

**Transactions**  
of the  
**Dumfriesshire and Galloway**  
**Natural History**  
and  
**Antiquarian Society**



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## 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 information in it.

A list of members appeared in volume 60, and a copy of the latest Rules in volume 61.

Exchanges should be sent to the Hon. Assistant Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 4 Lovers Walk, Dumfries, to whom enquiries should be made regarding back numbers of these *Transactions* — see rear cover. 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.

Payment of subscriptions should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr K. H. Dobie, 2 Corbely Hill, Dumfries, 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 a grant towards Sylvia Stevenson's article on The Short Cist at West Cairngaun and to the Hill Research Fund for a grant covering Kirkpatrick-Fleming Miscellany, also to the Mouswald Trust for a grant towards Daphne Brooke's paper on Desnes Cro.

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 (1926) of these *Transactions*.

# PROFESSOR HUTTON BALFOUR'S BOTANICAL VISITS TO KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE, 1843 AND 1868

by

Olga Stewart

West Maryfield, New Abbey

Visiting botanists have looked at the flora of Kirkcudbrightshire for over 200 years. The first botanical records were by Dr. Burgess, reported in Lightfoot's *Flora Scottica*; he recorded *Crithmum maritimum* — Rock Samphire in 1777 from Galloway cliffs where it is still plentiful. One of the first localised records with a pressed specimen is a fescue — *Festuca rubra* collected at Arbigland in 1789. Since then many visitors and local botanists have left information of the plants they saw.

One of the first was John Hutton Balfour, who was Regius Professor of Botany at Glasgow University and took his students on expeditions round Scotland. He visited SW Scotland on at least two occasions, the first in August 1843, which was reported in the Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society, Glasgow (1844) and the second in July and August 1868 reported in the Royal Botanic Garden Notes (Vol. 2).

The first expedition started by train to Ayr, then to Wigtownshire before entering Kirkcudbrightshire at Newton Stewart. They spent three days botanising before leaving the county at Dumfries. On the second trip they came by train to Dumfries in July 1868, and visited the "Royal Crighton", "Rutton Loch" and Cargen. They botanised in Dumfriesshire before returning to Kirkcudbrightshire at the beginning of August. They took the train to Gatehouse, and walked from there to Ardwall and further west, and also to various places inland.

The route of the first trip was mostly along the coast via Gatehouse, Kirkcudbright, Balmae, Southernness to Dumfries. On the first stage of their walk they saw *Crambe maritima* — Sea Kale, Rock Samphire, *Glaucium luteum* — Yellow Horned Poppy and "*Erythraea linarifolia*" which I presume is Sea Centaury. Sea Kale hasn't been seen recently west of Borness, but is still plentiful along the shore, particularly at Balmae and below the Dundrennan Army Range. It was first seen there by G. N. Lloyd in 1837. Dr. Balfour recorded rock samphire at Ravenshall. Yellow horned poppy was a common coastal plant, now very much rarer, but still found at Kirkandrews and the Dundrennan Range. The centaury is also uncommon, but in scattered localities, the best area being from Southwick to Southernness. Surprisingly one of the plants he fails to mention seeing near Carluith, though he passed that way, is *Dipsacus fullonum* — Teasel. There are records from there only fifteen years later and now it is abundant on the coast in that area. He did see teasels near Kirkcudbright and on St. Mary's Isle. At Kirkmabreck he found *Silybum marianum* — Milk Thistle. This must have appeared from time to time, as it was recorded at Creetown in 1882 and near the shore south of Creetown in 1905. The next record for it was in 1977 when a garden at Creetown was double dug to extend it, and 5 milk thistles appeared among the potatoes. The garden is now overgrown and awaits another occasion for the earth to be disturbed.

The shore area between Carluith and the Kirkmabreck quarries must have been a rich area. Plants seen there on the 1843 visit were *Clinopodium vulgare* — Wild Basil, *Solanum dulcemara* — Bittersweet, *Calystegia sepium* — Great Bindweed, *Carduus*

*acanthoides* — Welled Thistle, *Lathyrus sylvestris* — Narrow-leaved Everlasting Pea, *Vicia sylvatica* — Wood Vetch, *Linaria vulgaris* — Toadflax, and *Epilobium hirsutum* — Codlins and Cream. The Wild Basil was recorded there by G. T. West in 1905 and I found it again this year. It also grows further east in sandy soil from Kirkcudbright to Southerness. Of the other plants seen by Dr. Balfour's party, the welled thistle he considered very rare, but it still grows there today. He noted the great bindweed was both white and the much rarer pink variety — subspecies *roseata*, both at Carsluith and "Sauterness Point", where one can find them today. Nowadays inland one sees the larger pink *Calystegia pulchra*, which looks like a pink form of the American bindweed — *Calystegia sylvaticum*, a much later incomer. Toadflax, besides being still present there, also grew near Dumfries in 1846. However until the 1970s, it was a comparatively rare plant in the county, but the seed must have travelled with the trains, as since then it has been recorded all along the old railway line and has now spread everywhere. Two of the listed plants have remained in the same coastal areas where Dr. Balfour's party saw them. Narrow-leaved everlasting pea and wood vetch are both still found at Carsluith and Burnfoot. The others in the list still grow at Carsluith and also in many other places in the county.

Dr. Balfour paid visits to St. Mary's Isle both in 1843 and 1868, and it is interesting that all the plants he specifically mentioned still grow there today. *Limonium vulgare* — Common Sea Lavender and *L. humile* — Lax Sea Lavender are growing at the northern extremity of their range and still appear abundantly along our coast, as do *Allium vineale* — Crow Garlic, and *A. scorodoprasum* — Sand Leek, though this is scarcer than the crow garlic. He records *Beta vulgaris ssp. maritima* — Sea Beet on the Isle and also near Creetown. Another botanist James McAndrew declared it was a very rare plant in 1882; nowadays it appears occasionally, but seldom for very long in the one place, the seed being carried by the sea along the shore.

On the shore of Kirkcudbright Bay and near Borgue and Ross, Dr. Balfour collected *Astragalus glycyphyllos* — Wild Liquorice, *Lithospermum officinale* — Common Gromwell, *Artemisia maritima* — Sea Wormwood and *Sanguisorba officinalis* — Great Burnet. We do not know how plentiful they were in 1843 but nowadays they are rare or at least uncommon. Wild liquorice has three known sites; two on the Dundrennan Range and one on the Portling heughs, though all these places where it is surviving are very overgrown. It may still grow elsewhere but it is hard to find. Common gromwell I knew of at two sites, one on the St. Mary's Isle shore and the other at Douglas Hall, though at the latter site I haven't seen it for twenty years. It grew in the corner of a field, where cattle now graze. Sea wormwood was first recorded by G. N. Lloyd on St. Mary's Isle in 1831. It was seen by Dr. Balfour elsewhere near Kirkcudbright, but only re-found in 1970. Because of the lack of records in the intervening years, it had been presumed extinct, but like other old records I believe the sea wormwood has grown continuously where it was originally reported, only field botanists did not visit that habitat and publish their records. Dr. Balfour on his 1868 expedition found the sea wormwood at Kirkandrews but it hasn't been reported there since; however, it also grows on a rocky pinnacle near Ravenshall, an unusual habitat, very different to the merseland where it is usually found. Great burnet is still found at Brighthouse Bay, which may be the Borgue parish record of Dr. Balfour; it also still grows in a few other coastal areas, but not where he saw it "by the Nith close to Dumfries".

The next stage of the journey was along the coast of the present day Army Range near Dundrennan. The party was entertained by General Irving at Balmae, who is described as "an enthusiastic botanist, who accompanied us in our rambles, and pointed out many

interesting plants. Under his guidance we gathered *Ervum tetraspermum*" (now called *Vicia tetrasperma*) — Smooth Tare, "in small quantities on the shore." I found it, in probably the same area in 1985, with no intermediate records. It is still in small quantity, but it is also found elsewhere on the range. "The party being anxious to get to Dumfries, I had not an opportunity of examining the neighbourhood of Balmae and Kirkcudbright at the time so thoroughly as I could have wished. In the course of a week afterwards, however, I again paid a visit to General Irving, and added a number of rare plants to my collection." There then follows a lengthy list, of the coastal plants. *Pulicaria dysenterica* — Fleabane is of interest; it is still found in grassy areas near the shore. He also showed his students this plant near Kirkmabreck, but it has apparently gone from there. *Botrychium lunaria* — Moonwort and *Ophioglossum vulgatum* — Adder's Tongue were also seen. Such areas of grassland which is the habitat of these ferns have since been either improved or cropped by farm animals. Today they are only found in the north of the county, where there is less animal pressure.

On their way to Dumfries, Dr. Balfour's party stopped at Southernness where they recorded a long list of interesting plants. "Near Sauterness Point where grey sandstone, some shale, coal and limestone occur we met with *Anchusa sempervirens*, *Convolvulus arvensis* and *sepium*, *Eryngium maritimum*, *Hieracium umbellatum*, *Atriplex rosea*, *Knautia arvensis* (only seen in this place during the trip), *Lychnis githago*, *Lycopsis arvensis*, *Lysimachia vulgaris*, *Malva moschata*, *Ononis antiquorum*", (presumably *O. repens*), "*Ornithopus perpusillus*, *Ranunculus sceleratus* and *Rubus caesius*". It is interesting to read this list and see that practically all of them are still to be found in the area round Southernness, except *Lychnis githago* — Corncockle, which must have been in fields everywhere and was "common in the north of the county". Sadly, with modern agricultural methods and clean seed, it has long been extinct. *Anchusa sempervirens*, now called *Pentstemon empetrifolius*, makes the roadside bank blue at Caulkerbush and several other places. *Knautia arvensis* — Field Scabious is as rare in the county as it was then, but is to be found in a field hedge bank near Preston merse. It does have another locality near Sennick. *Eryngium maritimum* — Sea Holly must change its site as the tides erode or build up the dunes along this piece of coast. Fifteen years ago it was abundant at Southwick merse, but today there is only a little there; it is now plentiful at Preston merse, however, and has reappeared only three years ago near Southernness.

This report so far is of the coastal plants that were seen on Dr. Balfour's two expeditions, but he visited some inland habitats as well. His party travelled over the moorland from Dalbeattie to Southwick, where they saw *Vaccinium oycococcus* — Cranberry, *Carex pauciflora* — Flea Sedge, *Scutellaria minor* — Lesser skullcap, *Utricularia minor* — Lesser bladderwort, *Hypericum elodes* — Marsh St. John's Wort and *Drosera longifolia* — Long-leaved Sundew. These are uncommon plants, and to have found them in one afternoon would today be a rich botanical outing. Sadly, the moorland near Southwick is now afforested, and one would have to travel some distance to see these plants in the county, though they do all exist.

Besides corncockle, field weeds were hardly mentioned, but they saw unusual ones in fields near Southwick. These would have been unusual even to those who saw them 140 years ago. The owner Mr Stewart was cultivating *Medicago sativa* Lucerne and had imported his seed from abroad. Presumably *Anagallis caerulea* was introduced in this way, as they "picked with no small delight Blue Pimpernel, which was associated with specimens of *Anagallis arvensis*" — Scarlet Pimpernel "having remarkably large flowers". Mr



Stewart was complimented on the excellent farm arrangements on his estate and that he had done so much to improve the agriculture of the district.

After the party broke up at Dumfries, Dr. Balfour stayed on to examine more fully the Flora of the district, and visited Maxwelltown Loch. This loch, now submerged beneath the Lochside housing estate on the northern outskirts of Dumfries, must have been very interesting before it was drained. He reported four different pondweeds as well as *Lobelia dortmanna* — Water Lobelia and *Pilularia globulifera* — Pillwort, the tiny grasslike fern, which is considered a Red Data Book species in Europe. Today it grows along Loch Ken, where the water management seems to suit it. On the 1868 expedition they saw *Potamogeton lucens* — Shining Pondweed and *P. gramineus* — Various-leaved Pondweed in Rutton Loch. The latter is still found in the loch, but the former is practically extinct in the county. In 1905, when G. T. West did a loch survey, it was found in six lochs, but a similar survey was undertaken five years ago returning to the same lochs and it was found in none of them, possibly the result of acid rain.

A riverside habitat was visited by the R. Dee at Tongland. This has always been an interesting area with rocky islands in the river. *Serratula tinctoria* — Sawwort was seen in profusion there, and I have found it on rocks below the old bridge. Dr. Balfour gave a lengthy list, but the only ones not still existing by the Dee are *Ruppia maritima* Tassel Pondweed, which needs a brackish pool, and *Rubus saxatilis* — Stone Bramble, a plant of upland glens nowadays. *Polygonum bistorta* is another on his list. This may no longer be by the river, but it is abundant in Tongland churchyard.

His visit to Cairnsmore of Fleet in 1868 was not profitable; he found “no plants of interest” and this would still apply today, but on his hill climb to the top of Criffel he was able to gather a few subalpines, three of the club mosses — *Huperzia (Lycopodium) selago*, *Diphasiastrum (Lycopodium) alpinum* and *Selaginella selaginoides*, as well as two ferns, (the names Dr. Balfour called them) ‘*Polypodium phegopteris*’ — Beech fern and ‘*Allosorus crispa*’ — Parsley fern. Alas, it seems all of these, except Beech, have disappeared under the forestry blanket and inroads of bracken.

On these visits Dr. Balfour managed to see and record a large portion of the rare and uncommon plants that grow in Kirkcudbrightshire. Most of these in the coastal area are still there; inland we are lucky that in spite of all the land changes which have taken place over the last 140 years, and forestry in particular, so many of them still manage to exist, even if in much smaller quantity. I hope that with our increasing appreciation of the advantages of conservation we will succeed in saving the rest of them from extinction.

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## THREAVE WILDFOWL REFUGE

by

Walter J. McNish

When the late Major A. F. Gordon presented his estate of Threave to National Trust for Scotland in 1948 one of his primary objectives — in accordance with the wishes of his elder brother, Major C. L. Gordon who died in 1940 — was the establishment of a Wildfowl Refuge on the stretch of the River Dee between Threave and the Netherhall Estates, and Blackpark Marsh adjacent to it, which is subject to varying degrees of flooding as river levels rise, becoming part of the river in a really big flood. For many years the brothers had leased the shooting rights on Netherhall estate, which gave them control of both banks of the river, especially the portion which was favoured by wildfowl, and enabled them to keep it as a private reserve with limited shooting, and minimal disturbance to the birds. Although keen shooting men, they were very much concerned with conservation — a word seldom, if ever, heard during their lifetimes. Only a small proportion of the great numbers of geese and ducks which wintered on Threave were shot; and there were no artificially-fed flight ponds on the estate. Major A. F. Gordon retained the Netherhall shootings until 1945, when it became the property of the late Col. Walter Ross, who willingly co-operated in the plan for the Refuge — continued to the present time by his sons, the present proprietors.

About half a mile from the river, and close to the town of Castle-Douglas, are the extensive marshes of Carlingwark and Hightae. They are divided by a narrow artificial canal, known locally as the "Carlingwark Lane" which runs from the loch of that name to the river. This canal was made about the middle of the eighteenth century, to convey bags of "marl" by barge to the river, for distribution to farmers in the county who used it as fertiliser at that time.

Spates during the year caused the lane to overflow periodically, dispersing floodwater throughout the marshes, which remained as stagnant pools for some time, and proving a great attraction for considerable numbers of ducks — especially Teal — and even greater numbers of Snipe, all of which fed and roosted there, with many nesting during spring and summer. From December to March it was also a favoured feeding-roosting area for Bean Geese. Some sewage effluent from the town, which reached the lane via a ditch through Carlingwark marsh, mixed with stagnant floodwater, adding to the attraction! This ceased with the construction of the new sewage works in 1939.

Hydro-electric work had commenced on the river in the early 1930s, and when this was completed there was more extensive flooding during spates, with some meadowland being affected as well as the marshes. To counteract this, in 1938 a pumping-plant was installed on the lane near its outlet, and this succeeded to some extent in a "drying-out" of the marshes (except Blackpark) which, coupled with the sewage works resulted in a drastic reduction in the number of Snipe and Teal, but duck and geese in lesser numbers continued to feed and roost there until 1948. However, in 1949 more work was done to increase the efficiency of the pumps — this completed the drying of the marshes of Carlingwark-Hightae. Any duck to be seen there now are in the Lane and there are still a few snipe in wet spots and ditches which intersect the area.

First recorded in 1921/22, a flock of Bean Geese (*Anser fabalis*) were regular winter visitors until the marshes where they fed dried up — and some long-term changes in the

marsh vegetation may have taken place, making them unattractive as feeding grounds — in any case the original flock of 300/500 birds maintained its numbers until the late 1940s (about 400 were seen flying into Hightae Marsh in January, 1944). From then on their numbers rapidly decreased; now only 30-50 visit the area, and are seldom seen on the ground on Threave, where they used to arrive in mid to late December, and remain until early in March. During the 1930s the geese were often to be seen during the day on the Castle Island, near the old castle of Threave, which in those days was closed to visitors during the late autumn and winter months, but around 1940 they stopped doing so, for some unknown reason, and moved to Hightae hill and marshes. After 1948 their main roosting-places were Blackpark Marsh, Carlingwark Loch, Kirkland and Gelston Marshes, and some may have travelled to one or two hill lochs in the county. Very few of them were shot each season, and none at all after 1955, when their numbers were decreasing. At one time it was thought that there were two sub-species in the flock, distinguished by their bill markings. The most common — the Yellow-billed or Forest Bean, then known as *Anser arvensis* (now, *A. fabalis*) and the dark-billed Western Bean, *A. segetum*, (now *A. rossicus*). *A. fabalis*, however, has variable bill markings, and one authority has stated that all the birds in the Threave flock were of this sub-species, and that *A. rossicus* does not winter in Britain — but as the flock was accompanied on several occasions in the 1950s by up to three Lesser Whitefronts, it is reasonable to suppose that individuals or small parties of *A. rossicus* may have also joined the others.

Nowadays the common goose on the Refuge is the Greylag. First appearing in small numbers in the 1930s, they gradually increased as the Bean Geese became scarce; now several hundred may be seen at times during the day in winter and spring, and many more come to roost in the river and in the Blackpark Marsh. Occasionally some parties of Pinkfoot mix with them, although most of that species in this district seem to prefer farms nearer the coast. There are now a considerable number of feral Greylag in Galloway — principally from Wigtownshire where they breed in several localities, but a few now nest in Kirkcudbrightshire — although none have done so as yet on this estate. Individuals of other species of geese appear from time to time — and of course there are many varieties of duck, both resident and winter visitors (see attached list).

Some time after the death of Major Gordon in November, 1957, preparations were made to allow limited public access to the Refuge. This estate is a difficult area for “close-up” observation of wildfowl, owing to the nature of the ground and lack of covered approaches, but sites were selected for four screened viewpoints (another has been added recently), and access paths with signposts, etc., prepared. The Refuge was officially opened in March, 1968. Open from 1st November-31st March, access limited to small parties (maximum ten), to avoid unnecessary disturbance.

Probably the best months for seeing a variety of Wildfowl are January and December, preferably when the river is low during a period of frost. In a flood they tend to congregate on Blackpark Marsh or move to Carlingwark and other lochs in the district.

## LIST OF BIRDS SEEN ON THREAVE ESTATE

\* = breeding species, (1) = one sighting, (2) = two sightings

*1. Great Crested Grebe		<i>(Podiceps cristatus)</i>	
*2. Little Grebe		<i>(Tachybaptus ruficollis)</i>	
3. Cormorant		<i>(Phalacrocorax carbo)</i>	
*4. Heron		<i>(Ardea cinerea)</i>	
5. Bittern (2)		<i>(Botaurus stellaris)</i>	
*6. Mute Swan		<i>(Cygnus olor)</i>	
7. Whooper Swan		<i>(Cygnus cygnus)</i>	
8. Greylag Goose		<i>(Anser anser)</i>	
9. Bean Goose		<i>(A. fabalis)</i>	
10. Pink-footed Goose		<i>(A. brachyrhynchus)</i>	
11. White-fronted Goose		<i>(A. albifrons)</i>	
12. White-fronted (Greenland)		<i>(A. albifrons flavirostris)</i>	
13. Lesser Whitefront		<i>(A. erythropus)</i>	
14. Brent Goose (Pale-breasted) (1)		<i>(Branta bernicla horta)</i>	
15. Barnacle Goose (1)		<i>(Branta leucopsis)</i>	
16. Canada Goose		<i>(Branta canadensis)</i>	
17. Shelduck		<i>(Tadorna tadorna)</i>	
*18. Mallard		<i>(Anas platyrhynchos)</i>	
19. Gadwall		<i>(A. strepera)</i>	
20. Widgeon		<i>(A. penelope)</i>	
21. American Widgeon (1)		<i>(A. americana)</i>	
*22. Teal		<i>(A. crecca)</i>	
23. Pintail		<i>(A. acuta)</i>	
24. Shoveller		<i>(A. clypeata)</i>	
*25. Tufted Duck		<i>(Aythya fuligula)</i>	
26. Scaup		<i>(A. marila)</i>	
27. Pochard		<i>(A. ferina)</i>	
28. Common Scoter (1)		<i>(Melanitta nigra)</i>	
29. Goldeneye		<i>(Bucephala clangula)</i>	
*30. Goosander		<i>(Mergus merganser)</i>	
31. Red-breasted Merganser		<i>(M. serrator)</i>	
32. Smew		<i>(M. albellus)</i>	
*33. Sparrowhawk		<i>(Accipiter nisus)</i>	
34. Common Buzzard		<i>(Buteo bueto)</i>	
35. Hen-Harrier (2)		<i>(Circus cyaneus)</i>	
36. Peregrine		<i>(Falco peregrinus)</i>	
37. Merlin		<i>(F. columbarius)</i>	
*38. Kestrel		<i>(F. tinnunculus)</i>	
*39. Partridge (formerly, see footnote 1)		<i>(Perdix perdix)</i>	
40. Quail (1)		<i>(Coturnix coturnix)</i>	
41. Pheasant:	Chinese	<i>(Phasianus torquatus)</i>	
	A mixture of	Mongolian	<i>(P. mongolicus)</i>
	different breeds	Blackneck	<i>(P. colchicus)</i>
		Japanese	<i>(P. versicolor)</i>
		Mutant	<i>(P. tenebrosus)</i>
*42. Water Rail		<i>(Rallus aquaticus)</i>	
*43. Landrail (formerly, see footnote 2)		<i>(Crex crex)</i>	
*44. Moorhen		<i>(Gallinula chloropus)</i>	
*45. Coot		<i>(Fulica atra)</i>	
*46. Oyster-catcher		<i>(Haematopus ostralegus)</i>	
47. Golden Plover		<i>(Pluvialis apricaria)</i>	
*48. Lapwing (see footnote 3)		<i>(Vanellus vanellus)</i>	
*49. Redshank		<i>(Tringa totanus)</i>	
*50. Common Sandpiper (1)		<i>(T. hypoleucos)</i>	
*51. Curlew		<i>(Numenius arquata)</i>	
*52. Woodcock		<i>(Scolopax rusticola)</i>	
*53. Snipe		<i>(Gallinago gallinago)</i>	
54. Jack Snipe		<i>(Lymnocyptes minimus)</i>	
*55. Black-headed Gull		<i>(Larus ridibundus)</i>	

1. Now very scarce: none seen for three years.

2. None for about twenty years.

3. Not nearly so common as a breeding species as in former years.



56. Herring Gull	( <i>L. argentatus</i> )
57. Lesser Blackback	( <i>L. fuscus graellsii</i> )
58. Greater Blackback	( <i>L. marinus</i> )
59. Common Gull	( <i>L. canus</i> )
60. Common Tern	( <i>Sterna hirundo</i> )
*61. Rock Dove/Feral Dove	( <i>Columbia livia</i> )
*62. Stock Dove	( <i>C. oenas</i> )
*63. Woodpigeon	( <i>C. palumbus</i> )
*64. Collared Dove	( <i>Streptopelia decaocto</i> )
*65. Cuckoo	( <i>Cuculus canorus</i> )
*66. Barn Owl	( <i>Tyto alba</i> )
67. Short-eared Owl	( <i>Asio flammeus</i> )
*68. Tawny Owl	( <i>Strix aluco</i> )
69. Kingfisher	( <i>Alcedo atthis</i> )
70. Hoopoe (1)	( <i>Upupa epops</i> )
*71. Great Spotted Woodpecker	( <i>Dendrocopus major</i> )
*72. Skylark	( <i>Alauda arvensis</i> )
*73. Swallow	( <i>Hirundo rustica</i> )
*74. House Martin	( <i>Delichon urbica</i> )
*75. Meadow Pipit	( <i>Anthus pratensis</i> )
*76. Pied Wagtail	( <i>Motacilla alba</i> )
*77. Grey Wagtail	( <i>M. cinerea</i> )
78. Waxwing	( <i>Bombycilla garrulus</i> )
79. Great Grey Shrike (1)	( <i>Lanius excubitor</i> )
*80. Hedge Sparrow	( <i>Prunella modularis</i> )
*81. Whitethroat	( <i>Sylvia communis</i> )
*82. Chiffchaff	( <i>Phylloscopus colybita</i> )
*83. Willow Warbler	( <i>P. trichilus</i> )
*84. Wood Warbler	( <i>P. sibilatrix</i> )
*85. Garden Warbler	( <i>Silvia borin</i> )
*86a. Grasshopper Warbler	( <i>Locustella naevia</i> )
*87. Goldcrest	( <i>Regulus regulus</i> )
*88. Spotted Flycatcher	( <i>Muscicapa striata</i> )
89. Wheatear	( <i>Oenanthe oenanthe</i> )
*90. Robin	( <i>Erythagus rubicula</i> )
*91. Blackbird	( <i>Turdus merula</i> )
92. Fieldfare	( <i>T. pilarus</i> )
93. Redwing	( <i>T. iliacus</i> )
*94. Song Thrush	( <i>T. philomelos</i> )
*95. Missel Thrush	( <i>T. viscivorus</i> )
*96. Long-tailed Tit	( <i>Argithelos caudatus</i> )
*97. Coal Tit	( <i>Parus ater</i> )
*98. Great Tit	( <i>P. major</i> )
*99. Blue Tit	( <i>P. caeruleus</i> )
*100. Willow Tit	( <i>P. montanus</i> )
*101. Tree Creeper	( <i>Certhia familiaris</i> )
*102. Wren	( <i>Troglodytes troglodytes</i> )
*103. Dipper (formerly)	( <i>Cinclus cinclus</i> )
*104. Yellow Hammer	( <i>Emberiza citrinella</i> )
*105. Reed Bunting	( <i>E. schoeniclus</i> )
106. Brambling	( <i>Fringilla montifringilla</i> )
*107. Chaffinch	( <i>F. coelebs</i> )
*108. Goldfinch	( <i>Carduelis carduelis</i> )
109. Siskin	( <i>C. spinus</i> )
*110. Greenfinch	( <i>C. chloris</i> )
*111. Bullfinch	( <i>Pyrrhula pyrrhula</i> )
*112. Linnet	( <i>Acanthis cannabina</i> )
113. Crossbill	( <i>Loxia curvirostra</i> )
*114. House Sparrow	( <i>Passer domesticus</i> )
*115. Starling	( <i>Sturnus vulgaris</i> )
*116. Jay	( <i>Garrulus glandarius</i> )
*117. Magpie (formerly)	( <i>Pica pica</i> )
118. Raven	( <i>Corvus corax</i> )
*119. Rook	( <i>C. frucilegus</i> )
*120. Carrion Crow	( <i>C. crone</i> )
*121. Jackdaw	( <i>C. monedula</i> )

# FURTHER NOTES ON THE PREHISTORIC ROCK ART OF GALLOWAY

by

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## Introduction

The coastal area of Galloway, Fig. 1A, is enormously rich in prehistoric rock art and it is surprising to see how many new sites are added to the existing list each year. Two areas in particular produce new finds: the low hills to the SE of Kirkcudbright and, more important, the Machars, SE of the line Wigtown-Port William. This latter area not only has a very large collection of cup and ring art (Morris, 1979) but also can boast having the biggest concentration of spiral-sites on outcrop rock in Britain and Ireland (Van Hoek, 1986). Especially the Eggerness peninsula, NE of Garlieston, is most intriguing as it combines spiral-sites, described in my earlier article, cup and ring rocks and two of the finest examples of rock art depicting animals. The latter are the subject of a separate article.

This paper however deals with the more common cup and ring art and concentrates on the sites at Claunch and Galtway Hill. In an appendix some other sites are briefly dealt with.

## Claunch

The rock art concentration at Claunch farm, Fig. 1B, lies about 1,5km NW of Sorbie in a landscape that is characteristic of that of the Machars. Here it consists of a large, relatively flat piece of pasture land and woodland with many small hillocks and outcrop ridges and tables. This area is surrounded by a horse-shoe of low hills, max. 91m, which is open to the SE towards Garlieston Bay, 5,5km distant, from where early occupation may have started.

Rock art tends to occur at high places with good views. At Claunch however, it is remarkable that the sites occupy the lower central part of the arena shaped area. This may be explained by the absence of outcropping rock on the surrounding hills.

Because of the nature of the position of the sites there are no wide views. Only to the NE the higher mountains are visible. And although the Claunch cluster lies only 3,5km SW of Wigtown Bay there are no sea views.

All sites at Claunch are intervisible, at least when a person is standing on each site. What is also worthy of mention is that the rock art site at Culnoag, some 1,5km to the SW and at an altitude of 55m, is also visible from Claunch. Here, at Culnoag, two additional cup and two complete rings were discovered by the author, Fig. 2A. They are on a horizontal continuation of the main rock, described by Morris (1979, 91) and some 50cm NW of it (NX 417 469).

Rock art at Claunch has been known since 1911 when the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments of Scotland reported engravings on a large table-like outcrop near the farm. This rock, Claunch 1, has last been described by Morris (1979, 87), who also reported the second rock art site, Claunch 2, in 1964 (Morris, 1979, 88). This rock, Fig. 2B, slopes 9° to the NW instead of being horizontal as previously reported. Morris

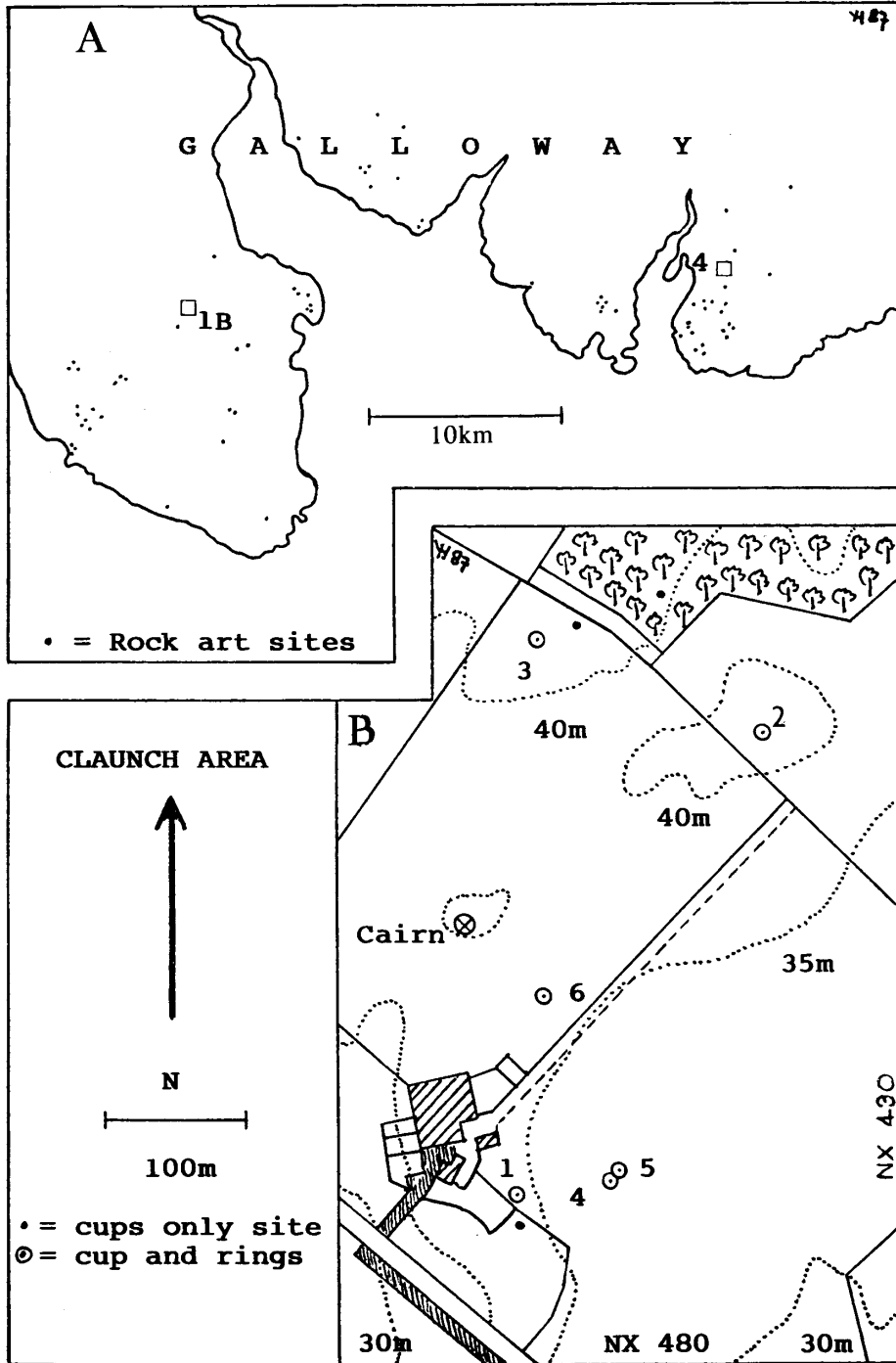


Fig. 1: A - Rock Art in Galloway, B - The Claunch area.  
(Based on OS map NX 44 1:25000 Crown Copyright Reserved)

also notes a cupmarked boulder in the forest NW of Claunch 2. This could not be re-located and its position on the map, Fig. 1B, is only approximate.

Good observation by the landowner, Mr Harold Young, revealed another cup and ring site which he brought to the attention of the author, who, at the time, discovered some more carved rocks. All new finds will be discussed below.

*Claunch 3*, Fig. 2C; (NX 4274 4856, 42m OD). This is a large loose slab which lies just SW of Kilsture Forest. It was noticed by the author but it possibly has been reported before as Kilstare (DES 1986, 7). It has a cup and three complete rings with possibly part of a fourth ring and a faint tail now pointing E. Touching the outer ring is a possible cup and one ring. Further SE on the slab is a similarly small cup and one complete ring. The four other depressions most likely are natural.

Nearer the forest is a large horizontal outcrop shelf with three large, cup-like depressions in a line.

*Claunch 4*, Fig. 2D; (NX 4280 4814, 34m OD). The faint engravings, first noted by the author (DES 1986, 7) are at the E end of a large outcrop ridge, some 125m E of the farm. Among many typical solution holes are several cup and rings and the doubtful traces of a single oval. Dominating is a large but weathered cup and four complete rings with a tail down the slope. Further N on the rock is a similar cup and four rings which is even more worn, but it has no tail. Near this is a cup and three complete rings, very faint. Four cups have two rings, two of these hardly visible. There is one clear cup and one complete ring and another cup may have traces of one ring. There also is one single cup on this part and another some 2m further W (not shown on plan).

This rock is not part of Claunch 1 (reported as possibly so in DES 1986, 7) as Claunch 1 could be re-located and proved to be about 75m nearer the farm.

*Claunch 5*, Fig. 3A; (NX 4280 4814, 34m OD). Only 3m NE of Claunch 4 is a low and long outcrop, partially overgrown, which slopes 15° SE where carved. It has one single cup and one cup with a large oval shaped complete ring and part of a second ring. On an isolated bit of outcrop, further NE, are two possible small cups. A few metres to the N is a large table-like outcrop with faint traces of cupmarks at its E side.

*Claunch 6*, Fig. 3B; (NX 4275 4827, 36m OD). This interesting outcrop was discovered recently by Mr Young and he kindly permitted the author to excavate the rock beyond the part already exposed. The SW part was covered with up to one foot of soil, but still the whole rock must have been exposed in early days as all engravings are much weathered. The rock is much fractured and generally slopes 14° NW.

From NE to SW is a row of carvings: a cup and four complete rings and a tail from the inner ring leading to a cupmark surrounded by a small horse-shoe mark; a faint cup with a possible single ring; a cup and three rings, the outer one incomplete; a large cup and three complete rings, the outer one being cut off by cracks in the rock; a single oval ring-mark with possible pocking in its centre; a large cup with one complete ring, a small cup with part of a ring; a large cup and four complete rings with possible tail to the SW and a plough scratch to the SE; another cup and one complete ring. Near this there seems to be a row of about ten short parallel grooves. This feature seems to be repeated at the NE end of the outcrop where seven parallel grooves occur, but these are almost weathered off. If these rows of parallel grooves are authentic and contemporary with the cup and rings, they represent a class of symbols very rare in cup and ring art. The major



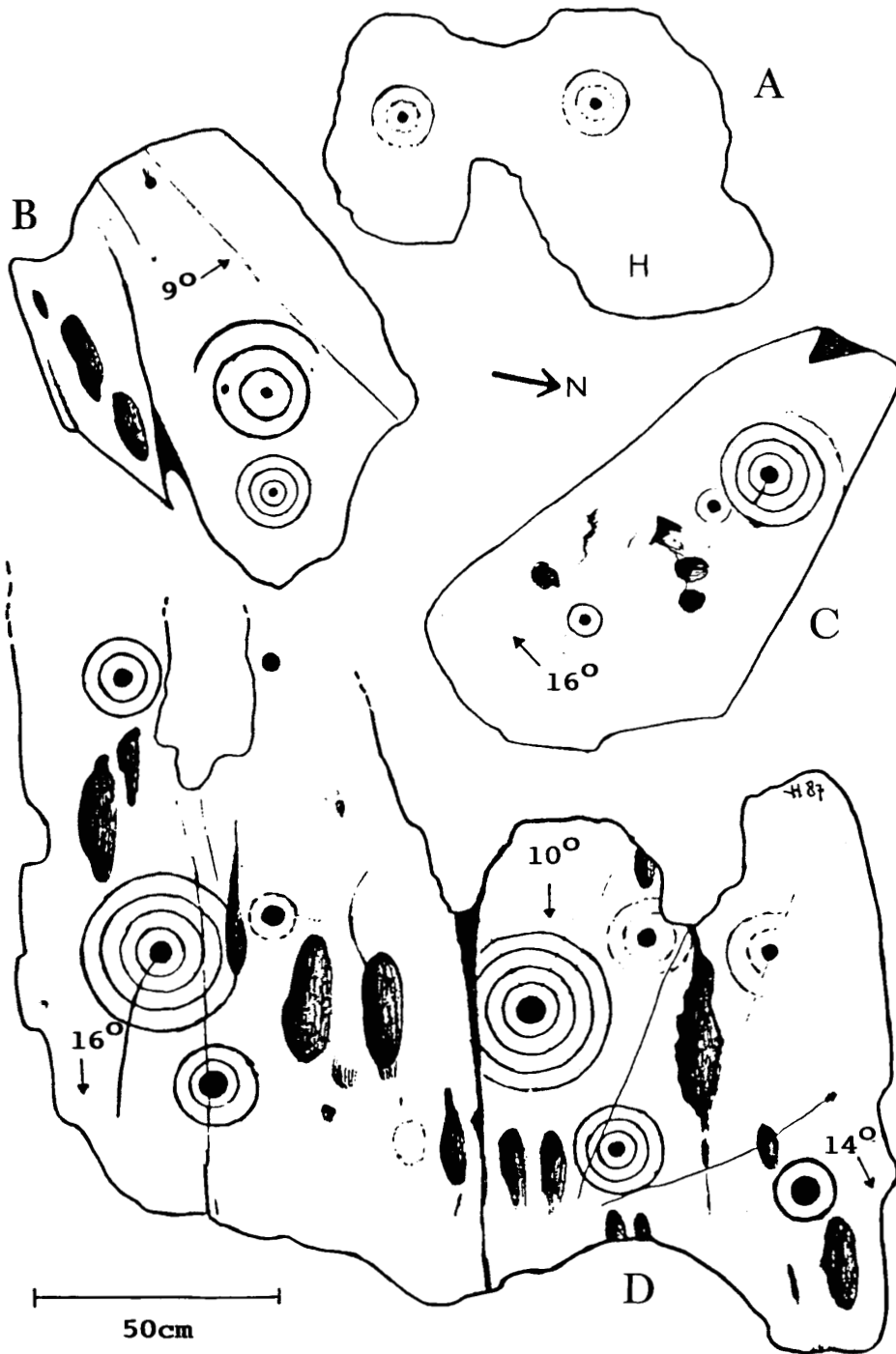


Fig. 2: A - Culnoag, B - Claunch 2, C - Claunch 3, D - Claunch 4.  
(H = horizontal).

