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EDITORIAL

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The Council is indebted to the following bodies for substantial grants towards publication costs viz The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds for the paper on the Dumfriesshire Rookery Census; BP Oil UK Ltd for Dr Bank's paper on the Warden's Dykes excavation; Bórd Gas Éireann (Irish Gas) for Mr Alexander's paper on the Chapelton excavation; Historic Scotland for Mr Lowe's paper on The Pend, Whithorn; the Ann Hill Bequest Fund for Ms Hough's paper on Bird Hall Names and Mr William's note on Mossknow Tower.

The inaugural Cormack lecture was given by Mr Fraser Hunter, National Museums of Scotland. A synopsis of the lecture is given in the 'Procedings' at the end of this volume.

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

THE ROOKERIES OF DUMFRIESSHIRE 2003
Including comparisons with the surveys of 1908, 1921, 1963, 1973, 1975, 1993 and 2004

L R Griffin, D Skilling, R T Smith and J G Young

Summary

The 2003 Dumfriesshire Rookery census has revealed that since 1993, the number of nests has fallen from 25,489 to 17,853, a decline of 30%. Earlier surveys in 1908, 1921 and 1963 had indicated a relatively stable population. Subsequent censuses in 1973, 1975 and 1993 showed a gradual increase, which had amounted to 50% by 1993. The 2003 result shows that the population is once again close to that of 1963. In the light of such a significant reduction in numbers a partial census (29 out of 43 parishes) was carried out during 2004. The results, provided in an appendix, indicate that numbers continue to decline and disperse.

Introduction

The 2003 census of Rook *Corvus frugilegus* nests in Dumfriesshire continues a series that, beginning in 1908, now spans a period of 95 years. In 1908, Sir Hugh Gladstone corresponded with ornithologists and Dumfriesshire landowners requesting information on their local rookeries for inclusion in his *Birds of Dumfriesshire,* then in preparation[1]. This work also contained censuses of Dumfriesshire's heronries and Black-headed gull colonies. In 1921, Gladstone repeated the census and again circulated his correspondents but had 'very great difficulty in getting returns from certain parishes'[2]. In the absence of these records, a rather less complete picture emerged. The results were published in 1923 and it is these surveys that laid the foundation for what is now one of the most complete county records of rookeries in Britain.

The 1963 and subsequent surveys were carried out by observers who had become more mobile and probably achieved more complete coverage than the correspondence-based surveys. Since the object of all the censuses, following 1908 was a comparison of changes in rookery size and numbers, the organisers continued to use parishes as the unit of sub-division of the county. It should be noted that in 1975, the County of Dumfries ceased to exist as a political entity, in a reorganisation of local government and is now part of Dumfries and Galloway Region.

Census Methods and Accuracy

The methods, guidelines and organisers of the 2003 census were the same as those in 1963. Some 36 volunteer observers participated in the survey. Nineteen parishes out of

1 *Birds of Dumfriesshire*, Hugh S. Gladstone, 1910, pp 124-146
2 'Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire', Hugh S. Gladstone, TDGNHAS IIIrd. Series, Vol. IX, pp 10-117

43 were censused by the same lead observers as in 1993, providing useful continuity. As in 1963, 1973 and 1993, all parishes were searched completely for old and new rookeries, observers being supplied with a 1:50,000 Ordnance Survey parish map and a list of all previously known rookeries for that parish. Record sheets were provided which asked for nest numbers and count date, place names, grid references, tree species and heights. Also counters were asked to ascertain, where possible, whether the Rooks at a colony were being controlled. Nest counts were mainly made from 7th-20th April, a period of stability following a rapid increase during the main nest-building period in March and early April and before the emerging foliage begins to obscure the nests[3]. This was also shown to be the best survey strategy in a local study of nesting activity at three colonies in 1994[4].

As in 1963, 1973 and 1993, observers were asked to use their own judgement as to whether groups of nests constituted a single colony with offshoots or separate rookeries entirely. Censuses on the scale of this study will suffer from some inaccuracies, for example, due to possible disorientation when gazing upwards whilst counting large rookeries or in deciding how many nests make up the compound structures often seen in Scots Pine. However, with careful observation these should be minor factors. More importantly, it is always possible that a small rookery could have been overlooked, especially if it is in a new location. Undoubtedly, the accumulated effect of these various sources of inaccuracy result in an underestimate. The suggestion has been made elsewhere[5] that this could be as high as 10%. We consider however, that similar accuracies, or inaccuracies, were achieved in all the Dumfriesshire surveys since, and including 1963, and we believe the data to be valid for the purpose of population comparisons.

Population Trends

The 2003 census of the whole county arrived at a total of 17,853 nests. Previous censuses of 1908[1], 1921[2] and 1963[6] had indicated a stable rook population in Dumfriesshire with the total number of nests being in the narrow range of 15,700 - 17,000 (Figure 1). Following 1963, the surveys of 1973[7], 1975[8] and 1993[4] revealed a continuing increase in numbers, until by 1993 the total numbers were 50% greater than in 1963. It should be noted that the 1963 total has always been the subject of concern, on the grounds that it may have been atypical, following one of the most severe winters of the 20th century.

The 1996 British Trust for Ornithology Rookery Survey[9] revealed a similar high level of rook numbers nationally. This showed, that in the United Kingdom, the number of nesting Rooks had increased by about 40% since the 1975-77 census and it is possible that the Dumfriesshire numbers also continued to increase during the three years between

3 'Colonization patterns at Rook *Corvus frugilegus* colonies: implications for survey strategies', L.R. Griffin, *Bird Study*, 1999, Vol.46, pp 170-173.
4 'The Rookeries of Dumfriesshire' 1993, D Skilling & R T Smith, *TDGNHAS* IIIrd. Series Vol. LXVIII (1993)
5 'Rookeries in Scotland 1975', M.E. Castle, *Scottish Birds*, Vol..9, No.7, pp 327-334
6 'The Rookeries of Dumfriesshire 1963', D. Skilling, R.T. Smith & J.G. Young, *TDGNHAS* IIIrd. Series, Vol. XLIII, pp 49-64
7 'The Rookeries of Dumfriesshire 1973', R.T.Smith & J.Williams, *TDGNHAS* IIIrd. Series Vol. LIII, pp 24-39
8 'The 1975 National Survey of Rookeries', B.L. Sage, & J.D.R. Vernon, *Bird Study*, 1978, Vol. 25 No. 7, pp 64 – 86
9 'Numbers of nesting Rooks *Corvus frugilegus* in the United Kingdom in 1996', Marchant J.S. & Gregory R.D. *Bird Study,* 1999, Vol.46, pp 258 - 273

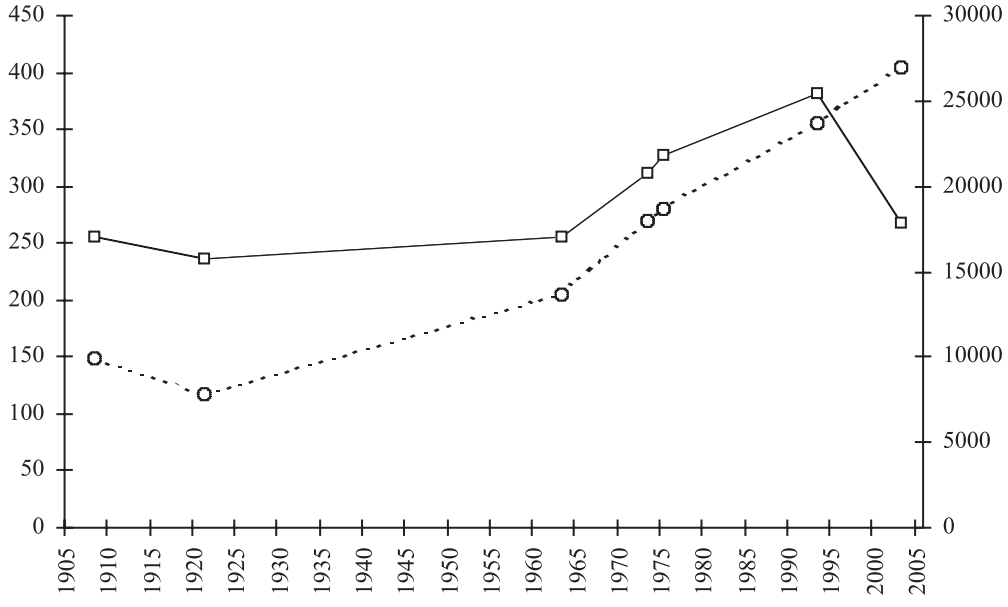

Figure 1. The total number of Rook nests (solid line) and colonies (broken line) recorded over 7 complete parish surveys in Dumfriesshire from 1908-2003. (For summary of totals see Table 1).

1993 and 1996. However, the published results of the 1996 census were grouped by area, rather than by county and this information is not available. The 1996 survey also showed that there were fewer nesting Rooks in Britain than at the 1944-46 survey. i.e. the gain recorded in 1996 was less than the decline nationally between 1945 and 1975. It is unfortunate that the less complete National Survey of 1944-46 did not include Dumfriesshire.

The decline in rook numbers locally in the period 1993-2003 recorded here may possibly not be due to a progressive, gradual reduction in numbers. Within a ten-year interval, the precise timing of the change cannot be discerned. More frequent surveys might have pointed to a period or event when change occurred. However, the organisation, cost, time and work involved in conducting a countywide census adds up to a major undertaking for all involved in a voluntary study. These factors preclude more frequent censusing of the entire county. With financial assistance it may however be possible for a limited number of observers to perform smaller statistically designed surveys aimed at establishing the direction of any further changes and indicating whether the fall in population is continuing.

The only other topical information comes from an entirely separate census of local rookeries[10] that has been carried out on 47 colonies on either side of the Nith estuary in

10 L.R. Griffin, unpublished data

2002 and 2003, in the parishes of Dumfries, Caerlaverock, Ruthwell, Troqueer, New Abbey, and Kirkbean. The total number of nests recorded in 2002 and 2003 is unchanged at 1,347 and 1,355 respectively.

Rook Numbers and Distribution

The relative size and distribution of the 405 extant rookeries recorded in 2003 and those extinct since 1993 are shown in Figure 2. Their distribution follows the valley woodlands and pastures of rivers such as the Cairn Water, Nith, Annan and White Esk that incise the upland moorland and rough grassland plateau to the north. No rookery was recorded above 300 metres (1000 feet), and it is likely that it is the availability of suitable foraging habitat rather than nest sites that limits the distribution of the rook in most upland areas of Dumfriesshire. Although the majority of parishes show an overall decline in the number of nests from 1993 to 2003, 15 of the 43 show an increase (Figure 2; Table 1). If Rooks moved from a parish in decline to a neighbouring one, a checkerboard pattern might be expected, however the pattern appears much more clumped than this. In turn, this suggests that the cause of decline might not be acting evenly over the whole area, contrary to what might be expected under detrimental weather events or changed agricultural regimes following foot-and-mouth disease, which affected all but the most northerly parishes of Dumfriesshire in 2001[11].

