ Hill was still a common name in Cummertrees parish, but to nothing like the extent of 1629. The tax lists nine Hills out of 125 householders — or one Hill out of every 14 names. In 1629 the comparable statistic was one in every five.

8. Register of Acts and Decrees, Vols. 425 p.28, 428 p.75, etc.

9. Dumfries Burgh Council Records 16 Nov. 1656

10. Register of Deeds 1675

11. The Hearth Tax of Dumfriesshire Pt. III ed. by D. Adamson. *Transactions D.&G.N.H. & Antiquarian Society* Vol 49 p.49-64

HOLY WELLS AND COINS

by

R. B. K. Stevenson

The discovery of over forty copper coins left during a couple of centuries by 'pilgrims' at a ruined chapel on Deerness in Orkney has recently been reported and compared with votive coins dropped into holy wells (Stevenson 1986).

The holy well at Cargen, Troqueer, close to Dumfries was cleared out about 1870 yielding hundreds of coins (Dudgeon 1892). The earliest are stated to have been Irish pennies and halfpennies of Elizabeth (of which minting started in 1601 not c. 1560 as the owner supposed); but as the only coin with a harp on it in the sample given to the National Museum was an English farthing token of James I not otherwise mentioned, there may have been some misidentifications. The other specified denominations were also all coppers, of James VI, Charles I and Charles II, William and Mary (English apparently as well as Scottish), Louis XIII, Friesland, George II and George III pennies, halfpennies and farthings. The oldest coins were particularly noted as having been much dissolved by the acid water. It was thought likely that later coppers had been taken by the workmen. When some twenty years later the well was again cleared out current pennies, halfpennies and farthings were recovered, as well as an imitation guinea and half-guinea, and 'one or two' medalets of the Blessed Virgin. The surviving sample in the Museum from these two clearances (cat. NO. 59) has not previously been listed: James VI and I - 1 farthing token probably a counterfeit, 5 pre-union hardheads, 7 post-union turners of which one is an incuse counterfeit made by hammering a coin into a slightly oversize copper disc; Charles I - 3 2nd issue turners, 2 3rd issue turners, 2 uncertain Charles I or II; Charles II - 1st issue turner; Louis XIII tournois c. 1630; 2 plain discs possibly buttons; Victorian brass gaming counter imitating a George III guinea; brass medalet of the Immaculate Conception. Though the effect of the acid water is considerable it is unlikely to account, as Dudgeon suggested, for the absence of earlier coins.

We may compare this sample with the contents of the holy well at the former village of Inshadney near Kenmore, Perthshire, deserted about 1800. These were found to be a farthing of George III 1806, two copper coins almost certainly 2nd issue turners of Charles I, three flat metal buttons of different sizes, probably 18th century, six wire-head pins and a glass bead (Gillies 1926; Nat. Mus. cat. NO. 62-6). The gap in this coin sequence may have been due to earlier clearances of the well.

However the scarcity at the two wells, and among the recorded finds at various chapels in the northern isles, of early 17th century coins, and the absence of earlier ones such as Mary's hardheads, suggests that at this level of religious observance a 'money-economy' came late in rural Scotland. J. M. McPherson in his book on primitive beliefs in Scotland (1929, chap. 3) suggested that there was originally a distinction between rags or garments left at a well to transfer disease from a patient, and coins or pins dropped into a well as a sacrificial gift. Laterly, at least, the distinction could easily be blurred. Sir Arthur Mitchell (1862, 271) recorded that 'It was the custom in Scotland not long ago to drop into the water a pin, or a small coin, or pebble with the name of the patient on it, as well as to attach a bit of clothing to a bush', and he quoted Pliny regarding money and pebbles. Probably indeed by far the largest old deposit of coins in a holy well in Britain are the Roman coins from Coventina's well on Hadrian's Wall (Clayton 1880). The apparently modern compulsion to throw pennies for luck into goldfish ponds, and mock-wells for collecting public donations, takes us away from the deeply-felt motives of past votive offerings.

References

- Clayton, J. *et al.* 1880. 'The temple of Coventina and its contents'. *Archaeol. Aeliana* VIII² 20-49, also Allason-Jones, L. *et al.* 1985. *Coventina's Well*.
- Dudgeon, P. 1892. 'Notice of St Queran's well at Cargen and offerings recently made to it'. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 26 (1891-92), 63-5.
- Gillies, W. A. 1925. 'Notes on old wells and a stone circle at Kenmore'. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 59 (1924-25), 75-8.
- McPherson, J. M. 1929. *Primitive Beliefs in the North-West of Scotland*. London.
- Mitchell, A. 1862. 'On various superstitions in the north-west Highlands and Islands'. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 4 (1861-62), 251-88.
- Stevenson, R. B. K., with Robinson, P. H. 1986. 'Votive coins deposited between 1600 and 1800 in Orkney and elsewhere'. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 116 (1896), 341-45.

A RAMMERSCALES NOTEBOOK

by

James Williams, F.S.A.Scot.

The history and genealogy of the family of Carruthers of Rammerscales has been very adequately dealt with by the late Dr R. C. Reid and A. Stanley Carruthers as part of their *Records of the Carruthers Family* published by Elliot Stock of London in 1934. However a few additional notes can be provided by a manuscript volume still retained within this Society's now somewhat depleted Library collections. The volume was presented, at an ordinary meeting of the Society, upon 17th January 1908;¹ The donor was our Life Member the late Mr Thomas Fraser, Publisher, of Maxwell Knowe, Dalbeattie — at the time of presentation it was simply described as an "Old Account Book which belonged to the Carruthers' Family of Rammerscales".

It is a slim, somewhat tattered, leather-bound notebook which first saw use at a meeting held upon the 18th of June 1706 when Robert Carruthers, the then Laird of Rammerscales, and his Curators came together to discuss estate policy.