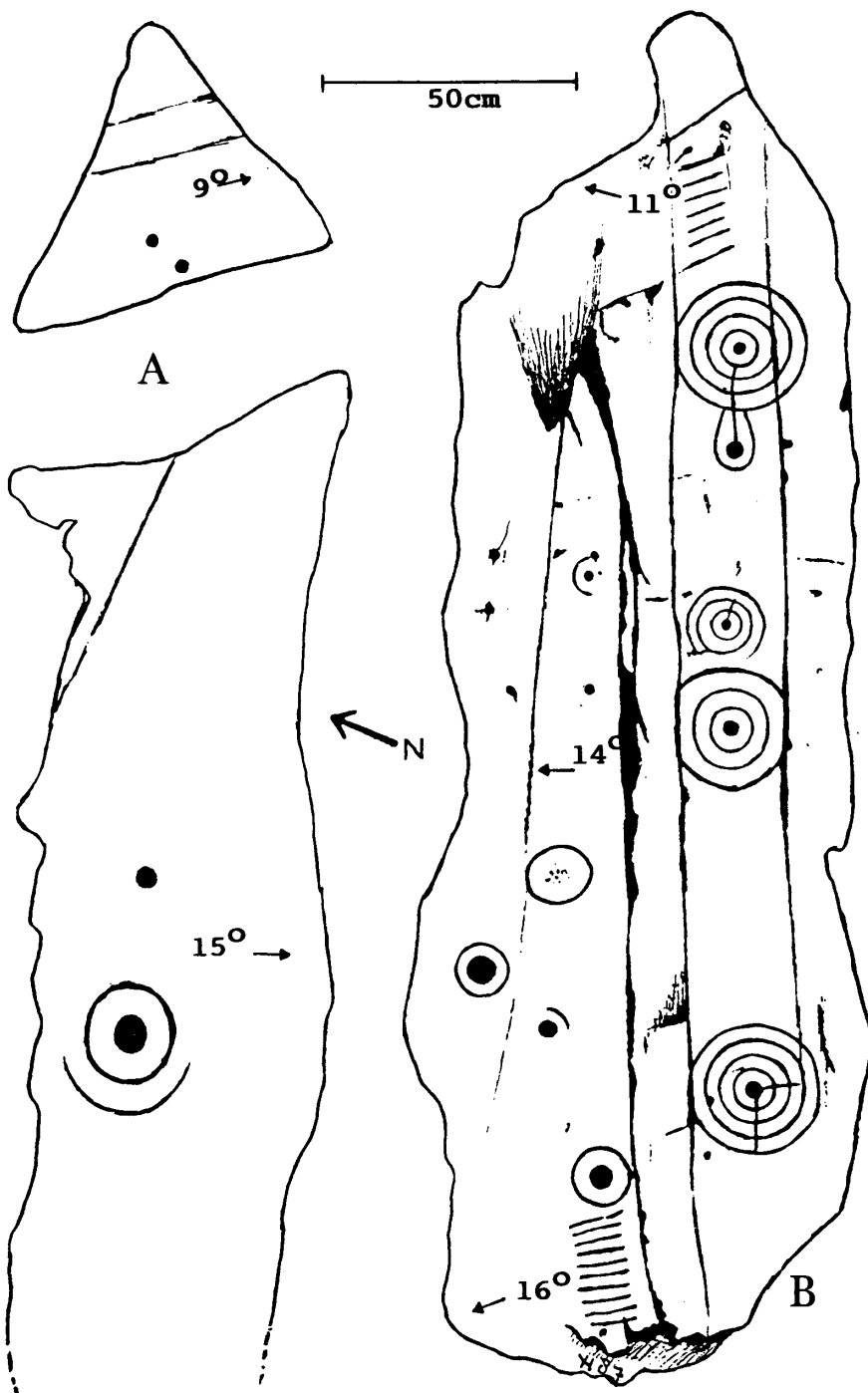


Fig. 3: A - Claunch 5, B - Claunch 6.

concentration of such parallel grooves occurs at Magheranaul, Co. Donegal, (Van Hoek, 1987). It is remarkable however, that about 7.5km SW from Claunch, at Blairbuy 3, there also is a cup and ring site with parallel grooves, Fig. 8B. Although plough scratches occur on the rock at Claunch 6, it seems unlikely that 17 similar, evenly spaced parallel grooves will have been caused by ploughing. The grooves however are too much worn to ascertain their nature; no certain pockmarks could be detected.

Finally, Mr Young pointed out to the author a large outcrop shelf, just S of Claunch 1 and on the other side of the wall, which has two large (8cm) cupmarks on its horizontal, fractured surface.

### Galtway Hill

About 4km SE of Kirkcudbright is Galtway Hill (Fig. 4) and although it rises to 140m it is rather inconspicuous. Its slopes however are littered with rock outcrops some of which bear cup and ring art. Among these is the well known rock art site of High Banks at the foot of the hill and described in my earlier article.

More rock art however has been reported by F. R. Coles (Morris, 1979, 101-3) but unfortunately these are untraceable. Several searches by the author and many others have been unsuccessful except for one group. In search for the missing rocks others were found in 1986-87 and although it concerns minor finds the area is worthy of a brief review.

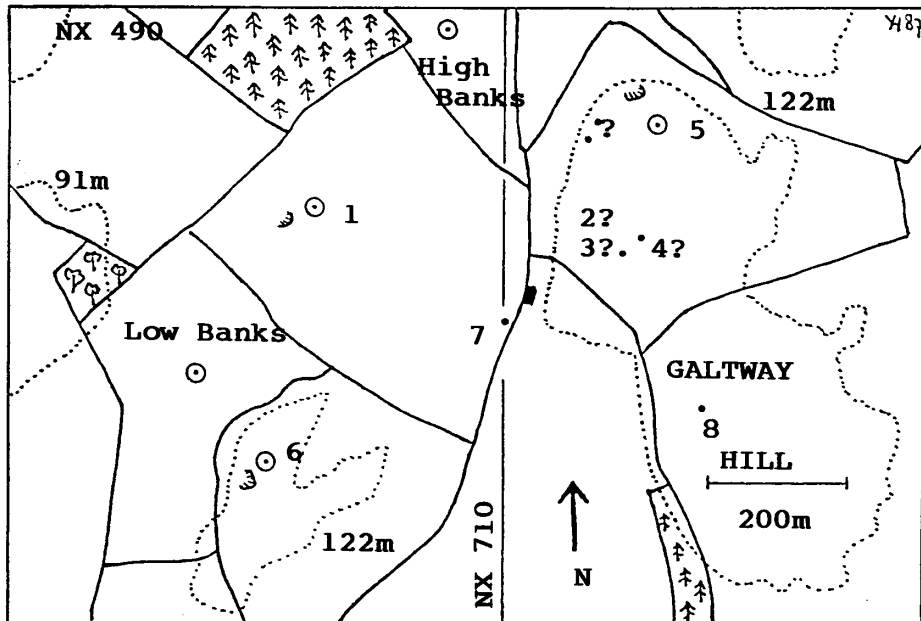


Fig. 4: The Galtway Hill area. For legend see Fig. 1 B  
(Based on OS map NX 74 1:25000 Crown Copyright Reserved).

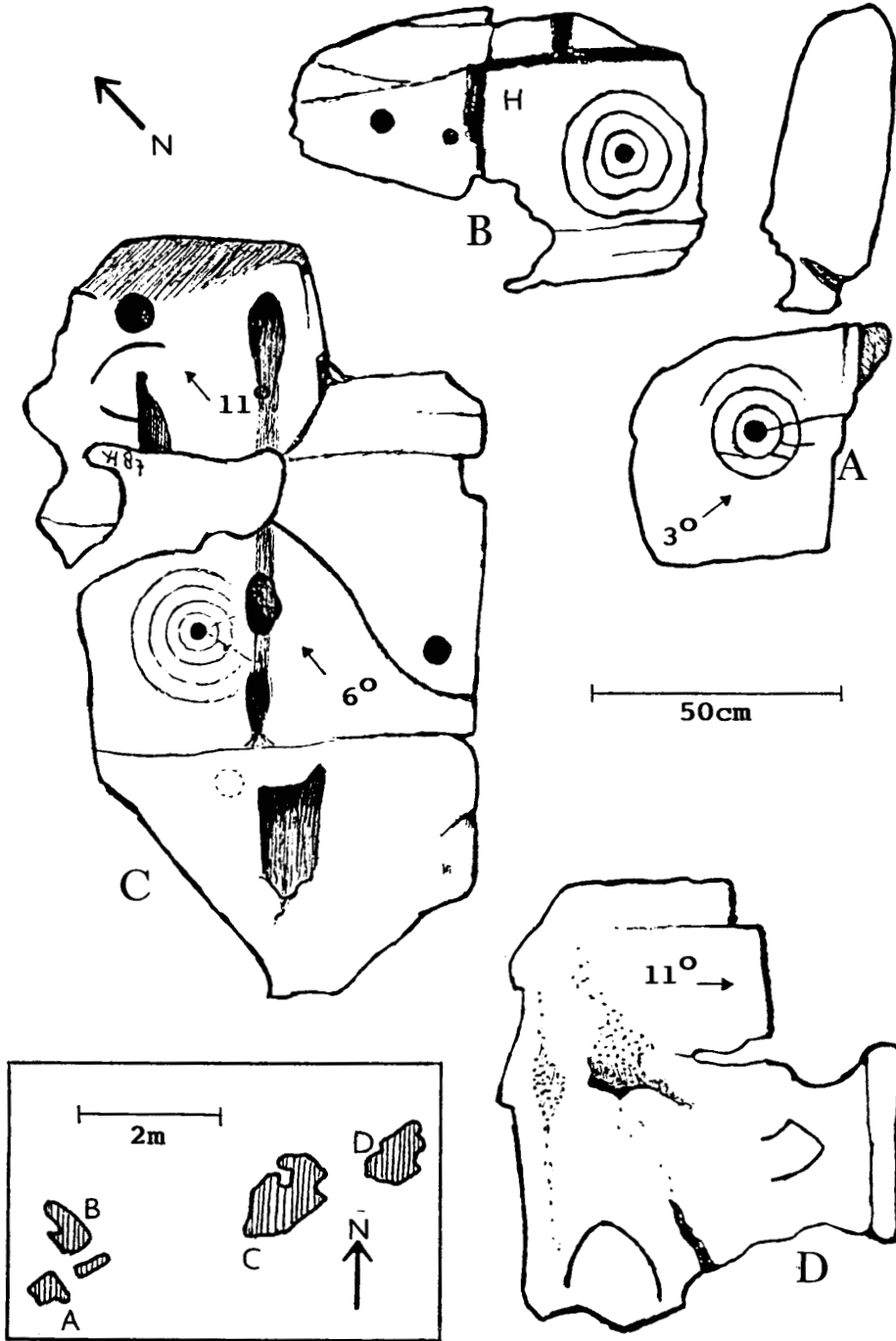


Fig. 5: A - Galtway 1A, B - Galtway, 1B, C - Galtway 1C, D - Galtway 1D.  
 Inset: Relative positions of Galtway 1.



*Galtway 1*, Fig. 5; (NX 7075 4873, 107m OD). This site could be re-located in 1986 as it was found to be fully excavated by a previous visitor. It proved to be the same site described by Morris as Low Banks 2 (1979, 140). Morris describes two of the carved surfaces (B and C) and a third outcrop (A) reported by Coles could also be found, as well as a new carved outcrop (D). As sketches both by Coles and Morris show (minor) errors all rocks will be described again.

*Galtway 1A*, Fig. 5A; one cup and two complete rings and part of a third one, with a tail from the central cup and some three other grooves from the inner ring, probably not prehistoric.

*Galtway 1B*, Fig. 5B: One single cup and another possible one; one cup and three complete but not quite circular rings.

*Galtway 1C*, Fig. 5C: A faint cup and four rings, the SE quadrant almost weathered off, with some very faint grooves; a long curving groove, very shallow; two large single cupmarks; two single short curved grooves forming a sort of V-shaped figure. This latter figure has been previously described as a semi-circle. There possibly is a faint ring-only of small dimensions.

*Galtway 1D*, Fig. 5D: About 1m to the NE of 1C and on a lower level, almost completely overgrown, is a smooth rock surface with two V-shaped grooves and two areas with possible pockmarks. The inset, Fig. 5, shows the relative position of all four rocks.

*Galtway 2, 3 and 4*. These most interesting carvings, reported by Coles in 1894 (Morris, 1979, 102-3), could not be traced and may either be overgrown or quarried away. On Fig. 4 their possible locations are given.

*Galtway 5*, Fig 6A; (NX 7122 4884, 125m OD). About 300m SE of the rock art site at High Banks, and SE of a disused quarry is a smooth outcrop rock with at least four cups, one with a distinct single ring and another with a possible ring. There also is an area with a few possible midget-cups.

*Galtway 6A, B and C*; (NX 7068 4837, 125m OD). About 375m of *Galtway 1*, in the next field S of it is a large quarry on top of a low hill. Some 30m NE of the quarry is *Galtway 6A*, Fig. 6B, having nine single cupmarks. Only 3m further NE, almost completely overgrown, is an outcrop, *Galtway 6B*, Fig. 6C, with four cups and two doubtful ones. The two large and deep cups are possibly of natural origin but may be worked on, especially as the larger oval cup shows faint traces of an oval ring. *Galtway 6C* is an outcrop some 5m NE of 6B at a point where the hill slopes more steeply, Fig. 6D. It has five cups and one possible one. The largest cup (6cm) is surrounded by two gapped rings and from the cup runs a tail to the SE.

*Galtway 7*, Fig. 6E; (NX 7100 4856, 119m OD). In the same field as *Galtway 1*, but only about 10m W of its E wall is an irregular outcrop on a long ridge with 23 cupmarks. At the NE end there is a rosette of eight little cups surrounding a somewhat larger cup. This feature is found repeated at High Banks 4A as well (Van Hoek, 1986).

*Galtway 8*, (NX 7128 4844, 140m OD). Only a few m SW of a much ruined cairn on top of *Galtway Hill* is an outcrop with two single cupmarks.

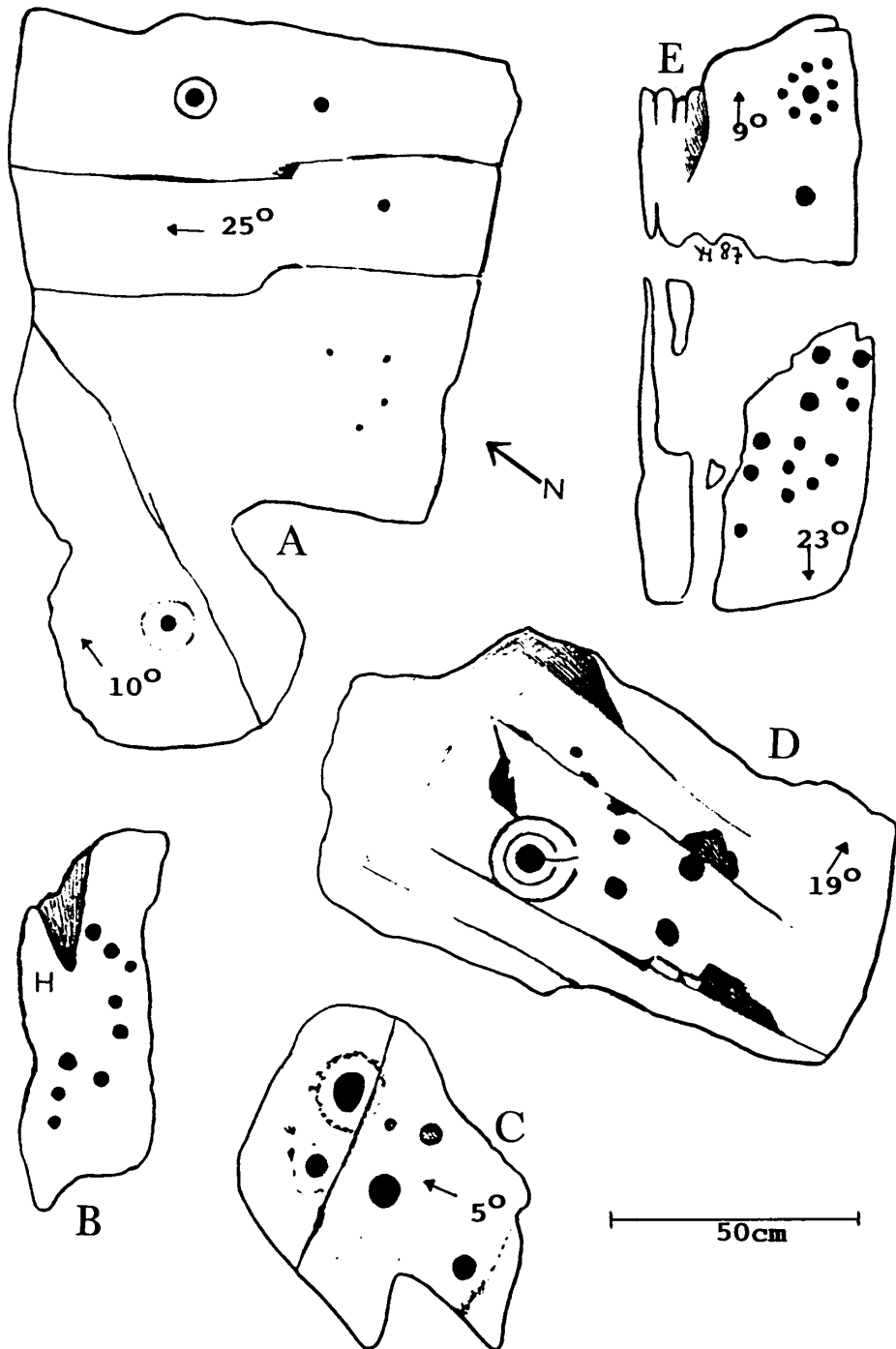


Fig. 6: A - Galtway 5, B - Galtway 6A, C - Galtway 6B, D - Galtway 6C, E - Galtway 7.

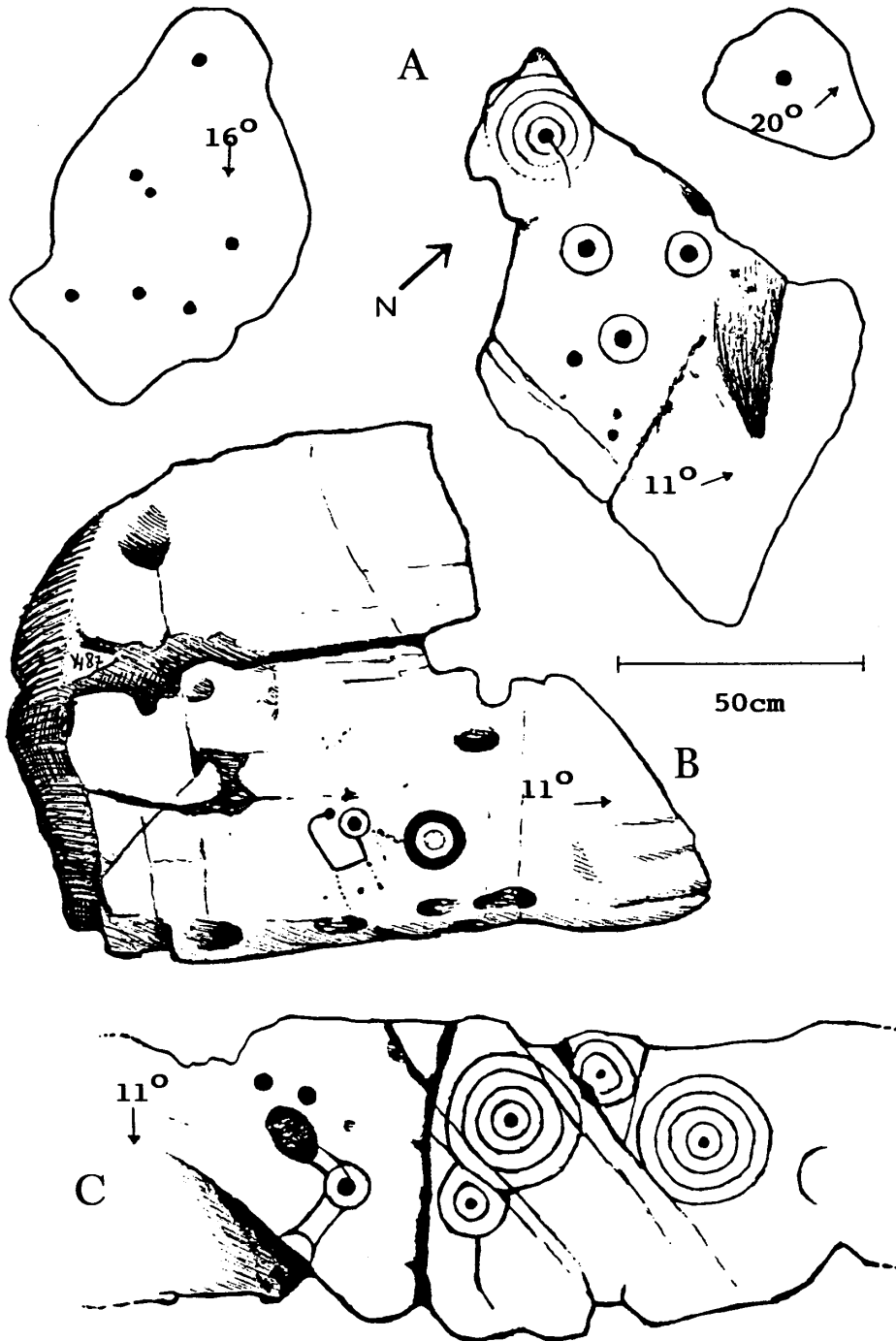


Fig. 7: A - Big Balcraig 3 (S - Mid - N), B - Gallows Outon 2, C - Blairbuy 2.

## Appendix

The main purpose of this part is to supply the interested reader with some brief descriptions and drawings of rock art sites which have been reported by the author before (DES, 1986), and by Morris (1979).

*Big Balcraig 3*, Fig. 7A; (NX 3759 4429, 55m OD). At the E end of a low ridge are three outcrops at ground level, much overgrown. The S sheet has seven cups, three with possible traces of one ring. The middle sheet has one single cup; three cup and one rings; one cup and four rings and a tail from the central cup, all very much weathered (DES, 1986, 7).

*Gallows Outon 2*, Fig. 7B; (NX 4498 4193, 72m OD). At the SW end of an irregular rocky ridge is a small cup and one ring with a U-shaped groove ending in a cupmark. A possible pocked groove connects with a broadly pocked out ringmark with a faint second ring on a boss in the centre. There is no central cup (DES, 1986, 7).

*Blairbuy 2*, Fig. 7C; (NX 3729 4117, 65m OD). On top of a high rocky ridge is an outcrop shelf stretching NE-SW. The part NE of the big crack has been described by Morris (1979, 61), who incorrectly states the rock to be horizontal and stretching N-S. The carved surfaces however slope  $11^\circ$  to the SE. To the SW of the crack are two single cups and one cup with one ring. From the ring run two sets of parallel grooves, one set ending in a natural depression, the other set touches a semi-circle which is broken off at the rock's edge.

The following entries are sites described by Morris (1979), which need revision as more carvings showed up when examining these rocks.

*Knock 4*, Fig. 8A; (NX 3649 4053, 51m OD). This rock proved to have: a cup and four complete rings; a cup and three rings, the outer incomplete, and a possible tail to a runner-cup in the second ring; a cup and two incomplete rings with a tail; three cups with (parts of) one ring; and at least six single cups and a few doubtful ones. Last described by Morris (1979, 132).

*Blairbuy 3*, Fig. 8B; (NX 3747 4234, 105m OD). This rock, first described by Morris (1979, 62) has a large cup and five rings and part of a sixth ring. It also has a long but faint tail from its central cup. There are five parallel grooves, one tangential to the fifth ring. Also two single cups. The carved surface slopes  $18^\circ$  to the N. Sea views could not be ascertained.

*North Balfern*, Fig. 8C; (NX 4337 5098, 30m OD). A new drawing has been made of the rock art site at North Balfern. It differs in some detail with previous diagrams (Morris, 1979, 157). Worthy of note is a funnel shaped device not previously noticed. It is situated near the SW edge and measures 10cm by 8cm. It is 5cm deep and is perforated at its bottom by a small hole. There also are two ringmarks with no central cup, an oval one which is connected by a set of two parallel grooves to a cup and one ring (compare Blairbuy 2, Fig. 7C).

*Glasserton Mains*: (NX 4058 3730, 95m OD). On this rock, last described by Morris (1979, 107-8) two additional cup and rings could be detected: one cup and three complete rings (21cm) with a short tail to the SE; one cup and two complete rings. Two, possibly four, other cup and rings also have a tail. One of the cup and two rings seems to be without central cup; it either never existed or has worn off.

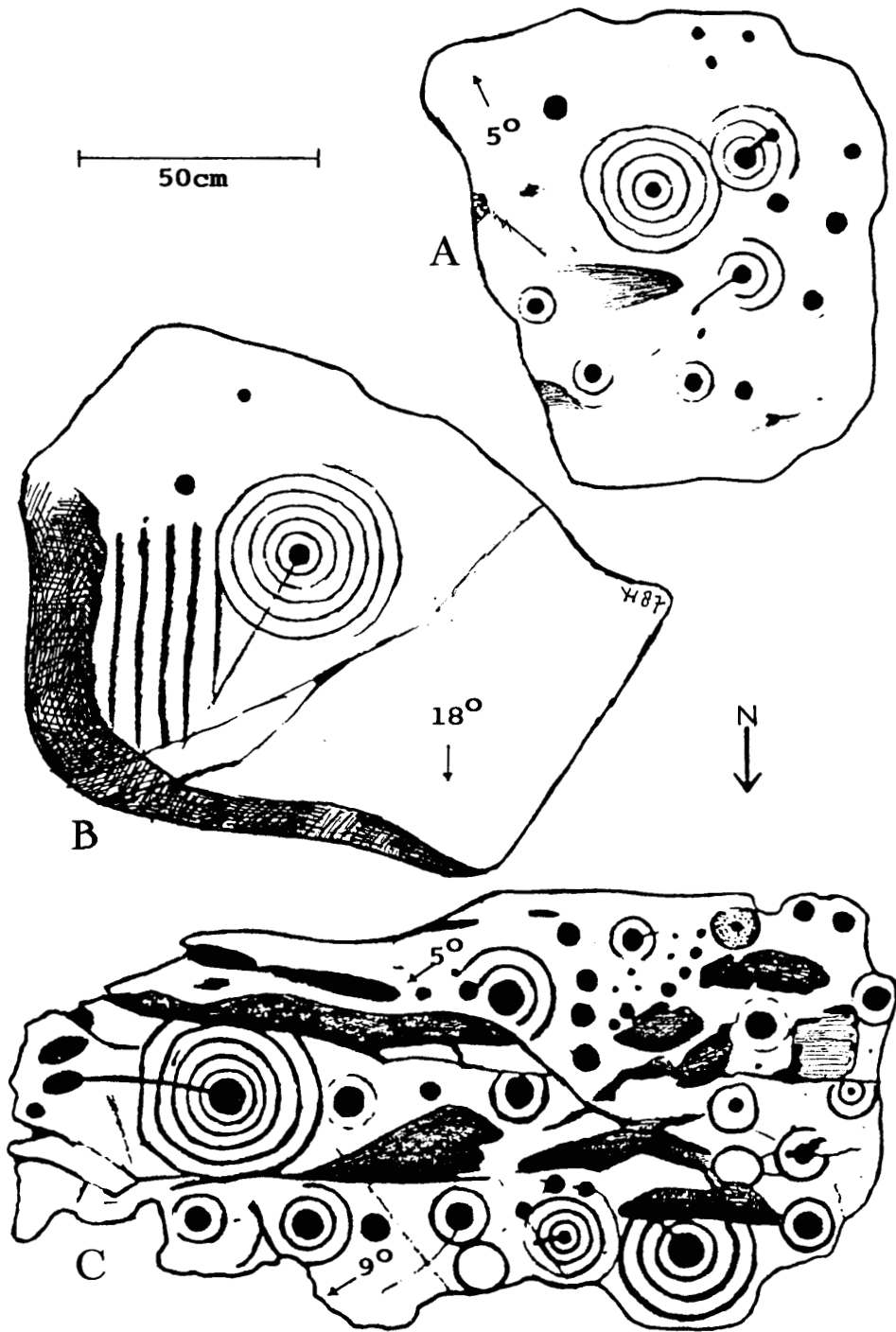


Fig. 8: A - Knock 4, B - Blairbuy 3, C - North Balfern.

**Acknowledgments**

I am again grateful to all landowners and tenants for their kind permission to inspect the rock art on their lands. I am especially indebted to Mr and Mrs H. Young of Claunch, Sorbie, for their hospitality and help.

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# A SHORT CIST AT WEST CAIRNGAAN, KIRKMAIDEN, WIGTOWNSHIRE

by Sylvia Stevenson<sup>1</sup>  
with contribution from Frances Lee<sup>2</sup>

## Summary

A short cist was discovered during ploughing after re-grading of a knoll of glacial sand and gravel on West Cairngaan Farm, Wigtownshire, in April 1986. The site was excavated by the author on behalf of the Central Excavation Unit, Ancient Monuments Inspectorate, SDD.

The slab lined short cist contained the vestigial remains of a crouched inhumation together with traces of cremated bone. There were no associated artifacts. In the light of previous discoveries in the immediate locality, the cist probably formed part of a more extensive cist cemetery, probably, by association, dating from the early middle Bronze Age.

## Site Location

The short cist was discovered 440m south east of farm buildings at West Cairngaan Farm, Kirkmaiden, Wigtownshire (NGR NX 1329 3172: see fig 1.B). It was situated on an isolated knoll of glacial outwash sand and gravel known as Knockcoars (OS 1983 1:10,000), at an altitude of 60.96m OD. The site has commanding views to both the east and west coasts of the peninsula, and south to the Mull of Galloway.

## Circumstances of Discovery

The discovery was reported initially on Monday 14 April to Stranraer Museum by the farmers Mr and Mrs Birkett. Mr Birkett had recently re-graded the top of Knockcoars, and that of the neighbouring knoll, Knockantomachie (NGR NX 132 317, see fig 1C) to facilitate the access of farm machinery, thereby reducing the height of both knolls by an average of 1.22m (ex inf Mr Birkett). The cist had survived the initial re-grading of the site, and was discovered during subsequent ploughing at a depth of c 0.4 m below the re-graded surface of approx 0.38m.

## Excavation

Restrictions imposed by time and weather conditions influenced the extent of investigation. Plough soil was cleared from an area c 3 m square, exposing the structural elements of the cist.

## *The Cist*

The orientation of the long axis extended north-west to south-east. The capstone had been partially dislodged and broken into three pieces by the plough. One fragment remained over the NW end of the cist; the two remaining portions were dragged to the W. When complete, the slab would have measured c 0.70 m by 1.50m with a maximum thickness of 0.13m.

1. Central Excavation Unit, Scottish Development Dept. (Hist. Buildings and Monuments).
2. Calvis Wells Laboratory for Burial Archaeology, School of Archaeological Studies, Bradford University.

West Cairngaán  
Wigtown

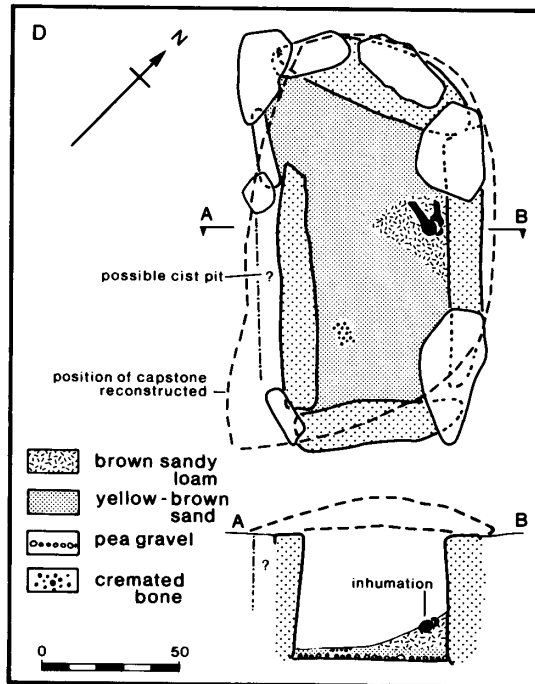
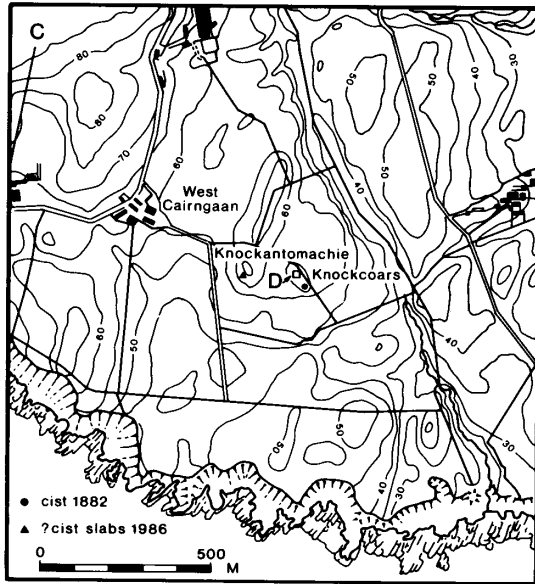
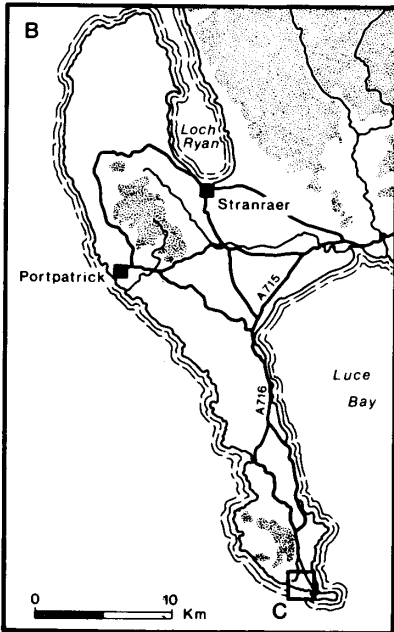
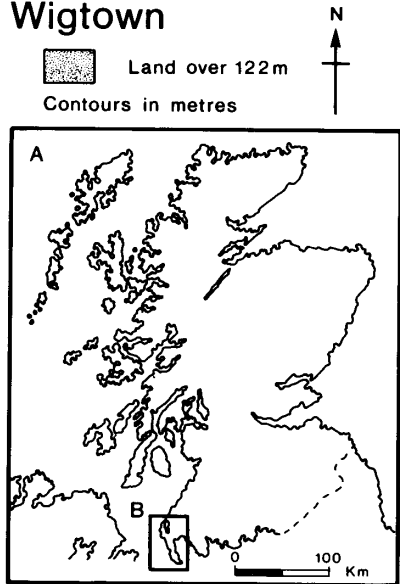


Fig. 1 A, B and C — location maps and D — plan and section of cist at West Cairngaán.



The cist was constructed of four edge set slabs. The capstone appeared to have been levelled in position on top of these slabs by a series of flat stones. The north-west corner of the chamber was less regular, with N end slab turning out, the resulting gap on the west side being blocked by a smaller, fifth slab (see fig 1D). The slabs lined a pit cut into the glacial sand and gravel of the knoll. The chamber measured internally 1.0 m NW-SE, by 0.50m transversely, with a natural sand and gravel floor a maximum of 0.46 m below the top of the side slabs.

#### *The Cist Pit*

It was not possible in the time available to excavate the cist pit. The probable line of the cutting was identified on the SW side of the cist (see fig 1D) as a slot distinct in colour from the surrounding soil and incorporating probable packing stones. The side slab had collapsed slightly inwards in response to external pressure.

#### *The Fill of the Cist*

Material turned by the plough, simultaneous with the fracture and partial removal of the capstone, had filled the S-E half of the cist, and spilled into the voided chamber beneath the surviving fragment of capstone. Cones of sand and gravel were visible at the NW end of the cist beneath the surviving capstone, and where the side-slabs were more irregular. It was difficult to say if this material represented seepage of overlying soil into the cist or whether it had entered as a result of ploughing and the jolting of the capstone. It was equally impossible to make any distinction of this kind towards the South end of the chamber which had been filled with ploughsoil when the capstone was dislodged. The removal of this loose material revealed the unaccompanied fragmentary remains of a crouched inhumation, at a depth of 0.30m from the top of the side slab on the NE side of the cist (See fig 1D). The position of the remains suggested that the head had been at the S-E end of the cist. These remains were embedded, at an angle and sloping W, in a sticky brown sandy loam incorporating small angular fragments of stone probably derived from the breaking down of the surface of the adjacent side slab. This deposit extended for *c* 0.30m and *c* 0.13m depth along the side of the chamber, before merging almost imperceptibly into the surrounding yellow brown sand which floored the rest of the cist to a depth of between 0.013 and 0.03m. In this otherwise clean sand on the west side of the cist (see fig 1D) a small concentration of calcined bone suggested the presence of a cremation deposit. Separating this material from the unlined floor of the chamber was a layer of pea gravel approx 6mm deep.

#### **Interpretation**

Although the absence of associated grave goods and the greater part of the skeleton suggested past disturbance of the cist, the acidic nature of the immediate environment could have contributed to the rapid decay of the inhumation. Any seepage of soil and surface water into the cist, as suggested above, may well have contributed to the disintegration of the skeleton. There was, however, no soil stain in the underlying sand to indicate the position of a body, and no human remains were identified other than those described below.

The condition of the surviving bone was fragile, but sufficiently well preserved to withstand removal without further damage. The breaks appear to have been sustained post-mortem and are relatively abraded. The bones were articulated and appeared to have been undisturbed since deposition. The articulated joint would seem to confirm that the body

was interred in its pre-skeletonised state. The depth of overburden removed from the site would suggest that the cist cannot have been disturbed in the recent past.

There is no evidence for the chronological relationship between the cremated and inhumed bone. Component Cist 1 of the Early Bronze Age Cemetery at Dalgety, Fife (Watkins, 1982, 112,61) illustrates the simultaneous interment of cremated and inhumed remains. The containment of two kinds of burial practice, sometimes contemporaneously, in one cist, is not unknown elsewhere in Scotland (McAdam, in Watkins 1982; vol 112, 124 for summary evidence). It is equally possible however, that the cremated material at Cairngaan forms an earlier deposit, cleared to make way for the later inhumation. The differential decay of inhumed skeletal material, has been noted at other sites with acid sub-soil. The remains contained in the cist at Horsburgh Castle Farm, Peeblesshire (Petersen et al, 1972-74, 105, 46) also cut into a natural sand and gravel knoll, showed a tendency to complete decay, though in this case a higher proportion of bones survived. In conclusion it must be said that the circumstances of discovery make it impossible to make a value judgement on the probability of disturbance in antiquity. It is presumed that the capstone was firmly in situ prior to ploughing. The uncompacted nature of the material which partially filled the cist subsequent to the capstone being dislodged would seem to confirm this, but, because of the circumstances of discovery, it cannot be said with certainty.

At the onset of re-grading, no distinction could be made in terms of percentage stone/humus/sand content of the overburden in comparison with the immediate environs of the site which may have suggested the existence of an artificial mound (*ex inf* Mr Birkett). Although it is possible that the existing topography was scarped to suitable contours, it seems more likely that the cist was a straightforward insertion into the glacial knoll. It seems reasonable to suppose that a cemetery or single grave would be identified in some way to demonstrate its position. The re-use of cist sites for funerary purposes, as for example at Traigh Bhan, Islay, Argyll (NR 215 700) (Ritchie & Stevenson 1982, 112, 552, 553) is too common to be explained by accidental re-discovery. Intensive agricultural practice, it may be surmised, has been responsible for the removal of many grave markers perhaps more necessary on flat cremation cemeteries such as Quoyscottie, Orkney (HY 302228) (Hedges, 1976-77, 108, 134) than on a distinctive topographical feature. The early Bronze Age cemetery at Dalgety, Fife (Watkins, 1982, 112, 48), however, inserted into a natural hillock, was ultimately sealed by a round barrow of re-deposited soil at the closure of the cemetery.

The absence of associated artifacts presents some difficulty in dating the site in more than relative terms. The size and construction of the cist, in comparison with an adjacent site on Knockcoars (NX 1332 3168), suggests a Bronze Age date.

It should also be noted that large, flat slabs were identified (*ex inf* Mr Birkett) in process of levelling the adjacent knoll of Knockantomachie, c 160m west of Knockcoars. Such slabs do not occur naturally in the glacial deposits and they probably constituted the structural elements of a third cist.

It is possible that the structures described are elements of a more extensive cist cemetery, utilizing the advantages of local geology and topography. Several instances of cist cemeteries inserted into natural knolls have been identified in Scotland. In the area of the River Tweed, Peeblesshire, discoveries were made at Bowers Knowe (NT 165 351) in 1837 (RCAHMS, 1967, I, 60 & 72) and there are other recorded sites in the Rachan-Drumelzier area (RCAHMS 1967, I, 15).

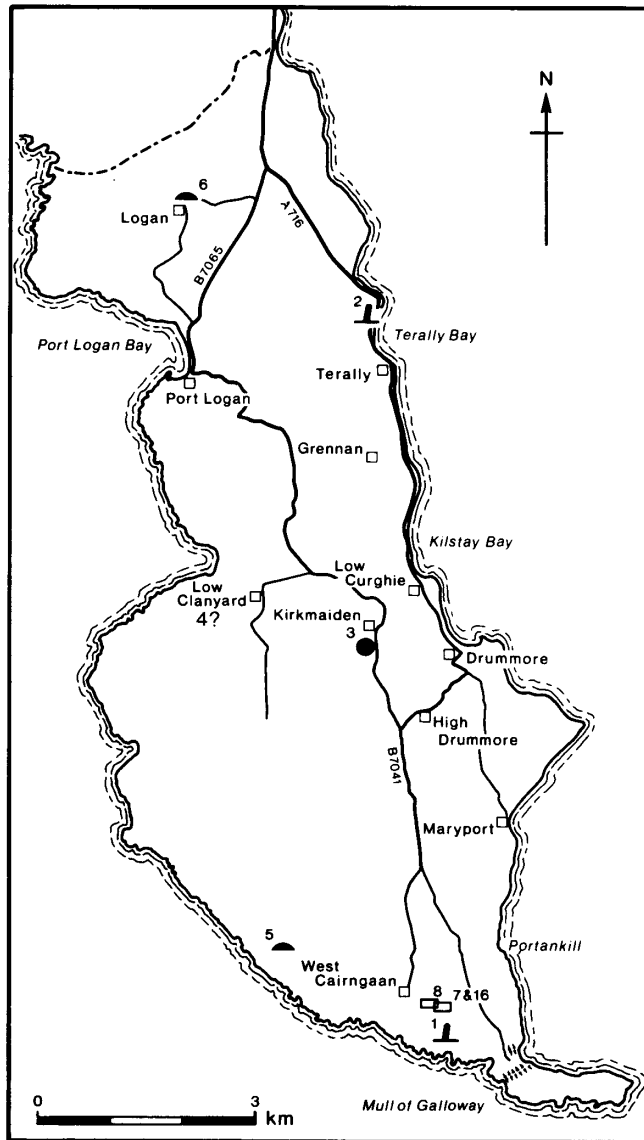


Fig. 2 Kirkmaiden Parish — Places mentioned in the text and tables.  
Possible Bronze Age Sites are numbered (see Table I)  
and Bronze Age find spots, where known, named (see Table II).

## Discussion

### *Kirkmaiden Parish: Geology and Topography*

The lower Silurian sediments which form the Kirkmaiden promontory (GS Scot 1984, 1:50 000, Kirkmaiden Solid) are overlain by drift deposits dominated by the products of glaciation.