An attempt was made to ascertain whether the variation in the direction and scale of change in the number of nests in each parish (Table 1) was attributable to a change in some aspect of the agricultural environment. Initially nest totals per parish for 1973, 1993 and 2003 were correlated with parish agricultural crop and livestock statistics from 1983, 1993 and 2003 (Scottish Office Agriculture, Environment and Fisheries Department), respectively (the statistics for 1973 not being available in digital format). Nest numbers correlated most strongly in all three years with the area of mown grass leys of five years and older and grazed grass of five years and older in each parish ($p<0.01$ in each case). The area accounted for by younger leys and grazed grass was also correlated with rook numbers in all three years, but to a lesser extent ($p<0.05$). Cattle numbers were also highly correlated ($p<0.01$) whereas sheep numbers were not. Two of the other primary constituents of the agricultural mosaic in any parish were barley and rough grass, neither of which were correlated with rook numbers in any year. The agricultural variables showing significant correlation with rook numbers are all highly inter-correlated, however it was interesting to note the enhanced correlation with older grass swards which potentially could have more numerous and diverse invertebrate communities (e.g. earthworms and beetles), although age is unlikely to relate to tipulid larvae numbers[12]. Even with these strong correlations in any one year, the change in nest numbers in a parish between 1973 and 1993 and 1993 and 2003 showed no consistent correlation with changes in any of the agricultural habitat variables. Therefore the Rooks did not exhibit any response to changes in the quantity of each habitat and so perhaps one could speculate that some aspect of its quality had changed.

11 A. Reid, pers comm
12 D. McCracken, pers comm

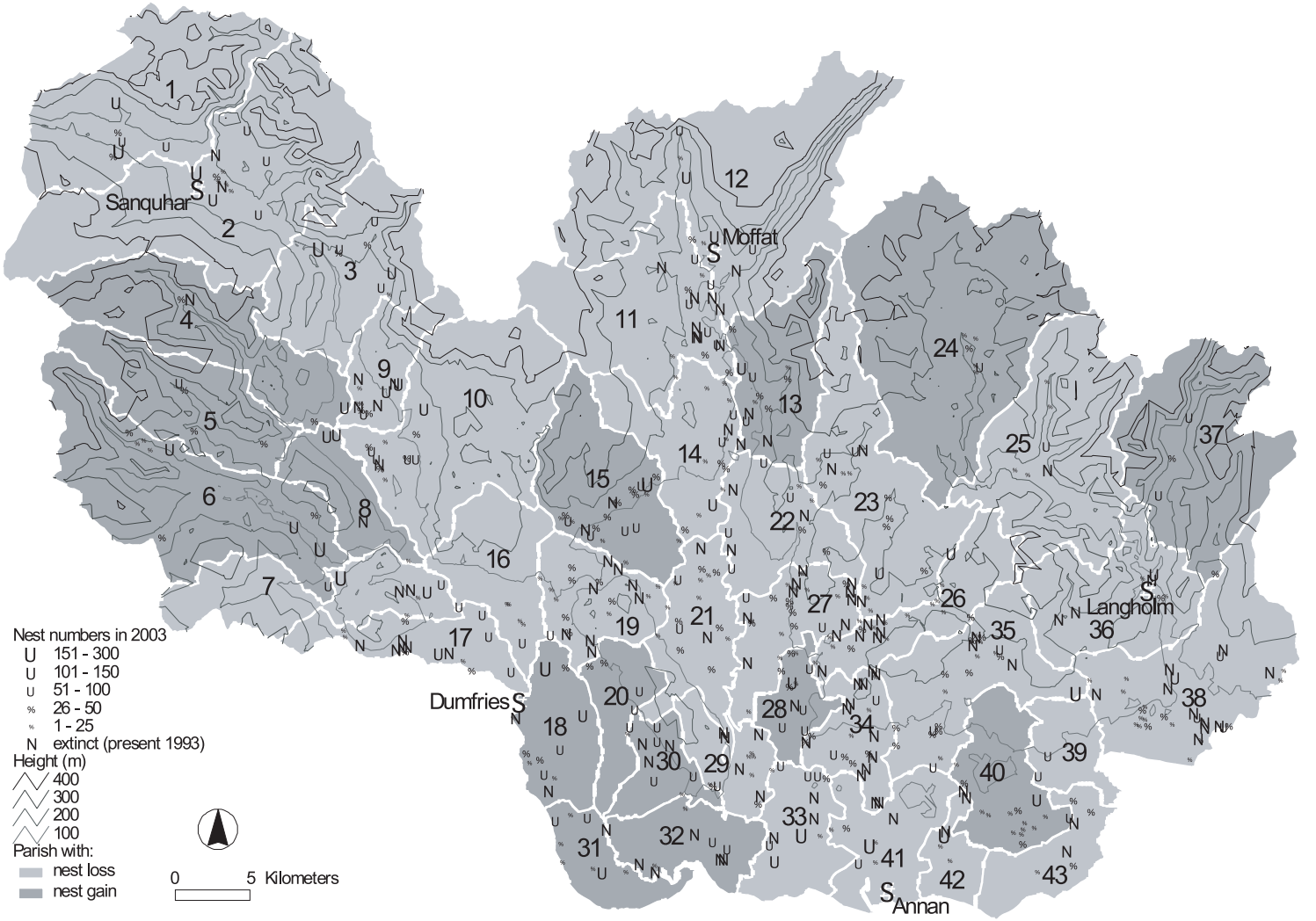

Figure 2. The distribution and abundance of rookeries in Dumfriesshire in 2003. The key to parish numbers is given in Table 1.

Rookery Numbers and Size

The 2003 census recorded 405 active rookeries holding 17,853 nests, an average of only 44 nests per rookery. Thus, the number of rookeries has continued to rise despite the large reduction in the number of breeding Rooks, resulting in the continuing decline in the size of the average Dumfriesshire rookery. This trend has continued almost without check since 1908, with the largest rookeries having declined in number or disappeared entirely (Table 1).

Nationally, in the 1996 census the mean number of nests per rookery for the whole U.K. survey was 36.7, while in Scotland the average was larger at 80.7 nests per rookery, which is similar to the 1993 Dumfriesshire size. Although Dumfriesshire was included in this census, the published results were not broken down to county level.

In 2003 no rookery exceeded 300 nests and only six rookeries each held more than 200, the largest being 293 nests. In contrast, as recently as 1993, two rookeries each held more than 500 nests and 22 colonies each held more than 200 nests. Since 1993, extensive felling has been carried out at both of the largest sites as well as at other large rookeries. This felling however, is unlikely to be the main reason for the decline in nest numbers as nest sites are often not limited[13]. A possible contributory factor that emerged from the anecdotal evidence collected is that Rooks are often not distinguished from Carrion Crows *Corvus corone* and the shooting of nests and of young Rooks when they leave the nest and climb out on the branches continues to be widely practiced in Dumfriesshire. Although sometimes on a large scale, it is not known if this form of control has increased or indeed decreased through time, and thus cannot be proffered as an explanation.

Observers reported numerous examples of rookeries that were no longer in use, sometimes for no apparent reason. In some of these cases it was known or reported by the owner, that no disturbance, such as shooting or tree felling had taken place between 1993 and 2003 nor was deterioration of the trees evident, and yet they had been deserted. We have no suggestion to make regarding the reasons for this, but simply record the observation.

The 1993 census showed that 25 rookeries that had been recorded in 1908 were still active. The current survey shows that 21 of these are still in existence and have been at every census since 1908. These include Craigieburn Wood, Moffat and Shaw of Dryfe in Hutton and Corrie parish, which is still just hanging on. Sir William Jardine listed these as being in existence in 1844[2]. Gribton in Holywood was recorded in 1800 and Cowhill in the same parish was described as “an ancient rookery” in 1908[1]. Another 24 colonies that existed in 1908 were still being used but not in every census since 1908.

Despite the decline in Rook numbers, the number of colonies has increased by 49 between 1993 and 2003 (Table 1). However, this increase doesn’t reveal the full scale of rook mobility, as of the 356 rookeries occupied in 1993 a total of 119 had become unoccupied by 2003 (Figure 2). Thus 168 rookeries out of the total of 405 had come into

13 The distribution and abundance of the Rook *Corvus frugilegus* L. as influenced by habitat suitability and competitive interactions, 1998, L.R. Griffin, PhD Thesis.

Key	Parish	1908		1921		1963		1973		1993		2003	
		Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites
1	Kirkconnel	0	0	7	1	599	3	1013	3	763	4	656	6
2	Sanquhar	525	4	463	5	345	3	274	4	624	8	585	10
3	Durisdeer	0	0	0	0	741	7	652	8	1051	6	751	8
4	Penpont	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	**180**	3
5	Tynron	0	0	0	0	130	1	107	1	118	2	**190**	4
6	Glencairn	282	6	165	2	309	3	763	6	543	7	**711**	10
7	Dunscore	1132	6	720	3	1298	5	894	5	1083	7	459	5
8	Keir	130	1	0	0	98	1	141	1	24	1	**238**	3
9	Morton	0	0	0	0	21	2	140	3	528	6	405	8
10	Closeburn	750	4	554	5	688	7	1089	7	754	7	546	11
11	Kirkpatrick Juxta	0	0	0	0	347	9	360	10	1066	12	470	11
12	Moffat	431	9	758	7	285	10	531	9	469	7	434	7
13	Wamphray	480	4	324	3	440	3	302	5	286	8	**459**	9
14	Johnstone	0	0	0	0	222	2	217	4	518	10	463	13
15	Kirkmichael	102	2	346	3	747	8	781	12	810	12	**859**	20
16	Kirkmahoe	735	4	525	3	312	2	312	3	251	5	231	7
17	Holywood	727	5	883	4	937	12	923	12	878	14	548	11
18	Dumfries	245	5	149	3	214	4	52	5	465	8	**548**	10
19	Tinwald	544	4	520	3	1113	11	1102	14	752	13	296	12
20	Torthorwald	2	1	0	0	137	3	381	4	135	2	**185**	4
21	Lochmaben	452	4	631	5	416	10	777	9	600	9	397	14
22	Applegarth	1274	4	1560	7	977	8	724	16	800	10	353	8
23	Hutton & Corrie	290	4	635	6	594	3	692	6	1028	13	534	15
24	Eskdalemuir	0	0	200	1	20	2	103	2	56	2	**133**	6
25	Westerkirk	84	4	9	1	47	1	31	1	265	4	140	5
26	Tundergarth	354	8	869	7	524	13	1087	16	517	14	348	14
27	Dryfesdale	232	4	632	5	804	10	1434	22	1225	25	469	20
28	St Mungo	200	1	0	0	205	4	256	6	490	9	**561**	10
29	Dalton	1195	3	1600	4	799	3	907	8	1069	12	220	9
30	Mouswald	209	3	303	2	0	0	337	2	307	5	**362**	7
31	Caerlaverock	150	2	280	1	127	3	94	3	183	3	**371**	10
32	Ruthwell	615	5	320	6	149	5	117	3	116	8	**164**	4
33	Cummertrees	970	6	450	2	597	2	346	3	1286	8	719	9
34	Hoddom	840	9	752	6	1014	9	1262	13	1622	18	432	12
35	Middlebie	571	8	665	5	228	3	808	9	1168	16	866	19
36	Langholm	275	4	200	4	87	3	187	4	405	5	199	4
37	Ewes	18	4	0	0	0	0	128	3	105	3	**188**	4
38	Canonbie	15	3	0	0	331	7	296	8	1111	22	705	22
39	Half Morton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	302	2	144	2
40	Kirkpatrick Fleming	1766	8	342	5	328	5	354	6	377	8	**425**	15
41	Annan	1072	4	409	5	429	5	320	5	697	9	465	10
42	Dornock	330	2	190	1	95	3	147	1	299	5	232	4
43	Gretna	72	3	285	3	293	9	358	7	341	6	212	10
	Totals	**17069**	**148**	**15746**	**118**	**17047**	**204**	**20799**	**269**	**25489**	**356**	**17853**	**405**
	Nests per rookery	115		133		84		77		72		44	

Table 1. Summary of the number of nests, rookeries, and nests per rookery, per parish (1975 BTO = 21,869, 280, 78) 'Key' refers to the Figure 2 parish numbers and bold type in 2003 indicates parishes with nest increases since 1993

existence during that decade, an increase of 47% since 1993. Examining the proximity of extinct and current rookeries (Figure 2) in relation to the scale of the map suggests that part of this increase may be due to a rookery moving only a small distance within a wood, perhaps coupled with the inaccuracies of locating older sites by place names, and thus being recorded as a new rookery. Even so, there has definitely been an increase in the number of rookeries through time linked with the periods of population increase, but also as we have seen with the 2003 survey, with periods of population decrease. The increase in the number of rookeries in a period of drastic population decrease may in part be due to the fragmentation of larger rookeries (Figure 3).