Robert Carruthers, the fourth Laird, Rammerscales, was served heir to his father Robert on 26th June 1694. His mother was Margaret Dalyell. He was "out" in the '45 and, according to some authorities, was tried at Westminster, had his estate confiscated, and died abroad. He married, sometime prior to 1730, a lady named Penelope Sharp and by her had two children — Robert and Henrietta. He died in November 1750.²

According to the Account Book his Curators consisted of "Sir Robert Johnstoun of Westerhale (son-in-law to Sir Robert Dalyell of Glenae), Captain James Dalyle (second) son to the deceased Sir Robert Dalyell of Glenae, Colonell Thomas Dalyell of Baitford (third son to the deceased Sir Robert Dalyell), John Carruthers of Butterwhat and James Carruthers (brother of Butterwhat) Chamberland to y^e Duke of Queensberry [and] factor to the s^d Robert Carruthers". The foregoing list of Curators extends that given by Reid and Carruthers in the *Records* and tends to confirm the statement given by them regarding the Glenae paternity of Margaret Dalyell — the mother of Robert the fourth Laird of Rammerscales. Neither is it at odds with the evidence presented by Robert Douglas in his *Peerage of Scotland* [Edinburgh, 1764, p. i23-6] because it should be remembered that Sir Robert Dalyell of Glenae became sixth Lord Carnwath in 1702 by virtue of his being served heir to his great grandfather Sir John Dalyell of Glenae — the second son of the first Earl. The disparity between the first edition of Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland* and the *New Peerage*, as edited by Sir James Balfour Paul in 1905 (Edinburgh), cannot presently be explained. The immediate relationship between Robert Carruthers, the fourth Laird, and his Curators John and James Carruthers of Butterwhat is not known — but they must certainly be related as both families claim descent from the family of Holmains.

The residual scattered contents of the volume fall into two main categories vizt.— Firstly, sporadic notes and jottings detailing rents, teinds and wages paid; prices paid for horses; numbers of sheep slaughtered and domestic commodities purchased. And secondly, a series of household recipes. The latter are extensive, interesting, and no doubt represent the notetaking of either the lady of the house or her housekeeper. Although the subjects are predominantly culinary there are also items relating to human and veterinary "cure-alls", as also, two items in the category of "household receipts". The full list of titles reads thus:—

A Pigg Pye.	A Sauce for Fresh Salmon (Another Way.)
To Make a strong Pees Porage.	(Another Way).
To Make a Mutton Pye or Pastie to Eatt like Vennison.	(Another).
To Make ane Orange Pudding.	Ane almost Infallible Cure for the Scabb in Horses.
To Make Minc'd Pies.	Doctor Irving's receipt for a dyet drink ag ^t
To Make Cutlits off Beef.	Scurvey and Dropsy.
To Baikie Jarrs.	Doctor Thomas Scot's receipt for the Scurvy.
To Make Good Sauceages.	The Lady Killkerran's Receipt for the Scurvey.
An Excellent Receipt to make a Potadge.	Receipt for the Scabb in Horses.
To Make a Potadge with Firm of Gellie.	To Pickle Musmillons or Cucumbers Mangoways.
To Make Soupe Meager.	To Pickle Cucumbers.
To Make Pees Potage.	To Make pees Soope.
To Make Sauceges with Skinns.	To Cement Chiny, Glass or Delph.
To Serve a Rump of Beef.	To Make German balls for Shoos. ³
To Make Cutletts.	Receipt for the [Lungs]
To Stuff a Round of Beef.	Recept for a Decay.
A Sauce for Fresh Salmon (the Highland Way).	Recept to make the Jelly of Hertshorn.

1. *Transactions*, IInd Series, Vol. XX (1907-08), p.211. Shirley Catalogue: Ref. No. 114-148; 350-02 A337.

2. Testament registered 4th September 1751: *Commissariat Records of Dumfries*. Register of Testaments 1624-1800. Scottish Record Society, 1902.

3. An early form of shoe-polish consisting of beeswax, tallow, Gum Arabic, lampblack and "Train oyll".

The flyleaf bears an interesting example of wage payment and shows servants, and others, being paid a set fee for the appropriate term plus pairs of shoes as a payment in-kind. The record is dated 12th December 1723 and reads:—

	£	s	d
Thomas Paulin hes off Fee and two pear of shoes	03	00	00
James Kerr hes for half yeer and a pear of shoes	01	03	04
Mungo Roe hes in the year	01	05	00
Janet ferguson hes in the half-year	00	11	08
Janet Carlyle hes in the half-year and a pear of shoos	00	10	00
Janet Scott hes in the half-year and a pear of shoos	00	10	00
The Nurse.....	02	04	00
besides Linene a pear of shoes and apron q ^{ch} is.....	00	07	00
For womans shoos In the year	00	10	00
For Men's shoos In the year.....	00	18	04
	<hr/>		
	£13	12	04

PROCEEDINGS 1987-88

9th October

Open Meeting

Speaker: Mr L. Flanagan — 'The Spanish Armada — Its Irish Legacy'

23rd October

Annual General Meeting.

Mr A. E. Truckell was elected as an Honorary Member

Speaker: Dr. P. Hopkins — 'Dowalton Nature Reserve'

6th November

Speaker: Mr N. Park — 'Sea Life in the Solway'

20th November

Speaker: Mr R. Cook — 'Icelandic Voyaging'

7th December

Speaker: Mr J. Bowie — 'The Dalswinton Boat'

8th January

Speaker: Mr A. MacKechnie — 'Buildings in Dumfries'

22nd January

Members' Night

Speakers: Mrs M. Williams — 'John Rutherford of Jardington'

Mr G. Robertson — 'Slides of the Local Area'

5th February

Speaker: Dr R. Musson — 'Earthquakes in South-West Scotland'

19th February

Speaker: Dr Fleming — 'Fungi'

4th March

Speaker: Mr A. Wilmot — 'Birdoswald Roman Fort'

18th March

Special General Meeting — It was agreed at this meeting to raise the subscriptions for the next ensuing year.