Much of the peninsula is blanketed by boulder clay. As a result of climatic improvement c 12,000 years B.P., melt water from the receding ice-sheets deposited mounds and sheets of outwash sand and gravel over the boulder clay. Fluctuations in sea level due to isostatic and eustatic imbalance (G.S. Scot. 1982, 1:50,000 Kirkmaiden, Drift) produced terracing amongst these precipitates and raised beach deposits, the latter perhaps most clearly visible along the east coast at Kilstay Bay (NGR, NX 12 38) and Terally (NGR, NX 12 40).

The result of these geological episodes has been to produce an undulating landscape with a relatively low lying and sheltered east coast, dominated by late, and postglacial sediments, contrasting strongly with the boulder clay capped Silurian sediments of the west. These diverse environments were adapted by pre-historic peoples to their particular cultural requirements. The present distribution of recorded pre-historic remains is not necessarily a true reflection of pre-existing land use patterns. The latter has inevitably been qualified by past climatic conditions, vegetation cover and modern land use, the last perhaps best illustrated by the clearance of putative stone circles at High Curchie NGR, NX124367 (Table I No. 3) and Little Clanyard NGR NX 1037 (Table I No. 4) in the nineteenth century, and quarrying for sand and gravel which led to the discovery of the first cist at Cairngaan in 1882 (Table I No. 7).

### *Kirkmaiden Parish: Summary evidence for Prehistoric Settlement*

The raised beaches of the east coast provide the earliest evidence for the presence of man. Surface scatters of worked flint, dating from the Mesolithic, have been recovered from Drummore, NGR NX 137367 (Cormack 1964, 53; Lacaille, 1954 figs 56 & 58) Portankill, NGR, NX 138 325 (Cormack 1982, 9) and Terally, NGR, NX12 40 (Livens 1956-57, 99; Coles 1962-63, XL1, 68 & 71). This littoral environment, with a ready source of food and raw material for tools (Livens, 1956-57, 99) was ideal for the hunter-gatherer economy.

Neolithic occupation of the peninsula is suggested in artefactual rather than structural terms by a comparatively large number of unstratified stone axes predominantly from the central and eastern areas of the peninsula. Several of these have been assigned to Langdale group VI, (eg from Grennan, NGR, NX124 394 (Williams, 1970 XLVII, 118) and Port-a-Yew, NX143 309 (op cit), implying contact across the Solway Firth.

The Bronze Age at present, is similarly lacking in domestic structural evidence, although a number of putative ritual and funerary monuments testify to some permanence of occupation (see fig 2 and Table I). Although artefactual evidence from Kirkmaiden parish is sparse, metalwork (Table II Nos. 9 and 10) and pottery (Table II No. 16), indicate links with Ireland in the first millenium BC. The majority of recorded artefactual finds are provenanced, but few may be said to have a secure stratigraphical context, and the distribution pattern (see fig. 2) of structures and artefacts is, on present evidence, of no determinable significance either in relation to each other, or to sites of other periods.

Livens (1956-57, 87) suggests that the Iron Age saw the first extensive permanent settlement in the area. This assumption pre-supposes that the fortified sites and homesteads, largely on the exposed and rugged west coast of the promontory, and which are largely unexcavated, are assignable to this period. But the likelihood of differential preservation of sites between marginal and agricultural land which may appear superficially to restrict occupation to the relatively inhospitable west coast, should be borne in mind before accepting this as the true distribution of occupation in the later first millennium BC.

### **Conclusion**

The preceding discussion illustrates the relatively scanty evidence for pre-historic settlement patterns in Kirkmaiden. Conclusions must necessarily, but reservedly, be drawn almost wholly from the present distribution of field monuments and from unstratified chance finds.

### **The Human Skeletal Remains by Frances Lee**

The fragmentary remains of a right leg were excavated from within the stone cist. The body is lying on its right side with the head lying to the south. The lower condyles and distal end of the right femoral shaft, the upper condyles and proximal end of the tibia, and the patella are all that survive. The epiphyseal, or growth plates, have fused indicating that the individual was adult. The bones are slight or gracile in appearance, but there is insufficient material to establish the sex. No pathological lesions were recorded.

The bone preservation is poor with considerable erosion to the bone cortex. The articular ends of the long bones are generally more susceptible to bone weathering than the more compact cortical bone of the shaft. The weathering pattern at West Cairngaan would appear to be the reverse, the articular ends are relatively well preserved while the shaft gradually tapers away, presumably reflecting localised weathering patterns.

### **Acknowledgements**

This site was notified to Mr MacFarlane, Exhibition Officer, Stranraer Museum, by Mr and Mrs Birkett of West Cairngaan Farm, Drummore and subsequently came to the attention of CEU through Mr MacFarlane and the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments.

Mr and Mrs Birkett very kindly gave permission for the subsequent excavation and their help and advice is gratefully acknowledged.

The author is grateful also to Mr James Rideout and Dr J. N. G. Ritchie for reading and commenting on the draft of the report, and to Ms Frances Lee for reporting on the skeletal material.

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TABLE I  
Sites of Possible Bronze Age Date Recorded in Kirkmaiden Parish, Wigtown.

Ref. No.	Category	Name	NGR	Description	Date	Reference
1	Standing stone	High Curghie	NX 1338 3126	NW corner of field W of Mull Glen (1). Possible survivor of stone circle or component of facade of long cairn, modern wall incorporates 20 similar stones. (2)	Neolithic Bronze Age	(1) OS Record Card NXZ.13 SW24 (2) Murray, 1981, LVI, 29
2	Standing stone	Terally	NX 1228 4134	Whinstone slab on W side of A716.	Neolithic Bronze Age	RCAHMS, 1912, I, 60 & 152
3	? stone circle	High Curghie	Area NX 124367	Standing stones reported 1854 as removed c. 1800 from hill behind farm stackyard — suggests possible stone circle.	Neolithic Bronze Age	Murray, 1981, LVI, 29
4	? stone circle	Little Clanyard	Area NX 1037	Standing stones removed and re-used in nineteenth century — possibly formed stone circle.	Neolithic Bronze Age	Murray, 1981, LVI, 29
5	? cairn	Eagle Cairn	NX 1107 3255	Remains of possible burial site.	? Bronze Age	RCAHMS 1912, I 62 & 168
6	? cairn	Logan House	NX 097 430	Possible cairn disturbed by garden development.	? Bronze Age	RCAHMS 1912, I, 61 & 55
7	cist	Cairngaan	NX 1332 3168	Short cist burial in sand gravel knoll contained human remains and "several urns" — see below.	Bronze Age	Maxwell, 1885, 45 Maxwell, 188-9 XXIII 227-B Simpson 1965 XLII 26 & 41
8	?cist	Knockan-	NX 1313 3171	Possible cist, component slabs of which identified during levelling of glacial knoll.	? Bronze Age	ex inf Mr Birkett, West Cairngaan Farm

TABLE II

## Finds of Bronze Age Date Recorded in Kirkmaiden Parish, Wigtown

Ref. No.	Category	Provenance & NGR	Material	Description	Date	Present Location	Reference
9	<i>Metal</i>	Concealed in structure of tile works on Logan farm (1) name HX 131 357	Gold	Penannular armlet solid bar with expanded ends (1) Irish type 2 (2)	late Bronze Age (3)	Sold 1948, thought to be in California (3)	(1) Stevenson, 1947-48, LXXXII, 293 (2) Coles, 1959-60, XCIII, 90 (3) Callander, 1922-23, LVII, 165
10		High Drummore farm (1) name HX 131 357	Gold	Penannular armlet with cup shaped terminals (3). Irish form (2)	late Bronze Age (2)	Royal Museum of Scotland Accession No. FE 72	(1) Anon, 1894-95, XXIX, 8 (2) Coles, 1965, XLII, 87 (3) Callander, 1922-23, LVII, 165
11		The Fosse Mull of Galloway Area NX 1430	Gold	"Ornaments" said to have been found here but now lost.	?	?	Wilson, 1878, I, 38
12	<i>Stone</i>	Maryport	Stone	Dished axe hammer	Early/middle	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. Accession No B 1951-3239	Roe, 1967, XLIV, 79
13		Kirkmaiden name NX 37	Stone	Perforated axe head	Neolithic/ Bronze Age	1885 in possession of Bronze Age J. McDougall of Logan	Maxwell, 1885, V, 50
14		Kirkmaiden Parish	Shale	Armlet fragment	? Bronze Age	1888 in possession of Dr. R. Trotter, Perth	Maxwell, 1888-89, 220
15	<i>Ceramic</i>	Terrally mote NX 1241	Clay	Two rims and 2 body sherds (decorated food vessel but unclassified)	Bronze Age	Dumfries Museum	Simpson, 1965, XLII, 42
16		Cairngaan cist NX 1332 3168		Food vessel (Abercromby type E). Paralleled by vessel from Tykillen, Co. Wexford, Ireland (1). Other assoc. vessels in cist (2), these accessory and of "drinking cup" type (2). Crumbled on removal from cist.	Bronze Age	1889, in possession of Mr McCosh of Cairngaan	(1) Simpson, 1965 XLII, 42 (2) Wilson, 1894, VI, 103 (3) Maxwell, 1885, V, 45

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## ROCK CARVINGS IN THE GARLIESTON AREA, WIGTOWN DISTRICT

by

Ronald W. B. Morris and Maarten A. M. van Hoek

In 1986 and 1987 rock art was reported in the area just north of Garlieston for the first time. Some of it is of special interest and unusual in type for the British Isles.

In all, eight sites have been located, six on the farm of Eggerness, and two on the adjoining farm of Penkiln. All are on outcrop greywacke rock. The carvings include a very big number of spirals and on two sites most of the carvings are zoomorphic. Such zoomorphic carvings are rare in Prehistoric Rock Art in Britain. Most of the sites have been covered up completely in order to preserve the engravings. Details are as follows:

1. *PENKILN 1* (NX4836 4828); 33 m O.D. In the second field NE of the farm, 200 m NE. of Drumgarron, on Penkiln Farm, is a low stone mound 13 m by 6 m, 50 cm high at its highest point. Widely scattered over it, apparently without any pattern, are 17 much-weathered cups-and-rings, some gapped, others ungapped. The greatest number of concentric rings is three, and the greatest diameter 37 cm. Some of the rings have a radial groove. There also are about ten cupmarks. The carved surfaces slope slightly in various directions.

2. *PENKILN 2* (NX4786 4852); 37 m O.D. Some 125 m N. of a field gate is a low knoll. Near its SW. end and below 10 to 40 cm of turf there is a rock sloping 5° SW. When uncovered by Mrs. Margaret Morris for about 6 m by 2 m, there were found 26 cups-and-rings. Some of the motifs are much weathered. Most are ungapped and some have a radial groove. There are up to five concentric rings with diameters up to 50 cm. Many rings are incomplete. There are also four cupmarks and some indefinite pockings (Fig. 1).

3. *EGGERNESS 1* (NX4867 4730); 47 m O.D. About 120 m SW. of the top of a hill and 60 m W. of the corner of a stone wall, is a much fissured outcrop rock, sloping 12°-34° N., normally covered with 1-5 cm of turf. When bared for about 3 m square there were uncovered thirteen spirals, 1 cup-and-ring, a few arches and some indefinite pockings. This rock has been illustrated and described in more detail in a previous paper (Van Hoek, 1986). It merits careful preservation.

4. *EGGERNESS 2* (NX4856 4734); 46 m O.D. Some 60 m NE. of the wall's NW. corner, and 2 m N. of the wall, is a smooth outcrop slab, normally partly turf-covered, sloping 17° N. When uncovered to about 0.5m by 1 m there is a clear cut two-convolution spiral. This sheet has also been described before (Van Hoek, 1986).

5. *EGGERNESS 3* (NX4865 4736); 44 m O.D. A few m N. of the wall near Eggerness 2 there is a roughly parallel wall. Some 9 m E. of where this begins to curve and 5 m S. of it, there is a roughly vertical rock-face 30 cm high, which extends a long way. On a small part of it are carved, close together, nine groups of very small pittings each pit about 3 mm in diameter and 1 mm deep. Each group is arranged like a half-

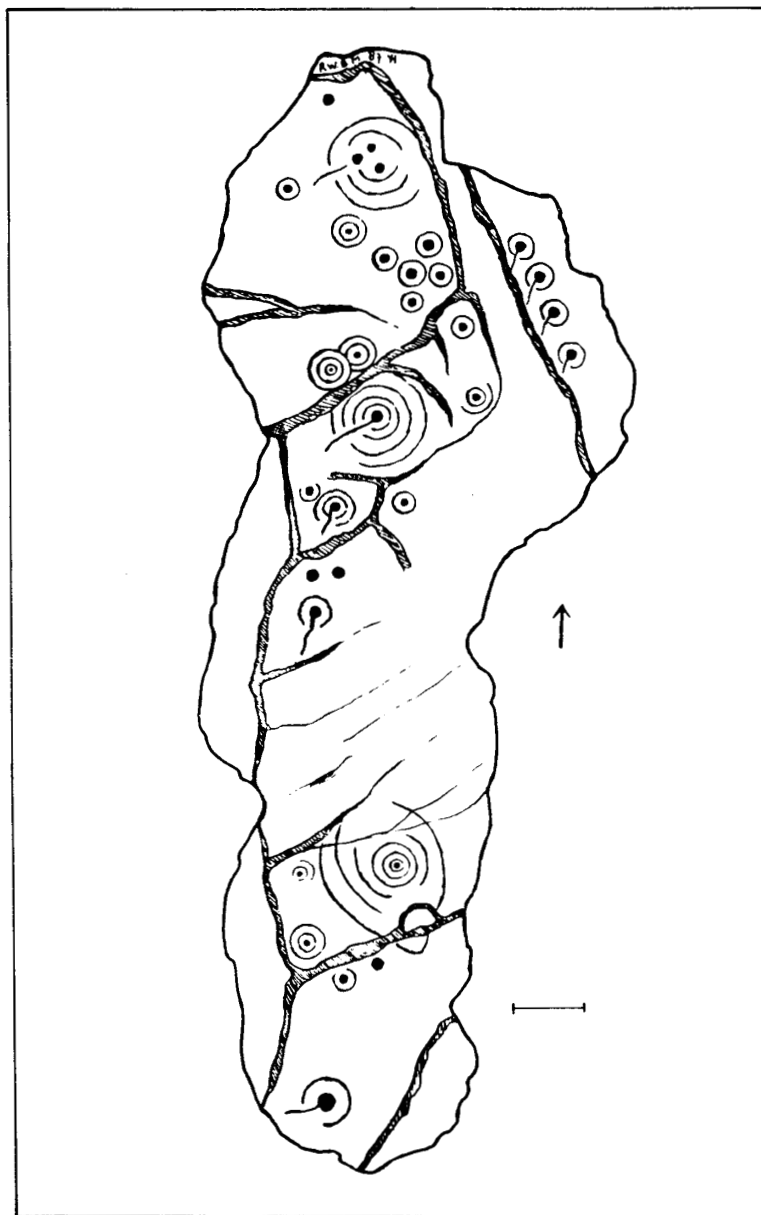


Fig. 1 Penkiln 2: cupmarked rock. The scale line on this and other illustrations is 20 cms. and the north point shows the magnetic north (1987).

domino, comprising four or five pittings. These carvings, found by Mrs. W. Ronan, are very difficult to locate because of dense vegetation (Fig. 2).

5. *EGGERNESS 4* (NX4875 4730); 47 m O.D. From a Trig. Point runs a faint ridge to the NE. Some 60 m NE. of this pillar Mrs. Margaret Morris found a small rough outcrop. It slopes 17° NW. and is normally under 1-5 cm of turf. There are one, perhaps two small cups, each with one ring; one large double ring, the outer one incomplete, 21 cm in diameter; and possibly up to 14 faint cupmarks. The maximum depth is about 1 cm (Fig. 3).

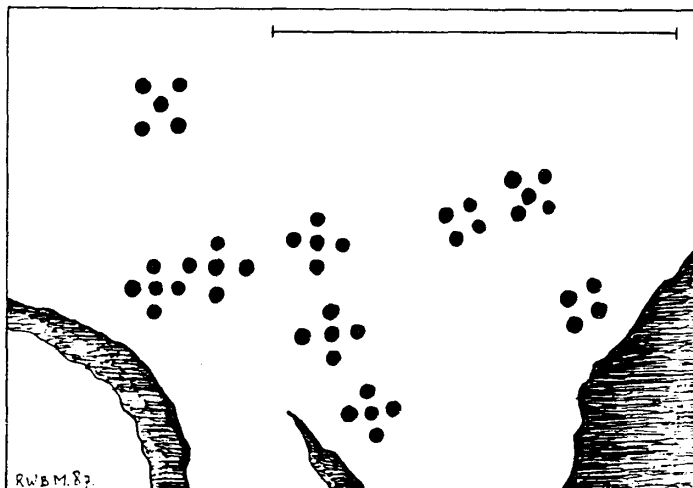
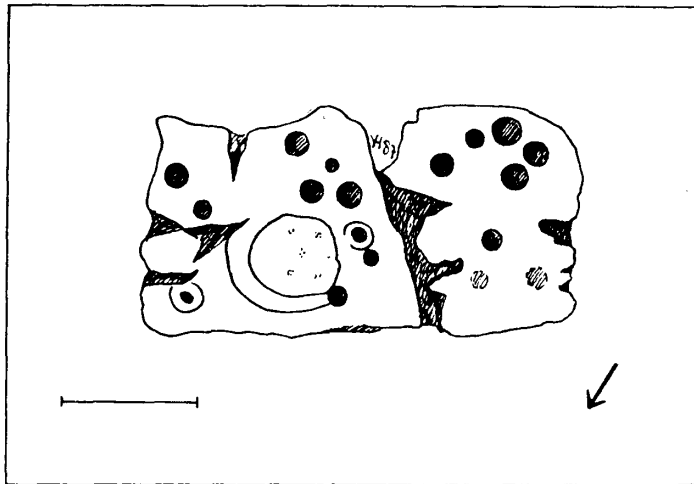


Fig. 2 (lower) Eggerness 3: rock with "domino" like pittings.

Fig. 3 (upper) Eggerness 4: rock with cups.

*Also situated on Eggerness are the following two sites with zoöomorphic carvings. For security and agricultural reasons their location is not given but further details, and coloured photographs by Mrs. Wendy Ronan, have been lodged with the National Monuments Record. The sites have been re-covered with turf and neither they nor any of the sites on Eggerness should be searched for or visited without prior arrangements with Mr Robert Vance at Eggerness (phone Garlieston 653).*

7. **EGGERNESS 5.** Normally covered with about 5 cm of turf is a slab sloping 5° NE. It was discovered by Mrs. Wendy Ronan who had covered it again for protection. When bared it proved to extend for about 1 m by 1 m. On it is one very clear carving of a stylised "deer", 42 cm across, and carved mostly in small pockmarks up to 0,5 cm deep. It faces to the right. Its upper part, especially the antlers, are more weathered, but the rest of the elegantly carved animal is clearly visible and also shows attempts at infillings of scroll joints. To the right of this figure are two depressions which may be earlier cupmarks. Below a deep crack are other figures, which seem to form two other "deer". These are not so elegantly carved and show less detail. The middle one has also faint traces of scrolls and although the antlers are visible, this part is so heavily weathered that the exact pattern remains uncertain. The lower animal is even more indistinct and seems to be unfinished. All the animals however are looking to the right. The two large depressions on this sheet are probably natural (Fig. 4). This site also merits careful preservation.

8. **EGGERNESS 6.** Also on the farm and some 1100 m away from Eggerness 5 there is a large prominent knoll. Its big N. face slopes 10°-16° NW., and when bared of 1-5 cm turf there are disclosed three "horses", clearly outlined in incised grooves. Each seems to run to the left, with its head turned back over its shoulder, so looking to the right. The three "horses" all measure around 18 cm by 12 cm and their designs are almost identical. The W. one is best developed, and left of this figure is also a much larger "horse's head", looking to the left, carved in outline. The middle one is slightly smaller and has some faint grooves below its legs. The E. "horse" is the largest but it is more weathered. Nearby is a clearly pocked double horse-shoe ring or hoof mark with central pocking which rather resembles an arrowhead. Above and to the left of this figure are areas with superficial indefinite pocking. Such pocked areas occur on other parts of the rock. Further NE. on the same knoll are up to 18 faintly incised parallel lines running down the slope to the NNW. (Fig. 5). On various smaller outcropping parts are more faint carvings including another possible "animal". This site, discovered by Mr. Damien Ronan of Garlieston, merits careful preservation.

## **Discussion**

We have seen that several rock art styles are found in this relatively small area. Firstly there are two typical examples of the so-called Cup-And-Ring art (Penkiln 1 and 2), which is very common in Galloway. Both sites have quite weathered markings and are similar in style compared with many others in Galloway. This type of carving is reputed to be of Late Neolithic and perhaps Early Bronze Age origin.

Secondly there is the so-called Passage-Grave-Art, in which spirals and arches predominate. This art form is strikingly present in the area. It is more fully discussed in a previous paper (Van Hoek, 1986).

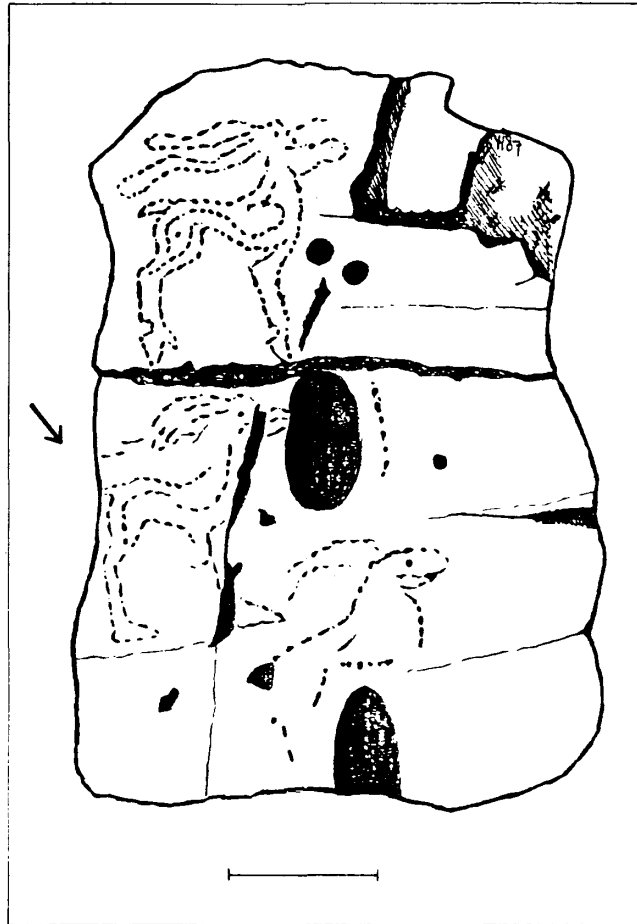


Fig. 4 Eggerness 5: rock with "deer" markings.

The discoveries of animal engravings however, are of particular interest to the interpretation of animal art in Scotland, which was also enriched by a recent discovery of three, perhaps more, zoöomorphic carvings on a vertical cliff at Ballochmyle, Ayrshire.

At Eggerness are found two completely different groups of animal art in stone. Both sites were well covered with old turf and show every appearance of age. But as with the other carvings listed above, there is nothing, except the style of carving, by which to guess a date of execution. There possibly is a chronological gap between the "deer" and the "horses", indicated by the difference in carving technique: the "deer" are clearly pocked, whereas the "horses" are incised. Also differences in size and style may give a clue as to the dating of the carvings. We will now review possible affinities and parallels of the animal engravings at Eggerness.

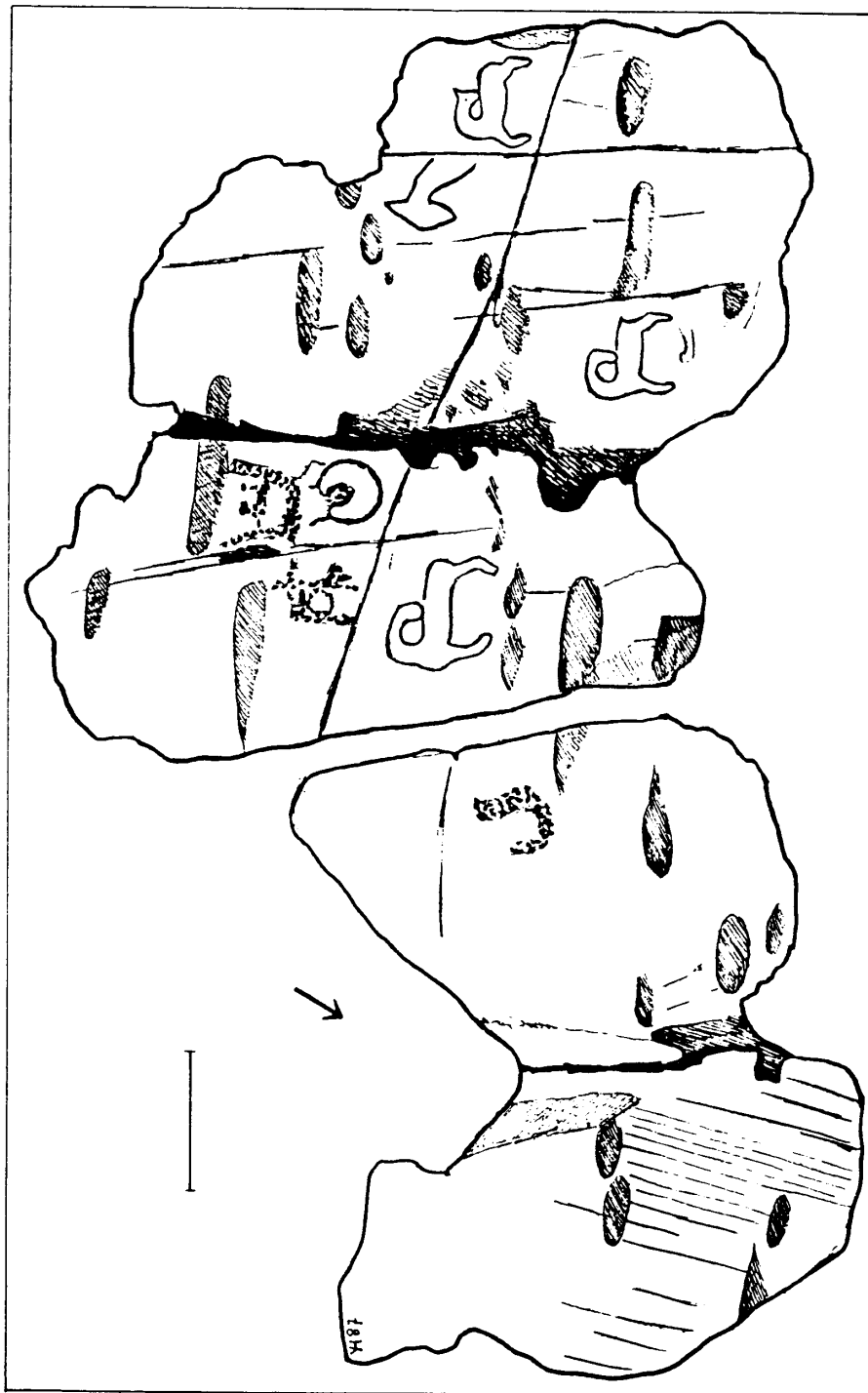


Fig. 5 Eggerness 6: rock with "horse" markings.

Especially the well-defined uppermost "deer" at Eggerness 5 has possible Pictish affinities and may be compared with similar engravings in the Grampian and Highland Regions, e.g. the horse carving at Inverurie (NJ 780 206); and the deer at Grantown (NJ 045 301) (I. Henderson. *The Picts*, 1967). The Eggerness "deer" also faintly shows attempts at infillings of scroll joints, a characteristic of Pictish animal art.

Pleading against a possible Pictish origin seems to be the location of the site, which is quite peripheral to the main concentration of Pictish art further north. Indeed, there are very few Pictish carvings in Galloway and no Pictish symbols on this site. There is however one other outcrop, near a small Iron Age fort on Trusty's Hill near Anwoth (NX 588 561), where undoubted Pictish symbols occur, although no realistic animal carvings are included there. This does, however, prove that the Picts occasionally carved on outcrop rock in Galloway.

The "horses" at Eggerness 6 are something totally different from the pecked outlines of the "deer". The main characteristic here is the turned-back head of the three complete animals. This is a style of carving found in Celtic art and possibly these "horses" are of an earlier date than the "deer" and may well date back to about 100 B.C.-100 A.D..

Horses are a frequent feature of Iron Age Celtic art, particularly on coins, but the only instance of the turned-back head in Insular Celtic art of the pre-roman Iron Age is on the Aylesford bucket (e.g. J. V. S. Megaw, *Art of the European Iron Age*, pl. 187), although there the style is quite different and the animal is more elaborately depicted.

The best parallels of backward looking animals are to be found in the Germanic art of the Migration Period (e.g. W. Holmqvist, *Germanic art*, pl. XII; and V. I. Evison, *The fifth Century Invasions South of the Thames*, Figs. 2, 11, 17, 24 etc.). Of course, the occurrence of Germanic influence would itself be difficult to account for. On the other hand, once the backward looking animal had been introduced from Late Roman Gaul or Germanic sources to Britain in the 5th century, it proliferated in both manuscripts and sculpture in the 7th to 9th centuries, or later. Indeed, backward looking animals are also known to occur on later stones such as the Aberlemno cross, Angus; the Pictish stone at Rossie, Perthshire and in the Viking art at Maes Howe in Orkney where the well known "dragon" is found.

It is impossible to say whether the pocked markings, the faintly incised parallel lines and the single horse's head at Eggerness 6 are contemporary with the three backward looking animals, but it is striking how different in style they are.

A small worn flint tool, an end scraper, was found near the "horses" site. It is held at Eggerness.

Finally there are the small domino markings of Eggerness 3. Such arrangements of midget-cups are also found in Cup-And-Ring art; for instance at Mevagh E, Co. Donegal; and at Chatton Law 1A, Northumberland. Another parallel however, might be the occurrence of five small pittings on an 11th century A.D. cross slab at Minnigaff, and groups of four or three pittings on cross slabs of the 10th or 11th centuries A.D. from Minnigaff, Craignarget and Sinniness (see W. G. Collingwood, *The Early Crosses of Galloway*, in *TDGAHS*, vol. 10, Series 3).

**Acknowledgements:**

The authors are indebted to Professor Leslie Alcock for reading the article and for his valuable comments. The authors would also like to thank the landowners of Eggerness and Penkiln Farms who have been very helpful in locating the rock art sites. Also very helpful has been Mrs. W. Ronan of Garlieston who showed us several of the sites in the area. Last but not least we would like to thank W. F. Cormack for his assistance in preparing this paper.

**Literature:**

Van Hoek, 1986. M. A. M. van Hoek. *The Prehistoric Rock Art of Galloway*. A report of some new finds in the Whithorn Peninsula and a review of the rock art at High Banks, Kirkcudbright. In: *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd ser. Vol. LXI, 1986; p. 20-40.

Morris, 1979. R. W. B. Morris. *The Prehistoric Rock Art of Galloway and the Isle of Man*. Blandford Press, Poole.



# EXCAVATIONS AT RUTHWELL, DUMFRIES, 1980 AND 1984

by  
Chris Crowe

The Glebe field at Ruthwell, NY 101684, was photographed by Prof. G. D. B. Jones in an aerial survey during February 1978. The photograph revealed a large ring enclosure in the field approximately 175 metres in diameter (fig. 2). Discussion of all features around the Kirk must start with the magnificent Anglian cross, now erected inside the building, and a great deal has been written about it. I have summarised the relevant discussion below. Since the ring feature extends under much of the kirk yard and close to the original find spot of the cross, it seemed that a trial excavation of the ring might reveal a connection with this monument, so I sectioned it in 1980 and returned to it in 1984 for a small investigation *in plano*.

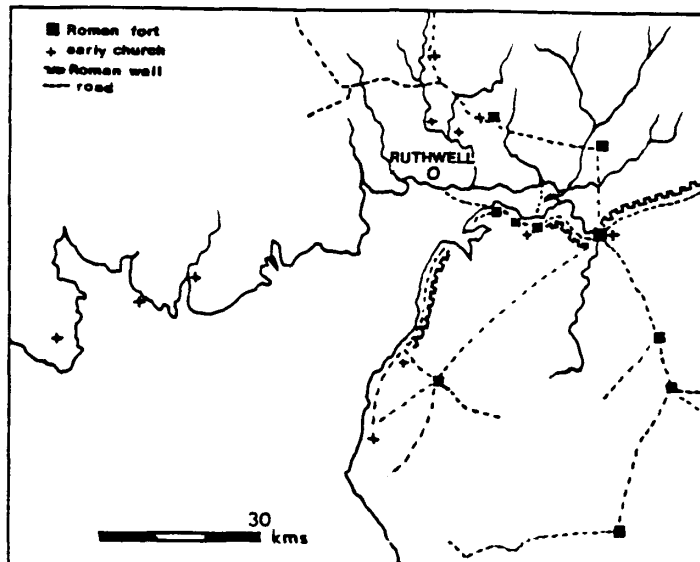


Fig. 1 The Solway Firth showing Ruthwell in relation to early Christian sites and Roman sites and roads.

## General

The place-name is difficult to derive. Johnson-Ferguson suggests 'the rood well', but such a derivation would not yield 'ruth' in a name area that is primarily Anglo-Saxon. Earlier forms of the name are 'Rewel' (1452) and 'Revel' (1697). Folk etymology gives 'St. Ruths Well', but there is no St. Ruth to lend credibility to this. It should be remembered that the name is attached to the village and not to the Kirk. The village is almost a mile away. Close by the village is the well known Brow Well whose waters may have hastened the poet Robert Burns to his end. It is possible that the curative properties of this water gave the village its name. If this is so, then a combination of Celtic and Anglian might give *ruath* (red) and *weallu* (well). Since the water from this well is bright red from the oxides of iron in it, such a supposition is possible, but it is far from satisfactory.

There appears to be no documentary evidence for the feature and no relevant stray discoveries except a bronze palstave in Dumfries Museum.

The Kirk is on the 15 metre contour, on a slight elevation above the Thwaite Burn (fig. 2). It is built on a raised beach deposit of sand and gravels with a tendency towards iron pan, overlaid with a thin topsoil of sandy loam. The site might have been chosen for its proximity to fresh water and easy access to the sea. It is perhaps significant that the shoreline lapped the village in the period when the cross was erected. Such a site would have provided easy commerce with the Isle of Man and the settlements around the Solway Estuary (fig. 1).

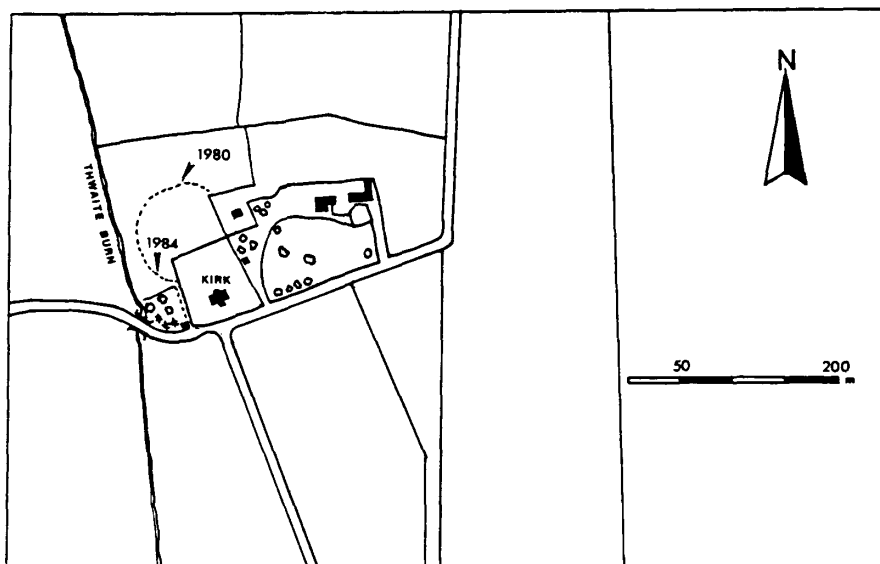


Fig. 2 Ruthwell — general plan showing location of the circular enclosure adjoining Kirk, and the 1980 and 1984 excavations.

### The Kirk and the Ruthwell Cross

The present Kirk was built in the 17th Century. In the Kirk, in an apsidal addition to the building, stands the Ruthwell Cross. This was reconstructed from fragments and set up in the grounds of the old Manse in 1823 by the Rev. Dr. Henry Duncan. In 1887 the cross was brought into the church to protect it from the weather.<sup>1</sup> It is Anglian in style and dates from c. AD 720.<sup>2</sup> It is an imposing and important monument which suggests that its erection was of major significance to the people of the area at that time.

In addition to the cross, three other sculpted fragments exist from the site at Ruthwell. In the Museum at Dumfries there is a pecked cross grave marker of the 6th Century and a piece of a drum capital from an 11th Century building. The first points to an early monastic graveyard and the second to a stone church of some importance. In the church there is a decorated fragment of a lintel block showing Hiberno-Norse interlace.<sup>3</sup>

1. Dinwiddie, Rev. John. *The Ruthwell Cross* (1923) 105-15.
2. Collingwood, W. G. "The Ruthwell Cross in its Relations to Other Monuments of the Early Christian Age." *T.D.G.N.H.A.S.* iii/5/33-84. Brown, G. B. *The Arts in Early England V* (1921). Ross, A. S. C. "The Linguistic Evidence for the Date of the Ruthwell Cross" *Modern Languages Review* XXVIII (1933) 146-55. Dickens, D. & Ross, A. S. C. *The Dream of the Rood* (1954) 12.
3. Williams, J. "An Architectural Fragment from Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire". *T.D.G.N.H.A.S.* iii/51/29-32.

Such remains justify the impression that there was a Christian settlement on this site from the 6th Century onwards.

### The Excavation 1980

A section was dug at a point 22 metres from the corner of the Manse garden fence and 66 metres from the north end of the churchyard wall (the plan, fig. 2). The trench was 9 metres long and 1 metre wide running W.N.W. to intersect the circular feature in the original photograph. At the northern end of the trench, a section was taken out extending 2 metres at right angles to the original trench running westwards, in order to illuminate and confirm the direction of the ditch featured in the first trench.

The soil was found to be distributed by ploughing to a depth of 28 cms. Under the turf was a mass of alluvial stones which tailed off in density towards the northern end of the section. This was confirmed by James Watret, the tenant farmer, who remarked on the stony soil at the top of the slope and the lack of pebbles in the soil further down to the Thwaite Burn. This is almost certainly a natural deposit, and not the remains of destroyed freestone constructions.

Beneath the topsoil, excavation revealed three distinct bands of soil: (a) brown earth mixed with topsoil and containing charcoal traces, (b) whitish clay and sand with densely packed small stones, (c) grey clay with charcoal and some stone. Digging through these layers in turn revealed no finds of pottery or identifiable evidence of artefacts. Iron bloomery waste was discovered at two locations above the main features of the excavation (fig. 3).

The final section showed the following features: A shallow ditch, probably ruined by ploughing (Feature 1, fig. 3) with a wooden revetment on its inside face (Feature 2) backed by a bank of decayed turf (Feature 3) and with a counterscarp of turf (Feature 4). On the inside appeared another ditch which may represent the shadowed smaller circle on the original photograph. There was no time to explore this feature further.

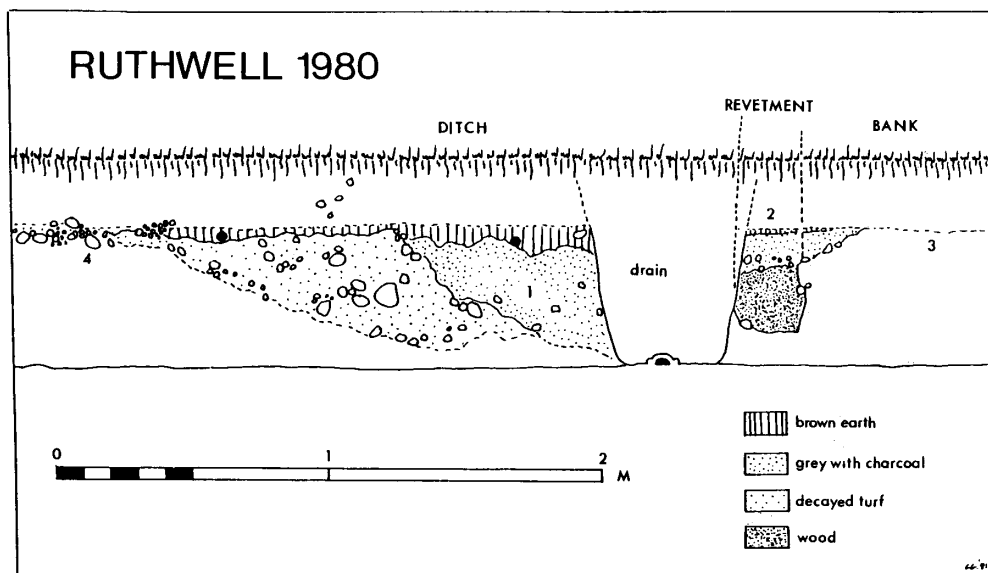


Fig. 3 Section of Ditch and other related features.

Unfortunately, the presence of a ceramic land-drain and 2 earlier stone drains, of the type known as grumbling drains, which intersected the section, made the complete picture less satisfactory (fig. 3)

### **The Finds**

2 pieces of iron bloomery waste were discovered in the section. Carbonised wood from the section was removed for sampling. Otherwise no finds were recorded from the area below disturbance by modern ploughing.

### **Acknowledgements 1980**

My thanks are due to the Trustees of the Mouswald Trust for their assistance in the finance of the excavation; to Prof. G. D. B. Jones of the University of Manchester for his correspondence with the R.C.A.H.M. Scotland and the Scottish Development Department, as well as for his advice on the excavation and the preparation of this report; to A. E. Truckell, Curator of the Museum at Dumfries for his help in organising the excavation; to J. Watret, the farmer who rents the glebe, and the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland who own the glebe; to J. Stallibrass for help with survey and photography, and David Lockwood, then Deputy Curator of Dumfries Museums for his help in the excavation; to the Rev. W. E. and Mrs. Williamson of the Manse, Ruthwell for their help.