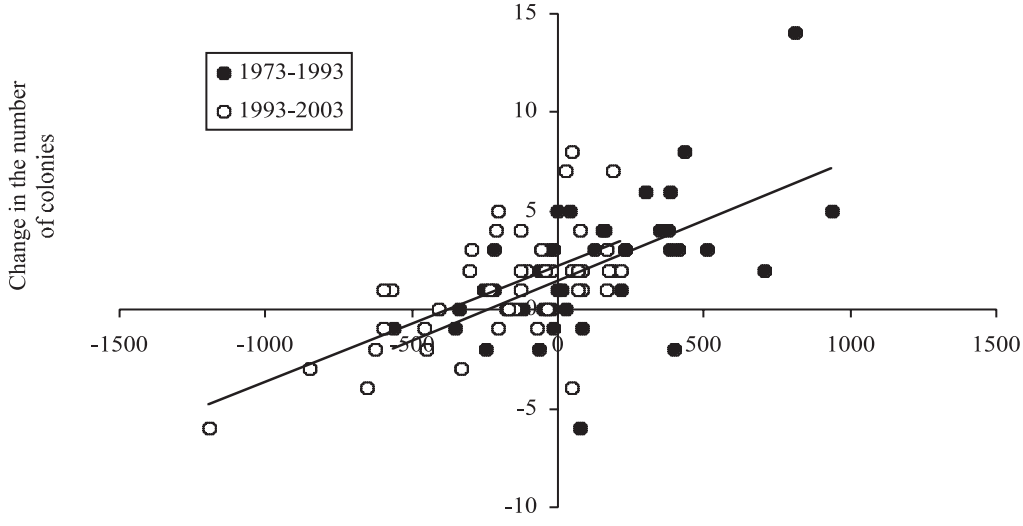

Figure 3. The change in the number of colonies with the change in the number of nests per parish for the periods 1973-1993 (filled symbol, lower line; r^2=0.34, p<0.001) and 1993-2003 (open symbol, upper line; r^2=0.39, p<0.001). The lines of best fit both pass above the origin suggesting that there can be a gain in the number of colonies as nest numbers decrease which is possibly caused by the fragmentation of larger colonies.

Ordnance Survey Grid References

For the first time in this series, rookery sites have been identified with six-figure Grid References. Past censuses used place names to identify sites. In many cases, these have been vague or names have been lost and such site identification has therefore been unsatisfactory. All 405 colonies active in 2003 have a reference intended to locate the centre of each rookery to within 100 metres. Even with the inaccuracies inherent in judging a position from a map, this measure should enable any future census to identify the location of rookeries more precisely.

The improved accuracy in locating rookeries, which has resulted from the introduction of grid references and digital parish maps, has brought to light duplicate counting of three

rookeries, all of which are on or near parish boundaries. They are Portrack in Holywood, which was also counted in Dunscore; Watscales in Hutton & Corrie also counted in Dryfesdale; and Whitehill in Hoddam also counted in St Mungo. In addition, seven rookeries, also on the boundaries, had previously been placed in the wrong parish. They are Barngliesh in Canonbie, not Half Morton; Wattaman in Middlebie, not Half Morton; Torthorwald Wood in Kirkpatrick Juxta, not Moffat; Annanbank in Johnstone, not Wamphray; Daltonhook in Dryfesdale, not St Mungo; Whitehill in Hoddam, not St Mungo; Girthhead in Wamphray, not Johnstone. The site list has been updated.

Appendix

Dumfriesshire Rookeries in 2004 - a partial census

The decline in the number of nesting rooks, which came to light in 2003, prompted another survey of Dumfriesshire in 2004 during which 29 of the county's 43 parishes were censused again.

In 2004, 11,700 nests were found in 281 rookeries in those particular parishes. One year earlier, the same parishes held 12,447 nests in 283 colonies, which represents a reduction of 747 nests (6%) in the year. The main point to emerge from this most recent survey is that the number of nesting rooks has continued to decline, confirming the findings of 2003.

Considering possible observer error in nest counts, it can be considered that only six parishes out of the 29 have significantly increased in 2004, while 17 show a real decline (Table2).

The size of the average rookery has continued to fall, due to the smaller number of nests found and an increase of two colonies. These 29 parishes had an average rookery size of 44 nests in 2003. This figure now stands at 42 nests per rookery, continuing a trend seen in recent surveys.

The selection of the parishes that were resurveyed was largely determined by the availability of volunteer observers and the need to minimise the amount of travel and time spent in fieldwork. As far as possible, observers were asked to count parishes in which they resided or which were near to their homes. To this extent, the selection of parishes was random.

The cause of the continuing decline in the number of nesting rooks is still not clear. The summer following the 2003 census was notably dry. This would have made food less available as invertebrates retreated deeper underground putting much food out of the reach of rooks, especially inexperienced juveniles.

From observation and anecdotal evidence collected during the censuses it is apparent that control of rooks is still widely practiced in Dumfriesshire. At some sites, this is conducted on a large scale, to such an extent that it may be having a significant effect on a population already under pressure.

This partial survey still involved a considerable expenditure of time and travel for the observers and probably cannot be repeated annually even on this reduced scale. We hope however that further limited monitoring can continue to be conducted.

Table 2. Summary of number of nests, rookeries and parishes surveyed in 2004 And comparisons with 2003 (Increases shown in bold type)

Key	Parish	2003		2004		Nest difference
		Rookeries	Nests	Rookeries	Nests	
41	Annan	10	465	10	400	-65
22	Applegarth	8	353	11	240	-113
31	Caerlaverock	10	371	11	317	-54
10	Closeburn	11	546	13	649	**103**
33	Cummertrees	9	719	8	617	-102
29	Dalton	9	220	8	306	**86**
27	Dryfesdale	20	469	16	391	-78
18	Dumfries	10	548	9	712	**164**
7	Dunscore	5	459	6	397	-62
3	Durisdeer	8	751	8	672	-79
6	Glencairn	10	711	8	608	-103
43	Gretna	10	212	10	262	**50**
34	Hoddam	12	432	19	664	**232**
23	Hutton & Corrie	15	534	13	436	-98
14	Johnstone	13	463	12	699	**236**
1	Kirkconnel	6	656	6	392	-264
16	Kirkmahoe	7	231	6	245	**14**
40	Kirkpatrick Fleming	15	425	17	320	-105
21	Lochmaben	14	397	15	363	-34
12	Moffat	7	434	7	442	**8**
9	Morton	8	405	8	406	**1**
30	Mouswald	7	362	7	370	**8**
32	Ruthwell	4	164	4	186	**22**
2	Sanquhar	10	585	12	407	-178
28	St Mungo	10	561	8	414	-147
19	Tinwald	12	296	11	312	**16**
26	Tundergarth	14	348	13	282	-66
5	Tynron	4	190	2	88	-102
25	Westerkirk	5	140	3	103	-37
	Totals	**283**	**12447**	**281**	**11700**	**-747**
	Nests/rookery		44.0		41.6	

Acknowledgements

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Tables of rookery sites - Notes on nest numbers

With computerisation of the list of rookeries, first completed by James Williams for the 1993 census, the opportunity has been taken to make the following alterations to the 1908 and 1921 lists and numbers.

Where previously the expression "some" was used, this has been recorded as 2.

Records in the format xxx+ have been rounded down, e.g. 200+ becomes 200.

Where previously a range of numbers was given, now the average is used, e.g. 200-300 becomes 250.

The conventions account for apparent differences between the earlier papers and the present. It is not greatly different to Gladstone's practice: no numerical value was attached to "some" and numbers were averaged where more than one correspondent sent in different numbers for the same rookery.

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Annan									
Annan West		0	0	83	101	0	0	Beech	80
Blacketlees	NY 167 187	0	0	102	98	167	187	Beech	60
Carse Hill		0	0	119	0	0	0	Mix/Beech	
Cemetery		0	0	0	4	0	0	Mixed	40
Chapelcross Pumping Station	NY 192 686	0	0	0	0	5	5	Beech	60
Corsehill Quarry		0	0	0	0	185	0	Scots Pine	60
Crofthead Cottages	NY 174 664	0	0	0	0	59	35	Mixed, Birch	50-60
Fruid Park		40	20	0	0	0	0		
Green Bank		2	20	0	0	0	0		
Hecklegirth	NY 197 664	0	0	0	0	6	3	Beech	50
Howes	NY 182 673	0	0	0	0	111	54	Mixed	45
Limekilns	NY 174 695	0	0	0	0	34	38	Beech	50
Long Meadow	NY 192 660	0	0	0	0	0	14	Beech	50
Milnfield	NY 184 665	0	0	0	0	109	91	Beech	60
Moat. The -		30	49	0	0	0	0		
Mount Annan		1000	300	110	100	0	0	Beech	80
Outerford	NY 165 694	0	0	0	0	0	15		
Solway Cottage		0	20	0	0	0	0		
Violet Bank	NY 192 674	0	0	15	17	21	23	Beech	60
	Parish Totals	**1072**	**409**	**429**	**320**	**697**	**465**		
Applegarth & Sibbaldbie									
Annanhill		0	0	0	2	0	0	Beech	60/80
Balgray		120	120	372	171	0	0	Pine	60/70
Balgray Hill	NY 162 866	0	0	0	0	15	27	Beech	100
Blindhillbush	NY 153 897	0	0	0	29	0	18	Beech	60
Dalmakethar	NY 124 920	0	0	0	10	85	54	S.Pine(32) Deciduous (22) 2003	40/90
Dinwoodie Green		0	60	119	3	0	0	Beech	50/60
Dinwoodie Lodge		0	0	0	4	4	0	Beech/Birch (Oak '93)	75
Dinwoodie Lodge Hotel (0.5 Mile East)		0	0	0	76	0	0	Birch/Conifers	30
Dinwoodie Lodge Hotel (Lay-by)		0	0	0	52	0	0	Pine	50/60
Dinwoodie Mains 0.25 mile NE.		0	0	0	48	0	0	Con/Deciduous	50
Fourmerkland		0	0	46	76	127	0	Pine. Rooks left 2001	70/100
Hallhills Glen	NY 147 879	0	190	0	51	39	42	S.Pine 03	60/70
Hewke		64	100	77	54	41	0	Con./Decid. (S.Pine/Spruce '93)	80/100
Jardine Hall		1020	900	237	0	0	0		
Jardine Hall Mains	NY 102 877	0	0	0	0	199	83	Larch/S.Pine/ Deciuous	50/70
Lammonbie		0	120	28	0	0	0		
Millhousebridge	NY 104 855	0	0	85	21	63	61	Mainly Beech	60/100
Newbigging	NY 140 899	0	0	0	58	158	58	Mainly N. Spruce (23) & Oak (35)	80/120
Perchhall		0	0	13	0	0	0		
Ravenscleugh	NY 145 906	0	0	0	6	69	10	Larch & Beech	20/30
Sibbaldbie		70	70	0	63	0	0	Spruce/Beech	60
	Parish Totals	**1274**	**1560**	**977**	**724**	**800**	**353**		