Speaker: Mr G. Mann — 'Environmental Implications of Sullom Voe'

LIST OF MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS

as at date of publication

Fellows of the Society are indicated thus *

Members are requested to notify the Hon. Secretary of any errors

LIFE MEMBERS

Baguley, Dr R., 48 Albert Road, Grappenhall, Warrington WA4 2PC	1978
*Birley, Prof. E., Carvoran House, Greenhead, Carlisle CA6 7JB	1935
Blackwell, P. F. B., Ramshill, Upper Easebourne, Midhurst, Surrey	1946
Buccleuch, His Grace The Duke of, Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill DG3 4AQ.....	1975
Burnand, Miss K. E., 36 Hill Street, Dumfries DG2 7AQ	1943
*Cunningham, D., Lamorna, Georgetown Road, Dumfries DG1	1945
Ferguson, Mrs J. T. S., Laggan, Dunscore, Dumfries DG2 OUF	1986
Floyd, Dr J. D., Institute of Geological Sciences, Murchison House, West Mains Road, Edinburgh EH9 3LA	1970
Gaskell, D. R., Auchencbreck Farm, Tynron, Moniaive, Thornhill DG3 4LF	1975
Gordon, J., Whaup Croft, The Lake, Kirkcudbright DG6 4YL.....	1969
Johnston, J. J., P.O. Box 65, Marshall, Arkansas 72650, U.S.A.	1972
Kennedy, A., Craigmullen, Dundrennan, Kirkcudbright DG6 4QF	1943
Mackie, Dr A., Viewfield, Mauchline, Ayrshire	1976
McCulloch, Miss F., Anwoth House, Gatehouse of Fleet DG7 2EF.....	1985
McCulloch, W., Ardwall, Gatehouse of Fleet DG7 2EN.....	1946
Perkins, Dr E. J., Grove Cottage, Birkby, Maryport, Cumbria CA15 0RG	1964
Porteous, Miss M., Lincluden House, Dumfries	1953
Rainsford-Hannay, Dr D., Kirkdale, Carsluith, Newton Stewart DG8 7EA	1969
Runciman, Hon. Sir Stephen, Elsiefields, Lockerbie DG11 ILY	1967
Rynne, Prof. E., University College, Galway, Eire	1964
Skinner, J. S., The Corner House, Closeburn, Dumfries.....	1950
Stewart, F. J., 30/5 Colinton Road, Edinburgh EH10 5DG	1978
Stewart, Mrs O. M., 30/5 Colinton Road, Edinburgh EH10 5DG	1978
Stirling, M., 20 Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2	
Thomas, Mr and Mrs C., Southwick House, Southwick, Dumfries DG2 8AH	1950
Thomson, J., Summerhill House, Annan DG12 6SH.....	1977

ORDINARY MEMBERS

Adamson, D., Highfields, Barrhill Road, Dalbeattie DG5 4HT.....	1981
Adamson, *Mr and Mrs D., 39 Roberts Crescent, Dumfries DG2 7RS	1972
Adamson, Mrs J., 29 Roberts Crescent, Dumfries DG2 7RS	1958
Aitken, Mrs O., 22 Primrose Street, Dumfries DG2 7AK	1985
Aitkenhead, J. M., Kilquany House, Castle Douglas DG7 3DB	1969
Anderson, *Mr and Mrs A., 22 St Annes Road, Dumfries DG2 9HZ	1962
Anderson, Dr and Mrs D., 14 Elizabeth Crescent, Newton Stewart DG8 6HE	1978
Anderson, I., Gribton, Irongray, Dumfries DG2 0JH.....	1982
Andrews, Mr and Mrs J. S., Ryan, Kippford, Dalbeattie DG5 4LL.....	1980
Ansell, M. L., Rannoch, Glenlee, New Galloway DG7 3SF.....	1965
Archibald, A., Eriskay, St. Annes Road, Dumfries DG2 9HZ.....	1970
Austin, W., Glaston, Albert Road, Dumfries DG2 9DL	1977
*Banks, J., Scarknowe, St. Annes Road, Dumfries DG2 9HZ.....	1960
Beard, F. A., North Street, Roxbury, Connecticut, CT06783 U.S.A.	1970
Bell, Mrs A., 12 Castle Douglas Road, Dumfries DG2 7NX	1967
Bell, Miss M., 6a Johnstone Park, Dumfries DG1 4AE.....	1979