### **Radio-carbon Date from 1980 Excavation**

In 1981 a single sample of charcoal from the excavation gave a date of 370 bc  $\pm$ 90. While I recognise that a single sample may be misleading, in conjunction with the later evidence it should at least be entered in the record. The Harwell reference number of the sample is HAR-4457.

### **The Excavation 1984**

During two weeks in August 1984 we excavated two small areas 3 metres by 3 metres with a metre wide baulk between them on the west side of the kirkyard wall to intersect the circular feature (figs. 2 and 4).

Removal of the topsoil revealed a hard pad of white material with cobbles on the surface. This suggested a collapsed bank originally built of turf and subsequently ploughed or eroded out. There were the scars of ploughshares across this surface confirming the farmer's impression of a belt of stone running beneath the surface of the field. This also appeared when builders were digging the foundation trenches of the new Manse earlier in the year.

Embedded in the surface of this feature were fragments of fired clay or burned daub and charcoal occurring as flecks in the soil. Also there were quantities of slags and some iron bloom. In both trenches the top layer of cobbles and hard white material appeared at about 30 cms or below the plough soil. In both the fired clay and slags were evident; in all about 200 lbs of slags and bloom were collected and sampled from this layer.

Set into this platform of decayed turf was a double line of post holes and a beam slot as if to tie the turf bank to a revetment of timber facing it on the outside (fig. 4).

On the east side of the rampart was a deep pit which had been lined with small stones and was 48-50 cms deep. The pit was filled with sandy grey clay, retaining a good deal of moisture, together with charcoal, suggesting that it had silted up soon after it was no longer needed. This feature was 1.40 metres wide and revealed no finds.

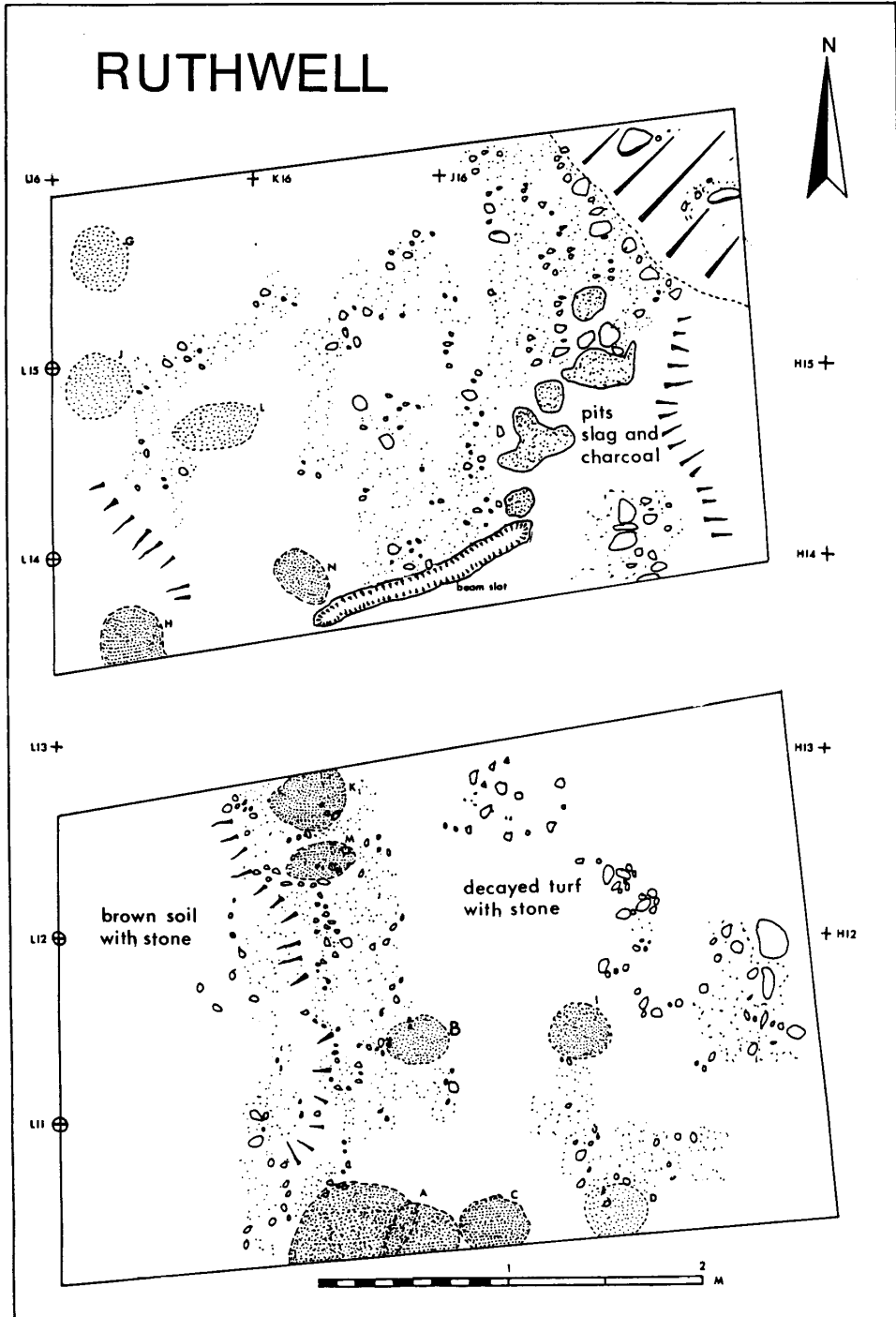


Fig. 4 Plan of 1984 excavations.

Also on the east side of the rampart were a series of charcoal filled hollows, varying in width between 8 and 45 cms and in depth between 4 and 35 cms. These were associated with dense concentrations of slags.

Finally the remains were dug through to the subsoil, about 10 or 12 cms. below. The deepest of the postholes had penetrated this a further 6-10 cms. in some instances.

### Finds

Apart from the slags which are discussed below, and some finds of flint in the topsoil, the only significant finds were an iron nail clenched as if for a door, and a small whorl of lead, possibly from a statuette of that material. This was found in the posthole marked B.

#### *The Metal Slags* (by Dr. James Cleland).

I have divided the slags from the site into four groups and deal with each in turn:

1. Slagged furnace lining with no trace of magnetism.
2. Slagged furnace lining which is magnetic.
3. Slag which is non magnetic.
4. Magnetic slag.

1. The furnace lining is heavily slagged and this can be due to alkali, either potash or lime in either the fuel or the charge; or a high exposure temperature or even long residence times.

I do not subscribe to the first option since this implies knowledge of the effect of alkali. Such a degree of technical expertise is supported neither by observation of techniques nor by excavation of furnace types and their development. My conclusion is that either a high exposure temperature has been experienced or that residence time has been long.

2. The magnetised slagged lining must be due to magnetite  $\text{Fe}_3\text{O}_4$ . This implies iron smelting. The specimens examined are sufficiently magnetic to move under a magnetic field. It is therefore unlikely that they come from a non ferrous operation.

One other option is that it is due to hot tap slag reacting with the runner, but it would have to be very hot indeed to cause this amount of slagging.

3. The slag itself which is non magnetic is typical *tropfenformige* slag made up of little droplets of slag containing other matter such as bits of gangue and unreduced ore. This can only occur in bloomeries which have been relatively cool at the bottom or the hearth. This is in agreement with the absence of tap slag.

This seems to imply a dome furnace for iron smelting since I do not know of this type of slag occurring in non ferrous operations. We seem to have here a furnace in which the slag collects at the bottom and in some part of the bloomery a fairly high temperature was experienced.

4. Slag which shows a degree of magnetism is due either to unreduced iron ore or reoxidised material — iron oxide which has been reduced to iron or has been partitioned and combined with silica to form fayolite as  $\text{FeO}$  and then reduced to magnetite.

This can happen if we imply a forced draught furnace of the shaft type. On the other hand the *tropfenformige* slag tends to imply a furnace of the dome type or short shaft type which has operated at a high temperature.

Henry Cleere has written with great experience of early iron smelting and concludes that domes are early and shafts late in the development of this technology.<sup>4</sup> My assessment of this material is that it has been produced by a dome type furnace which has been operated with a forced draught, and I consider the possible dating of this furnace is c. 150-250 a.d. We must accept however that there could be an element of doubt in that we could have recent technology backsliding, so the date could be later. We cannot accept an earlier date.

### The lithic material from Ruthwell 1984 (by W. F. Cormack)

#### Flint

1. Leaf shaped (Birch leaf) *arrowhead* in honey coloured flint with good surface flaking — butt broken and fragment missing from tip — original length 24mm. approx. — neolithic.

#### Grey-green chert

2. *Blade* or *flake* 20mm. long 15mm. wide, with rough retouch along sides forming notched hollows — mesolithic or neolithic.
3. Coarse *Flake* 24mm. long, unutilized.
4. Columnar *nodule* 26mm. long, broken (naturally?) at both ends — possibly represents unused raw material.

### Conclusions

The site is, in its entirety, a large defended ring enclosure which seems to have been used exclusively for iron working. The period during which this iron was being produced on the site seems to fall within the Roman occupation of the area around the Wall. There were forts at Birrens and Ward Law within 10 kilometres of the site. Dr. Cleland's analysis of the slags from Ruthwell suggests a date at the height of Roman influence in the area, AD 150-250. The Harwell date of the wood sample might be an anomalous post from a previous occupation but there was no other indication. It has become a common-place that there was a shortage of iron in Scotland at this time,<sup>5</sup> particularly in native civilian contexts and it is curious that there were no finds of iron objects from this excavation. Perhaps the site produced only the raw material to be worked elsewhere, or, like the inhabitants of Midhowe, Orkney,<sup>6</sup> they were reusing every scrap of the metal. They may have been supplying the Roman garrison of the Wall with some of the large amounts of iron needed for construction and weaponry. On the other hand, we may accept the second suggestion from Dr. Cleland that we have here a large dark age site. But the reports of a missing furnace bottom from the excavation at Mote of Mark<sup>7</sup> suggest a bowl furnace of a more primitive type from this period.

Even though the period after the Roman occupation was virtually aceramic, and no pottery was found at Ruthwell in either excavation I do not incline to a later date for this site for this reason. The fragment of lead is possibly from a votive statuette and is

4. Cleere, H., *Antiquaries Journal* lii (1972) Pt. I (8-23).

5. Manning, W. H. "Native and Roman Metalwork in Northern Britain." *Scottish Archaeological Forum* ii (1981) 55-56.

6. Callander, J. G. & W. G. Grant. "The Broch of Midhowe, Orkney." *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland* 89. (1934) 444-516.

7. Swindells, N. & L. R. Laing, "Metalworking at the Mote of Mark, Kirkcudbright in the 6th & 7th Centuries A.D." *Aspects of Early Metallurgy*, B.Mus. (1978) 121-127.

so small that it cannot be meaningfully illustrated and cannot by itself argue a case for a Romano-British site either. A larger excavation of the site in this field would clarify the history and add considerably to our knowledge of the region. Unfortunately I have not the resources for this.

The slag samples and Harwell report have been left with the Museum in Dumfries.

**Acknowledgements (1984)**

I am grateful to the tenant farmer, Mr James Watret for his help with the management of the site; to Dr L. R. Laing of the University of Liverpool for his suggestions about the metal slags; to Dr. J. Cleland and W. F. Cormack for reports on the slags and lithic material respectively. I would also like to thank my students and staff for their work.



# THE DEANERY OF DESNES CRO AND THE CHURCH OF EDINGHAM

*Churches and Saints Before 1120 AD*

by Daphne Brooke

## Introduction

This local study traces the sites, character, and cultural affiliations of the churches in existence before 1120 in the narrow territory between the rivers Nith and Urr, territory claimed by the Inquest of c 1120 for the diocese of Glasgow. In the later Middle Ages it was called the deanery of Desnes Cro, and although the name is an anachronism in the context of this study, it is used as a convenient identification. Confronted as a starting point with the one church and a Northumbrian settlement name, the bare evidence of the Inquest of c 1120, the pattern is traced of a mother church nurturing the cults of Celtic saints. An attempt is made to put together a sequence of events, tracing the foundation of the mother church, its continuance through a period of prosperity and cultural importance within the *parochia* of Whithorn and later the extended diocese of Cumbria (Strathclyde).

Evidence is advanced for cultural contacts with Gwynedd. A local Viking settlement is traced; and the decline of the mother church after Cumbria's collapse is high-lighted by the Inquest of c 1120, the reconstruction of the diocese of Whithorn, and the annexation of the old churches to reformed monasteries in the twelfth century. An appendix lists the medieval parishes and church dedications of the deanery <sup>1</sup>

Throughout this article we shall be troubled by the ambiguity of the word *church*. It has to be used as meaning variously a nation-wide institution and hierarchy, in the sense of the church of Strathclyde or the synonymous Cumbrian church; in a local sense signifying a building with priest and people; in the wider sense of a religious community serving a district and including outlying chapels; and finally a building intended for worship and the performance of the sacraments. Only rarely is the last meaning of the word intended.

Recent studies of the pre-Norman church in Scotland as a whole have envisaged a wide distribution of locally semi-autonomous religious communities much like the minsters of contemporaneous England. These communities served the remoter settlements from radial chapels, manned by clergy from the mother church. It was a style of organisation well adapted to the rural society and widely forested terrain it served. Examples of this pattern of church establishment, the forerunner of the Anglo-Norman parochial and diocesan structure, have been traced over much of Scotland, particularly south of the Clyde-Forth line<sup>2</sup>. Apart however, from the minster in Kirkcudbright described by Reginald of Durham, and the house of canons to be inferred as existing at Whithorn, the pre-Norman church in Galloway specifically has received little attention.

Eastern Galloway was feudalised relatively early, and its documents have been studied mainly in a political context, but the charters of the twelfth-century tell us where the churches were, and sometimes their relationship with each other, and the saints to whom they were dedicated. When the charters are supplemented by the evidence of place-names and what little archaeological work that has been done in the district, a relatively coherent, if not very sharply focused picture extending over several centuries, begins to appear.

<sup>1</sup> Desnes Cro was so called to distinguish it from Desnesmor in the diocese of Whithorn. The names were Gaelic — *deas-neas* (southern promontaries). The qualifying Cro is also Gaelic and means sheepfold. I am indebted to Professor Barrow for the suggestion that the name of the peak Criffel (Crofel in 1319 *CDS* iii) incorporates the name Cro.

<sup>2</sup> I B Cowan: *The Development of the Parish System in Medieval Scotland*. *SHR* XL (1961) 43-53.

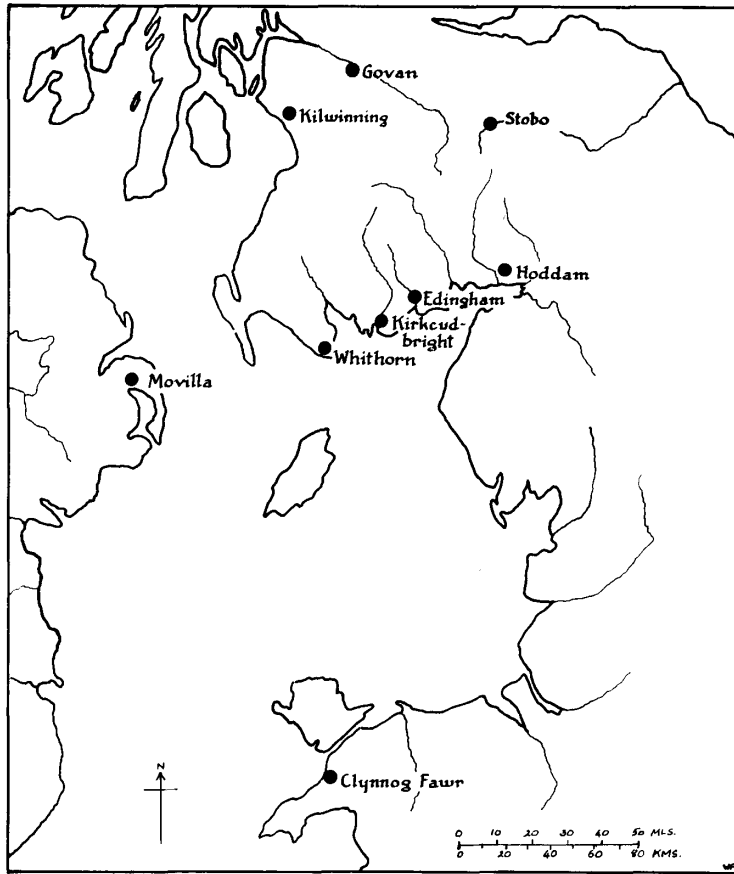


Fig. 1. The northern Irish Sea coasts, showing principal places mentioned in the text.

The churches which were remembered as having provided the *mensa* of the bishops of Glasgow (or more properly, of Strathclyde) were identified by an Inquest commissioned by David I when Prince of Cumbria<sup>3</sup>. The inclusion of the church of Edyngaheym (Edingham near Dalbeattie) (Figs. 1 and 2) implied that the south-western boundary of the diocese lay along the river Urr. The Inquest was specifically limited in its survey to the territory directly subject to David, Prince of Cumbria at the time. No claim was made that the boundary at the Urr represented a long-standing dividing line, but it became the south-western limit of the diocese until the Reformation.

There cannot be much doubt that during the Northumbrian supremacy in Galloway the district had lain within the *parochia* of the bishops of Whithorn; but the assertion here of the authority of the bishops of Cumbria (Strathclyde) in the tenth century seems to be implicit in the evidence to be discussed.

<sup>3</sup> The date of the *Inquest* is given by different authorities, varying from 1116-1123. The date c 1120 has been adopted for convenience.

The political history of the south-west in the tenth and eleventh centuries is obscure, but Cumbrian kindreds, institutions, and administrative divisions survived into the twelfth. Cumbric place-names of important strongholds, estates and parishes can be identified. They indicate that what became the twelfth-century lordship of Galloway had belonged to the extended kingdom of Cumbria. Early twelfth-century documents applied the term *Galweia* to territories as far apart as Annandale, Renfrew, Carrick and Kyle<sup>4</sup>. Annandale, part of this greater Galloway still bore in 1124, the Cumbric name *Estrahanant* (1124 *ESC*) corresponding to the hypothetical Welsh *ystrad anant* (Vale of Annan). Nithsdale remained in the hands of Cumbrian princes until the mid-twelfth century; and the survival of Cumbric speech is illustrated between the Nith and the Urr by such place-names as Terregles and Troqueer.

The kingdom of Cumbria at its widest extent may have been a loose confederation of chiefs. How far it was independent and how far inextricably involved with the kingdom of Scots may be arguable<sup>5</sup>. Despite a mixture of peoples and a strong Northumbrian element everywhere but in upper Nithsdale and the Clyde valley, a cultural unity is to be seen in the character of its church and the saints it honoured. Welsh tradition preserved half-memories of the heroes and saints of the sixth century from Strathclyde and the conquered kingdoms of the north. Some, like St Kentigern and St Cadog, are to be found in the folk-lore and invocations of southern Scotland.

In the last thirty years scholars have demonstrated the complexities of Brittonic tradition<sup>6</sup>. The antiquarian learning in Wales in the ninth and tenth centuries, and later that of Norman churchmen at Malmesbury, Gloucester, Monmouth, and Exeter have simultaneously preserved and confused events and personalities of the early Christian period, especially those of northern origin. Professor Jackson has shown a similar antiquarianism has been at work in the kingdom of Strathclyde, and the late Dr Molly Miller traced contact between Strathclyde and Wales<sup>7</sup>.

The deanery of Desnes Cro, partly because it was relatively well-documented in the twelfth century, is a vantage point of special interest from which to view the survival of the Northumbrian church and the Brittonic tradition in eastern Galloway. A description of the terrain is helpful as a beginning. The district between the rivers Nith and Urr is a rocky, broken countryside dominated by the peak, Criffel on the Solway shore. The medieval charters make clear that much of the land was heavily wooded. The east-west route cut through the centre from the Nith crossing to the fords of Urr. Either side of that road, such as it was, lay a secretive country drained by small lochs where islands and crannogs sheltered the homesteads of chiefs and religious communities. Some of the crannogs, like the one at Borean Loch, had been occupied since Roman times<sup>8</sup>. Along the coast at Preston, and at the Urr crossing, pockets of alluvial soil brought wealth, as did the natural haven at the estuary.

3 The date of the *Inquest* is given by different authorities, varying from 1116-1123. The date c 1120 has been adopted for convenience.

4 G W S Barrow : *Kingship and Unity* (1981) 11-12; and *Regesta Regum Scottorum* : Introduction 38-39.

5 Alfred P Smyth : *War Lords and Holy Men*. Scotland AD 80-1000 p 215-238 (1984).

6 Nora Chadwick (ed) *Celt and Saxon* (1964); Nora Chadwick (ed) *Studies in the Early British Church* (1958); and Rachel Bromwich : *Trioedd Ynys Prydain — the Welsh Triads* 2nd ed. (1978).

7 K H Jackson has traced the existence of a tenth-century Cumbrian Latin life (Sources for a Life of St Kentigern. *Studies in the Early British Church* . ed N Chadwick (1958)). (See also Molly Miller : *The Saints of Gwynedd*. (1979)).

8 *NSA* mentions silver Roman coins found at Urr. James Curle (objects of Roman and Provincial Roman Origin. *PSAS* 1932) - Roman objects on the crannog in Borean Loch. Major Gen. J Scott Elliot (McCulloch's Castle. Arbigland *TDGNHAS* 1963) a fragment of samian ware.

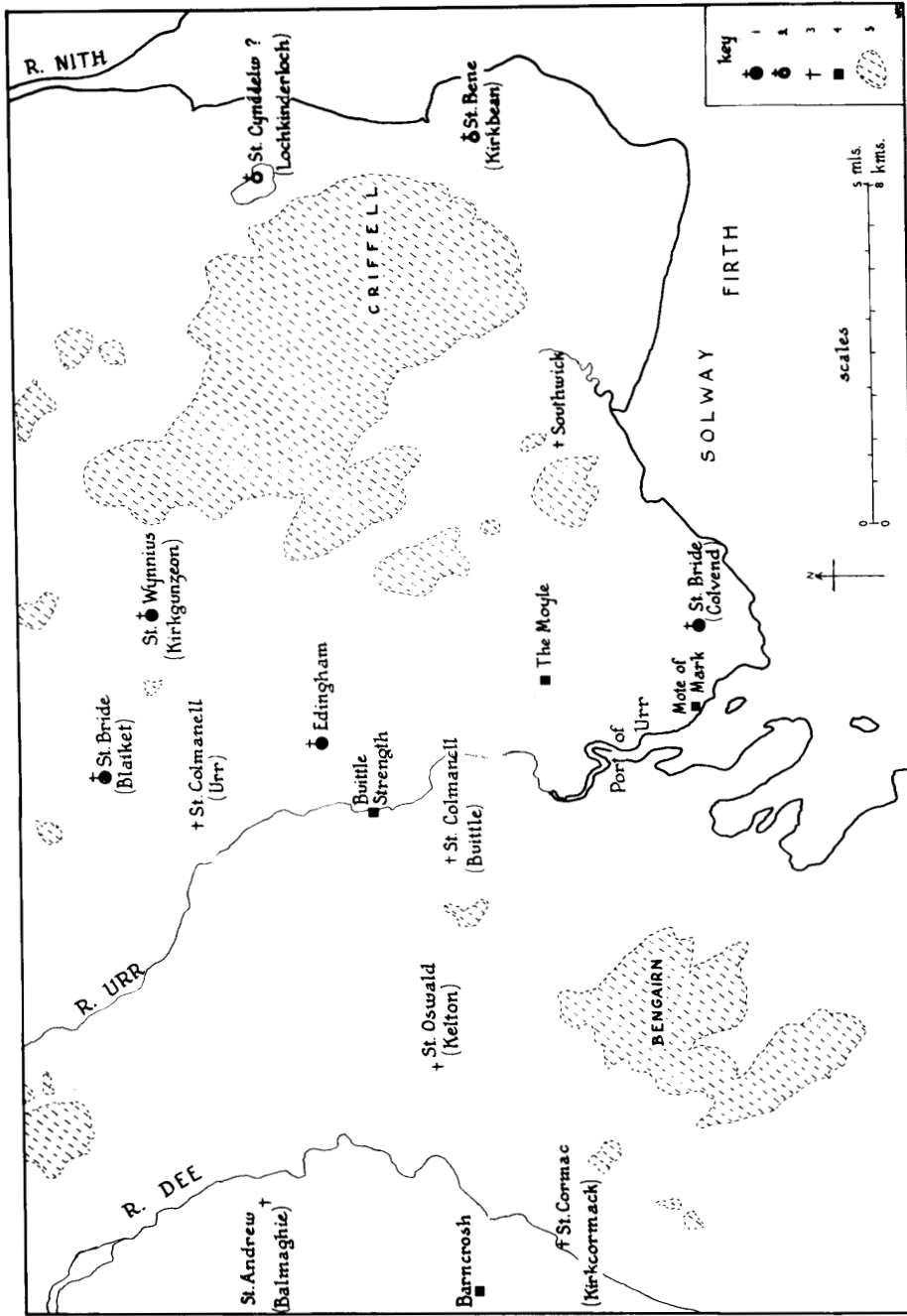


Fig. 2. Map of area between the Rivers Nith and Dee. Symbols, 1 - Churches or chapels probably within the plebania of Edingham; 2 - those possibly within the plebania; 3 - other churches; 4 - other sites mentioned in the text; 5 - land over 500 feet (152m).

A sheltered basin at Kirkbean provided a refuge in bad weather for shipping approaching the mouth of the Nith, and the port of Caerlaverock. The port of Urr, as the medieval charters called the river mouth between Kippford and Dalbeattie, was one of the best havens on the Solway coast, and had been a port of call for vessels from Gaul from the early Christian period. That is to be inferred from the imported pottery and millefiori rods in use at the Mote of Mark in the seventh century<sup>9</sup>. The excavation of the Mote of Mark unearthed evidence of iron-smelting in the seventh century as well as the manufacture of fine jewelry. Smelting at a later medieval period has also been discovered on the slopes of Criffel, and salt-panning, to be discussed later, was a further economic resource<sup>10</sup>.

The economic and strategic importance of the Urr estuary as early as the century before the Roman occupation of Britain is demonstrated at the Moyle, which Professor Richard Feachem has described as occupying a stone-walled enclosure nine acres in extent "the massive ruin of the wall, which must originally have measured about ten feet in thickness, is over two thousand feet long"<sup>11</sup>. In this favoured district, close to the ancient overland route and the port, lies Edingham.

### Edingham

There has been some hesitation about identifying *Edyngaheym* with Edingham, Dalbeattie (NX 8462), now a farm and an industrial estate. Professor Nicolaisen discussed Edingham as representing an early type of Anglian place-name, but was influenced by Lawrie's uncertainty where the place was (he had hazarded that it was in Dumfriesshire, and mentioned a lost *Ednemland* at Annan). But there is no need to chase a dead hare called Ednemland when Edingham was as large as life and independently recorded before 1200<sup>12</sup>. It was Edigham c 1164, and this form, apparently lacking a contraction mark before the g, was repeated in four successive confirmations before 1234 (*Holy Lib*). In 1465 the name was Eddingham (*RMS* ii 841). These records consistently refer to a church dedicated to St Constantine.

The place-name Edingham is authenticated as an early OE place-name by its suffix "*-ingaham*", meaning "the homestead of so-and-so's people". The settlement lies within a mile of the river Urr immediately opposite the lands and stronghold of Buittle. This place-name (Botel 1251 *Oxford Deeds*) like Edingham, is an early Anglian settlement name. The simplex form of the OE *botl* (the Homestead, the Palace) suggests that Buittle had been a centre of Northumbrian rule in the eighth century. It was the *caput* of the medieval lords of Galloway as late as the fourteenth.

There is no conclusive evidence that there was a church at Edingham in the eighth century. Another Edingham existed in the medieval bishopric of Durham. In 1217 the Pope confirmed to the Priory of Durham a church of Hedyngham in that diocese (*CPL* i). This, and not Edingham on the Urr, may have been the *Ethingaham* where in 800 AD,

9 O A Curle : Mote of Mark *PSAS* 1913-14; and Lloyd Laing : The Angles in Scotland and the Mote of Mark. *TDGNHAS* 1973.

10 James Williams : A Medieval Iron Smelting Site at Millhill, New Abbey. *TDGNHAS* 1967.

11 Richard Feachem : *The North Britons* (1965).

12 W F H Nicolaisen : Celts and Anglo-Saxons in the Scottish Border Counties. *Scottish Studies* 1964.

Eadbert was consecrated bishop of Hexham <sup>13</sup>. Had there been a church at Edingham on the Urr in 800, it would have been in the diocese of Whithorn at that date, where the ceremonial consecration of a bishop of Hexham, the neighbour diocese, would not have been unexpected. The identification of Ethingaham with the Durham church however is perhaps more probable on grounds of proximity. It does not rule out the possibility of a church at Edingham in the period of Northumbrian rule.

Nor does it affect the identification of Edingham, Dalbeattie, with the Edyngaheym of the Inquest. Doubts about this identification may have been due to the absence of a later record of a mensal church at Edingham, for Edingham church had become by c 1164, a pendicle of the parish church of Urr, and both had passed out of the bishop's control.

About 1164 Uchtred son of Fergus, joint lord of Galloway, annexed both church and chapel to Holyrood Abbey with a ploughgate of land, and this grant was confirmed by successive bishops of Glasgow (*Holy Lib*). Between then and 1234 the church of Edingham was described as a chapel; and before 1214 Bishop William called the parish church of Urr the church of St Constantine of Urr. Briefly the name Kirkconstantine came into use as applied to the church hitherto described as the church of St Colmanell. A charter of Eustace de Baliol of 1262 names the "church of St Constantine of Kolmanele which is now Kircostyntin, with the chapel of St Constantine" (*Holm Cultram*). The inversion compound "Kircostyntin" or "Kircostintin" (before 1249 *Holy Lib*) preserves a Brittonic form of the personal name reminiscent of the Welsh *Cystennyn*.

The identity of Colman of Elo as a patron saint was not always recognised, and the patron saint Constantine was transferred by the thirteenth century from Edingham to the church of Urr. A Papal Bull of 1456 confirming the possessions of Holyrood Abbey refers to the "church of St Constantine of Galloway with the church of Colmanele and one ploughgate of land" (*Holy Lib*).

There was confusion therefore about the patron saint of the chapel; but apparently the invocation of St Constantine was of sufficient power locally for the parish church to become the church of St Constantine, once the old mother church of St Constantine of Edingham had been relegated to the status of a chapel.

With the possible exception of Terregles, Edingham was the only church in the deanery of Desnes Cro mentioned by the *notitia* of the Inquest. Was there in the year 1120 only one, or at best two churches between Nith and Urr? An answer to this question can best be made by analogy with the church of Stobo in Tweeddale. On the evidence of the Inquest alone the church of Stobo appears to have been a solitary church on the upper Tweed with no other nearer than Peebles; but a Papal document of 1170 shows it to have been a mother church or *plebania* with five dependent chapels.<sup>15</sup>

The grouping of pendicles around Edingham is not documented in those terms but the pattern can be traced. Three churches in the near neighbourhood had acquired the standing of parish churches by c 1275, two of which were first recorded as chapels.<sup>16</sup>

13 John of Hexham: *The Priory of Hexham* vol i (ed) J Raine. *Surtees Society* 44. The editor comments in the preface on the reference in the text to Eadbert's consecration at Ethingaham "wherever that may be".

14 This church has often been erroneously identified with the parish church of Colmanell in Carrick. The earliest record of the Ayrshire church is Kirkecolmanele 1179 (*Reg Epis Glas*). It was Colmanell 1275 (*SHS Misc v*).

15 Cosmo Innes: *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (1850-55).

16 The chapels may have been relatively late-comers preceded by burial grounds with a shrine and perhaps relics.

### The Dependent Chapels

The church of St Brigide of Blachet (1164-73 *Holy Lib*) ceased to exist in the fourteenth century. Blaiket is now represented only by a farm at NX 8368. Until 1262 the church was recorded with the churches of Urr and Edingham and taxed by the Pope as a parish church c 1275 (*SHS Misc v*). By 1470, however Blaiket appeared in a list of the possessions of Holyrood Abbey under "the vicarage of Urr with its glebe of Blaket". The church had gone, and the lands had become the property of St Constantine of Urr.

There was also a chapel in Colvend dedicated to St Bride. A bounding title of 1185-86 (*Holm Cultram* 121) refers unmistakably to the watercourse which is now called Little Kirkgunzeon Lane as Polchillebride. It is too far from Blaiket to be named after that church. A separate chapel of St Bride must have existed here, and possibly became the parish church of Colvend (the patron saint is no longer known).

In 1194-99 bishop Jocelin confirmed to Holm Cultram "the place and chapel in Galweia called Kirkewinnen". It was the "chapel of St Wynnus" c 1296, and described as "the Kyrkewynny chapel, the cemetary, and the altars of the chapel" (*Holm Cultram*). Kirkgunzeon (Kirkewinen 1164-74 *RRS Wi*) incorporates in the place-name the Irish personal name Finian in a brythonic form.

The legends of the sixth-century saints of Ireland and Britain became so entangled, so subject to the poaching and plagiarism of a good story, that it is sometimes more realistic to think in terms of cult centres and hagiographic themes, than to try to identify persons. St Finian of Clonard was the subject of more than one life in Gaelic and in Latin. Apart from the tradition that he trained at Llancarfan under St Cadog, he was not associated with the British church and need not concern us. St Finian of Movilla (*Maghbhile*) was honoured at Movilla and Killevy in Ireland. He died in 579 and according to Irish sources was buried at Movilla. A story from the eleventh century Irish compilation, the *Liber Hymnorum*, depicted him in training at Candida Casa, or rather, giving the house a gaelicised version of its Anglian name Whithorn — *Futerna*. No *Vita* of St Finian of Movilla survived in Ireland.

John of Tynemouth, a fourteenth-century English antiquary, who collected material all over England and Wales, preserved the life of an Irish St Finian, who had trained in Britain at the see of bishop Nennio called *Magnum Monasterium*. He founded a church at Kilwinning "so-called after the Welsh form of his name — Winninus", and eventually was buried there. This life includes themes borrowed from the traditions of St Nynia of Candida Casa as preserved by the eighth-century Latin poem the *Miracula*, and the twelfth-century Latin life by Ailred of Rievaulx. It also contains the scandalous story contained in *Liber Hymnorum*. Movilla is not mentioned<sup>17</sup>.

The "Nynia themes" do not identify Finian with Nynia any more than by the same token the *Liber Hymnorum* tale conclusively identifies this John of Tynemouth's St Finian with Finian of Movilla, and that is immaterial for our purpose. What is important is that his cult centred upon Kilwinning, whence, we may deduce, it extended to Kirkgunzeon and perhaps Mochrum in Wigtownshire, and that material for his life, or some of it, derived from Whithorn not earlier than the eighth century. To quote Dr P A Wilson, upon whose

<sup>17</sup> The story that Finian was buried at Kilwinning may be supported by James IV's "offerand at the reliques at Kilwynen" in 1507 (*Treasurer Acct*).

account of John of Tynemouth's life I have relied: "All we need suppose is that at Candida Casa when the English took over, legends relating to both Ninian and Finian were current"<sup>18</sup>

The sixteenth-century Breviary of Aberdeen has something to add here. The Office for St Finian relates that he erected a great stone cross at Kilwinning dedicated to St Bride.<sup>19</sup> The only known stone cross at Kilwinning has been dated as tenth century; but a close association between St Bride and Kilwinning is demonstrated by the date of the traditional St Wynn's Fair - 1st February, the Feast of St Bride. Further the association between St Wynn's Fair and St Bride is reflected in the three dedications of the pendants of Edingham: the chapel of St Wynnus, the chapel Chillebride, and the church of St Brigid of Blaiket.

### St Constantine

St Constantine was a Brittonic saint honoured in Cornwall, Brittany and Wales, and in the north at Govan, Crawfordjohn, Edingham and Kilchousland in Kintyre. His cult spread to English Cumbria, presumably at the period of Strathclyde's extended power<sup>20</sup>. The Breviary of Aberdeen's Office for St Constantine gives an account which amounts to little more than rationalising many church dedications: the saint is represented as the son of Paternus, king of Cornubia, who married a Breton princess. On her death he spent seven years in Ireland. He took the cowl, visited Columba in Iona, "and after that he was directed by St Kentigern to preach the word of God in Golveidia where he was elected Abbot". Then he was martyred in Kintyre. (This is the only record that preserves a memory that the church of Edingham had been a monastery).

Jocelin of Furness in his *Life of St Kentigern* represents St Constantine as the son of king Rhiderch, usually identified as Rhiderch Hael of Strathclyde, who became a convert and disciple of St Kentigern. No such son of Rhiderch appears in Welsh genealogy, and Jocelin can be shown to invent facts where it was convenient<sup>21</sup>.

A third and older account of St Constantine comes from Rhigyfarch's *Life of St David*, written about 1081. He is described as Cystennyn Gorneu or Cystennyn Fendigaid (Constantine the blessed) king of the Cornishmen, who left his wife and kingdom to become a disciple of St David. "There he remained for a long time performing faithful service. At length he built a monastery in a distant country." Edingham perhaps, or Govan?<sup>23</sup>

The inference from this apparently far-fetched and far-flung life, may be that the cult of St Constantine travelled the western searoutes of Britain from Cornwall to Wales, Cumbria, Edingham and Kintyre. Whether it originated at Govan and travelled south, or reached Govan via the south-west coast, will remain a question which it will not be possible to answer here.

18 PA Wilson: *St Ninian and Candida Casa: Literary Evidence from Ireland (TDGNHAS 1964)*; and *St Ninian: the Irish Evidence Further Examined (TDGNHAS 1969)*.

19 *Breviarium Aberdonense* (pref D Laing)(1854)

20 The church of S. Constantini de Wederhal and a chapel of St Constantine lay between Wetheral and Warthwick (*Reg Wetherhal Priory*). The ninth-century Pictish St Constantine celebrated by Wyntoun is excluded from consideration here.

21 A P Forbes (ed) *Lives of St Ninian and St Kentigern* (1874).

23 N James: *Rhigyfarch — Life of St David*. (1967).



### The *Plebania* and its date

The four dedications to St Constantine, St Brigid (two), and St Finian - are consistent with Edingham's geographical position, commanding a natural haven known to have been a port from the early Christian period. Scraps of evidence fit together to suggest a religious community whose life and outlook was neither enclosed nor landbound but essentially maritime. The trade traceable at the Port of Urr in the early Christian period, the several small finds attributable to the Roman and sub-Roman period between the Urr and the Nith, and the occupation of the Mote of Mark in the seventh century, all consistently support this hypothesis<sup>24</sup>. Such a material background frequently accompanies cultural exchange.

Any firm basis of chronology is so far lacking. The cult of St Wynnus suggests a pre-Northumbrian religious centre, but on such shifting and shadowy grounds that it should not be used on its own as a basis for dating the foundation of the church at Edingham. Neither is the dedication of that church to the Brittonic saint, Constantine conclusive, since it could represent a rededication by the church of Cumbria in the tenth century, when we know that Govan was still at the height of its vitality. The place-name Edingham gives clear assurance of a Northumbrian settlement, let us say, in the eighth century; but the existence of a church and monastery at that date or before has yet to be established.

Eastward along the coast lay the late medieval parishes of Southwick, Kirkbean, and Lochkinderloch (New Abbey). Of the three churches, very little is known about St Mary of Southwick. Kirkbean and Lochkinderloch are sufficiently well documented to suggest the existence of Northumbrian settlement and a community of clergy, preserving the cult of one and possibly two British saints. The bald statement by the *Inquest* of c 1120 of the existence of the mother church of Edingham argues that the clergy of Kirkbean and Lochkinderloch belonged to that *plebania*. Whether this was so will not be conclusively established here, but it is not crucial to what follows.

The name Kirkbean has been assumed to incorporate the name of a patron saint St Bean. Two St Beans appear in Scottish calendars : St Baithene, the second Abbot of Iona, and St Beanus, the first bishop of Mortlach in the eleventh century. St Baithene is probably the St Bean referred to in a papal letter of 1395 as the patron saint of a parish in Lorne, Argyll (*CSSR*). The *Aberdeen Breviary* associated St Beanus with the parish churches of Kinkell and Fowlis Wester in Strathearn.

The medieval spellings of the place-name Kirkbean suggest that the name of the patron saint was neither of these, for the form "Bene" or "Ben" was consistently recorded until 1437, by which time all memory of the saint seems to have been lost :

TABLE I  
The place-name Kirkbean

Kirkbene	1273	<i>Laing Chrs</i>
Kyrkebene	c 1275	<i>SHS Misc v</i>
Kirkben	1425	<i>ACSB</i>
Kirkben	1427	<i>CSSR ii</i>
Kirkben	1428	do
Kirkben	1428	<i>ACSB</i>
Kirkben	1429	do
Kylbeane	1437	<i>CSSR iv</i>
Kikbeane	1437	do
Kirbeane	1437	do
Kirkbean	1440	do
Kykbeyn	1444	do
Kirkven	1446	<i>ACSB</i>
Kirkbene	1460	<i>ER vi</i>
Kylbieni	1468	<i>CPL xii</i>

24 Watson *HCPNS* p 310.

The place-name is an inversion compound prefixed by the Germanic word *kirk* in Celtic word order. Had the generic been followed by the Gaelic word *beinn* (peak) referring to Criffel, the regular appearance of the Germanic *kirk* would have been unlikely. Some such assumption may lie behind the late “kyl”- form of 1468, however.

Watson assumed that the saint here was St Beano of the Strathearn dedications, but presumably without being familiar with all the forms of the place-name quoted. He referred elsewhere to St Beano, named in the Martyrology of Oengus against 26th October, associated with two other saints whom he described as “three saints of British origin in the church of Tamlachta Menann in Ulster”<sup>25</sup>. This does not seem to make any connection with the rest of the evidence considered here. The honouring of St Baithene in the district in the thirteenth century is evident from the surname Macgilboythin recorded in 1276-78 (*Holm Cultram*). It derived from the Gaelic for “son of the disciple of Baithene” but it serves to mark the contrast between the local spelling and pronunciation of the name Baithene, and the name of the patron saint of Kirkbean.