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Caerlaverock									
Baillieknowe	NY 015 701	0	0	0	0	0	81	Ash	50/60
Caerlaverock Manse		0	0	7	39	58	0	Elm/Beech	40
Conheath House	NX 995 699	0	0	24	23	19	51	Beech/Ash	60+
Eastpark, Avenue	NY 058 660	0	0	0	0	0	33	Sycamore	40
Glencaple Farm	NX 998 685	0	0	0	0	0	17	Beech	40/50
Hutton Hall		50	0	0	0	0	0		
Lanarkland	NY 018 670	0	0	0	0	0	10	Scots Pine	40
Langyards Wood, Banks Farm	NX 999 674	0	0	0	0	0	19	Beech	50
Lantonside	NY 012 661	0	0	0	0	0	15	Mixed deciduous	30
North Park	NY 038 668	0	0	0	0	0	19	Beech/Oak	50
Upper Conheath	NY 004 703	0	0	0	0	0	10	Alder 9, Beech 1	50
Wardlaw Hill	NY 024 667	100	280	96	32	106	116	Con./Decicuous	40/60
	Parish Totals	**150**	**280**	**127**	**94**	**183**	**371**		
Canonbie									
Auchenrivok Bank		10	0	0	0	0	0		
Barnglies		0	0	0	0	12	0		
Barnglieshead	NY 324 786	0	0	0	0	0	19	S Pine 5, Deciduous 14	40/60
Bowholm		0	0	0	18	0	0	Oak	60/70
Broad Meadows		0	0	0	16	0	0	Scots Pine	25/45
Byre Burn		0	0	120	10	0	0	Scots Pine/Norway Spruce/Oak	70
Canonbie		0	0	45	0	0	0		
Canonbie By-pass		0	0	0	0	31	0	Scots Pine	60
Canonbie Village	NY 394 761	0	0	0	0	34	19	Mainly Oak	80
Cross Keys Hotel	NY 391 763	0	0	0	0	92	72	Deciduous	30/70
Crow Wood		2	0	0	0	0	0		
Enthorn		0	0	0	130	0	0	Scots Pine/Norway Spruce/Oak	70/100
Enthorn	NY 377 787	0	0	0	0	186	148	Deciduous/ Scots Pine	40/80
Enthorn (2)		0	0	0	0	32	0	Spruce/Scots Pine/Oak	
Enthorn. North of -		0	0	0	0	21	0	S.Pine/Spruce/Oak	50/100
Evertown (1)	NY 360 758	0	0	0	0	34	32	Oak	70
Evertown (2)	NY 356 763	0	0	0	0	16	22	Deciduous 12, Scots Pine 10	
Evertown (3)	NY 358 762	0	0	0	0	0	13	Deciduous	60
Evertown (4)	NY 355 758	0	0	0	0	0	25	Deciduous/Scots Pine	
Gilnockie		0	0	55	0	0	0		
Glenzier School	NY 353 759	0	0	0	0	0	3	Deciduous	60
Harelaw Mill	NY 444 792	0	0	0	0	0	7	Deciduous	50/60
Harelawslack	NY 442 786	0	0	0	0	0	20	Deciduous	60
Hughsrigg	NY 370 764	0	0	0	0	2	35	Conifers	40/60
Irvine House		3	0	0	0	0	0		
Ladyhousesteads	NY 357 768	0	0	0	23	159	27	Scots Pine 12, Deciduous 17	40/60
Ladyhousesteads (N)	NY 358 770	0	0	0	0	0	15	Deciduous	60
Mouldyhills	NY 375 759	0	0	0	0	0	16	Deciduous	70
Orchard (2)		0	0	0	0	54	0	Scots Pine	60
Orchard (house garden)	NY 405 801	0	0	20	18	55	84	Scots Pine 39, Deciduous 45	50/60
Park House		0	0	0	0	7	0	1 Ash Tree	90
Priors Lynn (1)			0	0	0	20	0	Mixed	80/100
Priors Lynn (2)		0	0	0	0	92	0	Mixed	40/100
Rowan Burnfoot		0	0	40	78	0	0	Scots Pine/Norway Spruce	70/90

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Rowanburnfoot (1)	NY 410 758	0	0	0	0	55	32	Scots Pine	70
Rowanburnfoot (2)	NY 407 757	0	0	0	0	107	60	Mainly Beech, also Oak	60/70
Rowanburnfoot (3)		0	0	0	0	57	0	Scots Pine	70/100
Ryehills	NY 347 787	0	0	0	0	0	20	Deciduous	
Tarras Farm		0	0	41	0	0	0		
Todhillwood	NY 386 737	0	0	0	0	6	19	Deciduous	40
Tomshielburn	NY 345 779	0	0	0	3	0	14	Scots Pine	70
Upper Mumbie		0	0	10	0	0	0		
Woodhouselees	NY 393 749	0	0	0	0	27	3	Deciduous	50
Woodhouselees Farm		0	0	0	0	12	0	Beech	80/100
	Parish Totals	**15**	**0**	**331**	**296**	**1111**	**705**		
Closeburn									
Brattles Belt		200	120	0	0	0	0		
Castlewood and Blackrigg		350	280	0	0	0	0		
Clauchrie Glen		0	0	70	0	0	0		
Closeburn Castle	NX 909 922	0	0	57	70	64	52	Oak & Beech	50/60
Closeburn Manse	NX 903 924	0	0	111	146	137	28	Douglas Fir	50
Closeburn Manse (S. of)	NX 904 921	0	0	0	0	54	85	Beech, Douglas Fir	50
Crichope Linn	NX 914 953	0	0	104	98	0	101	Beech, Oak, Scots Pine	50/60
Croft Head Cottage		0	0	0	70	0	0	Mix/Birch	18/20
Dressertland	NX 909 938	0	0	131	173	169	32	Beech, Oak	80
Heathery Dam		0	0	84	122	0	0		
Kirkland	NX 880 930	0	0	0	0	0	46	Beech, Scots Pine	
Kirkland (2)	NX 878 933	0	0	0	0	0	56	Beech	
Liftingstane	NX 890 910	0	0	0	0	0	11		
Park Wood		0	4	0	0	0	0		
Sand River Belt		50	50	0	0	0	0		
Shawsholm	NX 887 917	0	0	0	0	0	28	Beech	
Shawsmuir	NX 885 922	0	0	131	410	263	83	Beech	80
Shawsmuir (2)		0	0	0	0	11	0	Beech	80
Sheep Parks		150	100	0	0	0	0		
Trigony	NX 890 933	0	0	0	0	56	24	Beech, Douglas Fir	60/80
	Parish Totals	**750**	**554**	**688**	**1089**	**754**	**546**		
Cummertrees									
Charlesfield	NY 158 690	0	0	60	88	37	2	Larch	30
Cummertrees Cemetery	NY 143 665	0	0	0	0	0	44	Scots Pine	40
Cummertrees Station		50	0	0	0	0	0		
Forkhill		200	100	0	0	0	0		
Glenstuart[1]	NY130 674	150	350	537	166	510	142	Scots Pine, Mixed deciduous	55/60
Hoddam		200	0	0	0	0	0		
Hoddam Castle (Central group)	NY 157 727	150	0	0	0	277	94	Pine/Beech, Sycamore, Ash, Oak	60/65
Hoddam Castle (Visitor car park)	NY 162 726	0	0	0	0	0	44	Pine, Beech. Ash Oak	60/65
Hoddam Castle (Wardpark Cottage)	NY 151 727	0	0	0	0	0	97	Pine, Beech, Sycamore, Ash	60/65
Kelhead	NY 147 690	0	0	0	0	181	163	Pine, Ash, Elm, Sycamore	55
Maulscastle	NY 127 684	0	0	0	0	0	75	Pine Sp.	45
Murraythwaite		220	0	0	0	0	0		
Sunnybank		0	0	0	0	203	0	Scots Pine	33

1 Some trees felled since 1993.

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Uppermoor		0	0	0	0	63	0	Beech	
Waterside House	NY 134 733	0	0	0	0	9	58	Spruce. Larch, Ash, Sycamore	30/50
Wintersheugh		0	0	0	92	6	0	Beech	49
	Parish Totals	**970**	**450**	**597**	**346**	**1286**	**719**		
Dalton									
Almagill (N)		0	0	0	0	93	0	Sycamore	50
Almagill (S)		0	0	0	0	43	0	Larch	36
Braehill		0	0	0	0	94	0	Scots Pine	42
Braehill Bank		0	35	0	0	0	0		
Dalton (Church hall)	NY 117 739	0	0	0	0	0	7	Scots Pine	30
Dalton Church	NY 114 739	0	0	0	5	6	14	Beech	50
Dalton.	NY 116 741	0	0	0	0	30	7	Beech	40
Denbie		0	0	0	0	125	0	Mixed	46
Denbie (0.5 mile E. of Littledyke)	NY 116 728	0	0	0	0	14	8	Beech	60
Denbie House		95	95	93	87	0	0	Beech	60
Denbie. 0.25 Mile E. of		0	0	0	56	0	0	Mainly Scots Pine	60
Dormont		250	450	93	75	0	0	Beech	50/60
Hetland Hall (Drive)	NY 092 721	0	0	0	0	117	40	Mixed	50
Hetland Hall (West)	NY 090 720	0	0	0	0	16	20	Beech/Sycamore	50
Hetland House		0	0	0	18	0	0	Pine/Deciduous	50
Hetlandhill	NY 095 721	0	0	0	0	27	73	Beech	50
Hindgill Above Manse: 0.5 Mile Church		0	0	0	18	0	0	Beech	50
Kirklandrig	NY 128 731	0	0	0	0	202	1	Scots Pine	40Kirkwood
850	1020	613	632	302		0Mix.Dec(Oak)/		50 Some Scots Pine	
Little Dyke		0	0	0	16	0	0	Scots Pine	50
Oakbank Cottage (opposite, on A 75)	NY 120 710	0	0	0	0	0	50	Scots Pine	60
	Parish Totals	**1195**	**1600**	**799**	**907**	**1069**	**220**		
Dornock									
Crow Wood		0	0	0	0	66	0	Deciduous	40/50
Eastriggs	NY 255 660	0	0	0	0	9	12	Deciduous	40
Robgill		0	0	0	0	35	0		
Robgill Tower		150	0	32	147	3	0	Scots Pine/ Mix.Deciduous	30/50
Stapleton Cross	NY 232 684	0	0	0	0	0	11	Mixed	40
Stapleton Tower	NY 235 690	180	190	56	0	186	204	S.Pine & Deciduous	
Woodhall	NY 238 675	0	0	7	0	0	5	Beech	50
	Parish Totals	**330**	**190**	**95**	**147**	**299**	**232**		
Dryfesdale									
Bishopcleugh	NY 143 842	50	12	67	71	34	2	Sycamore	50/60
Broadholm Parks		0	0	136	238	0	0	Scots Pine	60/70
Catlin. E. of -		0	0	0	80	0	0	Beech	50/60
Catlins	NY 169 838	0	0	0	0	33	17	Scots Pine	60/70
Corrielaw		0	0	0	0	102	0	Beech (82') S.Pine (49')	82/49
Croftheads		0	300	0	0	15	0	Sycamore	49
Cudscroft	NY 141 828	0	0	0	0	64	34	Sycamore, Beech	80/90
Daltonhook	NY 114 767	0	0	0	0	10	24	Larch	
Dam		0	0	49	92	171	0	Mix.Dec./S.Pine	70/80
Dam. W. of -		0	0	74	88	0	0	Mix.Dec./Scots Pine	60/80
Dryfeholm	NY 113 837	0	0	0	0	0	61	Scots Pine	60/80
Dryfesdalegate	NY 116 823	0	0	0	0	0	13	Scots Pine, Oak	70/80
Dryfesdalegate, S. of	NY 116 822	0	0	0	10	71	26	Sycamore, Beech	60/70