Blair, J. B., 49 Whinhall Avenue, Airdrie, Lanarkshire.....	1973
Blake, B., Silver Beck, Silverhowe, Grasmere, Westmorland.....	1953
Bonnar, M. K., The Marlage, by Ashgill, Larkhall, Lanarkshire.....	1975
Boyes, Miss E., 45 Greenlea Crescent, Collin, Dumfries DG1 4PR.....	1969
Brewis, Mrs F., and Mrs R., Ardwell, Stranraer DG9 9LY.....	1958
Brooke, Mrs D., Craignair, Auchencairn, Castle Douglas DG5 4LX.....	1984
Brown, A. J. M., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright DG6 4UB.....	1972
Brown, Dr G., Sea View, Main Street, Port William, Newton Stewart DG8.....	1981
Brown, Mr and Mrs K., 3 Hermitage Drive, Dumfries DG2 7QF.....	1984
Brown, W., Taynord, St. Georges, Castle Douglas DG7 1LN.....	1970
Bryden, T., 5 Woodlands Crescent, Dumfries DG2 0LB.....	1968
Bryson, Dr I., Alma Bank, Lovers Walk, Dumfries DG1.....	1977
Buchanan, Dr J., Zambezi, Mill Hall, Borgue, Kirkcudbright DG6 4TN.....	1981
Cameron, Miss C., 6 Glenannan Avenue, Lockerbie DG11 2EG.....	1984
Carruthers, Miss D. J., Moss-side, Troqueer, Dumfries DG2 8NB.....	1967
Carruthers, O., Dormont Brae, Shillong 793005, Meghalaya, India.....	1977
Carson, Mrs G., Burnfoot of Cluden, Holywood Road, Dumfries.....	1983
Chinnoch, Mr and Mrs J., 63 Albert Road, Dumfries DG2 9DL.....	1968
Clark, J. D., 41 Auchencrieff Road South, Locharbriggs, Dumfries DG1 1XA.....	1971
Clarke, R. J. Ashwood, Closeburn, Thornhill, Dumfries DG3 5HP.....	1983
Clavering, Miss M., Clover Cottage, Moffat, DG10.....	1949
Cochrane, Miss M. S., J. M. Barrie Court, 61 George Street, Dumfries.....	1946
Coleman, Mr and Mrs R., 4 Lovers Walk, Dumfries DG1 1LP.....	1978
Collin, Mr T., Oakley Bank, Kirkcudbright DG6.....	1973
Cormack, *Mr and Mrs W. F., 16 Dryfe Road, Lockerbie DG11 2AJ.....	1951
Cowan, Dr I. B., 119 Balshagray Avenue, Glasgow W1.....	1962
Craig, D., Dept. of Archaeology, 46 Saddler Street, Durham DH1 3NU.....	1985
Crichton, Mr and Mrs P., Mundeville, Tinwald, Dumfries DG1 3PL.....	1989
Crosbie, T. G., 69 Moffat Road, Dumfries DG1 1PB.....	1981
Dalziel, Mr and Mrs F. H., Girthon Kirk Cottage, Gatehouse of Fleet DG7 2DW.....	1972
Daniels, C., Museum of Antiquities, The University, Newcastle upon Tyne.....	1961
Darke, Mrs H., 12 Lake View, Powfoot, Annan DG12 5PG.....	
Davidson, Miss P., Deveron, 4 The High Vennel, Wigtown DG8 9JQ.....	1988
Davies, E. J. M., Cairnmill, Penpont, Thornhill DG3 4LX.....	1973
Dearness, J. W. S., Whistlebrae, Sanday, Orkney KW17 2AZ.....	1979
Dinwiddie, N., 27 Newall Terrace, Dumfries DG1 1LN.....	1937
Dinwoodie, D., 31 Glendale Close, Carleton, Nottingham NG4 4FD.....	1982
Dobbie, A., 1 Georgetown Crescent, Dumfries DG1 4EQ.....	1976
Dobie, Mr and Mrs K. H., 2 Corbelly Hill, Dumfries DG2 7SQ.....	1973
Donaldson, Dr I., 7 Custom House Square, Dunbar, East Lothian EH42 1HY.....	1979
Douglas, Miss I., 83 Edinburgh Road, Dumfries DG1 1JX.....	1968
Drew, Miss H., Corsbie Cottage, Newton Stewart DG8 6JB.....	1989
Dumville, D., Girton College, Cambridge CB3 0JG.....	1969
Dunbar-Lidderdale, J., 21 Withyholt Park, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.....	1966
Dundas, Miss R., Kinnaniel, Kirriemuir, Angus.....	1966
Eden, Dr J. F., Buittle Bridge, East Logan, Castle Douglas DG7 3AA.....	1980
Evans, J. W., UWIST, Aberconway Building, Calum Drive, Cardiff CF1 3EU.....	1987
Farries, T. C., 3 Nunholm Park, Dumfries DG1 1JP.....	1948
Fazakerley, G., Coniston, Carsethorn, Kirkbean, Dumfries DG2 8DS.....	1970
Ferguson, Miss E., 14 Gordon Street, Dumfries DG1 1EG.....	1968
Ferguson, Mrs P., Changue, Port William, Newton Stewart DG8 9QU.....	1988
Ferguson, R., Woodlea House, High Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire.....	1953
Fleming, Mrs M., 7 Charnwood Road, Dumfries DG1 3AG.....	1968
Fraser, Dr and Mrs I., 42 Rotchell Park, Dumfries DG2 7RJ.....	1963
Fraser, J. H., 10 The Drive, Adel, Leeds LS16 6BG.....	1978

Gair, J., 16 Dumfries Road, Lockerbie DG11 1RF	1945
Gemie, Mrs M., Banks of Troqueer, Troqueer Road, Dumfries DG2 7DF	1970
Gerdes, Miss B., 27 Ardwall Road, Dumfries DG1 3AQ	1967
Gibbs, Dr A., Oldhall, Fenwick, Ayrshire KA3 6AR.....	1968
Gibson, Dr J. A., Foremount House, Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire.....	1968
Gillies, Dr J., The Haining, Whinneyhill, New Abbey, Dumfries DG2 8HE.....	1975
Glendinning, Mrs M., Woodend, Sandyhills, Dalbeattie DG5 4NP	1957
Good, W., 6 Abbots Way, Ayr KA7 4EY	1985
Graham, Mrs E., Mansefield, Whithorn, Newton Stewart DG8 8PE	1989
Gray, D. H., 5 Broomhill Road, Lochmaben, Lockerbie DG11 1QW	1970
Green, W., Greenways, Halleaths Road, Lochmaben, Lockerbie DG11 1RB.....	1989
Halliday, G., 1 Noblehill Drive, Dumfries DG1 3HH	1988
Hansaads, B., Ravelston, Lauriston Road, Gatehouse of Fleet DG7 2BE.....	1988
Hanson, W., Dept. of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ.....	1979
Hargreaves, Mrs B., Straith Cottage, Moniaive, Thornhill DG3 4DZ.....	1983
Harper, *Dr and Mrs J., 18 High Street, Kirkcudbright DG6 4JX.....	1947
Hastings, Mrs M. I., 15 Milehouse Crescent, Dumfries DG1 1JZ.....	1983
Hawley, H. N., Tumby Lawn, Boston, Lincolnshire.....	1962
Henderson, D., 42 Mossspark Avenue, Dumfries DG1 4PA	1988
Henderson, I. G., The Hermitage, St Brydes Terrace, Lockerbie DG11 2EJ	1951
Henderson, G. M., South View, School Lane, Moffat DG10 9AX	1988
Henderson, Miss J. M., 5 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries DG1 3AP.....	1945
Henderson, Admiral Sir N. and Lady, Hensol, Mossdale, Castle Douglas DG7 2NE	1984
Henderson, Miss J. E., 6 Nellieville Terrace, Dumfries DG2 7DN	1987
Hendricks, Mrs J., Bonnybrook, Woodside, Collin, Dumfries DG1 4JP	1987
Hesketh, Sir W. and Lady, Glenkiln, Shawhead, Dumfries DG2 9UE.....	1989
Higgs, G. R., 8 Barrhill Road, Kirkcudbright DG6 4BG	1967
Hill, G. M., 102 Edinburgh Road, Dumfries DG1 1JU	1979
Hill, P., Scottish Development Dept., 3-11 Melville Street, Edinburgh EH3 7QD	1985
Hill, Mr and Mrs W., 1 Strathearn Place, Dumfries DG2 7RT	1985
Holland, Mr and Mrs J., Bargaly Lodge, Newton Stewart DG8 7BH.....	1988
Holland, Rev. W. and Mrs, The Manse, New Abbey, Dumfries.....	1986
Horsburgh, W. F., Burn Grange, Ecclefechan, Lockerbie DG11 3DR.....	1978
Hughes, Mrs M., Rambler Cottage, Racks Road, Greenlea, Collin, Dumfries DG1 4PS	1977
Hunter, F., Finnart, Larg Road, Stranraer DG9 0JE.....	1985
Hunter-Blair, E. T., Parton House, Castle Douglas DG7 3NB.....	1965
Hyde, D. B., P.O. Box 793 Kennebunk ME 04043, U.S.A.....	1978
Irving, J. W., Kirkbrae, Lochrutton, Dumfries DG2 8NH.....	1957
Jardine, Dr W. G., 22 Bute Crescent, Bearsden, Glasgow.....	1966
Johnston, J. A., 7 Richhill Crescent, Knock, Belfast BT5 6HF.....	1988
Johnston, E. E., 10421 Kingswood Circle, Sun City, Arizona, U.S.A. 85351	
Johnstone, W. T. M. 2 Druid Park Cottages, Holywood, Dumfries DG2 0RA	1986
Jubb, M., Elliscroft, Elrig, Newton Stewart DG8 9RD	1979
Keevill, Mr and Mrs G. D., 3 Old Inn, Kirtlebridge, Lockerbie DG11 3LZ	1988
Kellar, D. C., Woodlea, Shawhead, Dumfries DG2 9SJ	1984
Kennedv, Dr D., Meadowcroft, Bankend Road, Dumfries DG1 4TP.....	1988
Keswick, Sir W. and Lady, Glenkiln, Shawhead.....	1989
Kingan, Miss A. M. S., Ashcroft, New Abbey, Dumfries.....	1986
Kingan, Mrs M., Blairshinnoch, Kirkgunzeon, Dumfries DG2 8JJ.....	1987
Kinnaird, Dr and Mrs, Meadowcroft, Bankend Road, Dumfries DG1 4TP	1970
Kirkwood, G., 11 Georgetown Crescent, Dumfries DG1 4EQ.....	1986
Koller, Mrs C., 3100 College Avenue, California 94705, U.S.A.	1969
Kungu, Mrs E. M., Low Road, Hightae, Lockerbie DG11 1JJ.....	1984