We are compelled to consider another possibility — the near reflection of the name Bene in the Welsh saint’s name Beuno. A late medieval Welsh *Life of Beuno Sant* is based on older material<sup>25</sup>. Beuno appears in the most reliable of the Welsh pedigrees of saints, *Bonedd y Saint*, which shows him to have been a nephew of St Cadog by a daughter of *Lewdwn Lluydauc* of Din Eidin (Edinburgh). This establishes St Beuno’s northern origins, and makes him a kinsman of St Kentigern. The centre of St Beuno’s medieval cult was Powys; but as we shall discuss later, it was also strong in Gwynedd, notably at Clynnog Fawr.

Whoever St Bene was, he was forgotten in Galloway by the fifteenth century. A papal letter of 1437 refers to the perpetual vicar’s petition that indulgences should be granted “to increase devotion among his parishioners and other faithful of both sexes who devoutly visit the church of St Mary of Kirkbean on the Feast of the Assumption”. A double dedication to St Mary and St Bene may be the explanation. Double dedications appear elsewhere in Galloway at Dunrod near Kirkcudbright (St Mary and St Bruoc or Brioc), and at Inch (St Mary and St Michael).

An alternative name to Kirkbean occurs in an English document of 1319 as Preston-under-Crofel (*CDS* iii). The common English place-name Preston, derives from the OE *preosta-tun* (village of the priests) and belongs to an early stratum of place-names in southern Scotland<sup>26</sup>. The name may imply the presence in the Northumbrian period of a community of priests at Kirkbean, or alternatively an outlying industrial settlement belonging to the mother church of Edingham.

The wealth of the district was concentrated in exceptionally good grain-growing lands, and (in the twelfth century at any rate) salt-panning round the coast. Shallow water and abundant timber fitted this coast for panning, and in the time of Uchtred son of Fergus and his Anglo-Norman vassals, the monasteries of Melrose, Holm Cultram, St Bees, and Kelso were all granted concessions. The charters make clear that salt pans were already in operation, and salt production may have been a traditional industry.

25 Wade Evans (trans) *Beuno Sant. Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1930).

26 G W S Barrow has confirmed my own impression that the place-name Preston represents OE-speakers, rather than ME-speakers.

The medieval parish church of Lochkinderloch lay on an island in a loch about a mile long and three-quarters of a mile wide, at the foot of Criffel. It was just such a holy island dear to the early church<sup>27</sup>. A sixth-century settlement in the immediate vicinity of the loch is suggested by the discovery when digging in the graveyard of Sweetheart Abbey, of some trailed-glass beads of the period<sup>28</sup>. In founding her Cistercian abbey there, Dervorgilla de Baliol may have been aware that she was perpetuating religious observance on a very old ecclesiastical site. The place-name has been recorded as in Table II:

TABLE II

Lochenelo	c 1170	<i>Wigt Chrs</i> p xx
Lochkendloch	1159-81	<i>Kelso</i> 466
Lochchindelo	1175-85	<i>Holm Cultram</i>
Locchendelo	1185-86	do
Lochidela	1185-86	do
Lochkendeloch	1196-1200	<i>Kelso</i>
Louquindelow	1273	<i>RSS Dii</i>
Lochyndeloc	c 1275	<i>SHS Misc v</i>
Lonquindelou (Louquindelou)	1305	<i>CDS iii</i>
Loch Kendeloch	1385	<i>CPL iv</i>
Lochkyndelok	1398	<i>CSSR i</i>

The first element probably originated as the Gaelic *loch* (lake) or the Brittonic equivalent *loc*. It is possible however that it derived from the Brittonic *locce* (Latin *locus*) with the meaning shrine or monastery. Both lake and church were there, and the first entry for 1185-86 suggests it. Dr Padel has however stressed that *locce* is a rare place-name element in Wales, and in Cornwall does not appear before 1000 AD<sup>29</sup>. Lochmaben, where a pagan shrine to Maponus has been suggested, dates back to a Roman reference but the first element is thought to mean lake<sup>30</sup>.

The personal name represented by the second element in Lochkinderloch does not contain the "er" of the modern "kinder" in any of the medieval forms. The name is obscure, but seems to be echoed in a somewhat later form, by the Welsh St Cynddelw.

The place-name Trevergylt in the *notitia* of the Inquest of c 1120 has never been identified. Although most of the place-names were carefully copied, the possibility cannot be dismissed that this was a garbled form of Terregles<sup>31</sup>. The existence of a church at Terregles in the early Christian period is written into the place-name for it incorporates in its Cumbric form the primitive word church deriving from the Latin *ecclesia*.<sup>32</sup> The name was Traveregles c 1275 (*SHS Misc V*).

The foundation in the twelfth century of religious houses either side of the river Cluden, a Premonstratensian monastery at Holywood (Darcungal) and a Benedictine nunnery at Lincluden, endowed with lands and churches in the vicinity, has left us, through the loss of their chartularies, pitifully ignorant. Both houses may have replaced older communities, but only the cult of St Congual, to be discussed later, is recorded in the form of church dedications and place-names.

27 *NSA*

28 *op cit*

29 O J Padel : *Cornish Place-Name Elements* (1985).

30 A L F Rivet and Colin Smith : *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (1979).

31 It has been suggested that Trevergylt should be identified with Torgill in Cunningham but there are three objections : no other Ayrshire churches are listed in the *notitia*; Torgill was Torguil 1277 ; the church was given to the bishop by Dervorgilla de Baliol.

32 G W S Barrow : Childhood of the Christian Church in Scotland *Scottish Studies* xxvii 1983 p 1-15. The etymology of Terregles is discussed by John Macqueen : *St Nynia* (1961) p 53.

### The Saints of Gwynedd

By relating the Welsh saints of the pedigrees and the *Vitae* to church dedications, either specifically recorded in the Middle Ages or preserved in place-names of the type *Llanfair* (Mary's church), Dr Molly Miller compiled a list by cantreds of the medieval saints of Gwynedd. In two cantreds of Anglesey church dedications record the cult among others, of St Beuno, St Brigid, St Finan or Finian, and St Cynddelw. In three mainland cantreds, Llyn, Edeirion, and Rhos, were dedications to St Beuno, St Brigid (two), St Ffinan, and St Constantine<sup>33</sup>. Comparison with the saints of Desnes Cro is somewhat striking: St Bene, St Brigid, St Bride, St Finian, St Constantine and St Cynddelw. Both lists may be extended by one: St Tyfriog in Gwynedd, whom Dr Miller identifies as St Brioc, is matched by St Bruoc of Dunrod near Kirkcudbright (*Holy Lib*).

Another correspondence, more dubious for our purpose, consists in the two dedications in Gwynedd to St Cadfarch, and the evidence of a corresponding cult in Galloway represented by the personal name of Uchtred of Galloway's foster brother Gillecathar. The identification was originally Watson's. This is a Gaelic form similar to Macgilboithin, meaning "disciple of Cathfarch". Gillecathar appears as Gillechatfar (*Holy Lib* 23) witnessing Uchtred's charter annexing the church of Urr and chapel of Edingham to Holyrood Abbey c 1164, and as Gillecathar c 1170 (*Wigt Chrs* p xx).

The Galloway evidence here is strictly confined to the life-time of Gillecathar, or his parents — that is to say the twelfth century; and St Cadfarch was what Dr Miller describes as an Ictian saint, by which I take it he was honoured both in Brittany and in Cornwall. Trade contacts between Breton ports and the ports of Galloway seem to have been of very long standing, and therefore complicate the issue.

Gwynedd as a whole is not much greater in area than Galloway, which makes the concentration in a handful of cantreds of dedications to saints apparently identical with those of Desnes Cro the more remarkable. It would strain and weaken this evidence to insist on the conjectural identification of St Bene and St Beuno. It could be argued that the cults of St Bride and St Finian may have gone direct from Ireland to Gwynedd at any time without interposing Galloway. St Cynddelw, upon whose distinctive name the correlation I am proposing somewhat leans, is so obscure that Dr Miller has been advised that the presence of his cult deduced from the place-name Bodgynddelw is doubtful, though the evidence from Lochkinderloch may serve as some support. Despite all these weaknesses, to find the same British and adopted-British saints honoured on the two coasts facing each other north and south of the Irish Sea, cannot be without significance.

Dr Miller drew the conclusion from her study that many of the records of the saints of Gwynedd were preserved at the monastery of Clynnog Fawr (Fig. 1) and that "its corpus of archives lies behind the consistency of the statements in the sources" — the pedigrees and the Lives of the saints. This house, founded in the seventh century, reached its zenith between 826 and 909. Dr Miller suggests that the cult of St Kentigern, who was traditionally held to have founded the monastery of Llanelwy, reached Gwynedd with the immigrant kindred of Cunedda, whose settlement from the north she dates between 872 and 878; and a major reorganisation of the Welsh churches took place in the reign of Hywel Dda, under the joint influence of England and Strathclyde.

33 Molly Miller: *Saints of Gwynedd* (1979).

This general proposition is supported by the fact that the earliest surviving written record of St Kentigern is the date of his death (612) preserved by the *Annales Cambriae*, a tenth-century compilation based on ninth-century material.

It does not detract from Dr Miller's main thesis that the saints of Desnes Cro are not to be found as a group commemorated anywhere within the ninth-century boundaries of Strathclyde. When that kingdom extended its territory southward down the southern corridor of Annandale and the Vale of Eden, encompassing on its western flank the land between the Nith and the Urr, is not precisely known, but it can be inferred to have taken place between 875 and 927<sup>34</sup>.

Direct communication between Galloway and Gwynedd is an almost inescapable implication of the parallel church dedications. It is not possible to particularise further and say whether communication took place directly between Edingham and Clynnog Fawr, or whether the contact involved Whithorn; or to say when the contact was made. The evidence at the Gwynedd end suggests the ninth or early tenth century.

The main significance for the present purpose is the help the Welsh evidence provides in fixing the dating of the churches of Desnes Cro. If the cults of the northern saints reached Gwynedd in the ninth century, the period when so much oral tradition was being committed to writing in the scriptoria of Wales, then the existence of a church founded at the latest in the period of the Northumbrian supremacy is assured in Desnes Cro. This would hold even if the contact between Galloway and Gwynedd took place a generation or two later than Dr Miller contemplates, and through the agency of the Strathclyde church, for it may be assumed that cults propagated abroad were well established at home.

The hypothesis must allow for error in detail. Bene and Beuno may not have been the same; the dedication to St Constantine of the mother church of Edingham may have been the work of the tenth-century church of Strathclyde, but in general an eighth-century date at the latest can be assigned to the mother church of Edingham and a pre-Northumbrian date is suggested by the cult centres at Kirkgunzeon and Lochkinderloch.

It is not immediately possible to point out a site for the mother church. Several earthworks were shown on the first Ordnance Survey map: a fort "now obliterated beyond recognition", a rampart and a "mote"<sup>35</sup>. The mote was described in 1892 by F R Coles<sup>36</sup>. There was the site of a castle, probably sixteenth-century, the old railway line runs very close, and more recent installations obscure the immediate environs. The present farmstead called Edingham sits on an ovoid mound suggestive of an embanked enclosure (NX 8363). The adjoining farm about a mile and a half due east has the Gaelic, but nonetheless pertinent name of Barclosh (NX 8563), perhaps incorporating *clais* (monastic enclosure) and signifying the hill land belonging to the monastery. These traces and hints are not incompatible with the existence of a church and ancillary buildings, perhaps mainly timber, on the site, but they are too indefinite to constitute proof. Neither is there any record of sculptured stones in the vicinity. They have not been systematically looked for; and the erection in wartime of a munitions factory and other industrial buildings since, have reduced the hope of finds now.

34 D P Kirby : Strathclyde and Cumbria. *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* (1962).

35 I have to thank the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland for letting me see a copy of their report.

36 F R Coles : The Motes, Forts and Doons in the East and West Divisions of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. *PSAS* 1892-93

My main conclusions run counter to assumptions still often made about Galloway. No one denies that the early Christian society was British, and that Northumbrian rule followed; but Galloway's part in north British tradition, and the settlement of the province by the Northumbrian Angle are often viewed through spectacles darkened by preoccupations with Viking settlers, or with a Columban church and culture. It is proper then, to round out this account of Desnes Cro before the Anglo-Norman era by giving both the Scandinavians and the church of Iona their due place.

### Scandinavian Settlements

The recent excavations at Whithorn have revealed an eleventh century Viking trading post and the workshops of Scandinavian craftsmen at the gate of the Northumbrian monastery<sup>37</sup>. These discoveries are consistent with Scandinavian place-names on the corn-growing lands of Glasserton, and commanding the natural harbour at the Isle of Whithorn. The pattern of a good harbour, cereal-producing land, and opportunities for trade are repeated in relation to the Scandinavian place-names around Borgue and Kirkcudbright.

The same combination of circumstances and a similar group of Scandinavian place-names are to be found at the mouth of the Urr, and running along the coast mainly eastwards over about fifteen miles. They consist of two parish names Rerrick (Reraik c 1280 *Holm Cultram*), and Southwick (Sudhaik 1175-1200 *Holm Cultram*), the lands of Cockleaths (Cokklakis 1457 *RMS* ii), Fairgarth (Fayrgarth 1456 *ER* vi), Arbigland (Arbigland 1289 *Holm Cultram* and the coastal features : Heston Island (Estholm 1305 *CDS* ii), Almorness (Ambrenes 1376-78 *Mort Reg*), Southerness (Salternes 1185-1200). The peak Criffel (Crufell 1273 *Laing Chrs* and Crofel 1319: *CDS* iii) is at first sight another, containing the element *fjal* (hill) but this had passed into Middle English by the twelfth century, and cannot reliably be attributed to the direct influence of Scandinavian-speakers<sup>38</sup>.

The facts at Whithorn and Kirkcudbright lead one to the conclusion that Scandinavian settlements were negotiated with the local rulers or possibly the ecclesiastical power. Good land and harbourage were exchanged for coastal protection from other marauders. A similar deal may have been made with the lord of Buittle whoever he was at the time, or with the Abbot of Edingham. This interpretation of the evidence is currently at variance with that of Dr Raleigh Radford, J G Scott, and Dr Fellows-Jensen, who all infer over Galloway as a whole, political mastery by Scandinavian or Hiberno-Norse settlers. Our difference turns mainly on whether the numerous kirk- compound place-names are perceived as the product of Scandinavian- or Middle English-speakers<sup>39</sup>.

37 Peter Hill : *Whithorn : Excavations 1984-86*. Interim Report.

38 Similarly Cockleaths incorporates the ON *lekr* (sport); but the word passed into vernacular Scots as *laik* or *layk* (play). Wyntoun, for example refers to "layking", meaning jousting or playing. Cockleaths appears in different form in Dryfesdale and in English Cumbria.

39 C A Raleigh Radford : *Excavations at Whithorn*. *TDGNHAS* vol xxvii (1950); J G Scott : A Note on Viking Settlement in Galloway (*TDGNHAS* 1983); Gillian Fellows-Jensen : The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles. The Evidence of Place-Names containing *kirkja* (*Proc Tenth Viking Conference 1985*) and Daphne Brooke : Kirk- Compound Place-Names in Galloway and Carrick (*TDGNHAS* 1983).

The difficulty is however illustrated in Desnes Cro in relation to Scandinavian names of other types. In 1142 Cistercian monks founded Dundrennan Abbey and took on the management of almost all the lands in what became the parish of Rerrick, between Buittle and Kirkcudbright. In the next generation Anglo-Norman lords from English Cumbria and Cistercians from Holm Cultram acquired much of the land between the Urr and the Nith. Not only lords and monks, we must assume, but their factors and overseers spoke a strongly Scandinavianised Middle English. The absence of early records makes it impossible to sort out the authentic Scandinavian place-names from similar names thus created in the twelfth century.

A boundary mark called le Stanrayse (cairn) appears in a Kirkgunzeon charter of 1289 (*Holm Cultram* 255). The servants of the Abbey almost certainly set up these marks, for the marches had to be perambulated to settle a dispute, and it would have been natural that they should call them by names familiar at Holm Cultram. And what of the name of the multiple estate, Betwix the Waters brought to light by fifteenth-century records on lands which probably belonged to Holm Cultram before the fourteenth-century wars made their presence untenable ?

The name appears first in Latin in 1412, when the lord was called *dominus inter aquas* (*SRO* RH6 ii 232). In 1437 it was Betwix the Wateris (RH6 ii 299) ; and Betwixt the Wateris in 1453-54 (*id.* 332). The "Watteris" give every appearance of having derived from the Norse *vatn* (lake), for the lands lay around and between four lochs. This meaning of "Water" is rare in Galloway toponymy. Commonly it is river as in Water of Fleet. The seven settlements comprising the estate had Middle English or Gaelic names. All the circumstances suggest that Betwix the Wateris was as likely to be the legacy of Holm Cultram as evidence of Viking settlers. This illustrates the complexities of identifying authentic Scandinavian place-names in eastern Galloway. While a limited coastal settlement in Desnes Cro seems probable, the impact of Scandinavian speech and the size of the Scandinavian population can easily be over-estimated.

### The Church of Cumbria

Strathclyde's access of power in the tenth century brought Desnes Cro within the *parochia* of the Cumbrian church. So long as Strathclyde remained a political force powerful enough to control much of south-western Scotland and the Eden valley, the organisation of its church seems to have been equal to welding together culturally different religious establishments into one *parochia*. The cult of St Kentigern grew at this period in response to the need for a symbol of unity<sup>40</sup>.

No dedications to St Kentigern penetrated into Galloway. The main legacy of the Cumbrian church in the deanery of Desnes Cro appears to have been the tradition that the church of Edingham was a mensal church belonging to the bishop; the development and extended support for the cult of St Congall; and the introduction of the cult of St Patrick.

St Congual appears to have been a saint local to Nithsdale and Desnes Cro. His cult may be a survival from the early church of Terregles. Dedications radiate throughout Nithsdale, Annandale and Troqueer from the central shrine at Darcungal (*derw-congual*

40 Authentic medieval dedications follow the line of Strathclyde's advance into new territory — Castlemilk in Annandale (Abermelc c 1120 *ECS*); S. Mongonis de Crossethwayte (*CPL* vii), the Crosfeld in Cumbria of Jocelin of Furness. Kirkmahoe (St Kentigern of Kirkmacho 1329 *CPL* vii) may be later as it incorporates the Gaelic pet name rather than the Cumbric "Mungo".

— Congual's oakwood), to Tynron and the numerous Kirkconnels. The cult was later adopted by the Anglo-Norman diocese of Glasgow and confused with that of St Comgall of Inchinnan (*Breviary of Aberdeen*). A similar history attaches to the cult of St Patrick, apparently introduced into Cumbria, Annandale and Desnes Cro while the church of Cumbria united all three.

Dedications in Lanarkshire show that St Patrick's cult penetrated the heartland of Strathclyde. The earliest evidence of the cult in southern Scotland consists in the appearance in charters of the personal name Cospatrick. It was a favourite name among the Cumbrian nobility (as well as the Earls of Dunbar). The prefix Cos- or Gos- corresponds to the Welsh *Gwas* (disciple). One of the Galwegian magnates whom Roland son of Uchtred had to eliminate before taking control of Galloway had the equivalent Gaelic name — Gillepatrick. Church dedications spread across Dumfriesshire from Kirkpatrick juxta-Moffat and Kirkpatrick Fleming, via Rainpatrick (Redkirk), Kirkpatrick in Nithsdale, to Kirkpatrick Irongray (Kirkpatrick Cro), Kirkpatrick Durham, and possibly Lochrutton in the deanery of Desnes Cro. There — significantly — they stop short and do not penetrate west of the Urr. Portpatrick in Wigtownshire is a post-medieval name.

### Iona

Visible influence of Iona both east and west of the Urr estuary appears to come later, when the church of Cumbria and the community of Edingham were both in decline. A charter of William the Lion annexing four Galloway churches to the Abbey of Holyrood, refers to their having previously belonged to the Abbey of St Columchille of Hii (*RRS W i*). This implied that for a period monks from Iona or their vicar, served these churches, celebrating Mass and caring for the laity — baptising the newborn, confessing the dying and burying the dead — and collecting the teinds and perquisites for their house.

The four churches were the chapel of Balencros (Barncrosh), the church of St Andrew, Balmaghie, and the church of Kelton, St Oswald the Martyr, and the church of Kirkcormack. They lie in the valley of the Dee above Kirkcudbright, the parish of Kelton marching with the parish of Buittle<sup>41</sup>.

The grant to Iona may have consisted originally of three churches. Kirkcormack (probably honouring Cormac, Abbot of Durrow, a contemporary and friend of Columba) may have been founded during Iona's tenure of the three others. I suggest also that the two churches either side of the river Urr at Buittle and Urr dedicated to St. Colmanell were founded at much the same time under Iona's influence.

St. Colman, a friend of Columba, was listed in the ninth-century *Martyrology of Oengus* as "Colman of Landela"<sup>42</sup>. The running together of the saint's name and the name of his monastery suggests late commemorations. There are four of them in southern Scotland — the two on the Urr, one in Kintyre, and one in southern Carrick. Each of these districts were penetrated to a greater or lesser extent by Scandinavian settlers. There may be a connection between the Viking settlers in the Urr estuary and the influence of Iona in the district, but equally the cultural influence in Galloway of the kingdom of Scots in the eleventh century could account for it.

41 The three churches — Kelton, St Andrews (Balmaghie), and Barncrosh — look very much like the nucleus of another *plebania* centring upon the church of St Oswald the Martyr, Kelton.

42 Whitley Stokes : the *Martyrology of Oengus* (1905).



The eleventh century saw the near completion in Galloway of the swing from Cumbric to Gaelic speech, from the personal names beginning "Cos-" or "Gwas-" followed by a saint's name, to names prefixed by "Gille-". The name Gilla-Aldan, the first of the bishops of the see of Whithorn revived in 1128 was an example, probably incorporating the name of the seventh-century Irish saint, Ultan. An essentially Scottish culture had filled the vacuum once Cumbria had become a spent force. As the old Anglo-Cumbrian church fell into decay, and before the arrival of Anglo-Norman influences, it is not wholly surprising that Iona should have become involved in Galloway.

A late rather than an early date for the dedication of the two churches of St Colmanell seems to make sense. The Inquest of c 1120 implied that the ancient church of Edingham, then in decay, nevertheless still represented the most important ecclesiastical foundation in Desnes Cro at that time. Before 1165 St Constantine of Edingham was a mere chapel, and the church of Colmanell had acquired at least the importance of a parish church. One is compelled to wonder whether this was not a new church which had not existed c 1120.

The dissolution of the community of Edingham before c 1165 is implied by the ploughgate of land donated to Holyrood along with the chapel. This was the usual endowment to provide the living for a *curatus*. The Abbot and canons had gone, leaving a caretaker priest to provide a token service to the laity. This may already have happened c 1120. It would certainly explain the need for new churches in the Urr valley, and the period when the two bishoprics meeting at the Urr were being revived would have been as likely a time as any.

The twelfth-century annexations of local churches to the great reformed monastic houses like Holyrood and Kelso, swept away in two generations what had been left of the traditional religious communities. It was done, not as a conscious stroke of policy, but piecemeal at the will of the laity — kings, Normanised princes, Anglo-Norman barons — "for the health of the donor's soul" as the charters piously declare — to confer on the new monasteries the lands and privileges that the old churches had enjoyed. The possessions which Uchtred conveyed to Holyrood with the church of Colmanell of Urr and the chapel of Edingham included: "rights and pertinents in wood and plain, waters and meadows, and common pasture. And beyond this, one tenth of my chan, one tenth of all my pleas, and one tenth of my hunting, from the river Urr to the rivers Nith and Cluden".

If the evidence has been read correctly, these privileges and assets — a tenth of the lord of Galloway's cain, his pleas and his hunting belonged by long custom, not to St Colmanell of Urr, but to the church of Edingham. They proclaim as clearly as anything could, its former pre-eminence "from the river Urr to the rivers Nith and Cluden".

### Conclusions

Any conclusions are necessarily tentative. Having stressed that, they may be summarized without the irritating intrusion of qualifying adverbs like "probably" and its circumlocutions.

The existence of a very early Christian church at Terregles may be inferred from the place-name. Although a parish church of Terregles existed in the thirteenth century, all corroborative evidence for an early church has been lost.

The church and monastery of St Constantine of Edingham was an important constituent church of the Northumbrian bishopric of Whithorn. The preservation of the cults of Celtic saints, notably the Irish Finian and St Bride, the native St Bene and Cynddelw, and the probably Cornish St Constantine, suggests that the Northumbrian monastery overlay British foundations.

At its zenith the church and community of Edingham was clearly of more than local importance. Its maritime character fitted it to be a centre of cultural interchange, and this has been traced though the details are hazy. Contact with Gwynedd, probably with Clynog Fawr, in the course of which either oral tradition or a calendar or legendary was passed on, would explain the transmission of north British tradition to Wales.

The survival of the church of Edingham through the Viking period, perhaps owing to a negotiated Scandinavian defence, subsequently brought the house under the bishopric of Strathclyde in the tenth century, when it was required to contribute to the bishop's *mensa*. Once the kingdom of Strathclyde had disappeared after 1018, the ancient churches in its territories suffered the general social disruption, and fell into decline. The infiltration of the influence of Iona served to illuminate the diminished standing of Edingham. This sequence of events must necessarily be treated as an hypothesis.

It pleased Anglo-Norman churchmen to disparage the old ecclesiastical order, especially in Galloway<sup>43</sup>. The truth is that religious centres right across southern Scotland preserved into the twelfth century the reality of continued Christian observance on the same site from the time of the early church. For five centuries and more Melrose, Stobo, Hoddam, Kirkcudbright, and Whithorn had kept their sanctuaries lit and maintained some care of the laity. Of the life of some churches we know very little. At others, and especially at Whithorn, the richness of the heritage grows clearer year by year. The list of five is not exhaustive; but each foundation listed can be traced back, certainly to the noonday of the Northumbrian church, and almost as surely, beyond it to British beginnings. The church of Edingham is one more.

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## APPENDIX

TABLE III

The Medieval Parishes and Patron Saints in the Deanery of Desnes Cro

Parish	Patron Saint	Source & date
Blaiket	Brigid	<i>Holy Lib</i> 52 (1164-73)
Colvend	? Bride	<i>Holm Cultram</i> 121 (1175-83)
Edingham	Constantine	<i>Holy Lib</i> 52 (1164-73)
Kirkbean	? Mary and Bene	<i>RRS Dii</i> (1273)
Kirkgunzeon	Wynni (Finian)	<i>RRS W i</i> (1165-75)
Kirkpatrick Cro	Patrick	<i>SHS Misc v</i> (c 1275)
Kirkpatrick Durham	Patrick	<i>Holy Lib</i> 70 (- 1249)
Lochkinderloch	Cynddelw	<i>Holm Cultram</i> 121 (1175-85)
Lochrutton	? Patrick	<i>Fasti Eccles. Scot.</i> (1915-28)*
Southwick	Mary	<i>OSA</i>
Terregles	Unknown	
Troqueer	? Congual	<i>Holm Cultram</i> 142 (1200-34)
Urr	Colmanel	<i>Holy Lib</i> 23 c 1164

\* unreliable.

## WIGTOWN BURGH COURT BOOK, 1512-1535

by

A. E. Truckell

Volume LX of this Society's *Transactions* carries three Wigtownshire papers: that by Daphne Brooke on Wigtown Burgh (pp. 51-61); that on Sir John Dunbar's Inventory (pp. 62-70), by W. F. Cormack; and a paper on Balsarroch House (pp. 73-81), by Ian Smith. Between them these papers carry us from the late 15th to the late 17th century.

To these sources we can add another: the first volume of the Wigtown Burgh Court Records, extending from 1512 to 1535, and like the Kirkcudbright Burgh Court Records first volume (1576-1603) and the first surviving volume of the Dumfries Burgh Court Records (1506-1537) giving us a close and intimate picture of the people, life and economics of a Scottish burgh of the period and of the surrounding countryside. The Archives Office in Dumfries has the first Wigtown volume in microfilm and also the excellent transcript done by Professor Anderson: it is on the latter that this text is based.

Let us take a few personal names from the first few folios of the large Court Book. John Cauen: Andro Murdoch: Sym Symone: Mychell McGarwa: James Murray: Jamis McCron: Thome Waus: Thomas Mwr: George Inglis: Roben Portus: Duncan M'Kie: Johne Wodd: Sande Hannay: Georgis Ingilis: Patryk Kello: Alen McClouche: Georg Henglis: Dominik Mak Lelen: Roben Abougane: Georg Hawtern: Gebe McCayn: Jone McNacht: Pat McGuffok: Cate mak Crogard: ----Browne: Wille browne: Dawe Gibson: Gebbe Bynneyn: Johne Mak leis: Jhone Kello: Andro Mwr: Thom McKney: Johne Adouglas: Duncan McTree; Malle McGyll: McLelein: Mable McGill: Thom Egar: Jamys Egar: Sande McBourney: Thom McComyll: Mychell Mcilkynze: Johne Kello: Thomas Logan: Andro Ahanna: Martyn a schelan; Mychell makinray: Johne Ahostane: James Portar: Johne Wuod: Robyn Abougane: Gebbe Blane: Paton mak murrowe: John Cowen: Rydy McCristyn: Symen Mak Cristy: Duncan mak ke: Alen mak clouche: Thom McGarwe: Johne awoud: Morys gibsson: Dawe gybsson: Thom bourne: Gebbe Warlaw: Georg Hawtorn: Gylhesperk McMwlen: Johne McCrowy: Duncan McKee: Thome Egar: Jamis Egar: Thom Logan: Joke McUrhed: Johne mak brown: Martyn Achelan: Johne aWuod: Mychell mak connyll: gylbart McCayn: Jamis portar: Sande McBourne: Jamis Wryg: pat? McBrare: Gylkarest bodan: Johne adowglas: Gene Douglas: Symon McCrysstyn: Thom Cacquen: Gebbe Warlaw: Thom dungelson: Thom Logan: Elspet Hewan: Cudbart abougane: Morys Gibson: Johne Gybson; Dawe Gybsonys: Gylkrek Abodane: Patryk McKe: Martin Achelane: Jame Egar: Gebe Blane; Schir Johne mak crekan vicar of Vigton: Schir Jamis McCalman: Gylbart McCayn: Artour Acarsane: Macom ffryssel: Johne McCaud: Coudbart abougane: Johne adouglas: Jamis Hamylton: Thom McKneyis viff: Gorg Hengys: daue mwrduell: Alesander ahannay: Martyn achelan: Mege Mwrdoch: Johne ayknnan: Efferys Maccowlocht dottyr: Makom Pryssell: Maryon McCran: Besse McMwrow: Johne Coke dottyr: Gebe Egar: ----Androksoun; ----Craffert: ----MacConnyll flessor: Artor Acarsayne: Thom Koke: Gylkrest Abodane: The ellanych dotir: Andro McMulen: weill trumbell: urcel fressell: Johne Adare: Johne McCallmon: Reche borne: Thome McKneis Donken McKe: Rankin Patrik mur sone: Elspet Havtorn: Patrik McLelen. The reference to "thom McKneyis viff" is "defferit to Thom McKneyis viffys hand to suer apou the mer buk quhat show vas hurt".

What do we see in these names? Note the high proportion of Gaelic elements and the greater than normal variety of spellings (I have quoted some persons several times for

this reason): the use of “mac”, the prefix “a” — more than likely here to have developed from Welsh *ap* than Irish *ui*: such names as Macahannay: the use of *ellanych*, *eleinacht* etc. as a Scots word though it is pure Gaelic: “the *allanych dotir*” who appears repeatedly in this first volume may be the natural child of some Hebridean bringing herring to the port: the use of *dottyr* or *dotir* in the records rather than *dochter* seems to show a surviving Scandinavian element: a little later we find *Lewis*, *Lowis*, etc. *McFraunceys* — *Louis* the Frenchman’s son — and perhaps *he* was the natural son of one of the crew of the French wine and salt ships coming to the port. There is also a group of names in *McIl*, *McGille* etc. — son of the servant — of which we find to this day such examples as *Milhench*, *Milvain* and so on.

It is interesting to compare these names with the Wigtown Burgh names in the printed Parish List of 1683, the Hearth Tax lists of 1692, and the Kirk Session Minute volume running from 1697 — one awaits the chance to read the Burgh Court volumes which follow the first one and which are with Stranraer Museum (the first I think with the Record Office, Edinburgh). It is of interest also to compare the names with those in the printed first Burgh Court Book of Kirkcudbright (1576-1604) and the Dumfries Burgh Court Transumpt and the first volume, the Transumpt running from 1453 and taking the first volume as far as 1519. These two seaports lie along the Solway from Wigtown and like it trade with the continent. All are available in print.

Now we move to a few random extracts from the hundreds of folios of the Wigtown volume.

3rd March 1512/13: “The samyn daye the vappyn schavin haldin be the aldirman & balzeis & set thame this day to cum as thai vald anser to the kingis & thair towne bodin & nane come bodin as aferrit the alderman & balze has assignit thame the xij day of marcht” (the Provost and Baillies have summoned the burgesses to come armed (“bodin”) to the *wapenschaw*: none have come: a new date is fixed).

Folio 1b p. 2 of the typescript: “Item It is ordanit in lykwis that all burges and tenandis of the borowlandis haue Jak splentis sellat or quhithate wyth speyr ax or bow swerd & Knyf all to be reddy at the knell of the commoun bell to suple the king & alderman balzeis & comunte owyir day or nicht quhen thai ar warnit als said is. And euerie man to be abilzeit eftir the faculte of his geyr att the sycht of the alderman & balzeis And thai that beis nacht reddy at the secund knell of the cwmmoun als said is sall tyn all at he haldis of the communte & wndir the payne of viij cronys of vnlaw wnforgevin And attour all outoun burgis sall cum to suple the brough wndir the pane of tynbsall of their fredomez & als at al swyne be kepit & zerdis be closit eftir the tenour of the ald statutis rcis.

---of august be zere of god a towsand v hundryd xij zeris thom t--- hais cofte ane schip of salt fra Jhone moylbray ---undman cristofer contenand tre hundyr bollis or the d--- abait for vj Ss. vj d the bol tre quarterys to be pait mersand wair the ferd part in siluer the said pament to be maid within xxx days eftir the enterys of the schip in the hawin of the plaice of discharging the price of the --- claith xvij cronis the hundyre the dakyre of hiddis vj cronis.”

Fifth October 1513: Heid Curt — Elections.

“Patrik Mwre allderman & duncan McKe & Iwis M’ilhauch balzies for a zeire & thom mwre deyn of gyld gibbe blane fergus Mcdowell & thomm logan officiaris & Nicoll frisell offcyer to the deyn. Prissaris of ffeis & aill cunarris Johne wndirwuod Johne Kello Andro Mwr Jamis portar Robyn Portus Alen McClouche Thom Mwr (pricers of flesh

and ale testers — the latter as at Dumfries.). It is ordanit be alderman & balzeis & consall that nay aill be sauld derar nay xij d a gallon bot geff the connarris makis davar & all poder mesur to be dischargit wndir the pan off one croun vij forgeffin half of as dayfalteris acyt tak yar aill the in the comand of the as & de L lit to the pour folkis” (no ale to be sold at more than 12 pence a gallon unless the testers say so: no pewter measures to be used: part of the fines of defaulters to be paid to the poor).

Comon Couunsall: Patrik Mwr: Duncan McKee: Alexander ahannay; georg hawtorn: lowis McGilhaus: Alen McClouche: thom McLelan: Androw Mwr: Patrek McKee: Wylam McCristyn: Schir gylbart McGilhaus: Alen Mwr: Mychel McConnyll: Johne McCalman: Georg Henglis: Gylbart McCayn: Jamis Porat: Ffynlo McBlane: Neill Cambell: Riche Bourne: Robyn McBourne: Macom McCristyn: John Kello (this Election and list of Council is six years earlier than the earliest election and Council list and officers (1519) in the Dumfries Court Books).

We pass now to some general items of interest. 17th November 1513 — Johne Ahostane is charged with wrongously withholding George Henglis’s steel bonnet from him. 9th August 1514 — another Council decree anent arms: “Item that euerie nechbour in brugh and borow land haiffand fyf pundis worth of geyr be bodin with Jak & compleit sword & sellet to pas wyth the alderman & balzeis quhen thai haue ado wndir the pane contentit in our souerane lordis letteris & tynsale of thair fredoum And quhat nighbour cumis nocht in contynent quhen nechbour hes ado quhen haue warnit or eftir the ij knellis of the bell that he sall tyn his fredoum.” 19th March 1516/17 — a dispute between Morris Gibson and James Cassane over the setting of nets. 19th May 1517 — Lowis McGilhance challenges Jame Baxter “for the vrangus teling of ane taile of his & Intrometting with the sammin” — it would be nice to suppose this to relate to a tale regarded as property — but a “tail” was a long narrow piece of land extending from a croft and “teling” is “tilling”.

On Folio 153 we read: “The xvj day of August the zeire of god athousand v hundreth & xxvij zerris Johne schevaleyre marciand of sant Maloys hais sellyt ane chyp of cascone vyne contenant xvijj thonys for xxiiij cronys the thovne of vyne & xxij d for the entres of the schyp of (sic) in the hane & the tua part penworttis & the tyrd part syluer ald vs & vont & plege to the marchiand the greit skayre that he be vyll pait & that Jhone ahanna & his companzoune hais his passas fre”: notice the reference to “old use and wont” and the arrangement for free passage for two Wigtown merchants. A little later a case is to be heard “als Sovne as the said Thomas cumis abone Cree” — evidently someone on the move. On the 9th of April 1517 Master Johne Vaus, parson of Wigtown, “is maid burges”. On 4th November 1531 it is enacted that “every neighbour that dwells within Burgh to have a gallon of water in their house overnight” — evidently as a fire precaution. On 7th February “a schip of rochell wyne contenant xx thovne of wyne gud & merchiand & vj schore of bolis of salt the prys of the wyne is xiiij cronys the thovne & the pris of the salt xiiij cronys to the thovne and say fare as the cuntre tuk xv conys the boll & to be pait in clait & hydys the tua part pennerttis & the tyre part siluer eftir ald vis & vont & xxx dais to mak pament eftir the fyrst daye of this scharge plegeis the alderman sande ahannaye John M’ylhaus roger of gordon & vylle McCanleis” — notice that a third of the payment for the wine and salt is to be in cloth and hides.

Another item reads “Isbell McGathyne dotir arrestit to Jonot Mwr is schallans for stroublans & blasflemacioune dovne on hir”.

One of the most interesting entries is on 5th April 1514: though in a form a normal wapenschaw it may well be a response to a Government request in the difficult time after Flodden: and here we are a long way from the hopeful mentions of splents, steilbonats, spears swords and bows — this looks more like the reality of what the townsmen actually had: “Thir ar the namis of the fornest men: Morris Gibsone — a gedward staf: Jamis eggar — a staf: Andro McIlhance — a gedvard: Johne of vod — a gedvard staf: gorgis Ingillis — a spere sigill: Alan McCloche: j staf; Alexander Hannay — a sper: Mechell McCounnull — a staf: Gorgis havtorne — a spere: Gebe McCayne — a staf: Macom McCriston— a staf: Johne Kello — a staf: Daue Gibsone — a staf: Thome McGarue — a staf: Roben McBourne — a staf: Thome dongalsone — a staf: Hobe quycht — a staf: thom McCoulacht — a staf: Roben Portus — a spere sigill: Neil Cambell — a staf: Thome McKneis — an ax: Riche Borne -----: Jamis Hamiltoun — a staf: Johne Caven — a staf: the absentes Johne Adre Johne McCawman borov ais: Meche McInray — an ax: Johne Ahostan — an ax: Nicl. cenze — an ax: Johne McGhe — an ax: Symon McCristen — a spere: Thome McClane — a spere: Patrik Mure — a spere: Johne Murdoch — a staf: Pat McGuffok — a staff: Lovis McFrance a spere: Donken McKe a spere: Sandis Dellonis a staf: Johne a murray: Gebbe Blane vt. help a staf? Jamis Portar a staf: Sande McBourne vt. help a staf (“vt. help” has been elided): The baxtare vt. help.” The list continues. “Thomas---: Gorg---: georgis ---: Johne m: Jamis por---: Sande McKe: Alen McKe: Alen portus: Andro Mur: Owehn McOun: Andro Hannay: Mehell McCraw: Moris McCo: Moris gebstone: Mechel McCredy to find a man with Jak & splentis sillet as he suple: Roben Buchen: Joke McCache: McCron: John King: Andro McCran: Jamis Murray: Sande McBourne: Mechel McGarue: Johne McCalman: the lard of Gelstoune: the vedo McDom doter: Johne McCrone: Warlaw bering: ---Gibson: Andro Hannay: Moris Ennell: Symon McDovell (elided) Cawen: Johne McDovell: Patrik Egar: Joke McIlconnull: Bedrane?: Johne McCristin: Johne McGhe: Johne Blane: McCork: Johne McCristen.”

Much more could be added: squabbles over the use of the town’s communal oven: the case of the burgess who threw dogs into another’s well: the enchanting flop-eared dogs drawn in the margin not far from the dogs-in-the-well case: the Town Clerk, Provost, or Laird sketched in the margin, Tudor cap, pointed beard, ruff and all: and of course the French wine-ship on the Wigtown sands, drawn on the blank lower part of a page among the entries for 1525: her rig is intermediate between lateen and square-rig, with a cross on each mast-head: she carries guns, and her cockboat, anchor and cable are shown near her on the sand. A photograph of this drawing appears in these *Transactions* (IIIrd Series Vol. xl ]1961-62[ p.136) and was sent to the National Maritime Museum which declared it unique for its period.

These are merely appetisers for a fascinating volume — touches like the armed citizens having to attend when the Provost and Baillies have “business ado”. Points to be noted are the frequent use of t instead of th (a sign of Gaelic influence?) — the great variety of spelling, much greater than normal for Middle Scots for the period: and the practice of asking French skippers to give free passage to (presumably young) local merchants.

A brief glossary follows.

Mes Buk — Mass Book. Allanych, elenach etc. — Gaelic *eilanacht*, Islander: Vap-pyn schavin — wappenschawaing — parade of weapons: bodin — bodin in feir of veir — armed: jak — leather or metal breastplate: splents — knee-pieces of armour: sellat — salade — bowl-shaped helmet: quhithate — whitehat — steel bonnet: tyn — lose: tynsale — loss: mersand, merchiand — merchant: connaris — ale cunnars — testers: passas — passage: gedward staf — Jeddart Staff — a long staff armed with a blade.