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Hayrigg	NY 133 800	0	0	0	10	0	1	Beech	80/90
Kirkton Farm	NY 129 837	0	0	0	0	31	42	Oak, Sycamore	70/80
Lauderhook	NY 182 923	0	0	0	0	39	2	Deciduous	30/40
Linns		0	0	0	0	32	0	Scots Pine	49
Linns/Raggiewhate		0	0	32	51	0	0	Scots Pine	50
Lockerbie Burgh, St Bryde's Terrace	NY 134 815	2	0	26	10	41	24	Sycamore	60/70
Lockerbie Golf Course	NY 142 820	0	0	0	0	0	31	Scots Pine	40
Lockerbie House Lodge	NY 139 832	0	0	0	0	25	37	Sycamore, Ash, Oak	70/80
Lockerbie House Stables	NY 139 835	0	0	0	0	26	28	Beech, Sycamore	70/80
Mainholm		0	0	41	0	0	0		
Newfield		0	0	0	0	80	0	Beech, Sycamore	82
Newfield, E. of	NY 147 852	0	0	0	61	0	9	Beech	80
Newfield, S. of	NY 146 852	0	0	0	91	0	10	Sycamore (dead), Scots Pine	80
Newfield. N. of		0	0	0	68	0	0	Beech	40/50
North Corrielaw	NY 174 846	0	0	0	0	60	42	Sitka Spruce	40/50
Old Walls		0	150	269	51	0	0	Mix.Dec.	60/70
Peel Houses		0	0	69	68	7	0	Beech, Scots Pine	60/70
Peel Houses. E. of		0	0	0	88	0	0	Scots Pine	30/40
Peelhouses Hill	NY 150 842	0	0	0	0	53	10	Scots Pine	40/50
Quass (Wood)		0	0	41	0	0	0		
Raggiewhate		0	0	0	0	20	0	Deciduous	
Roberthill		0	0	0	3	4	0	Beech	82
Rosebank	NY 160 819	0	0	0	41	69	51	Sycamore	50/60
Rosebank/Watscales		0	0	0	32	0	0	Mix.Dec./Scots Pine	50/60
South Corrielaw		0	0	0	69	0	0	Dec./Spruce	30/40
South Corrielaw (1)		0	0	0	0	41	0	Beech	82
South Corrielaw (2)		0	0	0	0	32	0	Beech	82
South Corrielaw. E. of		0	0	0	61	0	0	Scots Pine	40/50
St Michaels	NY 138 845	80	70	0	109	64	5	Beech, Sycamore	70/80
Underwood		100	100	0	42	101	0	Scots Pine	50
	Parish Totals	**232**	**632**	**804**	**1434**	**1225**	**469**		
Dumfries									
Acrehill		0	0	112	0	0	0		
Castle Street		2	0	0	0	6	0	Deciduous	60
Castledykes		141	36	0	0	0	0		
Catherinefield Ind.Estate	NY 001 794	0	0	0	0	0	39	Deciduous	50
Craigs House	NX 998 743	0	0	0	0	96	65	S.Pine (29) Deciduous (37)	70
Crichton Royal, Carmont Ho.	NX 985 737	0	0	0	19	53	44	Deciduous	30/40
Dalscone Bank		40	0	0	0	0	0		
Douivale	NY 012 764	0	0	0	0	0	106	Mixed deciduous	40/60
Dumfries Burgh (residuals)		2	89	0	0	0	0		
Greensands,	NX 969 763	0	0	0	0	8	3	Deciduous	60
Hannahfield	NX 977 741	0	0	26	0	27	48	Deciduous	60
Heathhall, Lochthorn	NX 989 793	0	0	61	9	153	159	Beech(69) Birch/Willow(90)	30/60
Kelton House		0	0	0	0	56	0	Deciduous	50/70
Kingholm, Glenholm Pl	NX 979 735	0	0	0	0	0	7	Sycamore	50
Marchfield		0	0	0	2	0	0	Beech	30
Marchmount		0	0	15	6	0	0	Beech	35
Netherwood Bank	NX 994 726	0	0	0	0	0	20	Mixed Decid. & Conifer	40/60
Netherwood House & Lodge	NX 988 728	0	0	0	16	66	57		60/70

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Signpost Wood		60	24	0	0	0	0		
	Parish Totals	**245**	**149**	**214**	**52**	**465**	**548**		
Dunscore									
Carse mains/Sheiling by A 76	NX 916 850	0	0	0	0	36	148	Sycamore, Beech	20/40
Dalgonar[2]	NX 863 849	175	250	683	308	559	193	Beech, Douglas Fir, Oak	80/90
Friars Carse	NX 925 845	850	450	351	417	364	80	Beech	850/60
Greenhead	NX 903 826	35	20	95	63	56	20	Beech	40/50
Laggan		2	0	0	0	0	0		
McCheynston		0	0	51	58	17	0	Beech, S.Pine	70
McMurdoston		0	0	118	48	0	0	Oak/few Larch	60
Milliganton	NX 910 837	0	0	0	0	15	18	Sycamore	60
Springfield Hill		0	0	0	0	36	0	Beech, Ash, Oak, Fir	70
Sundaywell		30	0	0	0	0	0		
Upper Linburn		40	0	0	0	0	0		
	Parish Totals	**1132**	**720**	**1298**	**894**	**1083**	**459**		
Durisdeer									
Castlehill		0	0	129	80	0	0	Ash	75
Chapel	NS 879 055	0	0	0	25	177	49	S.Pine	90+
Coshogle. E. of -	NS 862 052	0	0	110	69	144	73	Beech/Scots Pine, Sycamre	80
Coshogle. W. of -	NS 861 050	0	0	7	8	0	39	Sycamore, Fir	50/80
Dalveen Farm	NS 884 069	0	0	0	0	0	56	Beech, Oak	80
Durisdeer		0	0	0	38	0	0	Scots Pine	75
Durisdeer Kirk	NS 894 037	0	0	0	0	136	130	S.Pine, Sycamore, Beech	90+
Gateslack Cottage		0	0	185	131	0	0	Scots Pine	80
Gateslack Farm	NS 892 024	0	0	26	0	67	25	Douglas Fir	75+
Gateslack Round		0	0	107	77	0	0	Scots Pine - felled by 1993	70
Gateslack Wood	NS 888 028	0	0	0	0	168	86	S.Pine, Oak	75
Woodhouselee	NS 849 052	0	0	177	224	359	293	Larch& Deciduous	50/100
	Parish Totals	**0**	**0**	**741**	**652**	**1051**	**751**		
Eskdalemuir									
Clerkhill	NY 257 979	0	0	0	0	0	56	Norway Spruce, Sycamore 1 nest	50/70
Crurie		0	200	0	0	0	0		
Eskdalemuir Manse	NY 254 976	0	0	9	29	16	8	Scots Pine	60/70
Eskdalemuir village	NY 254 980	0	0	0	0	0	4	Scots Pine	
Old Johnstone	NY 247 999	0	0	0	0	0	14	Conifers	60/70
Raeburnfoot	NY 250 991	0	0	11	74	40	27	Scots Pine	40/60
Village Hall Wood	NY 254 997	0	0	0	0	0	24	Norway Spruce	80/100
	Parish Totals	**0**	**200**	**20**	**103**	**56**	**133**		
Ewes									
Bush (of Ewes)	NY 375 923	0	0	0	0	0	28	Scots Pine	50/70
Eweslees		0	0	0	14	0	0	Scots Pine	45/50
Manse. The -		2	0	0	0	0	0		
Middlemoss	NY 402 852	0	0	0	0	63	32	Scots Pine 31, Birch, 1	
Moss Peebles		2	0	0	18	0	0	Scots Pine	50
Sorbie	NY 367 900	12	0	0	0	23	75	Scots Pine 33 /Deciduous 42	50/70
Unthank	NY 386 948	2	0	0	96	19	53	Scots Pine	40/60
	Parish Totals	**18**	**0**	**0**	**128**	**105**	**188**		