Laurie, T., Linnpark, Leonard Crescent, Lockerbie DG11 2BE.....	1987
Laurie, Mrs W., 3 Nunholm Place, Dumfries DG1 1JR.....	1975
Lenthall, Mrs S., The Smithy, Marrburn Road, Penpont, Thornhill DG3 4BL.....	1983
Leven, Mrs E., 21 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries DG1 3AP.....	1987
Leyland, Mrs A., Rubylea, Glencaple, Dumfries DG1 4RD.....	1988
Lockwood, D., 78 Church Street, Dumfries DG2 7AS.....	1977
Low, Mr and Mrs A. P., Riverside, Bladnoch, Newton Stewart DG8 9AB.....	1978
Loxam, Miss J., Sidney House, Greenbrae Loaning, Dumfries DG1 3DQ.....	1971
McArthur, Mr and Mrs R., 96 Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries DG2 7JX.....	1986
McBrayer, Dr and Mrs B. E., 23488 SW Ponyridge Drive, Rainbow Lakes Estates, Dunellon, Florida U.S.A. 32630.....	
McCall, P. J. D., Crawford Villa, Johnstone Park, Dumfries DG1 4AE.....	1970
McCallum, C. L., Greenwood Hall, Moffat DG10 9BZ.....	1983
McCracken, A., 3 Alexandra Place, Annan DG12 5DJ.....	1961
McDonald, Mrs M., Struanlea, Moffat Road, Dumfries.....	1984
MacDonald, N. H., Hazelwood, North Laurieknowe, Dumfries DG2 7AL.....	1952
McEwen, R. H., 13 Douglas Terrace, Lockerbie DG11 2DZ.....	1969
McFadden, Mr and Mrs J. A. C., 54 Moffat Road, Dumfries DG1 1NY.....	1969
McFadzean, J., Airylick, Elrig, Port William, Newton Stewart DG8 9RF.....	1981
McGarrie, P., Greystones, Mains Street, Lockerbie, DG11.....	1988
McGarrigle, B. E., 22 Nethercliffe Avenue, Glasgow G44 3UL.....	1972
McJannet, Mr and Mrs W. I., 4 Albany Place, Dumfries DG1 1JN.....	1969
McKean, Mr and Mrs G., 58 Cardoness Street, Dumfries DG1 3QZ.....	1975
McKinnel, Mr and Mrs J. S., Drumskeoch, Colvend, Dalbeattie DG5 4QD.....	1982
McLellan, K., 331 Island Park Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1Y 0A6.....	1988
MacLeod, I., Lower Glenlyon, Station Road, Biggar.....	1963
McLure, M., 69 Edinburgh Road, Dumfries DG1 1JX.....	1983
McNicol, Dr M., 31 Amherst Avenue, London W13 8NQ.....	1977
MacQueen, Prof. J., 12 Orchard Toll, Edinburgh EH4 3JF.....	1952
McWilliam, Dr M., 9840 90 Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.....	1984
Mackie, Miss M., 42 Hardthorn Crescent, Dumfries DG2 9JD.....	1971
Main, Mr and Mrs W. R., Drumburn, Colvend, Dalbeattie DG5 4PY.....	1984
Martin, Mrs M., 18 Rowanbank Avenue, Dumfries DG1 4NB.....	1946
Martin, Mrs M., Duncan Savings Bank Museum, Ruthwell, Dumfries DG1 4NN.....	1986
Mason-Parry, Mr and Mrs K., Auldton Mote, Moffat DG10 9LB.....	1973
Massie, Miss M., 1 Greenlea Drive, Collin, Dumfries DG1 4PP.....	1978
*Masters, L. J., 18A Newark Drive, Pollokshields, Glasgow G41 4QE.....	1966
Mathieson, Mr and Mrs D., 18 St. Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries DG2 7NZ.....	1981
Maton, Miss J. M., 6 Queensberry Brae, Thornhill, Dumfries DG3 5AQ.....	1970
Maxwell, Mrs B., Steadstone House, Dalbeattie DG5 4QT.....	1963
Maxwell, Sir Michael, Monreith House, Port William DG8 9LB.....	1989
Maxwell, Miss M. V., 97 Newchurch Road, Rawtenstall, Rossendale.....	1981
Maxwell, Mrs S., 15 Gordon Road, Edinburgh 12.....	1954
Maxwell, S., 16 Dick Place, Edinburgh 9.....	1966
Maxwell-Irving, A. M. T., Telford House, Blairlogie, Stirlingshire FK9 5PX.....	1987
Meldrum, Mr and Mrs M., 19 Moffat Road, Dumfries DG1 1NN.....	1965
Meyler, Miss R. M., Marlin, Chapel Street, Moniaive, Thornhill DG3 4EJ.....	1967
Millar, J., Peacock Knowe, Closeburn, Thornhill DG3 5JF.....	1949
Minton, Dr J., 11 Old Carlisle Road, Moffat DG10 9QJ.....	1982
Morrison, Miss E., 77 Laghall Court, Kingholm Quay, Dumfries DG1 4SY.....	1985
Muir, Mrs J., North Wing, Carzield House, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries DG1 1SY.....	1981
Murray, Mrs B. J., 4 Moray Place, Edinburgh EH3 6DS.....	1979
Murray, Mr and Mrs J. B., Mount Charles, Moffat DG10 9SB.....	1987
Murray-Usher, Mrs E. E., Castramon, Gatehouse of Fleet DG7 2BL.....	1946
Neilson, Mr and Mrs J., Rosewood, 2 Park Street, Dumfries DG2 7PH.....	1977
Nevay, Mrs N., 27 Lovers Walk, Dumfries DG1 1LR.....	1987