## THOMAS HARKNESS — REFORM COUNCIL BAILIE

November 1833 — November 1834

by

Nancy Nevay

On 6th November 1833 a spirit of excitement pervaded the town of Dumfries as the Scottish Burgh Reform Bill came into effect with the elections of burgh councillors by all those persons within the burgh who held a £10 franchise — ‘today . . . a new era in all the Burghs of broad Scotland!’<sup>1</sup>

In Dumfries several candidates appeared personally at Polling Stations ‘the townsmen discharged their duty well — the first experiment under the new system has been . . . creditable and successful’.<sup>2</sup>

At this election Thomas Harkness, a writer in Dumfries, was chosen to be a councillor for the fourth ward, having won forty seven votes.

His pleasure in his appointment is evident in his letter to the electorate dated the evening of the election and published in the *Courier* the following Wednesday, November 13th — ‘To the Electors of the Fourth Ward

Gentlemen,

I should feel myself wanting in my duty if I did not, as my first act in the capacity of your Representative, express my sincere thanks for your unsolicited kindness in selecting me to be a member of the first Reformed Council of Dumfries, and to assure you, that it will be my constant endeavour to show the deep sense I entertain that honour, by a steady adherence to liberal principles, and an earnest support of all such measures as may tend to advance your interests, and the interests of the Inhabitants of the Burgh,

I am, Gentlemen,

With much respect,

Your most obedient servant,

Thos. Harkness.

Dumfries, 6th Nov. 1833<sup>3</sup>

His first year in office was to involve Thomas Harkness deeply in all the various issues most effecting the wellbeing of the town and in this involvement we see something of the excitement of this period of change and reform.

The newly constituted Council, at a meeting on 14th November, elected from their number Robert Murray, to be the first reform Provost. Provost Murray then proposed that Thomas Harkness be one of the three new Bailies — ‘which was seconded by Mr Barker, and unanimously agreed to, and they accepted office and took the oath’.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Dumfries Courier*, Nov. 6th, 1833.

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*, Nov. 13th, 1833.

4. *Council Book* (hereinafter referred to as *C.B.*), Vol. 25, p. 2, Nov. 14th, 1833.

At the Council meeting of the 18th November Thomas Harkness became one of the Court for the Dean of Guild and was on the committee to examine and report upon all the accounts claimed against the town, the committee to superintend public works and the general management of Towns Lands and buildings, the committee for superintending the affairs of the Academy, the committee to meet the Commissioners of Navigation and the committee to suggest how the stent tax may be replaced.

At the beginning of the year, a major religious issue occupied the Council. In January 1834 Dr. Thomas Duncan of the New Church was requesting the help of a permanent assistant as the temporary engagement of his present assistant was to terminate 'in March next'<sup>5</sup> 'The Provost . . . stated that it would be the wish of the (Council) public that an efficient assistant should be chosen with the approbation of the Council'<sup>6</sup> and 'that Dr. Duncan was willing to . . . agree to the appointment of an assistant who may be recommended by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, Dr. Brown late of Tongland, now of St. John's Glasgow, and Dr. Welsh late of Crossmichael now in Edinburgh.'<sup>7</sup> 'A lengthened conversation took place as to the mode of electing the assistant, some of the Council proposing that the nomination should be in the Council, others that it should be in the sitters of the church and others that it should be in the Electors in the different wards'<sup>8</sup> Mr Kemp proposed the motion 'that in order to ascertain the opinions of the sitters, each councillor might privately take the opinion of his constituents'<sup>9</sup> which was unanimously agreed to. The Provost, Bailie Harkness and Mr Gordon were requested to convey the feelings of the Council to Dr. Duncan that evening and report the following morning. Perhaps it would not be too much to assume that diplomacy was one of Thomas Harkness's recognised attributes.

In February 1834 Thomas Harkness accepted election to the position of Commissioner of Police . . . 'The Provost stated that this meeting had been called . . . for the purpose of Electing Commissioners of Police from the Council to act with those chosen by the inhabitants, and as the Act directs that the number elected by the Council shall be as nearly as possible one fifth and the number elected by the inhabitants being twelve the Council will be entitled to elect two besides the Chief Magistrate . . . and Bailie Harkness and Mr Smyth being proposed to the Office of Commissioner they were unanimously elected and they being present declared their acceptance.'<sup>10</sup>

That Thomas Harkness had an interest in education is evident in the fact that at the dinner in the evening of November 14th, 1833 after the new Council's first meeting he proposed the toast to the 'health of the Schoolmasters of Dumfries Academy'<sup>11</sup> to which Rector McMillan returned thanks with the words that 'they wished to discharge with faithfulness the duties assigned to them and hoped for the support of the Magistrates and public generally'.<sup>12</sup> In the Council Minute of 14th February 1834 Thomas Harkness is advancing the case for the introduction of an Infant School at the Academy.

'Bailie Harkness stated that the Magistrates had promised the Infant School Committee to apply to the Council for leave to them to occupy a vacant Room in the Academy

5. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 11, 23rd Jan. 1834.

6. *ibid.*

7. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 12, 23rd Jan. 1834.

8. *ibid.*

9. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 13, 23rd Jan. 1834; p. 18, 14th Feby. 1834.

10. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 18, 14th Feby. 1834.

11. *Dumfries Courier*, Nov. 20th, 1833.

12. *ibid.*



for their School, which being considered by the Council they grant the use of the Room during the pleasure of the Council, and they further allow the Infant School Society to erect a paling for enclosing a small portion of ground behind the Academy for the use of the children.’<sup>13</sup>

As a Magistrate, Thomas Harkness would have been involved in the negotiations to find the funds for providing for the Poor of the Burgh at a time when the law was uncertain. . . . Provost Murray reported that the Council were aware that the proposal to raise funds for maintaining the Poor by a voluntary contribution had failed, and that in consequence at a meeting of the Magistrates, Kirk Session and Landward Heretors . . . a legal assessment had been agreed upon to be levied from the entire parish to which the Agent for Mr Houston Douglas of Craigs, had objected and lodged a protest. That at that meeting he had proposed to the Landward Heretors that the question between the Heretors and the Magistrates of Dunbar, which is very similar to the case of Dumfries, is now in dependence before the House of Lords, and as the decision of that case is likely to regulate Dumfries he thought that the Landward Heretors should agree to pay the assessment upon them in the meantime and that in order to induce them to comply with the proposition, he had offered to that meeting guarantee by the Burgh that if it should be found that the Landward Heretors were not liable to be assessed along with the Burgh that the sums to be levied from them should be . . . paid back . . . The Council considering the Provost’s . . . proceedings to be reasonable and proper approve thereof.’<sup>14</sup>

In the same Minute we read of Thomas Harkness’s wish for liberal Church Reform. . . . ‘Bailie Harkness submitted his Motion to the Council upon the subject of petitioning Parliament for the abolition of Lay Patronage in the church of Scotland, and read the Petition which had been presented in name of the Inhabitants of the Burgh, and moved that the Petition be adopted by the Council and transmitted for presentation that to the Lords to the Lord Chancellor, and that to the Commons to General Sharpe Representative of the Burghs, which motion was seconded by Mr Robert Kerr, which was unanimously agreed to, and the Clerks were directed to engross the Petitions, and to obtain the Provosts name thereto and affix the Town’s seal. The Council also agreed on the motion of Bailie Harkness to present a memorial to the Crown praying it to relinquish its patronage to the Inhabitants of the Parish’<sup>15</sup>

The wording of Thomas Harkness’s petition to the King, the House of Lords and the House of Commons is recorded in the Minutes. It is remarkable in its outspoken condemnation of what was seen as State interference in matters of religion.

‘To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliaments assembled.

The Humble Petition of the Provost, Magistrates and town Council of Dumfries in Common Council assembled for themselves and for behoof of the Inhabitants of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries.

That the right of the Crown and individuals as by law established to nominate the spiritual instructors of the people has in the opinion of your petitioners no warrant or countenance in the Word of God, or in the practice of the primitive church.

13. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 19, Feby. 14th, 1834.

14. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 22, 27th Mar. 1834.

15. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 23, 27th Mar. 1834.

That any such right is opposed to the principles of the Reformed Church of Scotland and to the rules and customs of that church at its institution and in the days of its greatest purity.

That to the evil influence of Patronage, and to the irritation it has produced in the parishes, nearly the entire of the dissent from the church of Scotland is to be traced.

That your Petitioners are of the opinion that the system of Patronage cannot be too speedily abolished for reconciling of the People to their Pastors — for the restoring to the clergy of their just influence over the people, and for the promotion of the general interests of pure and undefiled Religion.

May it therefore please your Honourable House to take the Law of Patronage into your serious consideration, with a view to such an alteration of the same as will vest the right of electing Parish Ministers in Scotland in the resident Inhabitants of the Parish being hearers and communion with the church and your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

R. Murray, Provost & Chief Magistrate'.<sup>16</sup>

The upshot of this debate in Dumfries was ultimately the appointment of Mr MacGilvary as Dr. Duncan's assistant in April 1834.

The table of Towns Customs was being examined at this time by a committee of which Thomas Harkness was a member. They were to report whether any of the dues could be abolished or laid aside. This led Harkness into the field of agricultural improvements.

In May 1834 Bailie Harkness informs the Council that he has been approached by persons requesting pens be erected on the sands for fat cattle and sheep and he submits a plan. 'The Council approve of the suggestion and remit to the Committee of Work to take in Estimates and get the work completed provided the expence do not exceed £20.'<sup>17</sup> This provision was followed faithfully as in the Minute of October 9th of the same year we read 'The Council ordered the Treasurer to pay E. Grierson eighteen pound for erecting the Cattle Bughts on the Sands'.<sup>18</sup>

At the May meeting it is Bailie Harkness who brings the claims of the Teachers again before the Council and states in a reply to Mr Smyth that the Magistrates were having great difficulty in prevailing on persons to act as assessors for the poor but that three gentlemen had been named.

When Provost Murray died suddenly while in office Bailie Harkness was a member of the committee named by the Council to confer with the relations of Provost Murray as to his funeral and would have been in the processions to the churches for the services in the forenoon and afternoon.

Education was a continuing interest of Thomas Harkness's and his range of involvement is shown in the Minutes of the Summer of 1834 when we read that on June 9th 'Bailie Harkness brought forward to the Council the claims of the Schoolmasters'<sup>19</sup> and the Council requested the Treasurer to look at the claims and report to the next meeting. On 16th June 'The claims of the Schoolmasters were again brought before the Council' and the Council

16. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 26, 27th Mar. 1834.

17. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 32, 5th May 1834.

18. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 97, 9th Oct. 1834.

19. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 48, 9th June 1834.

resolved that 'the Schoolmasters be paid the sums due to them.' Later in the same Minute 'Bailie Harkness gave notice that next Council day he would move that application be made to the proper quarter for the foundation of a Parish School.'<sup>20</sup> But on 7th July Thomas Harkness deferred his motion for the election of a Parish Schoolmaster until a newly proposed committee report into 'whether or how far the hours of teaching of the present teachers can be extended and improved.'<sup>21</sup>

In the Minute of 12th June 1834 we read of a motion 'that the Magistrates should be appointed solely to let the seats (of the two churches) as they have been in use to do under authority of the Council'<sup>22</sup> so that it is likely that Thomas Harkness would have been involved in that duty too.

Also in June 1834 'The Council were anxious to ascertain if the Trade of the Port of Dumfries might not be extended and increased'<sup>23</sup> and towards this end Thomas Harkness was named one of a committee of Councillors to meet with the Commissioners of Tonnage to come to an agreement as to how this end might be achieved.

During the meeting of 7th July Thomas Harkness produced a Report of improvements and repairs to the Flesh Market and requested the setting up of a committee to meet with the Commissioners of Police to find ways of 'removing the Public Dung hills to a proper place' and to remove the 'water refuse of the slaughter house passing into the river at Townhead.'<sup>24</sup> At the same meeting there was a difference of opinion between Councillor Smyth and Bailie Harkness as the former said there was public dissatisfaction at the appointment of the Interim Collector of Poor Rates and the Council's opinion had not been sought but Bailie Harkness's view was that the Magistrates were empowered to confer this appointment and that 'the Magistrates were most willing to lay before the Council the whole of their proceedings relative to the management of the Poor matters.'<sup>25</sup>

As a Magistrate, Bailie Harkness was on the committee to effect the conversion of the upper part of the 'New Flesh Market now approaching ruin' to 'public markets for the accommodation of the persons attending the Butter, poultry and Egg Markets.'<sup>26</sup> At this time the Fat Cattle Market was completed and the Provost and Magistrates met with local farmers to choose Wednesday as market day, the Council encouraging quality livestock by offering cash prizes for the best lot of cattle, sheep and lambs, a further example of its interest in promoting agricultural improvement.

In August the question of the Parish School again arose and the Minutes record 'The Council deeply impressed with the great importance of promoting Education and satisfied that a large population of the Landward part of the Parish is not furnished with the means of Education provided by Law, is unanimously of opinion that a respectful application should be made on the subject to the Minister of the Parish whose province it is to adopt the necessary means for removing the evil complained of. The Council trust that the Rev. Mr. Wallace will bring this subject under the consideration of the first meeting of the Heretors.'<sup>27</sup>

20. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 54, 16th June 1834.

21. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 60, 7th July 1834

22. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 51, 12th June 1834.

23. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 55, 16th June 1834.

24. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 61, 7th July 1834.

25. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 62, 7th July 1834

26. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 65, 14th July 1834.

27. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 71, 4th Aug. 1834

A tantalisingly brief entry of August 8th tells how it was decided that Handbills should publicise a meeting when the Provost and Magistrates and Councillors, Commissioners of Police, and members of the Board of Health would meet with the Committee of the Public appointed to consider what was to be done about the cholera accounts. This reminds us in the midst of so much progress and reform that only two years previously Dumfries had suffered its worst ever outbreak of cholera.

The Flesh Market controversy continued in August 1834 when estimates were received from contractors willing to undertake the work of repair of the Flesh Markets and the Council chose Mr Aitken's estimate and invited him to 'procure sufficient security to join him in a Bond for the sufficient performance of the work committed to his charge by the Council'<sup>28</sup> but before he could enter into the agreement a councillor brought to the attention of the meeting a petition from several of the inhabitants requesting that the Council reconsider their intention to move the 'Public Markets from the High Street to the Flesh Market.'<sup>29</sup> The Council, with Mr Aitken's agreement, decided to delay proceeding until the petitioners had an opportunity to find an alternative suitable site and raise some subscriptions towards the purchase of it. Public meetings were held in all the wards and Bailie Harkness brought before the Council the minutes of the meeting of the fourth ward when by a majority it was decided that the Council's proposal should go ahead. Councillor Smyth proposed the motion that Mr Aitken should proceed with the work and Bailie Harkness seconded his motion. But it was defeated by a motion for a delay of three weeks while a committee of councillors attempted to find a more suitable situation for the public markets and Bailie Harkness was a member of this committee.

Political reform occupied the Council as well as local matters and again Thomas Harkness played a central role. On first September 1834 Bailie Harkness moved that a committee be appointed to prepare and submit to the Council a suitable address to be presented to Earl Grey when in Edinburgh expressive of the gratitude of the Council, and of the Community, for the memorable exertions of His Lordship in the cause of the people, and the accomplishment of the great measure of reform in the Commons House of Parliament in regard to the Representation of the People.' He was a member of the committee appointed and one of six councillors who volunteered to accompany the Provost to Edinburgh 'to wait upon Earl Grey.' 'The Council agreed that the address may be subscribed by the community at large and that the deputation include such of the Inhabitants as chooses to accompany it to Edinburgh.'<sup>30</sup> By the next Council meeting the committee had prepared the address which was read, approved and signed by those present.

By September 23rd 1834 the committee looking into alternative sites for the Public Markets reported that there were three other possibilities whose present owners would be willing to sell for the purpose proposed but a further delay would be required in order to choose which one should be proceeded with. Mr Smyth proposed that Mr Aitken should begin the work on the Flesh Markets and his motion was upheld by one vote.

Bailie Harkness's interests also included the liberalisation of trade in Dumfries and on October 18th he seconded a motion 'that the Council should suspend for a year the collection of the duties payable at the Tron and three ports and the small customs on small

28. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 77, 25th Aug 1834.

29. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 78, 25th Aug. 1834

30. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, pp. 84, 85, 1st Sept. 1834

quantities of butter entering by the bridge'<sup>31</sup> which was eventually carried. This was an experimental measure and new in the town's history.

The town's encouragement of agriculture was appreciated as the Minutes show us. On October 27th in the absence of Provost Kemp 'Bailie Harkness stated that a number of Gentlemen connected with the Cattle Market of Dumfries were anxious to meet the Magistrates and Council at a public dinner in order to testify to them their respect for the Magistrates and Council for the late improvements which had been made in the Cattle Market place, and that he was desirous of having the sentiments of the Council on the subject. The members present were unanimously of the opinion that the invitation was flattering to the feelings of the Council and that the Provost should be instructed in accepting the invitation to state to the gentlemen who have promoted the Dinner the high sense of gratitude entertained by the Council for this mark of their approbation of their exertion of the Cattlemarket and that the Council will always be anxious to co-operate with them in any measure for the improvements of these markets.'<sup>32</sup>

The year comes full circle in the minute of the third November 1834 when the final entry reads 'The Council instruct the Clerks to follow out the resolution of the Council . . . as to the Establishment of a Parish School in Dumfries Parish.'<sup>33</sup>

The minutes give us a picture of a hard working conscientious councillor of vision, helping to resolve differences of opinion in such wide ranging interests as the needs of the poor, the teachers' salaries, the establishment of an Infant School and eventual Parish School, agricultural improvements in the management of local markets, suspension of certain of the town's customs, proposed replacement of the stent tax, liberalisation of appointment of church ministers, broadening of the franchise in local government elections and a widening of the trade of the port of Dumfries — the satisfactory conclusions of which indicate qualities of diplomatic negotiation the like of which may be appreciated in our local government officials and representatives even to this day.

### **Acknowledgements**

Thanks are due to Miss M. Stewart of the Dumfries Archive Centre for her helpful encouragement, to Alistair C., Sheela W., Heather, Alice and Ron of the Ewart Library Reference Department for their cheerful assistance and especially Bill, who gave me the time.

31. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 98, 18th Oct. 1834

32. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 100, 27th Oct. 1834

33. *C.B.*, Vol. 25, p. 106, 3rd Nov. 1834

# GARROCH WATERPOWER SCHEME

## Part IV

### PUMPING, TURNING AND SAWING

by

Richard J. Clarke

Ashwood, Closeburn, Dumfriesshire

#### Introduction

Three earlier papers in this series have described aspects of the Garroch scheme and the limeworks at Park: the first, 'Survey', in Volume No. LIX, described the scheme generally; the second, 'Part II', in LX, the water wheel and associated plants; the third, 'Part III', the lime kilns. This paper goes in more detail into aspects of the wheel which have emerged from excavation. It also describes the smithy, which had its own water-power, and the sawmill.

#### Wheelpit

At the time Part II was written the bottom of the wheelpit was blocked. Figure 1 indicates in elevation the findings of the excavation since that date. There is a remarkably deep pit descending to a tunnel, which forms the Cundy, carrying the spent water away underground to the Lake Burn, some 250 metres. The tunnel is partly silted up, but can be seen as vaulted, one metre wide and about 1.5 metres from the arch down to the blocking debris. It has not yet been dug out to check its full depth, for safety reasons.

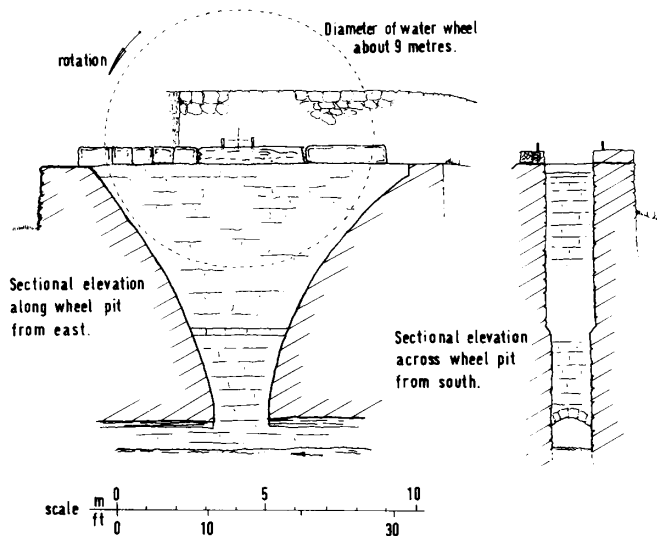


Fig. 1 Wheel Pit.

The Cundy tunnel carrying the spent water heads South-West on its way to the Lake Burn, but at the bottom of the wheelpit it is found to be a continuation of a similar tunnel, coming from a Northerly direction, where the drowned mine workings lie. Water runs out of this tunnel, southwards, and would have joined the spent water from the water-wheel when it was working. The limited examination possible from the wheelpit shows that there has been a roof fall in this tunnel but that the water passes it. This tunnel is about the same size as the outlet tunnel of the Cundy, but it has not yet been surveyed, for safety reasons. For identification here it is being called the Southwards Drain.

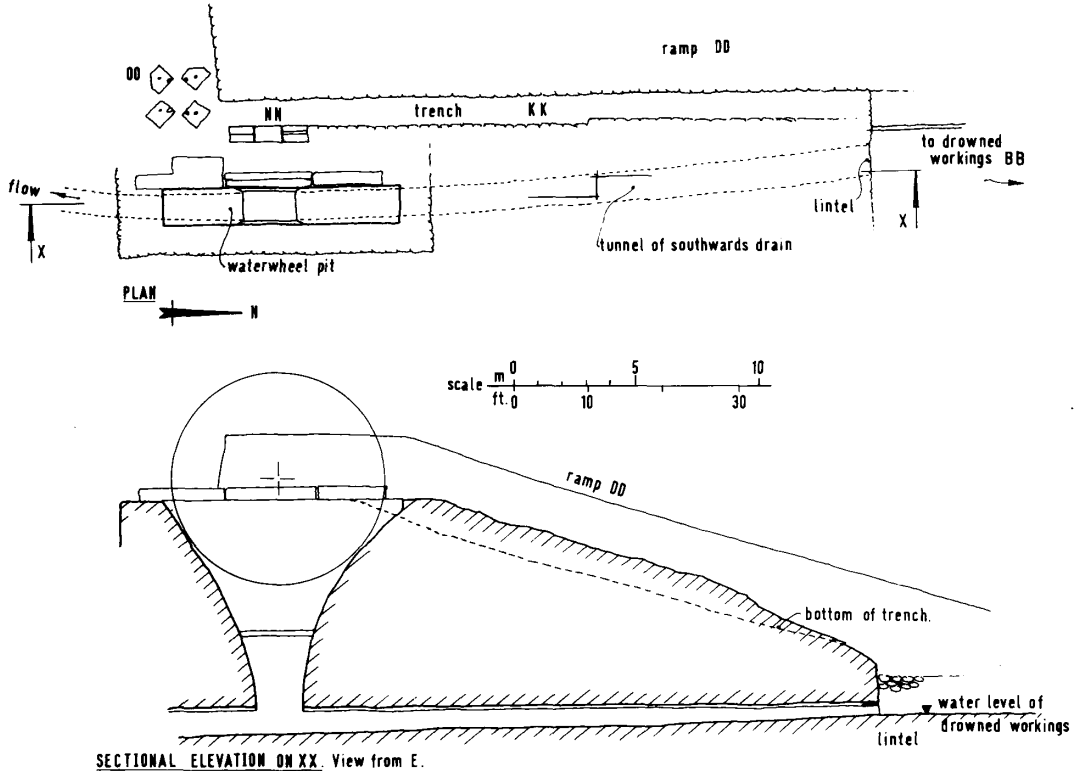


Fig. 2 Ramp, Trench and Tunnel.

Figure 2 is a plan view of the alignment of the pit and tunnels, as far as current exploration shows. The lettering, such as NN, has been brought over from Figure 4 of Part II.

### The Trench

From the start of this investigation there has been interest in the depression named the Trench, which lies between the wheelpit block and the probable site of the railway winding gear. This is KK in Figure 7 of Part II. This trench was seen to run parallel to the railway ramp, on its east side, but no clear structure was apparent. The excavations have shown there was a stone-walled trench, about two metres wide and 2-3 metres deep, with vertical sides. It was built like a drystone dyke, and no evidence of cement was found. There is an unexplained feature of a 'check', about 25 cm wide, in the east-side wall of the trench, with no corresponding check on the west side.

The trench is shown as KK in the plan in Figure 2, which also gives a sectional elevation of the trench with the railway ramp shown behind.

The bottom end of the Trench runs into the flood water in the mine and excavation had to be stopped. Two finds have been made. First, as the Trench dropped to the flood level, it revealed numerous stones which made the excavators think they had found a building, at a place where a pumphouse could have been expected. Second, an opening, like a door lintel, emerged and was found to be connected to the Southwards Drain tunnel. The doorway opening has been called the lintel, because its only visible feature is the 'lintel' stone.

The digging has not shown anything like a building, but rather a wall, about 1 metre high. This has no obvious purpose; it does not even look like a reservoir. But the 'lintel' opening into the Southwards Drain, to discharge to the Cundy, makes it appear that there was a drainage system for the mine which involved pumping flood water up to a high point under the 'lintel' and into the Southwards Drain, from which it flowed by gravity to the Cundy and the Lake Burn. The excavators have accepted that the components of any former system are probably all below the present flood water level and that little further may be found to clarify the matter.

If this concept of pumping mine flood-water is correct it seems likely that there was a pumping system stretching down along the line of the Trench into the mine, powered by the waterwheel. As discussed in Part II the depth of the mine is uncertain, but probably considerable — on the basis of the 20 degree slope and 500 yard length quoted by Carmichael. Around 1800, the maximum lift of a pump was around 120 feet. If the Closeburn workings did go 500 yards at 20 degrees, it required at least four stages of pumps. This leads to the idea of a series of pumps, in line down the workings, operated by a drive from the waterwheel running in the Trench, pumping water up to successive wells or reservoirs.

A point to be considered in the drainage question is the depth of the wheelpit. This is far deeper, in relation to the wheel, than most wheelpits, which normally are closed a fairly short depth below the bottom of the wheel. In this case digging it deep called for a large wheelpit structure and the corresponding digging of the Cundy drain at an excessive depth. The reason for this can be seen if the idea is accepted of the progressive pumps and the Southwards Drain. The 'lintel' would have been the highest point to which the water was pumped, after which it ran by gravity through the Southwards Drain via the wheelpit to the Cundy. It would have been advantageous to have the lintel sited as low as possible, to reduce the pumping head in the system. This of course meant that the bottom of the wheelpit had to be deep. So the designer would have made a compromise between a) the height of the lintel linked to the pumping requirement and b) the depth of the wheelpit and Cundy. It looks as though the deep pit was preferred to extra pumping.

### **Excavation Finds**

Excavation of the Trench produced a number of items, some of which shed light on the question of the pumping. Figures 3 and 3A give sketches of the more interesting ones. Item 1 is clearly a coupling with iron straps for wooden rods of about 75mm square. Item 2 is for coupling a wooden rod to a metal pin or similar component. Item 3 is a power-splitting linkage, by which two smaller wooden rods are linked to a larger rod. All these components look like parts of a power scheme having wooden reciprocating rods as the



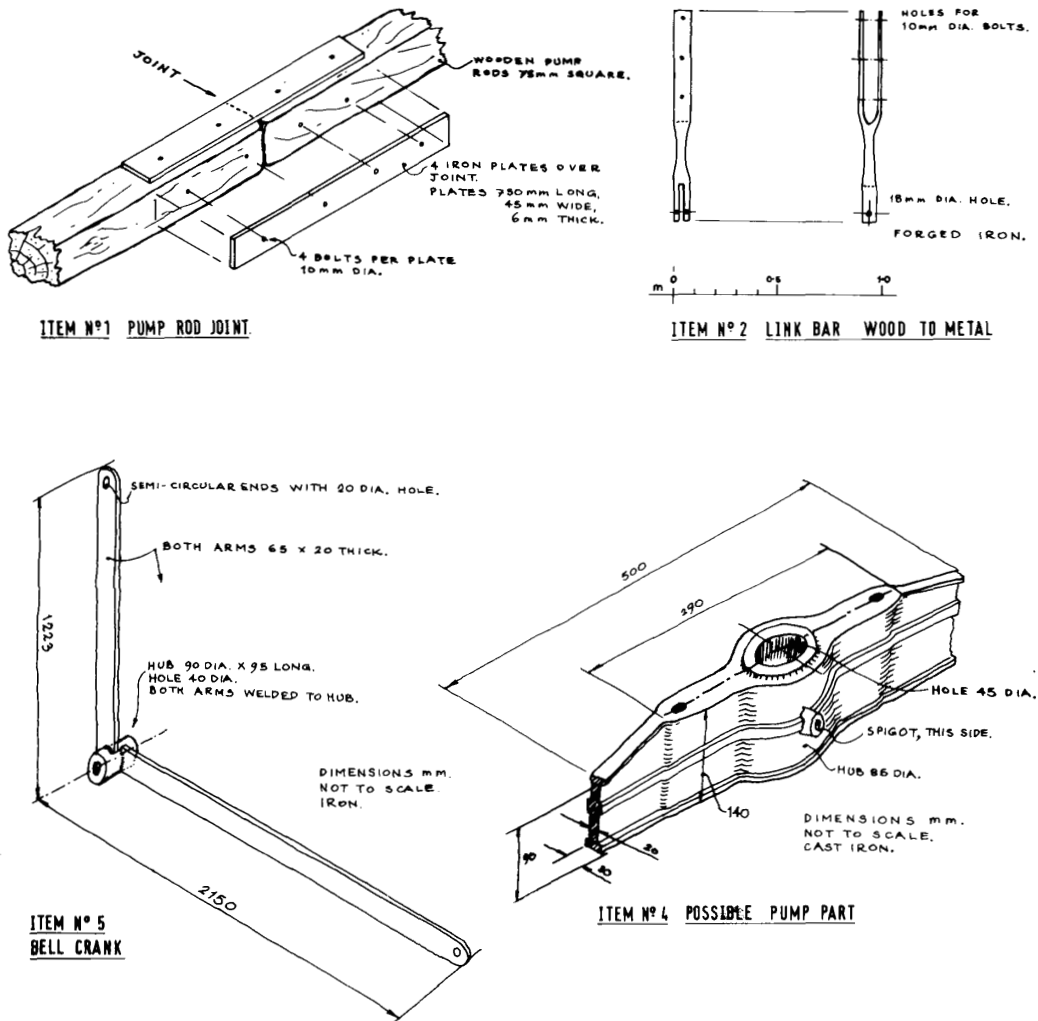


Fig. 3 Excavation Finds.

power links. The motion would have been longitudinal rather than rotational and it would only transmit power on the 'pull' stroke, since wood rods buckle when pushed. Thus a picture is emerging of a system of rods, which would move in slider bearings, running down the Trench, with couplings to pumps at intervals. The only thing found that looks like a pump part is the broken casting shown as Item 4 which is possibly a gland cover.

Item 5, a bell crank, does not look like a part of a pumping system, and it is possible it was a mechanism for control of water to the wheel, or for the railway. Naturally the operator of the railway haulage required means of controlling the winding motion and perhaps the speed of the waterwheel. In this connection it is worth noting that nothing has been found that looks like the winding gear and controls that would have been used at the top of the railway ramp.

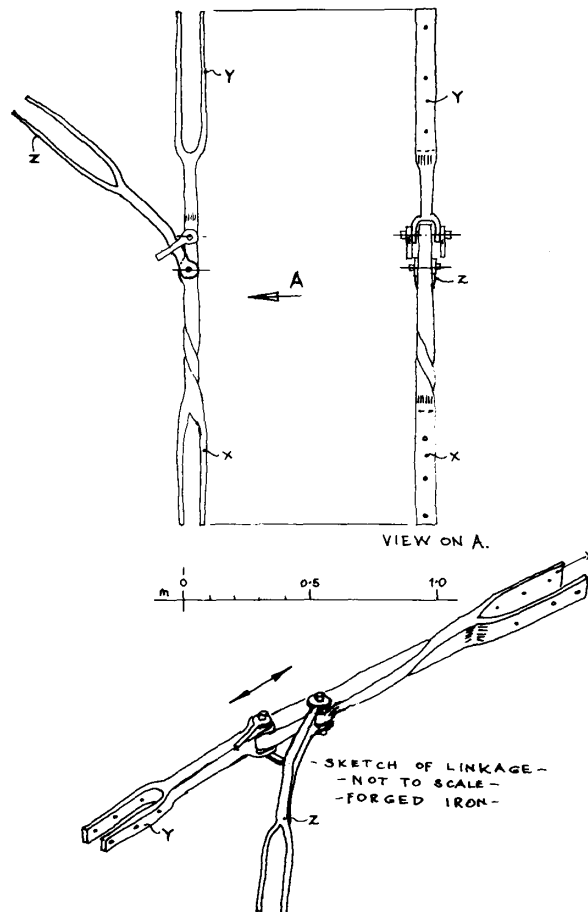


Fig 3A Excavation Finds (continued). Item No. 3 — “Power splitting linkage”

### Drive to Pumping System

If the idea of puller rods for pumping is correct, it would be necessary for them to have had a linkage to the waterwheel. Part II of this paper advanced the idea that the large disc in the end of the waterwheel shaft might have been a drive, and this appears to fit in with the idea of the rods. There would of course have been an attachment to the disc, which operated the connecting rod which actuated the drive rods. An argument for the disc is that it would not require any gearing. The pumps possibly ran the whole 24 hours, in contrast to the railway, and the owners might have preferred not to have gears running all the time — in the 1800 era when gear machining was not fully advanced. An argument against the disc is that the old photograph — the only evidence available — is not very clear on the structure of the disc, only part of which is visible. The one hole that is visible looks unsuitable for mounting a connecting rod.

Another point concerning the disc is its speed and throw. With the disc in the photograph a connecting rod would have had a throw of not more than a metre, and the waterwheel would probably not have exceeded 5 revolutions per minute. One might expect they would need a greater throw for the pumps, requiring some gears and cranks or a higher speed of pumping, requiring gearing.

The geared drive to the pumps could be obtained from the small-diameter, heavy-duty pinion on the waterwheel axle, or from the outer gear ring. These could have been connected to a mechanism sited on the stone blocks NN, which could have been designed to give both the speed and the throw necessary for the pumps.

### **Wheel Speed and Power**

In Part II of this paper there was a comment that probably the railway haulage was driven by the small, apparently stronger pinion on the waterwheel shaft, on the argument that the one-ton mine trucks required heavy haulage. This meant that the pumping would have been driven by the larger-radius gear ring, or the blank disc if this really was a drive.

Finding the fragments of the pumping gear has given an impression of considerable weight and strength in the pumping equipment. If there were several hundred yards of mine, as Carmichael says, a lot of machinery had to be moved, added to which was the lifting of the pumped water. Further, it may have had high capacity, to clear the mine during storms. One is led to question whether the pumps placed a bigger power demand than the railway, and were driven by the small 'strong' pinion.

An aspect of general waterwheel design is the method by which power is taken off the wheel. At one extreme there is a gear-ring at the circumference: this naturally transfers the power of the water from the buckets almost directly to the gear-train, and the spokes do not carry heavy torsional stresses. At the other extreme the power is taken from the axle of the wheel, usually by gearing. In this case the wheel requires sufficient strength to transmit the weight of the water from bucket to axle — meaning heavy spokes and a strong axle. There are all stages between these two designs.

There are three points at which power may have been taken off the Park wheel: the outer gear ring; the pinion on the axle; the disc at the end of the axle. There were three uses of power: railway; pumping; the 'fanners' which were stated to have provided draught to the kilns. It is clear that there were a number of mechanisms alongside the wheel, sitting on the stone blocks NN.

It was suggested above that a drive from the disc might not give the required speed, and hence that the disc was not one of the drives. In that case the three power requirements will have been drawn from either the axle pinion or the outer gear ring, almost certainly via mechanisms at NN.

It seems likely that the higher speed is required for the pumps and the fanners, and this would be obtained from the outer gear ring. Then the small 'strong' pinion would have been the drive to the railway. Nothing appears in the writings about the railway's speed, but there is mention of a train of one-ton bogies. There would have been a counter-balance of empty bogies on the other line. As stated above, nothing is known about the winding gear. It seems probable that the gear was sited on the flat area at the head of the ramp JJ, with a power link across the 10 metres to the wheel area, probably to one of the drive units sited on the blocks MM or NN. A chain is mentioned as the haulage of the bogies. Perhaps the chain was carried round drums and over to the drive unit on the stone blocks.

### **Source of Flow**

During the excavation it was noted that there was a steady flow of water through the bottom of the wheelpit. There was local opinion that the Cundy was the overflow from

the drowned mine, which was observed to maintain a remarkably steady level. So the question arose whether in modern times the mine floodwater flowed, via the Southwards Drain, into the wheelpit and hence the Cundy. The main flow into the flooded mine was the discharge from the Limeworks Dam, via the sluice — see Figure 4 of Part II, FF and GG, Figure 8. The flow rate here fluctuates in response to rainfall, and it was noted that the flow at the wheelpit fluctuates also, somewhat similarly. An experiment was made of directing the Limeworks Dam sluice water into the region of the opening which fed into the Southwards Drain tunnel. This was rather inconclusive as the dam water sank over a wide area, although it seemed to reappear at the wheelpit.

The other point established was the relative height of the 'lintel' opening and the water level in the drowned mine. The latter is the same at all times to within a metre. At the time of measurement the mine flood water was 40 cm below the top of the tunnel opening — the lintel. The tunnel may be as much as two metres high, in which case the bottom of the tunnel is below the flooding level. This would enable any flooding of this depth to seep into the tunnel through the broken soil and hence flow to the wheelpit and beyond. The top of the entrance at the lintel was found to be 90 cm above the bottom of the wheelpit.

### **Rails and Wagons**

In the course of excavating the Trench, a number of pieces of L-section railway track were found. One rail, drawn in Figure 4, is complete. All the rest, about 10 in all, are broken, but clearly are of the same design. Another valuable find was a flanged bogie wheel, of a typical modern design. With modern railway practice in mind it would be expected that this wheel would run on 'edge rails' — the ordinary modern variety. But at earlier times flanged wheels ran on L-section rails called 'plate rails'. The Closeburn plate rails show clear marks of wear, consistent with a flanged wheel running on them, with the flange, not the wheel tread, bearing on the rail. Some questions arise: the wheel shows wear on the tread as though it has run on modern edge rails; but it is also worn on the outer diameter of the flange, as though it ran in an L-section plate rail; and the rails show wear in the angle of the L, which would be produced by the flange running on its edge.

The components were commented upon by Dr. Michael Lewis, a specialist. Plate rails were almost always laid with the flange engaging the corner. The track would have been about 60 cm and the bogie load about one ton. This agrees with Carmichael's figure for bogie loads. The strange wear findings on both wheel and rail might have resulted from using a second-hand wheel which previously ran on edge rails.

Figure 4 shows how rails were attached to the sleepers, by round nails. Also how some rails had a squared hole at both ends, permitting a squared bolt to be driven into the holes of adjacent rails, at the joint.

### **Crane**

Clearance of the site since Part II has clarified the function of items OO and PP in Figure 7 of that paper. The four blocks of OO, with the tree removed, are clearly seen as a base for a crane, which would have been sited to handle the wheel for erection or maintenance. The block at PP can now be seen as a rear support for the crane, perhaps carrying the winch.

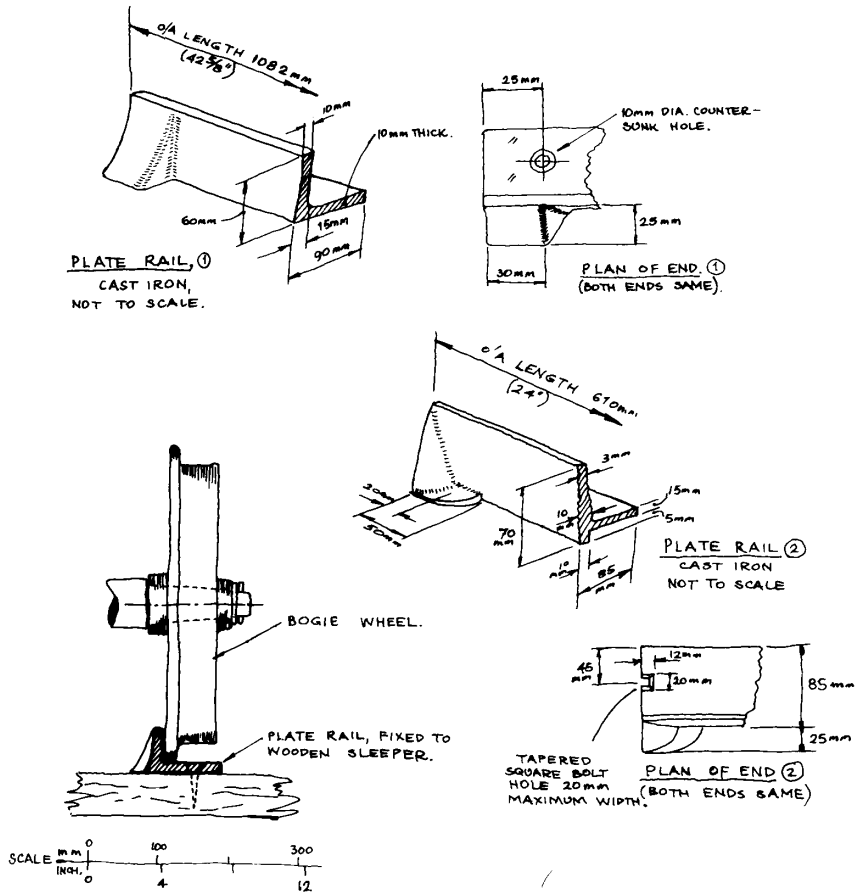


Fig. 4 Bogie Wheel and Plate Rails.

**The Smithy**

The Smithy worked until some years back when Mr McKinnel, the smith, retired. He has since died and the property is owned by Mr James Kirkpatrick, his nephew.

The smithy is a large one, with two hearths, and it would obviously have been the central metal workshop of the Closeburn Estate. Figure 5 shows its present state, externally in good condition. Inside it is mainly used for storage.