2 Some trees felled since 1993.

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Glencairn									
Auchencheyne	NX 752 874	0	0	0	0	0	39	S.Pine, Larch, Ash	45/50
Barbuie		10	0	0	0	0	0		
Breconside	NX 846 888	0	0	0	0	40	32	Ash, Scots Pine	70
Caitloch		100	0	0	0	0	0	Oak	60/70
Dallhag		0	0	0	94	0	0		
Dalwhat House	NX 737 932	1	0	0	100	0	22	Spruce, Pine, Larch	40
Dalwhat. (Braeface)	NX 741 934	0	0	0	0	16	8	Sycamore	40
Dalwhat. (Castlehill)	NX 732 939	0	0	0	0	72	40	Larch & Scots Pine	60
Dardarroch	NX 850 867	0	0	254	331	227	219	Oak, Larch	50/80
Gilmerston	NX 855 844	60	40	16	134	52	98	Scots Pine	60
Marwhirn	NX 745 928	0	0	0	0	0	5	Beech, Ash	70
Shancastle		11	0	0	0	0	0		
Snade		100	125	0	0	0	0		
Stewarton	NX 834 880	0	0	39	94	84	147	Mainly Scots Pine + Oak	65
Tererran	NX 757 928	0	0	0	0	52	101	Sycamore, Scots Pine, Beech	70
Woodhead		0	0	0	10	0	0	Larch	50
	Parish Totals	**282**	**165**	**309**	**763**	**543**	**711**		
Gretna									
Aitchisons Bank	NY 325 704	0	0	98	216	58	47	Scots Pine/ Deciduous	70/80
Alisons Bank		0	0	6	0	0	0		
Beechwood (Blacksyke)		0	0	0	0	15	0	Scots Pine	
Broomhills (ammunition depot)	NY 266 646	0	0	0	0	0	26	Beech	40
Browhouses Road	NY 281 651	0	0	14	13	51	3	Beech	35
Douglas Farm. E. of -		0	0	0	16	0	0	Oak	50/55
East Scales		50	75	0	0	0	0		
Foulsyke (ammunition depot)	NY 258 658	0	0	0	0	0	13	Beech	40
Gretna Green		0	0	14	0	0	0	Beech	45/50
Gretna Hall		2	200	40	0	0	0	Beech	50/55
Gretna Market	NY 314 672	0	0	0	0	169	34	S.Pine, Beech	45
Hills		0	0	63	0	0	0		
Milliganbush	NY 314 712	0	0	0	0	0	34	Scots Pine, Sycamore	
Moorlands Cottages		0	0	0	0	39	0	Beech	
Mount Pleasant	NY 276 664	0	0	0	24	9	10	Beech(1 tree)	35
Niven Hill	NY 281 662	0	0	0	0	0	17	Beech	35/40
Redkirk		0	0	20	2	0	0		
Rigg	NY 292 668	0	0	0	0	0	8	Beech	45
Scales Bank		20	10	0	0	0	0		
Solway Lodge		0	0	8	0	0	0		
The Green		0	0	0	6	0	0	Beech	50/55
West Hill (ammunition depot)	NY 269 653	0	0	30	81	0	20	Beech	40
	Parish Totals	**72**	**285**	**293**	**358**	**341**	**212**		
Half Morton									
Smallholm	NY 299 739	0	0	0	0	216	85	Scots Pine/1 Beech	70/80
Southwoodhead	NY 293 727	0	0	0	0	86	59	Scots Pine	80
	Parish Totals	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**302**	**144**		
Hoddam									
Aitchisons Hill		30	0	0	0	0	0		
Burnfoot	NY 204 746	0	0	215	0	0	47	Deciduous	45/60
Burnswark	NY 192 788	150	100	181	44	0	3	Conifers	
Burnswark. E. side -		0	0	0	0	44	0	Beech	

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Burnswark. SW. side (1)		0	0	0	0	15	0	Deciduous	
Burnswark. SW. side (2)		0	0	0	0	40	0	Deciduous	
Craiglands	NY 188 768	0	0	0	0	0	11	Deciduous	40
Cressfield		2	2	0	0	0	0		
Ecclefechan Station		0	0	0	3	0	0		
Ecclefechan. E. of		0	0	180	0	0	0		
Ecclefechan. N. of		0	0	100	0	8	0	Deciduous	
Ecclefechan. Supplebank Road		0	0	0	55	55	0	Beech/Oak/ Conifers:'93 Decid.	45/50
Ecclefechan. W. of		0	0	0	54	0	0	Beech	50/55
Hoddam Bridge		0	0	31	0	0	0		
Hoddam Cross	NY 178 735	0	0	0	186	207	44	Deciduous	55/65
Hoddam Kirk		8	0	0	0	0	0		
Hoddam Town In wood N of farm	NY 177 743	0	0	0	0	52	45	Deciduous	60/80
Kirkconnel Hall (Hotel)	NY 193 752	150	150	0	0	0	31	Deciduous	50/60
Knockhill	NY 167 740	250	300	93	326	240	65	Beech/Oak/ Chestnut, S.Pine	60/70
Luce Mains		0	0	0	0	10	0		
Meinfoot (1)		0	0	0	0	32	0		
Meinfoot (2)		0	0	0	0	15	0		
Nether Collinhurst	NY 179 754	0	0	0	0	0	18	Deciduous	40Newfield
(Hillwood)		0	0	0	201	250	0	Deciduous	
Newfield (Three cornered wood)		0	0	0	61	55	0	Deciduous	
Newfield House		100	100	74	59	0	0		
Newpark		0	0	0	0	50	0	Deciduous	
Parkgate		0	0	0	172	300	0	S.Pine & Deciduous	60/70
Relief Farm	NY 192 775	100	100	0	0	18	79	Conifers/Deciduous	35
Rickerbie School		0	0	0	54	0	0	Oak/Ash/Chestnut/ Conifer	50/55
Shortrigg		50	0	39	0	0	0		
Supplebank	NY 190 738	0	0	0	0	0	8	Deciduous	40
Supplebank	NY 188 741	0	0	0	0	0	47	Deciduous	50/60
Whitehill	NY 149 748	0	0	101	22	157	34	Deciduous/ Conifers	
Whitehill 2		0	0	0	25	74	0		
	Parish Totals	**840**	**752**	**1014**	**1262**	**1622**	**432**		
Holywood									
Broomrigg	NX 968 791	2	0	169	13	77	66	Beech, Oak	60/65
Cairnvale	NX 865 813	0	0	18	0	46	24	Oak	45/50
Cluden Bank. E. of		25	83	82	82	0	0	Beech/Pine	70
Cluden Lodge E. of	NX 938 798	0	0	0	0	0	7	Deciduous	40
Cludenbank	NX 943 792	0	0	0	0	56	34	Beech (23 nests), S.Pine(11)	40/45
Cowhill Tower	NX 950 826	250	250	51	77	101	62	Beech	60/65
Fourmerkland Tower		0	0	22	42	48	0	Oak, Beech	55/60
Gribton	NX 923 802	200	200	232	173	128	116	Beech, Oak	55/60
Holywood Church		0	0	0	7	0	0	Oak	60
Holywood Station	NX 954 813	0	0	33	0	101	78	Oak, some Beech	55/60
Killylung		0	0	0	124	0	0	Beech	60/70
Kilness		0	0	25	0	0	0		
Lower Stepford		0	0	0	38	0	0	Oak	70
Mid/Morrinton - Newtonairds		0	0	0	0	9	0	Oak	50
Nether Gribton		0	0	34	0	43	0	Oak	60
Portrack	NX 937 831	250	350	202	147	159	83	Oak	70
Slaethorn Croft		0	0	0	4	0	0	Oak	70
Steilston	NX 902 804	0	0	49	44	0	32	Oak	60
Steilston House		0	0	0	0	7	0	Oak	50

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Steilston Old School		0	0	0	0	5	0	Oak	50/60
Stepford House	NX 864 817	0	0	20	172	0	3	Pine	60/65
Townfoot	NX 902 823	0	0	0	0	12	43	Oak	50/60
Woodhouse		0	0	0	0	86	0	Oak	50/60
	Parish Totals	**727**	**883**	**937**	**923**	**878**	**548**		
Hutton & Corrie									
Balstack	NY 189 829	0	27		0	53	14	Deciduous	40’
Boreland	NY 176 914	0	0	0	0	10	10	S.Pine	60
Boreland House	NY 173 914	0	0	0	0	0	12	Scots Pine	70
Broomhill		0	0	0	104	30	0	S.Fir/Spruce/ Sycamore:93 Decid.	60
Burnfoot Cottage	NY 201 886	0	0	0	0	0	43	Beech	60
Carterton	NY 200 899	0	0	0	0	47	39	Beech. Spruce	60
Corrielea	NY 195 852	0	0	0	53	256	105	Deciduous (20) Spruce (85)	50
Cowburn (Hill Wood)		40	106	0	67	0	0	Beech	60/70
Craighouse	NY 185 844	0	0	0	0	80	3	Deciduous	40/60
Gillesbie		0	0	0	0	17	0	Deciduous & S.Pine	70
Marygill	NY 157 922	40	52	348	254	36	17	Scots	40/60
Paddockhole Garden	NY 230 835	0	0	0	0	18	14	Beech	60
Parkcleughfoot		0	0	95	0	0	0		
Shankend	NY 163 926	0	0	0	0	68	79	Scots Pine	70
Shaw of Dryfe	NY 160 907	200	350	151	203	238	44	Deciduous	50Stridriggs
NY 222 854	0	0	0	0	72	47	Deciduous, Scots Pine		
Upper Fenton	NY 180 927	0	0	0	0	103	53	Deciduous, Scots Pine	
Upper Hutton		10	20	0	0	0	0		
Watscales	NY 187 837	0	0	0	11	0	6	Deciduous	40
Whiteknowe		0	80	0	0	0	0		
Wynholm	NY 199 881	0	0	0	0	0	48	Larch	30
	Parish Totals	**290**	**635**	**594**	**692**	**1028**	**534**		
Johnstone									
Annanbank		0	0	0	0	3	0	Deciduous	50
Cleughbrae	NY 100 935	0	0	0	0	0	14	Beech	50
Corsua	NY 075 879	0	0	0	0	38	42	Birch	42
Dykehead	NY 098 933	0	0	200	31	82	66	Beech, Oak	50/70
Greigsland Cottage	NY 087 921	0	0	0	0	8	21	Beech, Oak	40
Greyrigg	NY 083 888	0	0	0	0	14	24	Beech	50/60
Johnstone Bridge School	NY 100 917	0	0	0	17	0	36	Oak	60+
Kirkbank	NY 098 904	0	0	0	0	0	6	Beech	40+
Lochwood Smithy	NY088 966	0	0	0	0	0	6	Beech	25
Lochwoodmains	NY 099 969	0	0	0	0	12	9	Beech	50/60
Orchard	NY 102 959	0	0	0	0	56	17	Beech, Larch	25Panlands
NY 092 894	0	0	22	145	118	118	Scots Pine, Oak		30/60
Skemrigg (J.Bridge School)	NY 097 920	0	0	0	24	52	42	Beech	40
Woodend	NY 105 950	0	0	0	0	135	62	Birch, Oak, Larch	30/70
	Parish Totals	**0**	**0**	**222**	**217**	**518**	**463**		
Keir									
Auchenage		0	0	98	141	24	0	Scots Pine	
Barndennoch		130	0	0	0	0	0		
Bogrough road-end	NX 854 936	0	0	0	0	0	116	Conifer/Deciduous	50/65
Hillend	NX 904 860	0	0	0	0	0	11	Deciduous	65/70
Scaurbank	NX 860 937	0	0	0	0	0	111	Conifer/Deciduous	60/75
	Parish Totals	**130**	**0**	**98**	**141**	**24**	**238**		