Newell, P., Dept. of Geography, University of Birmingham B15 2TT.....	1985
Nicol, Rev. R., The Manse, Ruthwell, Dumfries DG1 4NP	1984
Nielson, W. W., 33 Spen Road, West Park, Leeds LS16 5AT	1957
Nisbet, T., 9 Georgetown Drive, Dumfries DG1 4EH.....	1972
Ogilvie, D. W., Lingerwood, Nelson Street, Dumfries DG2 9AY	1976
Oram, R., 2 Pitreavie Place, Downfield, Dundee DD3 9ED	1986
Pagan, Miss M., 128 Criffel Road, Lincluden, Dumfries DG2 0PN	1982
Page, Miss J., Hillview, 49 Main Street, Auchencairn, Castle Douglas DG7 1QU.....	1988
Park, Mr and Mrs R., Carronbridge Station, Thornhill, Dumfries DG3 5BE.....	1985
Parker, Dr J., Rose Place, 11 Park Avenue, Chelmsford CMI 2AA	1979
Pate, R., Willowbank, Minnigaff, Newton Stewart	1969
Patterson, Miss J., Lochalt, Loch Head of Elrig, Port William, Newton Stewart DG8 9RG.....	1981
Pearshall, A. W. H., 71 Parkside, Vanbrugh Park, London SE5.....	1969
Pearson, Mr and Mrs J., 29 Castle Street, Dumfries DG1 1DL.....	1963
Pedreschi, M., Carse of Clary, Newton Stewart DG8 6BH	1983
Pennie, I. A., Annandale House, Lochmaben, Lockerbie DG11 1NH.....	1987
Penman, Mr and Mrs A., Lochaber, 65 Academy Street, Castle Douglas DG7 1EE	1987
Perry, D. J., 25 New Forest Drive, Brockenhurst, Hampshire SO4 7QT	1972
Phillips, J. Q. S., c/o Bishopscourt, P.O. Box 42, Onitsha, Anambra State, Nigeria.....	1979
Pickles, H., 14 Auchenkeld Avenue, Heathhall, Dumfries DG1 3QX.....	1986
Prentice, Mr and Mrs W., North Laurieknowe House, Maxwelltown, Dumfries DG2 7AL.....	1966
Primrose, Miss J., 33 St. Mary's Street, Sanquhar DG4 6BW.....	1970
Prince, Mr and Mrs K., Shelladh, Wallaceton, Auldgirth, Dumfries DG2 0TG.....	1986
Pritchard, Dr T. M., Roe Cottage, Heck, Lochmaben, Lockerbie DG11 1JD.....	1979
Purdie, Mrs S., The Auld Kirk, Hardgate, Haugh of Urr, Castle Douglas DG7 3LD.....	1977
Quinn, Mrs H., 4 Corseknoe, Sanquhar DG4 6EF.....	1966
Reddoch, Mrs A., 4 Cochrane Street, Strathaven, Lanarkshire	1986
Rees, Dr J., 3 Hamilton Drive, Cambuslang, Glasgow	1961
Reid, K. R. W., 4 Drummond Place, Gargunnoch, Stirlingshire	1965
Roberts, Dr E. D., 31 Park Gates Drive, Cheadlelume, Cheshire SK8 7DD	1981
Roberts, Mrs M., Magdalene House, Lochmaben, Lockerbie	1984
*Robertson, A., Kenyon, 45 Albert Road, Dumfries DG2 9DN.....	1957
*Robertson, Prof. A., 31 Upper Glenburn Road, Bearsden, Glasgow G61 4BN	
*Robertson, J., 38 Edinburgh Road, Dumfries DG1 1JQ	1936
Robertson, G., 38 Edinburgh Road, Dumfries DG1 1JQ.....	1962
Robertson, Mrs W., 253 Annan Road, Dumfries DG1 3HB.....	1971
Robinson, Mrs I. M., Dykenook, Colvend, Dalbeattie DG5 4QH	1985
Rochester, Mr and Mrs D. C., Hillcrest, Kirkton, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries DG1 1SL.....	1983
Rodan, Mr and Mrs J., Wallace Hall, Wallaceton, Auldgirth, Dumfries DG2 0TG.....	1987
Rogers, Dr and Mrs W. J. B., Achnaha, Barclay Road, Rockcliffe, Kirkcudbrightshire DG5 4QJ	1980
Rosie, D., 47 Roberts Crescent, Dumfries DG2 7RS	1984
Ross Mrs K., Kemyshall, Kirkton, Dumfries DG1 1SX.....	1986
Ross, Mrs E. M. G., 11 Hardthorn Crescent, Dumfries DG2 9HS.....	1962
Ross, Captain J. B.,.....	1988
Rourke, Mrs A., 2 Courtyard Cottages, Arbigland, Dumfries DG2 8BQ.....	1986
Rowland, Miss M. M., 5 Cassalands, Dumfries DG2 7NT.....	1977
Sainty, D., Waterside, Ringford, Castle Douglas DG7 2AU	1956
Sands, Mr and Mrs A., Ardmail, Station Road, Thornhill DG3 5DX.....	1978
*Scott, J. G., Woodrow Bank, Creebridge, Newton Stewart DG8 6PW	1977
Scott, W., Jimmie McKie's Cottage, Hardgate, by Castle Douglas DG7 3LP.....	1986
Scott-Elliot, *Major Gen. J. and Mrs, 14 King Street, Emsworth, Hants PO10 7AZ.....	1957
Shankland, Miss J., 43 Kirkland Road, Lochvale, Dumfries DG1 4EZ.....	1978
Shannon, Mrs S., 5 Parkhead Loaning, Dumfries DG1 3BX.....	
Shepherd, Mr T. and Miss M., Ballintian, 7 Noblehill Place, Dumfries DG1 3HQ.....	1988