Figure 6 is a drawing of its present layout, which is probably little different from its former condition. The layout and contents are straightforward and merit no comment, except that the forges, now blown by rotary blowers, had bellows within living memory. The unusual feature is the lathe at the South end, which was driven by a waterwheel. This lathe was used for turning the bearing journals for axles on carriages and carts. It can turn a piece 14 inches diameter and 6 feet long. The original waterwheel drive was supplemented and then superseded by a paraffin engine, which is probably of a 1930 age.



Fig. 5 Blacksmith's Shop.

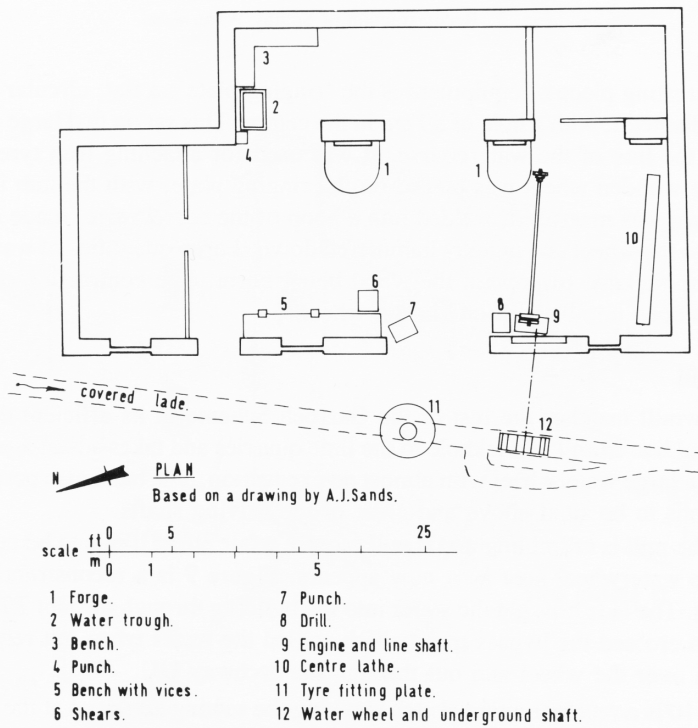


Fig. 6 Blacksmith's Shop Plan.

The engine was connected by belts to the overhead lineshaft drive that formerly brought the power from the waterwheel outside the building.

An interesting point is that the lathe and all the lineshafting are set at an angle of about 6 degrees to the building line. It would appear that the wheel was built along the line of the watercourse, which was 6 degrees off the building line; to save turning the water or providing couplings, the drive shaft was taken into the building at this angle, with all the shafting and the lathe sited correspondingly.

Only the mountings of the waterwheel are left, but a reconstruction sketch has been made from an old photograph which shows most of it, Figure 7. It is an undershot wheel, with simple flat panels as buckets. One could not have expected it to have generated much power, and this is confirmed by Mr Kirkpatrick. Presumably the turning was done with light cuts.

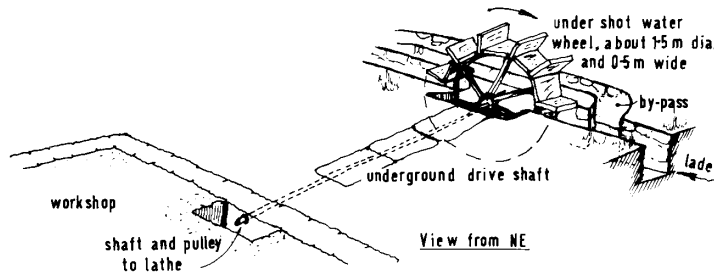


Fig. 7 Reconstruction of Smithy Waterwheel.

An interesting piece of equipment is the 'ringing plate', a flat, circular iron plate of 1.5 metres diameter, with a hole of 50 cm in the centre. This sat on two large stone blocks, sited along the line of the watercourse. It was used for attaching iron tyres to wooden wheels. The wooden wheel was placed on the ringing plate, with the hub in the central hole. The tyre was measured, welded into a hoop of the correct size, made red-hot, then dropped onto the wheel and quickly hammered down. Large quantities of water were then applied from buckets, to prevent the wood being burnt. The contraction of the tyre on cooling tightened up all the joints in the wheel.

### The Sawmill

The sawmill matches the rest of the Garroch Scheme in its efficient design. It lies on the natural line from Puddockhole to the lime quarries and takes advantage of a 5 metre bank to site a large waterwheel with almost no excavation. The bank also permits the sawing operations to be sited above and clear of the driving shafts.

Sadly the mill is crumbling and it will require a fair effort if it is to be rebuilt. Figure 8 shows the waterwheel area as it now appears. Figure 9 is a reconstruction sketch of the building. The lade brought the water into the building through the slot TT in the North wall; it then crossed the bypass trap (which spilled the water when not required for the wheel), ran over the wheel and out through the archway UU.

Figure 10 is a reconstruction sketch showing the sawing activities at the higher level, using the natural conformation of the land. Horse-drawn timber wagons would bring the



Fig. 8 Sawmill.

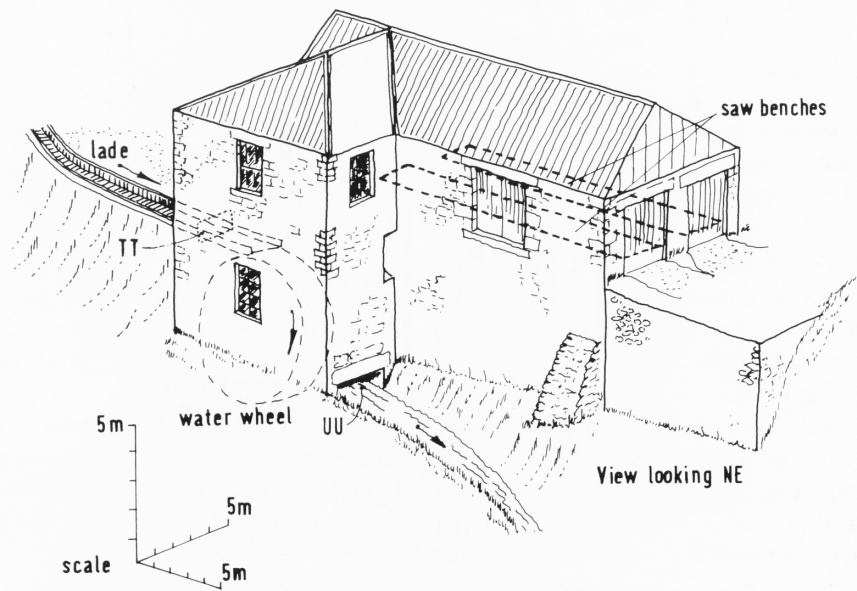


Fig. 9 Reconstruction Sketch of Sawmill.



logs to PP, to be unloaded by the derrick. Logs to be sawn would be craned onto the bogies and pushed to the saws, at QQ. There were two parallel saws, the benches and rails for which ran the length of the building. The saws were called breaker and runner-off, performing the first and second cut respectively. The sawn logs were then removed to the South end, RR, and loaded onto horse transport.

The saws were driven by belts, which ran on pulleys on the main mill drive-shaft, SS, with fast-and-loose pulleys on the saw shaft and belt forks to engage drive. The water-wheel was mounted directly on shaft SS and the pulley sizes were calculated to give correct sawing speeds.

An interesting point of the building is the thickness of the walls in the region of the waterwheel — 1 to 1.5 metres in places. This seems to be conservative design by the masons, faced with ever-running water inside (there was no external bypass), the slope of the site and the weight of mechanism and water.

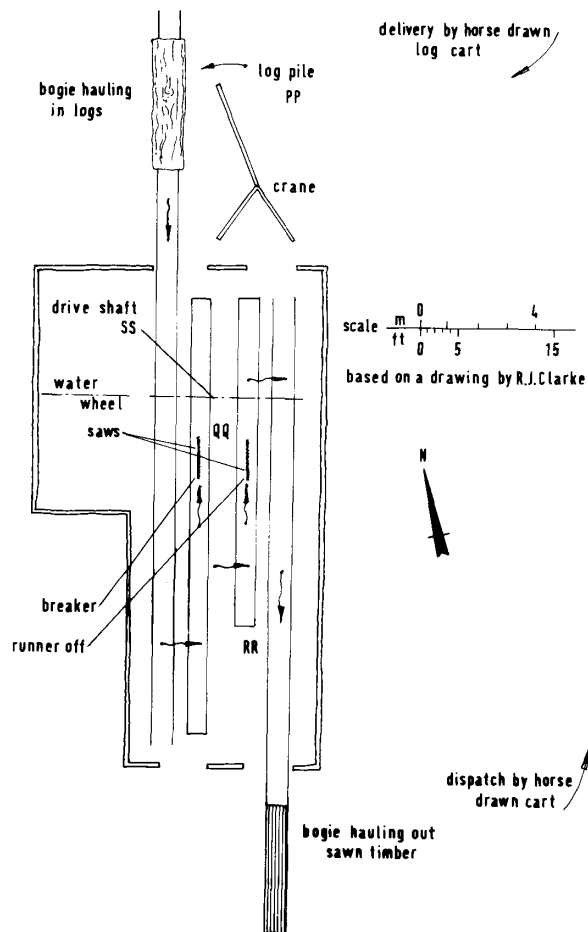


Fig. 10 Reconstruction Sketch Plan of Sawing Area.

**Conclusion**

This paper will probably be the last dealing with the system in Park village. Most aspects that can be economically investigated have been dug, and secured for some period ahead. Any further papers will deal with the outlying parts of the system such as Loch Ettrick, Barburgh Mill and the watercourses.

**Acknowledgements**

As in earlier papers, thanks are accorded to the site owners, especially Mr James Kirkpatrick; to Manpower Services workers, who moved great amounts of material and showed the structure of the drainage, and also did good reconstruction work on the kilns; to Dr. Michael Lewis, for advice on railways; to Mr Albert Sands, who drew the Smithy; and to Mr Graham Douglas, of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, who did survey work and drew all the illustrations.

## ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA

### THE HISTORY OF THE OLD HOUSE OR 'HASTIE AND BRODIE'S'

by Duncan Adamson

The Old House stands in Nith Place, at the foot of the High Street, next to the South church (Fig. 1). Nowadays it belongs to the British Legion, but local people still usually refer to it as 'Hastie and Brodie's'. When Hastie and Brodie were actually in business there, its official address was 'The Old House, High Street, Dumfries'. It is a fine building and there is a tradition referred to by MacDowall in his 'Memorials of St Michael's', page 207, that it was designed by the famous architect, Robert Adam. There is another tradition quoted by T. Watson in his notes in the third edition of MacDowall's 'History of Dumfries', page 595, that 'some of the Prince Charlie money unclaimed went to pay for the building, but I can find no justification for this allegation.



Fig. 1 "Hastie and Brodie's" about 1984. Photo: Jas. Williams.

The Prince Charlie story seems to have arisen from the fact that Archibald Malcolm, who built the house, was joint town clerk in 1750, when the government granted £2,848-5-11 to the town council in compensation for the £2,000 which they had been forced to pay to Prince Charlie when he came to Dumfries in 1745. Malcolm was given the job of repaying the money to all those who had contributed to the £2,000. It was customary to pay the town clerk a small percentage 'for his pains', but this would only be a moderate sum.<sup>1</sup> In any case, Malcolm seems to have been a fairly wealthy man. He had been buying property in the Southergate area since 1743 and in 1756 he was able to lend money to the town council. By coincidence, the house was later owned by William Martin, who was also town clerk. This may have given rise to the idea that the house had been built by the town council as an official residence for the town clerk. However, there is no truth in this. The town council minutes for 1753 show that Archibald Malcolm was given permission to build the house himself.

We can find no basis at all for the Robert Adam claim. His father William Adam, then the leading architect in the country, drew up a plan for the rebuilding of St Michael's Church, which the council did not accept because it would be too expensive. Archibald Malcolm may also have consulted William Adam, but Adam died in 1749,

1. Malcolm's detailed account of his intromission with the money is in the Town Council records.

four years before the house was built. For the next few years the Adam firm was run by the oldest son, John, who designed many buildings in a similar style to his father, but there is no record of his being involved with this property. Robert Adam was a junior assistant at this time with no buildings credited to him yet.

If not one of the Adams, then who? Moorehead's Hospital was built just before the Old House. It was designed by Alexander Crombie. Colonel de Peyster's house in Irish Street was also built in the same period but the name of the architect is not known. It shares with the Old House the distinctive feature of the paired chimneys. William Craik of Arbigland was also designing houses at this time. In those days builders often drew their own plans, sometimes based on 'pattern books'. St Michael's, itself, was built in the 1740s to plans drawn up by local tradesmen, principal of whom were James Harley, wright, and Thomas Twaddle and Alexander Fleck, masons. Any one of these might have been responsible.

The term 'Adam fireplace' is sometimes used to describe fireplaces built in the Adam style, whether or not they were designed by one of the Adam family. The experts from the Historic Building Commission do not think it likely that the fireplace in the Old House was a genuine Adam design. They say the 'legs' are too narrow and the decorations not sufficiently delicate.

There is also doubt about the date of the fireplace. Alterations were made to the house at the beginning of the 19th century and they think it likely the fireplace was put in at that time. Most of the experts who examined the photographs of the fireplace think it dates from around 1800. The difficulty with this theory is that the house was then occupied by Archibald Malcolm's widow. She died in 1809, aged 92. It does not seem likely that she would have been carrying out alterations to the house at her age.

The house was bought in 1820 by Adam Rankine. This is noted in the Town Council minutes of 20-7-1820. The house is described as 'the former property of Mr Archibald Malcolm', which suggests that there had been no change of owner since Mrs Malcolm's death in 1809.

So we have three possible dates for the fireplace:

- 1753 — when the house was built
- around 1800 — which the experts judge from its style
- 1820 — when Adam Rankine moved in.

What do we know about the owners of the house? Archibald Malcolm was depute and then joint town clerk for 59 years and lived in the house from 1753 until his death in June 1795.<sup>1</sup> R. C. Reid mentions that he was the first town clerk to make an inventory of the town's papers. His gravestone records that he and his wife, Jean Hay, had 21 children, one of whom, Thomas, was for a short time procurator fiscal. (Town Council minutes 1774).

The next owner was Adam Rankine, who also played a prominent part in the town's affairs for many years. The Town Council minutes show him acting as stentmaster in 1802, lending the town money to pay debts in 1808 and 1810, and being appointed one of the town's three trustees to deal with its creditors in 1820. In his 'Memorials of St Michael's', MacDowall praises Rankine for helping to rescue the town from its financial difficulties. He came from New Galloway as a young man and set up a flourishing merchant's business in Dumfries. In 1804, during the Napoleonic War, he formed a Volunteer Artillery Corps of which he was the captain. He became a baillie on the Town Council and was also governor of the local Savings Bank. He died in 1859, aged 82. His wife, Sarah McKenzie, died in 1840.

The next owner was William Martin. We have not been able to find documentary evidence showing exactly when he bought it. According to his obituary in the Standard (4-12-1886), 'On the removal of Mrs Adam Rankine from the fine old mansion house at the foot of the Southergate Brae, Mr Martin acquired it by purchase.' We know that Adam Rankine's wife died before he did — in 1840, so it is possible that the article refers to a daughter-in-law. Martin seems to have lived a relatively uneventful life, but like his two predecessors, he was an important and respected citizen. His obituary records that as a young man he was active in the Volunteers. He was a freemason and a strong Conservative. His two great skills were in framing minutes and in public speaking. At Dumfries Academy prizegivings, we are told, he was a model of what speechmakers should be — short, humorous and to the point.

Mr Martin's father, James, had been a farrier in Dumfries. There were two brothers, Robert — whom William succeeded as registrar, and John — who is described as the publisher of the Standard. His brother and two sisters seem to have occupied the house after he died. Agnes died in 1896 and Mary in 1901. John, who died in 1902, is listed in the Dumfries Directory as living there in 1901,

'24 Nith Place, John Martin, retired printer.'

1. Edgar's History of Dumfries, p.4.

The address of the house in the early Valuation Rolls is given as '20 Nith Place', but in 1897 a new building was erected where the paper shop now is and the number was changed.

The Valuation Rolls first recorded Hastie and Brodie there in 1905-6. Mr Hastie had a tailor's business in the High Street, near the present McDowall's Shop. He advertised for a partner and Mr Brodie came down from Edinburgh to join the firm. Shortly after they moved into the house in Nith Place.

At that time the room with the fireplace was used as a stock room and the fireplace was painted brown. Mr Brodie's son, Norman, painstakingly cleaned off the paint and restored it to its original appearance. He also took up some old linoleum to reveal a beautiful oak parquet floor. In those days there was a flight of steps leading up to the house, but the level of the street and pavement were later raised.

Both partners continued the tradition of being prominent in local government. Mr Hastie, who was much older than his partner, was at one time treasurer of Dumfries. Mr Brodie was the last provost of Maxwelltown and the first of the combined burgh of Dumfries and Maxwelltown.

Hastie and Brodie supplied the Hunt with all their outfits and they had big contracts to supply uniforms during both world wars. The R.A.F. was perhaps their best customer. Mr Brodie eventually took his son Norman into partnership and he carried on the business after his father died in 1951, aged 80. The old man loved his work and had been cutting cloth on the day he died.

Norman Brodie retired in 1956 or 57 and the building was bought by the Plaza organisation. There was talk of turning it into a dance hall, but nothing came of it. It lay derelict for years, until rescued by the Trades Council Club.

#### CHARGE BOOK OF THE BURGH OF LOCHMABEN.

*1st June 1864 to 6th October 1884.*

by J. B. Wilson

This large ledger came to light some years ago in Lochmaben Police Station. Many of the crimes which it lists are common today but there are also many differences for this was still the age of the horse, though references do occur to steam engines and to the railway which came to Lochmaben in 1863. The internal combustion engine which plays so large a part in our lives today and whose use gives rise to so many prosecutions was not to come on the scene till early in the next century.

Examination of the charges, the names recorded, the crimes which came to judgement and the punishments meted out all tell their story of life in the Royal Burgh during the second half of the Nineteenth Century. Within its covers are recorded the crimes of the day; the good, the generous and the kind deeds, which were probably just as common, pass unrecorded.

The ledger in which the charges are recorded is a large one, printed and ruled for the purpose with columns for the date, occupation, name and residence of the offender; his age and the offence; the name of the policeman making the charge; the name of the Magistrate, usually the Provost or a Bailie, though in more serious offences the case was tried before the Sheriff in Dumfries. The final column noted the sentence and disposal of the Case.

Though the charges in the book are numbered 1 to 1159 several mistakes have been made in carrying forward the numbers, so that the cases actually totalled 1319.

#### **Drunkenness**

Examination of Table I shows that violence and drunkenness were by far the most frequent crimes to come before the Court. Little can be said about these cases except to note their frequency. Women as well as men were involved — the charge often ending with the words 'And having no person in charge of him'! Usually the punishment was a fine of five shillings or five days in prison.

During the period covered by these records four Inns served the inhabitants of Lochmaben. The King's Arms, The Crown, the Commercial Inn (now the Bruce Arms), and the Railway Inn. A surprising proportion of those charged came from the Barras or from Marjoriebanks, both at the railway end of the town.

TABLE I

## The Most Common Offences

Offence	Number
Drunk	411
Breach of the Peace	220
Assault	216
Theft	60
Obstruction of Thoroughfare	42
Malicious Mischief	41
Breach of Certificate	41
Chimney Fires	22
Keeping Back Premises in a disorderly manner	17
Keeping Lodgers without Licence	19
Furious driving and riding	15
Emptying slops in sewer	12
Using Uncertified Weights	11
Total	<u>1127</u>

**Theft**

The prosecutions for theft are amongst the most interesting in the book. Though often trivial incidents and though the monetary value of the objects stolen was invariably small, punishment could be severe though when on December the 17th 1864

“William Tweedie a schoolboy aged 15 was accused of the theft of a tame rabbit from a box in a coal house occupied by Dr. William Scott, Townhead”

no proceedings were taken. At the other end of the scale

“James Brown aged 8 and William Mooney aged 15 were accused of stealing 18 potatoes from a railway wagon the property of the Caledonian Railway Company.”

Mooney whose first offence this was, was admonished, but James Brown, having been previously before the court, was sentenced to seven years in the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Certified Industrial School.

In another case two boys aged 10 and 13 years of age were accused of

“Stealing three half sovereigns from the cash drawer in the booking office at Lochmaben Railway Station.”

So serious was this offence considered that the boys were tried by the Sheriff and the younger sent to an Industrial School for four years while the elder was sent to prison for 20 days and then to the Reformatory for four years. Even the theft of a turnip from a field could result in a fine of five shillings.

Adults too were treated harshly and a labourer accused of the theft of nineteen shillings and eightpence in a purse valued at a shilling was sentenced to 40 days imprisonment by the Sheriff, while a vagrant who stole a pocket Bible was sent to prison for 30 days. On another occasion the accused was disposed of in a different way:

“Mary Green aged 30, daughter of a pauper, was accused of the theft of two ounces of laudenum valued at one shilling from a bottle in the Chemist and Druggist’s shop in the High Street.”

No sentence was requested by the Procurator Fiscal but the accused was considered insane and handed over to the Inspector of the Poor to be taken care of by him.

Though no one was deported or sent to the Colonies these sentences do appear severe and out of all proportion to the offences committed. Obviously theft in a small community was then regarded as a serious crime to be punished with the utmost rigour of the Law.

**Children’s Offences**

Three cases featuring children have already been mentioned and in general children a hundred years ago seemed just as liable to get into trouble as they are now. Two other cases demonstrate their dangerous propensity for mischief. In 1871 six schoolboys

“Maliciously chased and abused a flock of 38 sheep forcing one of the sheep into the Mill Loch and keeping it there till the sheep was drowned dead.”

The guardians of the accused boys promised to make good the damage done. In another case  
 "Two boys threw a cat into the Kirk Loch and stoned it till it was dead."

These young delinquents were only admonished. Perhaps as nowadays their social backgrounds were taken into consideration when the sentences were passed.

A rather unusual charge involving another naughty boy occurred in August 1870 when

"John Tweedie aged 9 was charged with Malicious Mischief in stopping the mouth of the exhaust pipe of the steam engine which drives the Lochmaben Mill causing the water to flow over the condenser."

The witnesses were James Brown, journeyman miller, and Thomas Richardson, apprentice miller.

This case is of interest because of its mention of the Steam Engine which drove the mill for the mill was normally driven by water from the Mill Loch — a nearly inexhaustible source.

### **Charges involving Horses**

Horses appear on the pages of the charge book in connection with various offences. Perhaps this is best illustrated by quoting two cases.

"James McGhie a blacksmith aged 43 from Kirkbank in Johnstone Parish was accused in August 1865 of furious driving in that he recklessly and furiously drove a horse and machine along East Street and Marjorie Bank Street and lashing the horse with a whip and making it gallop at the top speed along the said streets to the great danger of the lives of the inhabitants."

For this offence he was fined one pound.

"Andrew Bell a coachman aged 18 residing at Broadchapel was accused in March 1870 of the reckless and furious driving of a horse being ridden by him along West Street whereby a little boy, George Dinwoodie son of David Dinwoodie grocer was knocked down with said horse while it was galloping or going at a furious rate and got the thigh bone of his left leg broken."

In this case no proceedings were taken by the Procurator Fiscal, his comment being, "Case accidental"!

In all, 15 cases of reckless or furious driving came to trial. In one, the accused was found to be drunk in charge of his horse. Other offences relative to the horse were uncommon though apparently it was illegal to use a cart without having the owner's name painted on it and also to ride on the hind part of a cart without holding the reins. Leaving horses, or other animals, unattended in the streets of Lochmaben, could also result in prosecution.

Animals were not however the only cause of obstruction for 42 of the charges deal with obstruction of the footpath or roadway by building stones and other building materials and even a light spring cart in front of the owner's house.

Besides making sure the streets were tidy and unobstructed the police also exercised supervision over the state of the stables, byres and pigstyes which stood behind most of the houses and cottages. The standard of cleanliness in them too had to reach an acceptable level.

### **Less Frequent Charges**

Though the more frequent charges have been commented on in some detail the less common charges are of equal interest for they provide some insight and understanding of life in Lochmaben at that time. Most of these charges require little further comment and are simply recorded in Table II because of the interest they provide.

One case again mentions a steam engine and is worth quoting in full.

"On March 19th 1881 Thomas Milne aged 30 seed merchant Lockerbie was charged under the Contravention of Locomotives Act by allowing a Steam Engine and Threshing Mill his property to be in motion and travel along the public road at Lochside with only two persons in charge when there should have been three persons."

This charge was found not proven at the J.P. Court in Dumfries.

TABLE II

Less Frequent Charges			
Offence	Number	Offence	Number
Obstructing the constable in the course of his duty	5	Turnpike Road Act	1
Failing to aid constable	2	Keeping disorderly house	1
Riding on hind part of cart without holding reins	1	Finding money and not reporting	1
Leaving animal unattended	8	Using insulting language	5
Keeping unmuzzled dog	9	Driving an unmarked Cart	2
Suspected theft	2	Road offence (Timber)	2
Firing squib	2	Indecent exposure	2
Discharging firearms	1	Damage to footpath	1
Road offence	4	Throwing stones	1
Obtaining money under false pretences	1	Throwing snowballs	3
Slaughtering swine in street	4	Begging	4
Fraud	6	Contempt of Court	1
Keeping brokers shop without licence	1	Keeping too many lodgers	2
Uttering base coin	1	Having no hawkers' licence	5
Using threatening language	2	Embezzlement	1
Hanging washing on hedge	1	Cruelty to animals	5
Intoxicated in charge of horse	1	Illegal gambling	1
		Refusing to leave hotel	4
		<b>Total</b>	<b>92</b>

### Unusual Cases

Three charges were so unusual and so interesting as to deserve full quotation. Obviously behind each charge lies a story, probably tragic, at which we can only guess.

"On June 3rd 1864 James Yourston Thorburn Doctor of Medicine aged 68 residing at Bank House, Dumfries was accused of Breach of the Peace and Malicious Mischief by wantonly wilfully and maliciously breaking nine panes of glass in the window of the police cells at Lochmaben. (Then in No. 41 Bruce Street.) Making a loud noise in the street and collecting a crowd of people in Bruce Street." The witnesses were Margaret Thorburn (? his wife) and two constables.

When the case came before Sheriff Trotter in Dumfries Dr. Thorburn was committed to the Asylum being insane.

"On August 9th 1871 Peter Waugh aged 37 Spirit Dealer and Ironmonger in Bruce Street was charged with leaving the trap door down to his cellar standing open on the footway so that John Young a vagrant and a blind man fell down and was hurt in his person."

Sentence was not moved since accused promised to put up a handrail.

"On July 17th 1875 William Steel mason aged 38 was charged with a Breach of the Peace conducting himself in a drunken riotous and disorderly manner laying himself down on the Line of Rails at Lochmaben Station wishing the train would come and kill him and kicking the Station Master when attempting to remove him." The witnesses were William Crawford Hunter Station Master and Robert Minto Pointsman.

This charge was heard before the Sheriff Substitute and the accused sent to prison for 14 days. Another accident occurred at Lochmaben Railway Station a few years earlier, when Mr Thomas Brown a retired medical practitioner, alighting from a train while it was still in motion fell on to the line, the wheels of one carriage passing over his legs breaking and crushing both below the knees. Unfortunately both the Lochmaben Doctors, Dr. Ogilvie and Dr. Scott, were out on their country visits so a telegraph was sent to Lockerbie but when Dr. McIndoe of Lockerbie arrived by train about an hour later the patient was dead. Thomas Brown is interred in Lochmaben Old Church Yard. (Extract from Dumfries and Galloway Standard of 18th February 1871.)

### The Social Structure

Throughout the pages of this Charge Book flit many different people, most of them inhabitants of the Royal Burgh. A surprising number of vagrants however appear amongst those charged, 92 in all. Their usual punishment was "To be turned out the Town". The names of one or two of the surrounding landowners also figure on these pages perhaps the most notable being Theodore Edgar Dickson Byrne, Laird of Elsiehiels who on 28th June 1880 was accused of



“Allowing a horse his property and under his charge to stand upon High Street without any person in charge of same to the obstruction and annoyance of residents or passengers on said street.”

Obviously the local laird was not above the law. However no action was taken as a result of the charge.

In another charge already noted Andrew Bell coachman from Broadchapel was accused of reckless and furious driving but in spite of the fact that his action had been observed by five witnesses the Procurator Fiscal decided not to prosecute for the action was “accidental”.

The other local laird, John Johnstone of Halleaths, is mentioned when his butler was accused of

“Throwing hot copper on to the street causing several children to burn their hands by lifting same.”

He forfeited bail of one pound.

From the lack of or the slight punishment meted out to the three offenders the Magistrates would appear to have stood in some awe of the local gentry, probably because the magistrates were usually tradesmen and much dependent on the goodwill of these same gentry. The only provost whose occupation is mentioned is John Rogerson, a blacksmith. He certainly would not wish to offend the Laird of Halleaths who housed considerable numbers of bloodstock and work horses in the magnificent stables which remain a feature of the old estate.

The office of Magistrate did however have its compensations, for in 1867 when Provost Graham and Baillie Rogerson were charged with causing obstruction to the footpath on each occasion the case was not brought up though by contrast three months later Marion Thorburn was fined half a crown for throwing a quantity of slops and dirty water out on East Street with Provost Graham and Baillie Rogerson on the Bench.

To the medical historian the mention of a Dr. Fergusson is of interest for this was probably Dr. William Fergusson later to become Sir William Fergusson of Spittalhaugh, Sergeant Surgeon to Queen Victoria and one of Lochmaben’s most famous sons. He was witness to the stabbing or cutting of John White, Innkeeper, to the effusion of blood. When the charge was heard before the Sheriff and a Jury it was found not proven.

Various occupations, many of them still common today, are referred to in the charge book. Amongst the unusual occupations mentioned are a writer (non legal) and a poet, while in 1869 two gamblers, having no fixed address were accused of illegal gambling by means of bowls and board fitted with a quantity of small pins. The keeping of four itinerant German Musicians in 1872 in her house which was neither a registered common lodging house nor a licensed victualling house led to Catherine Sharp of Well Vennel being fined. Mention of an umbrella mender, a besum maker, a riddle maker, along with a washer woman, a tinsmith, a cooper and a dyer shows how different life was 100 years ago and how different their daily work.

Perhaps the most interesting occupations mentioned are those of drill instructor and dancing master. Though nothing is known about the former, a rhyme about Matthew Rae, the dancing master, is still quoted in Lochmaben today.

“Wha learned me to dance  
Wha learned me to sing  
Wha learned me to dance  
Auld hairy Matthew.”

This then is a resumé of this large and fascinating volume. Perhaps the impression its examination produces is of a prolonged crime wave in Lochmaben but during the 20 years it covered only 1322 cases came to the notice of the Court, many of whom did not come to sentence, an average of only 66 cases a year. Fortunately none of them were very serious but all offered some insight into the lives of the citizens of Lochmaben between 1864 and 1884.

I have to thank Inspector Jardine of Lockerbie for the opportunity of examining this Charge Book.

*The research into the history of Kirkpatrick-Fleming is yielding a number of shorter, readable items which cast a vivid side light on everyday life in the Parish in the past. It is hoped to print these in the Transactions under the head of Miscellany. The first two examples, which follow, show two very different facets of 19th Century life and are from material kindly provided by Miss Anne Graham.*

## MOSSKNOW GAME REGISTER 1875

edited by Duncan Adamson and Iain S. MacDonald

Among the Mossknow material are annual Game Books from 1875-79, inclusive, also a Book covering shoots away from home 1910-1930, although material is included going back to 1906. The earlier books appear to have been kept by the Gamekeeper (Mr Bramwell), and are in fact 'Campbell's Quarto Diaries' — 3 days per page, with no space for Sundays. Thus a daily record is kept. Generally the entries state what was caught, but occasionally other material is found. A random entry for Thursday, 11th March 1875 shows something of the flavour —

'Bitch Ferret Put to the Dog. Rebbiting. Sent to Mr. Orman, Carlisle Rebbits, 15 Cupple, Mrs. Graham 3 Rebbits.'

At the end of the year a summary is made, which is listed later.

The notes taken here are likely to be atypical of the diaries in that they concentrate on aspects other than the number of kills. Inverted commas signify quotations from the register, other entries have been summarised.

## Monday

- 1.2.1875 'Leaft Plumpton Station to Come to Mossknow As Gamekeeper under Col. Graham . . . Wages £1 per week with House Free and Peit Firing and Firewood allowed, also what Manure I Have to Plant Potatoes with, to Have Ground Allowed to do so. Colonel Graham to do my Carting Free the Engagement to Stand 12 months Litt (?) or Vislike Colonel Graham to Pay my traveling Expenses, also to Pay Expenses for removing Farnature etc. From Brackenburg Tower to Mossknow'.
- 2.2 Arrived with wife and family.
- 4.2 Serving tenants with notice respecting game and 'rebbits' — E. & W. Scales, Righead, Carlversthalm, Hillhead, Nutberry.  
Major J. G. Graham left Mossknow for 'Hamleton'.
- 5.2 Notice to Hayfield, Newhope.
- 6.2 To Carlisle — ordered oven for Beltenmont Lodge and various items of equipment for dogs and guns.
- 8.2 Notices to Williamsfield, Cranberry, Redhouse, Sarkside, Nouthill, 'Witehill', 'Farm of Moorlands'.  
John Johnstone engaged rabbit catcher at 15/- per week.

## Tuesday

- 9.2 First mention of hunting — Out with 2 young litter pups — South side of the water, raised a fax, killed 2 cupple rabbits.
- 10.2 Kill pigeons. Notices served at Wysey estates.
- 11.2 . . . Night Watching.

## Saturday

- 13.2 'Round the Beet of Cranberry' . . .
- 16.2 Bag of Indian Corn for pheasants.
- 17.2 Night Watching 7.30 p.m. - 2.15 'p.m.'
- 18.2 Night Watching 9.00 p.m. - 1.20 a.m.
- 19.2 White washing dog kennels.
- 20.2 Rabbits — East Scales. Night Watching.
- 22.2 Mr. William Graham 3 rabbits.

- 27.2 'Miss Marey Graham 1 Rebbite'.
- 6.3 'Traping Rats at Mossknow and Kill 35'.
- 13.3 'The Nuwfondland Bitch Tawsey Pup 3 pups'.
- 17.3 'Mr. Hugh Garnan Cranberry out Shooting seen by John Johnston Rabbit Catcher at 3.35 p.m.'
- Saturday
- 20.3 'receved From Plumpton 5 Hens For Setting Phasants'.
- 22.3 'Shot the old Bitch Carra at 12.30 a.m. and Buried near to the Nated(?) Harse Baker.
- 23.3 At Wyseby estates and saw the Keeper at 'Spring Kell'.
- 26.3 'Preparing Hawk traps for the Moss'.
- 31.3 Erected trespass notice board 'Cranburry Road End' and 'Farrey Row wood'.
- 2.4 Notice boards — 'Weast Lodge against the Glacow Road' and at Railway Crossing.
- 5.4 'George Ramie, — Apply for the Situation as Rebbit catcher . . . Give John Johnston . . . Notice to Leave the Searvice of Col. Graham'.
- 14.4 Engage William Parker as rabbit-catcher, 15/- weekly.
- 15.4 'Rebiting in Fox Cover . . .'
- 17.4 Rabbiting in Newhope for about a week. Put 'Pattation' in Dog Kennels.
- 21.4 Saw the son of Girvan 'rangling' the fields with a Lurcher dog.
- 23.4 2 days on Grahamshill.
- 24.4 'Found the First Pheasanats Neast 4 Eggs at Cranburry Moss'.
- 28.4 Found a trap set on the farm of Williams Field in the wood fence.
- 29.4 At Calvertsholm (3 days) — and similarly on different farms on the estate from time to time.
- 7.5 'So Hugh Girving out with the Gun Shooting Rebbits, So Him Distinctly shoot 2 shots at Rebbits, First Shot of the Rodd, and the Second in the Field, back of the wood, after seaing me, made right away to the House in Grate Haste, and Could not Get to See Him again that Night. But Charged Him the Fowling Moring with the Offence. He admitted it, to shooting and Having Licences to do so.'
- Got 26 Aylesbury Duck eggs for. Mrs Graham for setting.
- 10.5 Rook-shooting: Mr. Shannan, Mr. Stark, Mr. Calander, the Inspector, Mr. Bemsher (Carlisle), and Mr. Hemmingwarthy (Carlisle) each 24 rooks, Mr. George Greaves Lockerby and His Freind 24 each. (Perhaps this is the distribution, more rooks are distributed on Tuesday and Wednesday.)
- Saturday
- 15.5 Mr. Halliday, wood merchant and his friends, rook shooting, got 2 doz. each.
- Wednesday
- 19.5 Peat cutting.
- 22.5 Putting up railing for young pheasants. (The entry is signed W.G. — perhaps meaning that the book has been checked to this point.)
- 24.5 Got of Da? Irving, Farrey Row Pheasant Feed 2 stone oatmeal, 2 stone of rice, 2 doz. Cayenne Pepper, 2 stone Barley meal, 1 bag Indian Corn grain'.
- 26.5 First young pheasants out.  
Mr. S? Batty out with gun shooting Crows on Potatos.
- 27.5 Mr. Brown out with gun, as above.
- 28.5 Mr. Scott, Redhouse, likewise.
- 1.6 'So Mr. Brown out with Gun Shooting Crows on Potatos.'
- 9.6 'Major Graham Call at Mossknow with His Troop of Soldgers. 39 men and all took of refreshment.
- 11.6 2 oz. Cayenne Pepper from David Irving for young pheasants.
- 12.6 Give rabbit catcher 2 weeks' notice.

- 14.6 Very heavy rain from the S.E. 'the river Carter the Highest water thats been up to this date in 1875'.
- 21.6 Engaged Joseph Bird as Rabbit catcher.
- 5.7 Paid Joseph Bird 2 week at 16/- per week.  
Took 49 tame pheasants to the wood.
- 6.7 William Parker rabbit catcher gon for a few days holiday.
- 8.7 'Col. Graham Down Seaing the East Scales Ban? respecting Rebbits'.
- 10.7 Out with dogs to salt water.
- 11.7 Parker back after 5 days holiday at Carlisle.
- 15.7 Caught John Donaldson planting snares at Redhouse, 5.30 a.m. He was also seen doing so on the 14th by the rabbit-catcher.
- 19.7 William Parker now on 16/- a week.
- 20.7 10 partridges released at Beltenmont — and numerous pheasants at various times and places.
- 21.7 Robert Bramwell served with a sub poena summons to apear against Hugh Girvin.
- 29.7 Mr. 'Hambleton's Cur Dog running Hares about 5 o'clock a.m.'
- 30.7 Trapping rats — killed 18. Mrs. Murray, London, arrived with family at Mossknow.
- 31.7 Rabbiting.
- 2.8 Robert Bramwell appears Annan to answer charge against Hugh Girvan for shooting without licence — Hugh Girvan fined £2.10/- plus costs.
- 5.8 Over the boundary on the Moss, at West Scales on the disputed property.
- 7.8 Nightwatching 10.30 p.m. to 4.30 a.m.  
Sent rabbits to Mr. Sansom, Carlisle.
- 11.8 Nightwatching. Leave 2.30 a.m. Back 7.00 a.m.
- 12.8 Grouse shooting — killed 8 grouse, 2 snipes, 3 hares, 3 rabbits.  
Mr. Salkard shooting, a heavy shower during the day and birds wild. Stuart, gamekeeper to Captain Maxwell and Thompson, assistant gamekeeper, trespassing in pursuit of game. Discharged by Robert Branwell.
- 14.8 Robert Branwell getting home peats from the Moss.
- 16.8 Paid William Parker 4 weeks wages at 16/- per week = £3.4/-.
- 17.8 Hugh Girvan seen shooting again: his bag examined by Robert Branwell, but contained just one rabbit.
- 18.8 'Stewart Gamekeeper to Captain Maxwell also Thompson, assistant Gamekeeper to Captain Maxwell was over the March tresping in per sute of Game and . . . using a gun and two dogs . . . and was ordered of by Robert Branwell but they Boath refused to do so or Leave the Ground.'
- 19.8 'Commence Harvest at Col. Grahams.'
- 23.8 Saw Hugh Girvin shooting rabbits about 7.30 p.m.
- 31.8 8 cwt. coal to the water side cottage for the watcher.
- 2.9 Robert Batty entered as Game watcher and rabbit catcher. Wages 16/-(?) per week, free house, peat.
- 3.9 Out showing Robert Batty the beat.
- 4.9 Partridge shooting at Hayfield — found snares for catching hares, one with hare in it. 'Conseled ourself to watch it and watched it from 11 o'clock a.m. to 8.00 at Night but no Party came to it, the man that I thint waad set the wires will be Richard Nicholson, an old ofender and His Harvisting at Hayfield. He His From the Rigg.'
- 8.9 'A Party out Shooting of Captain Maxwells round the Disputed Property but did not come on the Disputed Moss.'
- 10.9 Staking grass fields to prevent Partridge netting.
- 13.9 Paid Robert Batty at the riverside cottage . . . Robert Batty this mark. Paid William Parker . . . 'William Parker'.

- 14.9 Mrs. Murray left Mossknow for London.  
 18.9 Hares given to the Tenants — E. & W. Scales 1 each, James Burton 1. Hugh Girvin, Cranberry, was caught by Robert Batty, underkeeper, in a grass field. Batty searched him and found a rabbit.  
 24.9 Shooting at Dornock Mains. Gentleman, Mr. Claud Stewart.  
 27.9 Col. Stewart and Claud Stewart shooting — kill 7 partridges, 3 hares, 14 rabbits, 3 wood pigeons.  
 29.9 Gentleman shooting at E. Scales.  
 1.10 Major Graham arrived at Mossknow from York.  
 2.10 Major Graham and Claud Stewart — 24 partridges, 4 hares, 10 rabbits, 32 wood pigeons.  
 4.10 Alex. McTurk entered as rabbit catcher, 16/-.