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Kirkconnel									
Gateside	NS 726 112	0	7	194	680	356	237	Scots Pine 90%, Deciduous	50/60
Kelloside	NS 728 118	0	0	27	160	131	99	Scots Pine	40/60
Kirkland	NS 724 142	0	0	0	0	52	139	Scots Pine, Spruce	40/60
Manse	NS 725 124	0	0	0	0	0	39	Scots Pine	40/50
Tower	NS 755 115	0	0	378	173	224	96	Scots Pine	50/60
Whitehill	NS 722 109	0	0	0	0	0	46	Scots Pine	40/60
	Parish Totals	**0**	**7**	**599**	**1013**	**763**	**656**		
Kirkmahoe									
Bridge House (Duncow Estate)	NX 965 833	0	0	0	0	32	19	S.Pine, Lime, Oak, Ash	100
Carnsalloch		200	0	0	0	0	0		
Castlehill		65	65	0	0	0	0		
Cullivait	NX 992 814	170	240	107	103	105	64	Beech	50/100
Duncow (school)	NX 966 833	300	220	205	125	11	17	Scots Pine	40/60
Kemyss Hall (Duncow Estate)	NX 973 823	0	0	0	0	0	9	Beech, Oak	70/80
Kirkton (Mausoleum Wood)	NX 975 809	0	0	0	0	62	99	Sycamore, other deciduous	40/70
Kirkton (Stores)		0	0	0	84	0	0		
Netherhall	NX 985 849	0	0	0	0	0	10	Ash, Alder, Sycamore	80
Scallyhill (Duncow Estate)	NX 975 821	0	0	0	0	41	13	Oak	70/80
	Parish Totals	**735**	**525**	**312**	**312**	**251**	**231**		
Kirkmichael									
Ashbank	NY 020 880	0	0	0	0	21	34	Scots Pine, Sycamore	60/80
Barony. The -	NY 024 872	0	100	0	26	30	5	Sycamore	60/80
Blackacre	NY 048 906	0	0	0	0	0	82	S Pine, Beech,	60/70
Burrance Bridge	NY 044 901	0	0	0	0	180	41	Mixed deciduous, N Spruce	40/60
Burrance of Courance	NY 042 904	0	0	110	120	56	33	Sycamore	40/70
Burrenrig	NY 052 907	0	0	0	0	98	204	S. Pine, Beech, Sycamore	60/70
Corses, Parkgate	NY 027 887	0	0	35	44	0	38	Scots Pine, Sycamore	50/70
Courance	NY 051 901	2	0	0	57	0	16	Beech	50/60
Dalfibble	NY 038 859	0	0	13	26	85	5	Oak	50/60
Gillrigg		0	0	320	286	0	0	Deciduous	30/50
Jessfield		0	0	0	0	2	0	Deciduous	
Kirkland	NY 031 896	0	0	27	49	0	10	Sycamore	60/70
Kirkland 2	NY 033 896	0	0	110	54	0	28	Scots Pine, Sycamore	60/70
Kirkland 3		0	0	0	0	64	0	Deciduous	
Kirkmichael Estate		100	196	0	0	0	0		
Kirkmichael Glebe	NY 001 888	0	50	0	0	0	47	Sycamore, Beech	50/70
Kirkmichael Manse	NY 003 884	0	0	0	15	104	52	Sycamore, Beech	
Mountstewart	NX 998 886	0	0	0	0	0	4	Ash	60/70
Nethermill		0	0	40	51	0	0	Conifer	60/80
Nethermill School	NY 038 878	0	0	0	0	0	52	Scots Pine	60/80
Over Garrel	NY 057 912	0	0	0	0	0	49	Oak 1, Scots Pine	60/80
Parkgate	NY 017 875	0	0	0	0	32	84	Scots Pine, Sycamore	60/80
Pielmuir	NY 045 880	0	0	0	0	30	64	Sycamore, Birch, Larch	60/80

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Third north east of Kinnel	NY 071 872	0	0	0	29	108	10	Elm, Beech	60/70
Townhead	NY 005 884	0	0	92	24	0	1	Scots Pine	60
	Parish Totals	**102**	**346**	**747**	**781**	**810**	**859**		
Kirkpatrick Fleming									
Blacksyke	NY 312 701	0	0	0	0	0	51	Scots Pine, Oak	40/60
Broats House		50	0	0	0	0	0		
Calvertsholm	NY 282 691	0	0	0	0	42	8	Beech	29
Grahamshill		90	50	144	0	0	0		
Hayfield		50	0	0	0	0	0		
Hillhead	NY 277 692	0	12	0	0	0	16	Scots Pine	35
Irvington	NY 262 703	0	0	0	0	15	15	Beech	26
Kirkpatrick Fleming	NY 280 706	0	0	0	0	76	44	Scots Pine, Beech	26
Kirkpatrick House		20	60	0	0	0	0		
Kirkpatrick Station	NY 275 704	0	0	0	16	0	17	Oak/Ash	45
Kirtlebridge, north of	NY 242 734	0	0	0	0	0	19	Scots Pine	40
Moorend	NY 258 705	0	0	0	0	0	15	Mixed	30
Mossknowe area	NY 284 698	450	20	78	94	26	4	Beech	30
Newhope		0	0	0	36	0	0	Oak	40/45
Raeburnhead	NY 292 712	0	0	0	75	174	120	Scots Pine	26
Redhall	NY 290 695	0	0	0	0	9	17	Beech, Scots Pine	60/75
Riggheads	NY 283 694	0	0	0	0	9	9	Beech	26
Riggheads (2)	NY 283 685	0	0	0	0	0	34	Scots Pine	65
Robgill		0	0	57	0	0	0		
Springkell		6	0	0	0	0	0		
Williamsfield	NY 297 702	0	0	0	8	26	1	Beech	30Woodhouse
	900	200	0	0	0	0			
Workhope		0	0	6	0	0	0		
Wyseby	NY 247 723	200	0	43	125	0	45	Scots Pine	60
Wyseby (2) adj. to main road	NY 243 724	0	0	0	0	0	10	Scots Pine	45
	Parish Totals	**1766**	**342**	**328**	**354**	**377**	**425**		
Kirkpatrick Juxta									
Barnhill	NT 091 030	0	0	0	0	150	75	Beech, Oak, Fir	50/60
Bearholm		0	0	0	0	53	0	Deciduous	25/60
Beattock Farm	NT 077 027	0	0	0	0	0	29	Scots Pine, Fir	40+
Beattock Manse		0	0	16	4	0	0	Oak	60
Beattock Station		0	0	0	18	159	0	Scots Pine	35/40
Buckrigg		0	0	0	0	3	0	Beech, Oak	60
Cogries (approach road)	NY 098 976	0	0	0	0	0	34	Birch, Fir	30/40
Craigielands	NT 078 018	0	0	59	53	102	74	Oak, Beech, Fir	40/60
Dumlees		0	0	0	0	75	0	Beech	30/50
Dyke Farm	NT 085 036	0	0	0	0	0	13	Beech, Oak	40/60
Harthope		0	0	22	21	0	0	Pines/Spruce	50
Holms Farm		0	0	0	32	36	0	Scots Pine, Beech	25/35
Marchbanks Wood		0	0	26	41	7	0	Beech, Oak	50/60
Mid Murthat	NY 095 993	0	0	0	0	82	66	Beech, Scots Pine	25/40
Palace Knowe/Upper Murthat	NT 089 001	0	0	29	22	0	56	Beech, Fir, Oak, Birch	30/70
Parks Farm	NY 069 973	0	0	0	0	0	6	Beech	45+
Poldean		0	0	10	0	0	0		
School Wood	NY 067 986	0	0	0	0	0	22	Beech, Birch, Fir	25/40
Skellywell		0	0	57	65	0	0	Mixed	70
Southerly Ridge		0	0	0	0	183	0	Ash, Beech, Fir	25/40
Tathill		0	0	0	0	35	0	Ash, Beech, Fir	25/40
Torthorwald Wood	NT 081 046	0	0	86	69	181	67	Beech, Oak, Fir	50/65
Westwood	NY 087 987	0	0	0	0	0	28	Beech, Fir	40/60
Woodfoot		0	0	42	35	0	0	Conifers	50/60
	Parish Totals	**0**	**0**	**347**	**360**	**1066**	**470**		

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Langholm									
Cleughfoot		0	0	0	0	100	0	Coniferous/ Deciduous	50/70
Eastons Walk	NY 368 837	0	0	0	80	72	38	Mainly Oak	100
Erkin Holm/ Castleholm/Kilgreen	NY 364 851	25	50	32	0	200	137	Deciduous	50/80
Eskdaill St		0	0	0	0	32	0	Mixed, Larch	30/50
Green Bank		100	50	15	11	0	0	Lime	100
Green Cleugh		0	0	0	30	0	0	Poplar/Norway Spruce/Sitka	60/80
Langholm Burgh (west of Academy)	NY 357 849	60	50	40	0	0	13	Deciduous	
Townfoot, The Glen, Langholm	NY 371 838	0	0	0	0	0	11		
Townhead Kirk		90	50	0	0	0	0		
West Water		0	0	0	66	1	0	Birch	40
	Parish Totals	**275**	**200**	**87**	**187**	**405**	**199**		
Lochmaben									
Almagill. 0.25 mile NE		0	0	0	83	0	0	Some Conifers/Deciduous	60
Beebinklees	NY 094 853	0	0	20	0	16	30	Beech	60/70
Broadchapel	NY 072 818	100	100	0	192	218	56	Conifers & Deciduous	40/60
Broadchapel. 0.25 mile N		0	0	0	33	0	0	Scots Pine/Beech	50
Broom Wood		200	100	0	0	0	0		
Bruce's Castle		150	0	0	0	14	0		
Burnside	NY 071 823	0	0	0	0	35	34	Scots Pine & Beech	35/50
Chapelcroft	NY 069 846	0	0	0	0	0	4	Beech	50
Cocket Hill. 0.5 mile N		0	0	31	21	0	0	Mixed Deciduous	50
Corncockle		0	200	0	0	10	0	Beech	60/70
Deils Dyke	NY 072 805	0	0	0	0	209	31	Beech	50/60
Elsieshields	NY 071 848	0	0	0	0	0	68	Conifers & Deciduous	
Hallheaths	NY 096 819	0	0	16	15	42	28	Scots Pine & Lime	40/50
Hightae Church	NY 091 793	0	0	0	0	0	38	Scots Pine, Beech	
Hunterhouse	NY 058 814	0	0	14	0	0	22	Scots Pine, Beech	30/50
Kinnelbridge	NY 089 851	0	0	3	0	0	3	Beech	40/50
Kinnelside	NY 085 855	0	0	0	0	38	36	Scots Pine	30
Millriggs		0	200	9	0	0	0		
Millriggs Wood		0	0	140	142	0	0	Scots Pine	60
Old Spedlins		0	31	0	0	0	0		
Priestdykes	NY 101 812	0	0	9	43	0	21	Oak	60
LOCATION	**GridRef**	**1908**	**1921**	**1963**	**1973**	**1993**	**2003**	**TREES**	**HEIGHT**
Riggfoot	NY 083 837	0	0	0	0	0	4	Oak	30
Small Rigg		0	0	148	143	0	0	Beech	50
Thorniewhaite		2	0	0	0	0	0		
Todhillmuir	NY 084 848	0	0	26	105	18	22	Beech	60/70
	Parish Totals	**452**	**631**	**416**	**777**	**600**	**397**		
Middlebie									
Blackwood House		2	0	0	0	0	0		
Braesby. Kirtle Water		80	0	0	0	0	0		
Broadlea		0	0	0	7	0	0	Sycamore	60
Burnfoot		100	80	20	60	0	0	Spruce/Silver Fir/Mix.Deciduous	50/70
Carruthers		0	0	0	0	53	0	Scots Pine	50/70
Cleughbrae (Mill)	NY 205 757	0	0	0	0	30	46	Deciduous, Scots Pine	
Craigs		85	0	0	0	0	0		