Silverside, A. J., Dept. of Biology, Paisley College of Technology, Renfrewshire PA1 2BE.....	1978
Simpson, D., 6 Main Street, Great Glen, Leicester	1964
Skinner, T., Calluna, Merse Road, Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie DG5 4QH	1969
Smith, Mrs J., 45 Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries DG2 7JR	1974
Smith, Miss M., 16 Academy Street, Dumfries DG1 1BY	1971
Smith, Mr and Mrs W. G., 6 Nunholm Park, Dumfries DG1 1JP.....	1982
Spalding, F. M., 12 Rainsford Road, Stansted, Essex	1979
Spilling, Mr and Mrs R. H., 1 The Square, Auchencairn, Castle Douglas DG7 1QT	1966
Stell, G., c/o. 54 Melville Street, Edinburgh EH3 7HF	1983
Stephen, Miss M., 6 Queensberry Brae, Thornhill DG3 5AQ.....	1970
Stewart, C. W., Glenharvie, New Abbey, Dumfries DG2 8DX	1979
Stewart, Miss M. M., Archive Centre, 33 Burns Street, Dumfries DG1 2PS	1987
Stone, J. C., 20 Springfield Road, Aberdeen	1958
Stohart, T., 3 Walter Street, Langholm DG13 0AX	1978
Sutherland, J. M., Kirk Cottage, Tynron, Thornhill, Dumfries.....	1988
Tait, E., 32 Primrose Street, Dumfries DG2 7AU.....	1987
Tate, E. W., 121 Carr Head Lane, Poulton-Le-Fylde, Blackpool	1969
Tattersfield, D., The Gardens Cottage, Branklyn Garden, 114 Dundee Road, Perth PH2 7BB	1981
Taylor, M., Muirhouses Cottages, Glamis Station Road, Glamis, Angus DD8 1QF	1985
Taylor, W. S., McCubbington, Auldirth, Dumfries	1983
Thomas, Prof. A. C., Lambesson, St. Clement, Truro, Cornwall.....	1961
Thomson, Sir J. and Lady, 2 Rosemead Road, London W11	1969
Thomson, Miss J. M., Killywhan, Beeswing, Dumfries DG2 8JH	1975
Thornton, Miss E., Maryfield, Aldein Way, Bakewell, Derbyshire DE4 1AJ	1978
Thyer, Mr and Mrs L., 4 Kenneth Bank, Glencaple, Dumfries DG1 4RG	1976
*Truckell, A. E., Castlerag, Carsethorn, Kirkbean, Dumfries DG2 8DS.....	1947
Turner, B., Shinnel House, Tynron, Thornhill DG3 4JT.....	1967
Vance, Mrs I., Portyerrock, Whithorn, Wigtownshire DG8 8JQ	1984
Vaughan, Mrs A. M. M., Fairyknowe, Eaglesfield, Lockerbie DG11 3AJ	1962
White, Mrs N., Broadford, Auldirth, Dumfries DG2 0RS.....	1987
Whitewright, Miss J. H., 47 Greenlea Crescent, Collin, Dumfries DG1 4PR	1979
Wilkinson, W., Schoolhill, Portlethen, Aberdeen AB1 4RR	1965
Williams, B. R. M., Longmynd, 8 Gollands Drive, Brixham.....	1965
Williams, *Mr and Mrs J., 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries DG2 7LZ.....	1964
Williams, Mrs J., Merkland, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries DG1 1SY.....	1976
Williams, Mrs R., 24 Edinburgh Road, Dumfries DG1 1JQ	1973
Wilson, Dr and Mrs J. B., The Whins, Kinnell Banks, Lochmaben, Lockerbie DG11 1TD	1967
Wilson, Dr O., Eversfield, Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie DG5 4QF.....	1981
Windress, W., 17 Mornington Crescent, Fallowfield, Manchester M14 6DF	1977
Wise, Mrs M. M., Glenbo, Solway Drive, Dumfries DG2 7JP	1964
Wishart, Mrs M., Craigland, Station Road, Dalbeattie DG5 4AN	1972
Wolffe, Mr and Mrs A. C., The Toll House, Gatehouse of Fleet.....	1959
Wood, Mr and Mrs W., 42 Maxwell Street, Dalbeattie DG5 4AQ	1980
Yates, Mr and Mrs M., 47 Onslow Gardens, Belfast 6.....	1974
Young, J. F., Waterside Mains, Keir, Thornhill DG3 5AR	1966