## Tuesday

- 5.10 McTurk in Fox Cover and Naught Hill, Parker, E. Sacles Wood. (N.B. Rabbit catchers get nets and traps — not guns.)  
 6.10 Major Graham shooting (and 7.10.1875, with Col. Stewart).  
 9.10 Major Graham and Mr Shaw Stewart. Major Graham shooting alomst daily until his return to York on 16.10.1875.  
 4.11 1 Bag Indian Corn for pheasants from Mr. Elliot, Beltenmont Mill.  
 Col. Stewart shooting — 13 partridges, 2 pheasants etc. (Also on 6.11.1875.)  
 15.11 Rabbiting — McTurk (New Hope), Parker (E. Scales), Batty (Grahmshill — until now Batty has not been included in rabbiting lists, but from now he appears regularly).  
 20.11 'Alexandria McTurk, Rabbit Catcher, was Discharged on account of not being able to Catch Rebbits Nor Set traps in a Proper Form.'  
 22.11 Major J. G. Graham to Lanark Castle on a shooting tour.  
 25.11 John Reaye entered as rabbit catcher.  
 27.11 Batty caught Hugh Girvin in the woods at Carnberry cutting woods and discharged him from doing so.  
 8.12 Major Graham, Mr. Lawrence, Robgill, Mr. Stewart, the Cove and General Wardlaw (12 pheasants, 9 hares, 4 rabbits).  
 9.12 Graham, Wardlaw.  
 11.12 Major Graham to Lanark Castle.  
 20.12 John Reay gave up trapping on account of a bad knee. Major Graham shooting. 'Robert Bramwell Game Keeper gone away to Moffat to recive som Mineral Baths.'  
 21.12 Major Graham and family left Mossknow for York Castle.  
 25.12 Robert Bramwell return Home From Moffat By the 5 train p.m.  
 27.12 John Reay mentioned as rabbiting again.  
 31.12 William Parker gone to see his parents in Cumberland for a few days. 'Seant to Mr. Sansom Carlisle Rabbits 23 cupple.'

1875	Pheasants killed	79 @ 2/6d	£ 9 17 6
	Partridges	239 @ 1/6d	17 8 6
	Hares	94 @ 4/-	18 16 0
	Grouce	10 @ 2/6d	1 5 0
	Snipes	4 @ 8d	0 1 4 (sic)
	Woodcocks	5 @ 2/6d	1 12 6
			<hr/>
			£48 10 10

Rabbits — 2391 cupples £255.4.9d.

All expenses paid for killing rabbits £96.4.5d.

Balance in hand £123.17.10d.

(It is not clear where the balance comes from.)

Rabbits were sent usually to Carlisle — to Mr. Orman or Mr. Sanson.

## DIARY OF J. GORDON GRAHAM ESQUIRE 1854

edited by Duncan Adamson and Iain S. MacDonald

Note:— John Gordon Graham was born in 1833, the second son of Colonel William Graham of Mossknowe. This diary was written shortly before he embarked on a military career. On the death of his father he received the estate of Wyseby, and lived at Wysebyhill. Later he succeeded his elder brother as proprietor of Mossknowe. In his latter years he was active in local government. He died in 1911. The diary was written at various addresses — Paris, London, Norway, Sydney etc. Quotation marks indicate verbatim extracts. In other cases words and phrases may have been omitted.

## January

- 1 J. G. Graham in France. Blois, where "I mean to stay till I know French". Enjoying the skating; already been to church twice (although he doesn't understand the sermons!)
- 2 Letter from mother: "no news of importance in it".
- 3 Wrote and posted a letter to Miss Cumming. Not feeling very well. Breakfast at nine and dinner at five. Makes a cup of chocolate for himself every night.
- 4 Two hour lesson from 10 'til 12. Walk with Henry Ramsden, in France for his health with his aunt, Lady Seymour. "He is a gentlemanly man, but does not seem to have much in him, at any rate I have not found much as yet."
- 5 Letters to and from C. W. Southey (son of Colonial secretary at the Cape of Good Hope).
- 6 Four mile walk up Loire. Worked.
- 7 Letter to Mrs Thornhill.
- 8 Went to church twice. Letter to mother; letter from Ross.
- 10 Letter to Southey.
- 12 Called on Madame Chaplin.
- 13 "I think I am now beginning to make a little progress in French."
- 14 Walk round markets with Ramsden and Lady Seymour; Letter from Southey.
- 15 Letter to mother.
- 16 Visited Chateau de Chaumont with Gedeon Onchat. Letter from mother: "The news good".
- 18 A Mr. Tudor arrived, escorted by his brother. He has come "as a pupil like myself". Letter to Mr. Goodlad.
- 19 Letter from Rosa; an enclosed one from Mary. Notes the end of his first month arrived 17th December. Paid Mr. Codier 250 francs board.
- 21 Letter to Rosa addressed to Aunt Landfords in Edinburgh. Went with Ramsden and Tudor, to Jesuits Church to hear singing — "very fine". Went to fencing master, who agreed to give an hour's lesson 3 times a week — 30 sous a lesson.
- 22 Church. Wrote mother. Read "Poddridge's Rise and Progress of religion in the soul".
- 23 First fencing lesson. Letter from mother: "they are all right at home".
- 24 Billiards with Tudor.
- 25 Billiards with Tudor. Fencing lesson. Chess.
- 26 Billiards, fencing, chess, drafts.
- 27 Day at Orleans. Visited Madame de Bracket. Showed round town by her son — most impressed by the house of the Maid of Orleans. "My visit was a very good french lesson for me. I was very tired in the evening of trying to talk and understand."
- 29 Church. Wrote mother. Read "Poddridge's Rise and Progress of religion in the soul".
- 30 Letter from Grace, "all well at home".

## February

- 2 Working quite hard.

- 5 Church. Letter to father, including account of travelling expenses to Blois, asking him to send a half year's allowance on 1st March — in order "that I may be able to set out on my travels whenever I find myself able".
- 7 Hired a gig and pony with Tudor; drove to Chateau de Bury, a ruin. "If the pony had not needed so much whipping it would have been a very agreeable drive."
- 8 Letters to Grace and Mary. Letters from Mama and Rosa. All well at home.
- 10 Evening at Lady Seymour's; met Miss Kennedy "neither too young nor too pretty".
- 12 Church. Letter to mother.
- 13 Called in on Madame la Contesse de Sparre. "She was out and we left our cards."
- 17 Invitation from the Prefect for the last ball on the 23rd. Paid Mr. Cadier 250 francs.
- 18 Letters from Miss Cumming. Letters from Mama and William enclosing a copy of a letter from Charlie, who has arrived safe at Mr. Barker's.
- 19 Church. Letters to Mother and Rosa.
- 20 Called on the Count and Countess de Sparre — kindly received.
- 21 Letter from Rosa.
- 22 Letter from Charlie.
- 23 Very much enjoyed the ball given by the Prefect. "I arrived about 10 o'clock made my bow to the Prefect, and commenced dancing immediately." "In France you need no introduction . . . Although I could not talk, I found the ladies very willing to dance and danced nearly every dance. There were some very nice looking girls, but no very good dancers. I enjoyed it very much and did not get home till about 3 o'clock."
- 24 Left Blois for Tours 1.41, arrived 3.30. Took rooms at Hotel de l'Univers. Called on Armstrongs — "found the old Major at home but Miss Armstrong was out." Admired Cathedral. Town on the whole very pleasant.
- 25 Left early, arrived Blois about 1.
- 26 Church. Letter to Mother. "Letter from home, containing a few lines from my Mother, William and my Father, with an order on Jones's bank, London for £20."
- 27 Letter to father, returning the order to father, "as I am not able to cash it here without paying 15 francs out of it." No work. An hour's dancing lesson. Small ball given by Countess de Sparre. Enjoyed it very much. "My last performance was dancing a galop as hard as I could with a frenchman."
- 28 "This is called the Mardi Gras and is a holiday for everybody."
- March
- 1 This is the first day of one of my quarters when I should receive my quarters allowance. I have 127 francs of my last quarters allowance.
- 3 I and Mr. Cadier called on Madame Gras but she was out.
- 4 Letter to William. Received Times newspaper.
- 5 Church. Letter to Mother, one enclosed to William. Received letter from home, all well in that quarter.
- 6 Visited, with Mr. Cardier, Madame Gras, and played a game of chess with her.
- 8 Another dancing lesson. Wrote to Oliver, asking him to be my companion in my summer's tour.
- 9 Letter from Cathrine Stuart.
- 11 Letters from Father, Mother and Rosa. All well in that quarter.
- 12 Church. Letter to mother. Letter from Union Bank of London enclosing notes for £50.
- 13 Went with Mr. Cadier in a carriage to call on the Hiatt's(?), found them all at home except the Captain. Received the Times newspaper.

- 14 To Orleans with Mr. Cadier. Cashed notes, getting 24 francs, 70 centimes to the pound. Visited Madame de Brachet, spent the evening with her — left Orleans at 10.25 and got home at 12.12.
- 17 "I have just been here three months, and find myself getting on in French, though not as fast as I could wish."
- 18 Letter from mother, enclosing one from William. All well at home.
- 19 Church. Letter to mother.
- 21 Went with Mr. Cadier by train to Mesarse(?), to see a school. Walked back, about 5 miles.
- 24 Tea with Lady Seymour in the evening.
- 25 Letter from mother, with a copy of one from Charlie. All well; Charlie very comfortable with Mr. Barker. Chess with Madame Gros (Gras?) — we each won one. Ramsden has a bad toothache.
- 26 Church. Letter to mother.
- 28 War declared by England against Russia.
- 29 Went to a sale and bought a french history.
- April
- 1 Letters from Mother, Rosa and William. All well at home. Letter to William. Went with Ramsden and Tudor to some neighbouring ponds to shoot frogs with my pistol — we saw thousands, but they were so wild we only got four or five.
- 2 Church. Letter to mother.
- 3 Mr. Cadier had a meeting of ministers in his house, being the committee of the central protestant association. They all dined with us afterwards.
- 4 Letter from Mr. Goodlad. All his party are well.
- 5 Received the Times newspaper.
- 6 (Regular lessons in French from Mr. Carlet). Chess with Madame Gras, which she won.
- 7 At last found a pony for me at the Hotel de Blois. Rode to Chateau de Chambord, built by Francis 1st — "very fine specimen of architecture."
- 8 Letter from mother, enclosing one from William. All well at home.
- 9 Church. Letters to father, telling him, that if the opportunity occurs, I should like to go into the army and see service.
- 13 "Went to see the Bishop wash the feet of some children, which is an absurd ceremony." Church in the evening.
- 14 Church in the morning.
- 15 Letter from mother and father, latter says there is no opening as yet in the army.
- 16 Church twice, took the Sacrament. Letter to my mother.
- 22 Walk with Ramsden and Tudor to St. Gervais, to see the caves — "nothing particular in the caves." Letters from mother, father, William and Rosa enclosing one from Fred. Also a newspaper.
- 23 Church. Letter to mother.
- 24 Left Blois — 8 o'clock. Breakfast in Orleans with Madame de Brachet. Train to Salbris, where Mr. Rerby? was waiting in his carriage. A warm welcome from his family. A good dinner about 5.30, "after which we took a walk to see some of his crops, which were not very good."
- 25 Drive round Mr. Rerby's property. He has about 12,000 acres, but the land and farming is very bad. He said he would take £80,000 for the whole. Rye is the principle cultivation owing to the pooriness of the soil. Great want of manure due to dry feeding they give the few cattle they keep.
- 26 Market. Wheat 3 francs and 2 sous.
- 27 Left Mr. Rerby's at half past 5 in the morning. Went via St. Aignan, having a look at the fine Chateau there. Belongs to the Count Chalais de Perrigord, who has an only daughter, 22 years old and as yet not married. Took diligence to Montrichard.
- 28 Up at half past 5 to take diligence from Montrichard to Amboise; it left without me. Drove by coach to Blois, taken to Chateau de Chenonceau — built on six arches across the river there. Got home about four by rail. Letter from bank with notes for £50 — also two newspapers.



- 29 Wrote to Cathrine Stuart. Letter from Mrs. Thornhill.
- 30 Church. Letters to mother and William. Letters from mother and Mary. Ramsden left Blois for England.
- May
- 1 Letters to Grace and Mary.
- 7 Letters from mother and Barker, enclosing three letters of introduction to people at Bordeaux. Answered them both.
- 8 Went to assizes for two hours. Letter from Aunt Clementina, "asking me to write and tell them how I am getting on. I answered it." Went to a circus, which was very poor.
- 9 Letter from Grace.
- 10 Called on Mr. and Mrs. Forbes. Went to see a funeral.
- 13 Paid a visit to Madame de Brachet, at her country house at Lestion. Pleasant day. Arrived home about 12 o'clock, "well tired."
- 14 Church. Letter from mother — answered it.
- 16 Packing.
- 17 Left Blois 5.30 a.m., for Angers.  
Note: "Start on my travels with between £66 and £67 in my pocket."
- 18 Left Angers for Nantes. Walked around Nantes. "I saw nothing worthy of note."
- 20 Called on the pastor Mr. Vaurigaud. Went to the theatre — acting "very second class".
- 21 "Went to the protestant Church in the morning." "Outside the Cathedral, I saw two of the handsomest sisters I have ever seen."
- 22 Travelled for 14 hours, arriving Rochefort 8 p.m.
- 23 Called on protestant pastor and visited dockyards with him. Saw three new 120-gun ships, and one new frigate preparing for the Baltic. Stayed at Hotel des Etrange.
- 24 Left for Bordeaux, via Cognac and Angoulême. Arrived 10 p.m.
- 25 Letter home "giving an account of my journey." Met an English clergyman and went to theatre with him.
- 26 Spent the evening with Mr. Thomson.
- 27 Called on Mr. Guestier, and saw his cellars. "They are the finest in Bordeaux." Dinner with Mr. Guestier. A very pleasant evening. Moved from the Hotel de Paris to 14 rue Francklin, a sort of boarding house, where I live much cheaper. Met Mr. Thomson and other Englishmen at the table d'hote.
- 28 Church. Dined with the Clossmann's in the evening.
- 29 Went to the Races; very disappointing. In the evening went to a concert in the building containing 10,000 people — "on the whole it was the finest thing I have ever heard or seen."
- 30 Letter to Mrs. Thorburn. Letter from Mr. W. H. Anderson, saying he will be glad to see me when I come to Paris.
- 31 A ball in the evening — a failure, there were no ladies present. "I did not dance once, and soon left." Introduced to Mrs. de Parc, who invited me to call on her any evening I liked.
- June
- 1 "Saw the Botanical Gardens, which are not deserving of that name, and not worth visiting." Theatre in the evening.
- 2 Letter from home.
- 3 By mistake, missed train to la Teste. Letter to Mr. Barker. Visited the Church of St. Michel, and saw a lot of dead bodies, which have been preserved by the sandy soil. "In the evening I went to a ball, entrance one franc. There was a poor show of women, but the dancing was amusing."
- 4 Church. Letter to mother. Visited the Guestiers; returning home, got lost, and must have walked 9 miles at least. Arrived back eventually at 1 o'clock in the morning.

- 5 Went to go down to la Teste, but was prevented by the rain. Went to the Steeplechase. Spent the evening with Maxwell.
- 7 Wished the Guestiers goodbye, also the Clossmanns. Cashed my notes for £50, getting for each pound 25 francs all but one sou. Cafe in the evening with Mr. Thomson.
- 8 Took Malle Poste to Bayonne, a distance of 142 miles from Bordeaux.
- 9 Met Mr. J. Graham — gave him a letter from my father; he received me very kindly, met his wife and daughter "who is rather a fine looking girl . . . spent a very pleasant evening with them, in the family way".
- 10 Visited Biarritz with Mr. Graham. Took a bath. "People are obliged to bath in dresses, if they don't they are taken up by the police."
- 11 Church. Dined at Mr. Ellis'. Mr. Graham's daughter's husband, a banker.
- 12 Took a diligence to San Sebastian. I had my passport signed five times before I reached San Sebastian. Introduced at Bayonne, by Mr. Graham, to Mr. Ylar, a spaniard who spoke English perfectly.
- 13 Took chocolate in Spanish fashion with Mr. Ylar. Took a diligence to Tolosa. Found the Hotel Sestiaga clean and comfortable.
- 14 Left Tolosa on a mule, escorted by a man on foot, for Azpeitca — "a magnificent ride." Inn very clean.
- 15 Rode back to San Sebastian, in time to see a grand procession.
- 16 Drove back to Bayonne. "The country was pretty but nothing after what I have been seeing for the last few days."
- 17 Left Bayonne for Pau. Just one spare room in the Hotel de France which I took. Letter from mother dated the 10th. All well when it was written.
- 18 Church. Wrote a long letter to my mother. Took a family dinner with the Andersons. (19.5.1854. Called on Dr. Taylor; had my name put down in the Club by him.)
- 20 Took a walk on the promenade with the Misses Andersons.
- 22 Took a drive with the Fullertons and Miss Anderson. Dined and spent the evening with the Andersons. "and a very merry evening it was."
- 24 Hired a horse for 5 francs per day — rode to Bagnères en Bigorre.
- 25 Left Bagnères at 7 and rode to Barèges. Very beautiful descent. Reached St. Laurens about 5.
- 26 Rain. Rode to Cauterets and back to St. Laurens. Dined with the de Vaguées.
- 28 Very cloudy again. Rode back to Pau and gave up my horse. "I got rather tired of him as he was heavy and lazy."
- 29 Took a diligence for Les Eaux Chauds. Found the Andersons out. Put up at the Hotel de France. Letters from home. All well.
- 30 Rode with the Andersons to Les Eaux Bonnes. Met George Anderson "who is a remarkably nice gentleman man."
- July
- 1 Evening with the Andersons.
- 2 Evening with the Andersons.
- 3 Said goodbye to the Andersons.
- 4 Returned to Pau. Saw the government stables of stallions. Booked my passage for Toulouse in a diligence which starts at four tomorrow morning. Not sorry to leave Pau — "in my opinion it is a very dull town. But with society perhaps one might pass a winter there."
- 5 Diligence to Toulouse took 23 hours, via Tarbes and Boulogne.
- 6 Arrived Toulouse 4 a.m. Went to Hotel Casset and slept until 8. Did not see much of the town; did not find the Hotel Casset comfortable.
- 7 Travelled, by the Grand Canal du Midi, to Cette (? — probably Sète). We had four horses, and sometimes five. The pace was about a diligence trot.

- 8 Accommodation for sleeping on board was only the seats. I got no sleep owing to the flees, and was much bit. Blight is general hereabout. Travelled 175 miles and took 32 hours. Took a bathe in the Mediterranean, my first dip in that sea. Arrived Montpellier just in time for the table d'hote of the Hotel Nevet.
- 9 Church. (2000 out of Montpellier's 40,000 inhabitants are protestant.) "Heard the band play after dinner and bad music it gave us."
- 10 Visited the Place du Peyrau(?); left Montpellier 12.40, arrived Nîmes at 2.35. Visited the Arenes, or Roman theatre, the finest specimen in the world. Had an attack of dysentery in the morning and was a little unwell all day. The cholera is at Marseille and Arles.
- 11 I feel much better, but a little feeble "This is my birthday. I am 21, come to the years of manhood. And what change is there! None visible to me."
- 12 Left Nîmes at 7 to go to see the Pont du Gard, or Roman aqueduct. "I believe the Pont du Gard is the finest remains of the kind in the world." 3 sets of arches — the lower set 6 arches, the second 11, and the third 35. "Letter from the Pasteur of Marseille, informing me that cholera is in the town and making considerable progress. In consequence I decided on going to Lyons."
- 13 Left Nîmes at 6 a.m. for Lyons — arrived about 7.30 p.m. Put up at the Hotel du Parc. Stopped for a few minutes at Avignon.
- 14 Long walk in pursuit of the pasteur, but did not find him in. Theatre in the evening. "I was unwell all day, and a headache in the evening."
- 15 Went, at 8 a.m. with a man who the pasteur sent, to see the silk manufactories. In the evening, went with two frenchmen to the little theatre and saw two very good pieces, well acted. "I was very well all day." Letters from home, all well.
- 16 Church. Long letter to mother. Ascended to the observatory, "from whence there is a magnificent view of Lyons and the surrounding country."
- 17 Set off with guide to see rest of silk process. Found five hand looms, "two of the pieces were for America or Turkey, and much too showy for our tastes." Upward of 40,000 people employed in the silk manufactory at Lyons. Trade very dull, a great many people are very badly off.
- 18 Left Lyons at 7 a.m., for Geneva, arriving at 8.30 p.m. Found the Hotel du Rhone full, so went to the Hotel Balance.
- 19 Met a very gentlemanly German. Took a sail in a boat, and a bath in the lake of Geneva. Visited Voltaire's house, and from the garden saw Mont Blanc.
- 20 Left Geneva for Lausanne. Dined there, then on to Frigbourg.
- 21 Saw the suspension bridge over the river Sarine, which is 905 feet long "perhaps the finest in the world". Left for Berne. "At Berne I met a Mr. Pringle of the 71st, who was going the same road, and joined us.
- 22 Hot, disagreeable journey to Interlaken.
- 23 Walking; joined in with two parties of Germans. Spent the night at Grindelwald.
- 24 :Walk; "the views were not so intensive, but to my taste nobler." A lot of walking — "my feet were very sore from having too thin shoes."
- 25 Took steam boat to Lucerne, stayed at the Hotel de Balance.
- 26 More walking, to the top of the Rigi, with a party of Germans. "Pringle declared he would go up no more hills." Magnificent view — "There is not perhaps a finer panorama in the world."
- 27 Left top of the Rigi and travelled to Zurich.
- 28 Said goodbye to the Germans, and went with Pringle to Schaffhausen.
- 29 "Pringle and I parted. He for Vienna, I in a diligence for Friburg. The clergyman was my companion." (clergyman not previously mentioned).
- 30 "Spent the day at Friburg with the clergyman, for a companion, and a very curious sort of man he was."
- 31 Left Friburg at 11 by train for Strasbourg. Letter from home. All well there. Very bad headache; very sick.

## August

- 1 Feeble all day. Letter to mother.
- 2 Left for Reims; stayed at the Hotel de Lion d'or.
- 3 Visited Cathedral: left Reims by train at 11.47, and arrived Pans at 4.20. Went to the Hotel Byron.
- 4 Walked about town looking for a place to live in for a month — decided on boarding with Mrs. Leclerc, 350 rue St. Honore.
- 5 Wrote and posted a letter to Mr. Goodlad. Had a "tate à tate" dinner with Mrs. Leclerc, and took a walk with her in the evening in the garden des Tuileries.
- 6 Church
- 7 Left my card on la Countess des Bouzet. "Had my first French lesson."
- 8 Visited Les Invalides, it closed. Also Notre Dame. Dinner with Ihlen(?)
- 9 Letter to Mrs. Thornhill. Walked with Mr. Harrison.
- 10 Took a drive with Mme. Leclerc as far as the Bois de Boulogne.
- 11 Visited palais Legislatife. Had my lesson in French.
- 12 Went to Versailles, saw Mr. de Brachet at the barracks of the second Carabiniers. Very impressed by the palace.
- 13 Church. Walk after dinner.
- 14 Fell in with Mr. Harrison and took a drive with him. Wrote a French letter to Mr. Cadier. Had a French lesson.
- 15 Grand fête day of the Emperor.
- 16 Letter to Ramsden. Visited les Invalides.
- 17 Letters from mother, Rosa and Mr. Olivier.
- 18 Visited the Luxembourg. Finest collection of paintings I have seen. Letter to mother.
- 20 Church. Went to Church St. Marie, heard a Mr. Petit.
- 21 Visited l'Ecole des Beaux Arts. Letter to Aunt Clementine.
- 22 Letter to Olivier.
- 24 Visited the interior of the Hotel de Ville. "The rooms are very beautiful, almost too dazzling."
- 25 Letter from Mrs. Thornhill. Visited the Cemetery of Piere la Chaise — "it is not a cemetery after my taste at all and I should not like to be buried there."
- 26 Visited Vincennes.
- 27 Church. Met by accident the Andersons, and took a walk with them in the Louvre. Letter to mother.
- 28 French lesson.
- 29 Visited the Mint. Letter from Mr. Cadier, and my truck (sic) from Blois. Had a bath.
- 30 Another visit to Versailles.
- 31 French lesson. Walked through the Louvre.

## September

- 1 Letter to, and from, mother.
- 2 Went to a cafe No. 21 rue de Richelieu where people go to play chess. There were two very good games going on.
- 3 Church. Received a letter of credit for £50 from Annan, and posted one acknowledging the receipt.
- 4 Cashed my letter of credit, 25 francs 1 sou for £1 sterling. "I payed Mme. Leclerc and all my bills; also bought some things for mysilfe, and for presents." Packed up.
- 5 Left Paris at 7.15 a.m. by slow train. Arrived Boulogne 2.20. Found the Hotel Royal full, but landlady agreed to make me up a bed in a parlour. Saw Napoleon and Prince Albert pass on horseback on their way for a short visit to the camp. Met an Englishman in the Café — a Colonel Shaw.

- 6 Called on Colonel Shaw at 10 o'clock and went with him to the camp; watched the troops exercising with their tents. "On returning to the Hotel I found they had sent off my luggage by mistake to Folkestone, so I followed it by the evening boat." A fine voyage.
- 7 Had a bath. Left Folkestone at 11.33, arrived "in town" about 3.30. Letter to mother. Found Mrs. Thornhill at home and spent the evening at her house.
- 9 Spent most of the day with Mrs. Thornhill.
- 9 Went down to Stratford and dined with the Morgans.
- 10 Church. Dined with Mrs. Thornhill.
- 11 Shopped nearly all day. Bought a gun. Payed a visit to Lady Bentham, and found her very well, but looking older.
- 13 Went to the Crystal Palace. Admired it very much. Left by mail train at 8.55 for home.
- 14 "Arrived home at 9.30, in time for breakfast. Found all the family quite well and looking very little older than when I left." The two Misses and Mr. Beckwith are stying at Mossknowe at present. Uncle Sandford arrived in the evening.
- 15 Went shooting with Beckwith. Very few young birds this year.
- 16 Went to Moffat to see a chicken show. Also a very good sheep show. Dined with the Craiks.
- 17 Church.
- 18 Beckwiths left for Ambleside. Letter to Grace.
- 19 Rode to Annan and payed for game certificate. Also ordered a pair of country shoes. Called at Mountannan, and saw the Colonel, and Lady Maxwell and Miss Dirom. Also called at Wyseby and Langshaw and saw Mrs. B. and Mrs. S.
- 20 Shooting with Mr. W. Barker. We shot 6 partridges, 6 hares and 1 snipe.
- 21 Took a ride, called at Springkell, Wyseby Hill and Cove.
- 22 Letter from Aunt Clementina.
- 23 Rode with Rosa to Annan. Called in on the Cookes and found Mrs. Cooke at home.
- 24 Church. Saw Johnny Maxwell.
- 25 Letter to Mr. Goodlad. Letter from Mary.
- 26 Rode to Wyseby with father and Rosa.
- 27 Went shooting by myself; brought home 1 brace of partridges, 1 hen pheasant, 1 snipe and 5 hares; three of the latter were given to farmers.
- 28 Wrote notes to Mr. Stewart of Shambellie and Mr. W. H. Anderson.
- 29 Wrote a note to Edward Maxwell and a letter to Miss Cumming. Rode to Wyseby and Wyseby Hill.
- 30 Shooting with Mr. Barker.
- October
- 1 Went to church, heard Mr. James Moneylaws preach. He gave us a good sermon.
- 2 Breakfasted, shot, and dined with Mr. Barker at Wyseby.
- 3 Went to Dumfries to witness a meeting of the Commissioners of Supply.
- 4 Spent the day at Springkell, shooting. We bagged 14 head.
- 5 Dinner party, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Fosset(?), the two Mr. Barkers and Mrs. B. Barker.
- 6 Annan Agricultural Show. "I was at the dinner in the evening where there was some pretty good fun."
- 7 Left home early for a tour of visits in Galloway. Went to Southwick where I was met with a kind welcome by the Stewarts. Went to Cavens in the afternoon, but found Mr. Oswald out. Went on to Arbigland and called on Colonel Balfour who was at home.
- 8 Drove five miles to the Church of Colvend.
- 9 Went shooting with Mark. Went with the Stewarts to dine with the Oswalds of Cavens, where we met Mr. and Mrs. Denison of Denison.

- 10 Left early with Mr. Stewart and his son in their dogcart, on my way to Balgreggan. They took me to within two miles of Castle Douglas. Caught a coach which carried me to Glenlouce, where I slept in a very comfortable Inn.
- 11 Left Glenlouce in a gig for Balgreggan, where I received a kind welcome. Mr. Maitland showed me about the place. There is a Mrs. Maitland, two boys and a girl. "Maitland is I think, about 50, a hard living man and has used himself up." Mr, Mrs, and Miss Fox were staying at Balgreggan and a Mr. Striten who is or was then in love with his first cousin Miss Fox. Mrs. Fox is a sister of Mrs. Maitland. Colonel McDoual dined with us in the evening.
- 13 Out shooting, but only killed 4½ brace owing to my bad shooting.
- 14 Out shooting, but saw very few grouse. Killed some partridges.
- 15 Walked with Mr. Fox to Stone-kirk, where we heard a good sermon.
- 16 Walked 4 miles to see Mr. McCulloch, Col. McDoual's factor.
- 17 "Took a walk with Mr. and Mrs. Fox. She walked faster than any girl I ever saw." Edward Maxwell and his wife arrived for dinner.
- 18 The day of the races, which were held in a field adjoining Balgreggan park. The races were all made up on the ground, and were all for glory and honour. There were very few good races among them, and in short it was rather a stupid affair.
- 19 Steeple-chase in which I rode Edward Maxwell's horse, the Petty Fogger. We came in second. Left Balgreggan in the afternoon, and went with the Maxwells to Dunrigate, where I met with a very hearty welcome from Sir James Hay, though I was an unexpected visitor.
- 20 Left Dunrigate for Glasserton, where I was very kindly received by Mr. and Mrs. Stair Stewart.
- 22 Church.
- 23 Left Glasserton, posted to Newton Stewart where I got the coach to Dumfries. Took the train home just in time for dinner.
- 24 Called at Cove. In the evening my father's tenantry came and presented him with a very handsome piece of plate, as a mark of their esteem. The piece of plate is a soup-tureen, very handsome, and an exact copy of the Warick vase. After the ceremony was over they all sat down to a supper in the dining-room which lasted until ten o'clock.
- 25 Rode with Rosa to Greengate house. Letters to Aunt Clementina and Mr. Stewart of Shambellie.
- 26 Letters to Grace and Mary.
- 27 Rode with Rosa to call on the Murnes. We stayed lunch.
- 29 Church. Letter to Charlie.
- 30 Rode the young brown mare into Carlisle and ordered a blinker to be made for her blind eye. Called at the Hill but found the Grants out.
- 31 Train to Lockerbie for some fox-hunting.
- November
- 1 Shooting in the afternoon.
- 2 Rode to Annan and did some messages.
- 3 Called at Wyseby, Langshaw and Bonshaw and found all the folk at home.
- 4 Did a few things in the house.
- 5 Church. Walk.
- 6 Galloped David and the mare in a grass field. Let two men on to make the race-course. They performed half a day's work.
- 7 The hunts met at Kirtlebridge. Had four foxes on foot. One fox was killed close to the cover, and we followed one to Birkhill and lost him at East Scales cover. I had a badish fall from the young mare.  
"The two men worked all day at the course but did not do much."
- 8 Very seedy all day owing to my fall. Rosa and I dined at Cove in the evening.

- 9 Rosa and my father went out hunting. I was unable to go owing to my fall last Tuesday. Rode to Gretna and called on Miss Morgan who I found at home.
- 10 "The two men worked all day and worked well."
- 11 Called at both Wyseby and Wyseby Hill. Settled with the men for the week, giving each man 10 shillings and sixpence.
- 12 Church.
- 13 Rode with Rosa to Cummertrees, and gave a man a pound for Captain Provost.
- 14 Train to Lockerbie, (horse came in a horsebox) and rode to the Miller's Bridge, where the hounds met. Drew a blank — unable to get the fox away as the cover was so large. John Robertson arrived today.
- 15 Stayed in the house all day entertaining John. He is on his way south and looking very well.
- 16 John Robertson left. Rosa and I rode to Cove. Took a ride with W. Barker.
- 17 Went shooting with W. Barker "but we had bad luck and only killed 5 rabbits and 2 hares."
- 18 Went with mother to Carlisle.
- 19 Church.
- 20 Read and wrote. Rode to Wysebyhill, found Barker at home.
- 21 Hounds met at Hoddam Bridge: we went to meet them. There was large and good field out. Several foxes on foot. Got home about 5 o'clock.
- 22 Went out shooting — brought home 2 brace of partridges, 1 woodcock, 1 rabbit and 1 snipe. Wrote to John Robertson acknowledging receipt of my clothes. They arrived yesterday.
- 23 Rode with my mother and Rosa to call on Mrs. Nivison. We found her at home. Posted a letter for Mr. Maitland of Balgreggan.
- 24 Walked to Langshaw and Wyseby. Played chess with W. Barker. Letter to Miss Cumming. Father, mother and Rosa went to dine and sleep at Dormont, intending to hunt next day.
- 25 Ground too hard for hunting. Went over to Wyseby to play chess, dine and spend the evening. Enjoyed myself much.
- 26 Church.
- 27 Shooting. Mrs. William Barker had a little boy born this morning.
- 28 Rosa and I went to the Hill to meet a party assembled in honour of Fanny's birthday. We dined at five, and then more people came and we had a dance, "which was kept up with great spirit till about half past one." We stayed all night. Liz James was looking very well, and in great force.
- 29 Arrived home about 1. Miss Jeannin came to lunch and made herself very agreeable.
- 30 Lunched at Langshaw with Rosa and Miss Jeannin. Posted a letter for Olivier. Also one for Mr. Howard of Greystock sending him the meets of the hounds.

## December

- 1 This is the fast day previous to the sacrament. Went to Church.
- 2 Hounds met at Comlongon, and we all went having sent the horses on the night before. There was a small field out. Found and lost two foxes.
- 3 Went to Church and attended the sacrament.
- 4 Called on Dr. Bell, to ask his advice about my proposed visit to Australia. He would not advise me to go as Othalmir (sic) would most probably attack my weak eyes, which would unfit me for any business.  
"I afterwards joined Papa in laying out some roods in a plantation."
- 5 Hunting. Found and lost two foxes. "The wind was too high for hunting."
- 6 "Captain Sandiman, Captain Provost, and the two Barkers came to shoot the woods. We had 15 beaters but saw very little game.  
Letter from Mr. Howard who is at his place in Gloucestershire.
- 7 Rode to Wyseby, found them at home.

- 8 Letters to Dr. Collidge and Grace. Rosa and I dined at Wyseby Hill.  
9 Father and I went hunting. No luck.  
10 Stayed in the house all day having a very bad cold.  
11 Cold only slightly better — stayed inside.  
12 Cold no better. Stayed in the house.  
13 Cold slightly better. Letter to Mary.  
14 Took 2.55 to Lockerby with Captain Provost to spend the evening with Captain Sandiman and his wife. I also met Miss Fraser.  
15 Mr. Murray and his daughters came to dinner in the evening.  
16 Payed a visit to Mrs. Calvert. Went to Carlisle with Captain Provost.  
17 Church. Letter from Dr. Collidge. In his opinion, my eyes should not stand in the way of my going out to Australia.  
18 Walked with mother to Langshaw and Wyseby. Went to ask for Lady Maxwell. She is recovering. Heard of some whales having come up the Solway and being left by the tide. I believe there are about a hundred of them.  
19 Rosa rode to Kirkwood to stay all night.  
20 Went with mother to Carlisle to do some shopping, and meet the girls on their way from school. They came as we expected, both looking very well, and improved.  
21 Stayed in the house all day. Read.  
22 Very wet and windy. Stayed inside all day.  
23 Hunting; only a small field out. Found and lost two foxes.  
24 Church.  
25 Grace and I lunched at the Manse. Later, walked to Cranberry with mother and Grace. "We had a very quiet Xmas dinner. No excitement."  
26 All the family went into Carlisle. I rode to Wyseby Hill and Langshaw but went no further owing to the weather.  
27 Shooting. Alick Dirom and his sister Noror(?) stayed the night.  
28 Alick and I drove to call at Springkell; Johnny went out shooting, leaving us in the house. Played billiards. After dinner, the whole family went to Wyseby where there was a large children's party.  
29 In the evening, went to Elizabeth Bell's marriage, took tea with them and gave a bride's health, after which I retired.  
Mrs. Cumming died today at Cheltenham. "Her end was peace."  
30 Hunting. No luck. I dined at Wyseby Hill and met Mr. Christie, Alick and W. Barker.  
31 Church. Sat the old year out in the girls room, and made toffy.

*The publication costs of this Miscellany have been met by the Ann Hill Research Fund.*



**The First Roman Invasion of Scotland: A Geographical Review**, by Ian G. Smith, published by the author, Edinburgh 1987, 6 figs., 2pl., 48 pages.

Mr Smith's booklet, which he has published at his own expense, offers a refreshing and thorough review of the historical, archaeological and place-name evidence for the activities of Roman troops in Scotland in the later 1st century AD. Tacitus' biography of his son-in-law, Julius Agricola, the then governor of Roman Britain, forms the basis of any discussion of the period; but Tacitus' account was intended for an audience in Rome which knew little and probably cared less about geographical details. Central to this booklet is a fresh examination of the abundant place-name evidence offered by Ptolemy, a geographer writing from Alexandria about AD 140 and incorporating data collected by Agricola and his troops; this evidence has already been the subject of intense study, and it may be doubtful if Mr Smith adds much to our knowledge. He does, however, draw attention once more to the place-name *Victoria*, somewhere in Strathearn, and while no classical scholar could accept that it means 'place of victory', yet it is hard to dissociate the name from some Roman success, most obviously the battle at *Mons Graupius*.

The site of Scotland's first recorded battle is one of a trio of burning questions in the popular imagination, along with the Fate of the Ninth Legion and Pontius Pilate's Perthshire origins! It is hard to say that a satisfactory answer can be given to any of them. Mr Smith reviews the evidence for the battle-site and opts for Craiggrossie, the prominent peak east of Auchterarder. This suggestion deserves very serious consideration. Some time ago R. W. Feachem drew attention to the nearby Duncrub Estate, a name which might be linked philologically to *Mons Graupius*; but Duncrub Hill itself hardly rises above the surrounding countryside. Craiggrossie only a few miles to the South may be a much more likely candidate, and there is a suitable camp probably of Agricola's time at nearby Dunning. We know that the battle was fought late in the summer of (probably) AD 83; no time therefore, as Mr Smith proposes, for Agricola to have subsequently marched north to the Moray Firth and back. Much more probably he was already on his return journey towards his southern bases, when the Caledonians blocked his route; it is very clear that the Caledonians, not the Romans, chose the battlefield. In retrospect they would have done well, as before, to avoid a set-piece encounter with the Roman war machine. We must be grateful to Mr Smith for reopening the debate on the battle-site; it may only be settled when some specific archaeological evidence for a great battle comes to light.

L. J. Keppie.

**Kintyre Country Life** by Angus Martin — John Donald 1987 — 2 maps 50 figs. in text, 201pp. + xi £12.

This is Mr Martin's third and latest book on Kintyre, the earlier being *The Ring Net Fisherman* and *Kintyre: The Hidden Past*. The books are stated to be his attempt to understand his native Kintyre, its culture and history, and his celebration of the places and people of his life. It has been compiled both from written and oral sources. The value of recording the latter may be gauged by the fact that no less than 17 of his 22 informants had passed away before the volume appeared.

We live at a time when a way of life in the country which has carried on for a thousand years has within a couple of generations changed beyond imagining. Mr Martin has attempted to record some at least of that vanished way of life from the 18th century.

The chapter heads give the general substance — Agriculture: A changing scene, Tilling, Crops, Cattle and Horses, Sheep and so on, with some fascination for illicit whisky distilling, but all useful record material with the author's comments, although the latter are occasionally subjective, such as digs at Forestry and the Nato base at Machrihanish.

However the good points of this book are its publication of much useful material and its excellent photographs, many of obsolete practices. For us in Dumfries and Galloway there is information on the movement of shepherding families from here to Kintyre. Todds, Beatties, Borthwicks and Jacksons are mentioned. Indeed the movement of new farming techniques with incomers is of great importance.

A great difficulty in archaeological field work is to separate recent remains from those of many centuries earlier and this is where this reviewer finds the book useful — lazybeds, lime-kilns, corndrying kilns, querns, potato houses, peat banks, stills, smithies, mills, kelp kilns, shieling huts, houses and many more are described and usually illustrated. There has been much published on this theme in recent years, most of it stemming from the outstanding contribution of Dr. A. Fenton to these researches, but nonetheless this study of a self-contained region by Mr Martin has much to commend it to the natives or lovers of Kintyre, their interested counterparts in Dumfries and Galloway, or the field archaeologist anywhere in South West Scotland.

W. F. Cormack.

PROCEEDINGS 1986-87

**10 October 1986**

Annual General Meeting.

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

Mr J. Chinnock was elected President of the Society.

Presidential Address by Mr D. Adamson — Loreburn.

**24 October 1986**

Speaker: Mr R. A. Hall — The Vikings in York.

**7 November 1986**

Speaker: Mr N. Lawson — Early Motoring in Dumfries.

**21 November 1986**

Mr D. Smith — A Visit to China.

**5 December 1986**

Speaker: Mr E. Smith — Metal Detectors.

**9 January 1987**

Speaker: Mr K. Kirk — Wildlife in Galloway.

**23 January 1987**

Members' Night.

Speakers: Dr. J. Wilson — Sir William Fergusson.

Mr D. Adamson — Kirkpatrick-Fleming.

Mr W. F. Cormack — Barhobble, Mochrum Parish.

**6 February 1987**

Speakers: Mr K. Dobie/Mr W. Jardine — Old Dumfries, Readings and Recollections.

**20 February 1987**

Speaker: Dr. L. Keppie — An Update on the Romans in Scotland.

**6 March 1987**

Speaker: Mr G. R. Higgs — Sundials.

**20 March 1987**

Special General Meeting.

Speaker: Mr J. Banks — Malta.



## Publications of the Society

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**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 1), (xxviii) 1949-50\*, (xxix) 1950-1 (with Index of Vols i to xxvii)\*, (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, (xxix) 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.

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**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.

**Cruggleton 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. Assistant Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 4 Lovers Walk, Dumfries.