SUBSCRIBERS

- Aberdeen University Library.
 Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge.
 Bibliotheque Centre Documentation Cnrs., Paris.
 British Geological Survey.
 British Library, Boston Spa.
 British Museum (Natural History), London.
 California University Library, Los Angeles.
 Carnegie Trust for Universities of Scotland, Edinburgh.
 Cornell University Library, New York.
 Cumberland County Library, Carlisle.
 Dumfries & Galloway Regional Council, Dumfries.
 Dumfries & Galloway Regional Library, Dumfries.
 Edinburgh City Libraries.
 Edinburgh University Library.
 Exeter University Library.
 Glasgow Corporation Libraries.
 Glasgow Museums & Art Galleries.
 Glasgow University Library.
 Hornel Library, Kirkcudbright.
 ICI Metal Detecting Club, Dumfries.
 Illinois University Library.
 Institute of Historical Research, London.
 John Rylands University Library of Manchester.
 Leicester University Library.
 Liverpool University Library.
 London Library.
 McGill University Libraries, Montreal.
 National Library of Wales.
 National Museum of Ireland.
 National Museum of Wales.
 Nature Conservancy, Peterborough.
 New York Public Library.
 Neidersächsische Staats-Universitäts, Göttingen.
 Romisch-Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt.
 Royal Commission on Ancient & Historical Monuments of Scotland.
 Royal Museum of Scotland.
 Science Reference Library, Bayswater.
 Scottish Office Library.
 Scottish Record Office.
 Sheffield University Library.
 Signet Library, Edinburgh.
 Southampton University Library.
 St. Andrews University Library.
 St. Davids University College.
 Ulster Museum, Belfast.
 United States Geological Survey.
 University College, Cardiff.
 University College, Galway.
 University of Birmingham.
 University of Guelph, Ontario.
 University of Sydney.
 University of Toronto.
 University of Wisconsin-Madison Memorial Library.

EXCHANGES

The Journals received by this Society, as a result of Exchange Agreements, are noted in parenthesis, against the issuing bodies detailed below. They are deposited in the Library of Dumfries Museum at which location they may be freely consulted by members of the Society. Enquiries in regard to Exchange Agreements and Journals received should be directed to the Assistant Hon. Librarian, Mr J. Williams, 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries DG2 7LZ to whom should be sent Exchange volumes.

- Australian Museum, Sydney.
 Ayrshire Archaeological & Natural History Society (*Transactions*).
 Botanical Society of Edinburgh (*Transactions*).
 Council for Environmental Conservation, London (*Habitat*).
 Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian Society (*Transactions*).
 Durham & Northumberland Architectural & Archaeological Society (*Transactions*).
 Geological Institution of the University of Uppsala, Sweden (*Bulletin*).
 Glasgow Archaeological Society (*Journal*).
 Glasgow Natural History Society (*Glasgow Naturalist*).
 Hawick Archaeological Society (*Transactions*).
 Institute of Archaeology, London (*Bulletin*).
 Isle of Man Natural History & Antiquarian Society (*Proceedings*).
 Library of Royal Academy of Letters, History & Antiquities, Sweden (*Fornvannen*).
 Musée National, France (*Bulletin - Antiquités Nationales*).
 Oxford Architectural & Historical Society, Ashmolean Museum (*Oxoniansia*).
 Renfrewshire Natural History Society (*The Western Naturalist*).
 Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, Nederland (*R.O.B.*).

Royal Irish Academy, Dublin (*Proceedings*).
 School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh (*Journal*).
 Scottish Ornithologists Club, Edinburgh (*Scottish
 Birds*).
 Society of Antiquaries of London (*Antiquaries
 Journal*).
 Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle (*Arch.
 Aeliana*).

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (*Proceedings*).
 Ulster Archaeological Society, Belfast (*Journal*).
 Victoria (Australia). Museum of — (*Memoirs*).
 Yorkshire Archaeological Society (*Yorkshire
 Arch. Journal*).

COPYRIGHT LIBRARIES

Transactions are forwarded to the undernoted Libraries in accordance with the copyright Act, 1 and 2 Geo. V. cap. 46.

The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 Copyright Receipt Office, British Library.
 Cambridge University Library.

The National Library of Scotland.
 The National Library of Wales.
 Trinity College Library, Dublin.

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
- No. 2* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Poorhouse, by D. Adamson
- No. 3* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Miscellany
 - Mossknow Game Register 1875
 - Diary of J. Gordon Graham 1854
 - edited by D. Adamson and I. S. MacDonald
- No. 4* Middlebie Presbytery Records, by D. Adamson

This series is crown quarto in size with a 2 colour titled card cover.
Publications marked * are reprinted from the *Transactions*.

The Records of Kirkpatrick-Fleming Parish

(in preparation)

This series will be duplicated in A4 size with a titled card cover.

For prices of both series and current availability of Records apply to the Hon. Secretary.

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) 1891-2*, (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) 1910-11*, (24) 1911-12*, 3rd Series—(i) 1912-3*, (ii) 1913-4*, (iii) 1914-5*, (iv) 1915-6*, (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) 1926-8*, (xv) 1928-9, (xvi) 1929-30*, (xvii) 1930-31, (xviii) 1931-33*, (xix) 1933-35*, (xx) 1935-36*, (xxi) 1936-38*, (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 xvii)*, (xxx) 1951-2*, (xxxi) 1952-3* (Hoddam Vol.), (xxxii) 1953-4, (xxxiii) 1954-5, (xxxiv) 1955-6* (Whithorn Vol. 2), (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) 1976-77, (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.

Prices: Single Volumes (to Members) — To Vol. 61, £4. Vol. 62 on £6, all plus postages.

Single Volumes (to non-Members) — all Vols. £9 post free (U.K.) plus postage (overseas).

Runs of Volumes — on application to Hon. Librarian.

A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumf. and Kirkcud., 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.*

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. III, "The Upper Nithsdale Coalworks from Pictish Times to 1925", by J. C. McConnel, 1962, £2.00 plus postage.

Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire, by Hugh S. Gladstone, 1923.*

A Bibliography of the Parish of Annan, by Frank Miller, F.S.A.Scot.*

Index to Transactions, Series 1 and 2, £2 plus postage and packing.

The Marine Fauna and Flora of the Solway Firth Area, by Dr. E. J. Perkins, 1972, 112pp. £2 plus postage and packing. **Corrigenda**. Free on receipt of s.a.e.

Birrens (Blatobulgium), by Prof. A. S. Robertson (1975), 292pp. 88 figs. 12 pls. £5.50 post free to members; £7.70 to non-members.

Craggleton Castle, Report of Excavations 1978-1981 by Gordon Ewart, 1985, 72pp. 33 figs. £3.50 post free to members; £4.50 to non-members.

*Indicates out of print, but see Editorial.

Reprint of "The Early Crosses of Galloway" by W. G. Collingwood from Vol. x (1922-3), 37 pp text, 49 crosses illustrated and discussed, £1, plus posts, to Members.

Publications in print may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 4 Lovers Walk, Dumfries.