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Crossbankhead	NY 255 801	0	0	0	0	80	22	Beech	50
Crowdieknowe Hill	NY 258 813	0	0	0	0	0	27	Beech	70
Cushathill E.	NY 231 755	0	0	0	0	0	39	Scots Pine	40/60
Cushathill E. 2	NY 227 753	0	0	0	0	85	39	Scots Pine	40/60
Cushathill N.	NY 231 758	0	0	0	0	49	42	Beech	50/60
Cushathill N.W.	NY 228 755	0	0	0	0	74	92	Mixed deciduous/ Scots Pine	40/60
Dockenflat	NY 235 779	0	0	0	15	73	18	Mixed deciduous	40/50
Donkins, Kirtlebridge	NY 232 738	2	105	0	0	0	4	Scots Pine	40
Dunnabie	NY 252 811	0	0	0	71	0	27	Spruce/Scots Pine/ Mix. deciduous	50
Dunnabie E		0	0	0	0	89	0	Spruce	
Dunnabie N.	NY 254 814	0	0	0	0	22	17	Beech, Oak	50/60
Dunnabie S.W.	NY 257 810	0	0	0	0	33	4	Scots Pine	40
Eaglesfield		0	30	0	0	0	0		
East Linbridgeford		0	0	0	72	75	0	Spruce(3)Beech(19) Birch(26)	50/60
Gilmartin	NY 250 791	150	250	0	0	20	27	Beech (Conifers felled)	60/70
Kirtledene	NY 228 732	0	0	0	250	103	84	Scots Pine	40
Kirtleton (House)	NY 269 801	0	0	143	105	122	33	Oak	50
Kirtleton E.	NY 269 805	0	0	0	0	48	55	Oak	70
Kirtleton W.	NY 266 803	0	0	0	0	0	22	Oak	50/60
Torbeckhill	NY 235 790	150	200	65	160	0	47	Deciduous/Spruce	50
Torbeckhill. Reservoir E of Waterbeck Village		0	0	0	68	0	0	Beech	50
Wattaman	NY 316 778	2	0	0	0	0	0		
	Parish Totals	0	0	0	0	212	221	Beech, Ash, Alder	
		571	**665**	**228**	**808**	**1168**	**866**		
Moffat									
Alton		0	78	0	0	0	0		
Archbank		34	38	0	0	0	0		
Ballplay		40	0	4	0	0	0		
Bodesbeck		0	0	45	36	0	0	Conifers	70
Corehead	NT 072 125	0	0	0	0	0	59	Fir, Beech, Oak	40/60
Craigbeck		0	0	17	20	16	0	Beech	50/60
Craigieburn Wood	NT 117 052	200	465	30	20	111	54	Beech, Scots Pine, Fir	30/60
Crofthead		0	0	37	0	0	0		
Dumcrief		2	0	0	0	0	0		
Emu Villa		26	22	0	0	0	0		
Ericstane	NT 072 108	0	0	86	91	35	23	Beech, Birch, Fir	35+
Golf Hill		0	0	0	59	0	0	Beech	70
Granton	NT 076 096	0	0	0	54	70	102	Mixed deciduous, Pine, Fir	40/60
Heathery Haugh	NT 093 059	50	13	37	52	179	138	Fir, Pine	35/50
Larchhill	NT 086 056	0	0	16	18	45	25	Scots Pine	30/40
Laurencefield		2	0	0	0	0	0		
Millmeadows		0	127	0	0	0	0		
Moffat N.(Old Edinburgh Road Bridge)	NT 079 058	0	0	0	0	13	33	Beech	45/55
Parish Kirk		75	15	0	0	0	0		
Penrose Hill		0	0	3	0	0	0		
Shortwood End		2	0	0	0	0	0		
Tank Wood		0	0	10	0	0	0		
Woodhead		0	0	0	181	0	0	Beech/Oak	50
	Parish Totals	**431**	**758**	**285**	**531**	**469**	**434**		

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Morton									
Hayfield	NX 898 968	0	0	0	4	124	123	Oak, S Pine	60
Hayfield Wood		0	0	0	0	110	0	Pine, Oak	35/60
Langmyre	NX 874 966	0	0	0	0	0	22	Scots Pine & Beech	60
Nith Bridge		0	0	0	0	29	0	Oak, Beech	50
Nithbank Wood	NX 873 957	0	0	0	0	0	24	Deciduous	60
Thornhill Station	NX 891 964	0	0	18	110	147	112	Deciduous & Scots Pine	50-60
Thornhill, Boatbrae Wood	NX 875 953	0	0	0	0	0	30	S Pine/ Deciduous	50-60
Thornhill, Cundy Wood	NX 875 957	0	0	0	0	0	4	Deciduous	
Thornhill, Gashouse Wood	NX 880 951	0	0	0	0	0	29	Beech/ Oak 50/50	60
Thornhill, Hospital Wood	NX 877 950	0	0	0	0	0	61	Beech, Oak	50-60
Thornhill, Village		0	0	3	26	114	0		
Waterside Mains		0	0	0	0	4	0		
	Parish Totals	**0**	**0**	**21**	**140**	**528**	**405**		
Mouswald									
Beyond the Burn		75	300	0	0	0	0		
Boghead (A75)		0	0	0	127	43	0	Scots Pine, Sycamore	46
Breconrae	NY 058 748	0	0	0	0	0	72	Sycamore, Lime, Conifer	40
Brocklehurst		110	0	0	0	0	0		
Glenburnie Cottage		0	0	0	0	2	0	Beech	33
Ironhirst	NY 056 724	0	0	0	0	0	82	Birch/Lime	35
Manse		24	3	0	0	0	0		
Mount Kedar	NY 073 716	0	0	0	0	0	22	Sycamore	40
Mouswald Grange		0	0	0	0	20	0	Scots Pine	36
Oxgang	NY 041 757	0	0	0	0	0	57	Deciduous	40
Panteth Hill Road	NY 080 727	0	0	0	0	48	68	Birch	30
Rigghead	NY 039 753	0	0	0	0	0	3	Deciduous	40
Rockhall	NY 058 757	0	0	0	0	194	58	Scots Pine, Deciduous	45
Rockhall. 0.25 mile S. on A75		0	0	0	210	0	0	Scots Pine/ Sycamore/Lime	
	Parish Totals	**209**	**303**	**0**	**337**	**307**	**362**		
Penpont									
Glenmanna (Road End)		0	0	0	0	2	0	Deciduous	
Glenmanna Wood	NS 764 021	0	0	0	0	0	28	Conifer	65/75
Penpont, Gladstone Park	NX 846 946	0	0	0	0	0	43	Conifer	60/70
Virginhall Wood	NX 865 954	0	0	0	0	0	109	Conifer	65/75
	Parish Totals	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**180**		
Ruthwell									
Bellridding Farm		0	9	0	0	0	0		
Clarencefield	NY 092 686	0	0	0	0	0	67	Pine, Beech, Ash	20/40
Comlongon Castle		0	0	23	10	16	0	Sycamore	100
Comlongon Castle Wood		80	13	20	13	0	0	Oak	80
Lover's Plantation		0	0	75	0	0	0		
Manse	NY101 682	100	100	0	0	8	56	Mixed decid. and Scots Pine	40/50
Mid Locharwoods		0	0	3	94	16	0	Oak	116
Nether Locharwoods (1)	NY 056 672	80	40	28	0	46	25	Beech, Sycamore,	45
Nether Locharwoods (2)		0	0	0	0	4	0	Oak	89
Peter's Plantation		230	0	0	0	0	0		
Ruthwell		0	0	0	0	6	0	Scots Pine	100
Skew Bridge	NY 075 707	0	0	0	0	8	16	Beech	40

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Straggling Walk		0	50	0	0	0	0		
Summerfield		125	108	0	0	0	0		
Thwaite		0	0	0	0	12	0	Scots Pine	100
	Parish Totals	**615**	**320**	**149**	**117**	**116**	**164**		
Sanquhar									
Blackaddie	NS 774 099	0	40	64	10	143	152	Scots Pine	50/70
Braefoot	NS 812 073	0	0	0	97	30	93	Deciduous	60/70
Brandleys	NS 817 106	0	0	112	120	80	53	Mixed	40/50
Clenries	NS 805 125	0	0	0	0	122	68	Deciduous	40/50
Glengenny		40	33	0	0	0	0		
Green Loaning	NS 790 100	0	0	0	0	0	17	Scots Pine	50
Greenhead	NS 792 092	0	0	0	0	0	5	Deciduous	
Heuksland			0	0	0	40	0		40/50
Littlemark		240	170	169	0	0	0		
Manse		125	120	0	0	0	0		
Newark		0	0	0	0	26	0		60/70
Newmark		0	0	0	47	0	0	Scots Pine	50
Ryehill	NS 795 088	0	0	0	0	0	11	Deciduous	
Sanquhar Old Folks Home	NS 786 097	0	0	0	0	77	38	Deciduous	60/70
South Mains	NS 784 082	0	0	0	0	106	125	Scots Pine, Spruce	50/70
Toonfoot	NS 787 094	0	0	0	0	0	23	Deciduous	50/70
Twenty Shilling		120	100	0	0	0	0		
	Parish Totals	**525**	**463**	**345**	**274**	**624**	**585**		
St Mungo									
Blackford	NY 143 803	0	0	0	31	6	8	Sycamore	65
Castlemilk		200	0	30	39	0	0	Scots Pine/ Deciduous	60
Castlemilk Home Farm	NY 148 768	0	0	0	0	121	98	Scots Pine, Spruce	90/100
Castlemilk Town	NY 139 782	0	0	0	0	60	30	Scots Pine, Larch	65
Eskdale Rigg	NY 143 784	0	0	0	0	0	6	Spruce	30
Firpark	NY 134 792	0	0	0	74	92	31	Scots Pine	80
Highlaw	NY 141 784	0	0	20	62	124	112	Sycamore, Beech, Birch	80
Kirkbank	NY 135 757	0	0	0	0	3	80	Oak	40
Middleshaw	NY 149 755	0	0	0	0	0	84	Scots Pine	
Murrayfield		0	0	130	0	0	0		
Norwood	NY 152 793	0	0	25	45	40	85	Scots Pine, Beech	90/100
Queens Hotel	NY 140 803	0	0	0	5	43	27	Beech, Sycamore	80
St Mungo Church (adj parish)		0	0	0	0	1	0	Beech	
	Parish Totals	**200**	**0**	**205**	**256**	**490**	**561**		
LOCATION	**GridRef**	**1908**	**1921**	**1963**	**1973**	**1993**	**2003**	**TREES**	**HEIGHT**
Tinwald									
Amisfield	NY 001 825	2	150	156	25	98	35	Deciduous	30/40
Amisfield		0	0	0	37	0	0	Beech	60
Amisfield Tower	NX 992 842	0	0	203	177	21	6	Beech	30/40
Bankhead	NY 052 838	0	0	30	113	0	11	Beech	50/60
Bankhead Glen		0	0	0	0	63	0	Ash	30/40
Barshill		0	0	0	160	174	0	Beech	30/40
Belzies	NY 058 844	0	0	0	0	50	6	Birch	30
Brickfield		0	0	0	2	0	0	Beech	60
Bruntshields/Kennels	NY 030 835	0	0	0	0	0	32	Deciduous	30/40
Burnbank [Hunter House ‘63]		0	0	53	84	0	0	Scots Pine/ some Oak	50
Carse Glen		400	280	0	0	0	0		
Dalrushcan		140	90	0	89	0	0	Oak	40

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Duncow Roadend (A701)	NY 005 848	0	0	0	0	24	41	Beech , Larch	30/40
East Lanegate	NY 022 847	0	0	0	0	0	44	Beech	30/40
Fearnycleugh	NY 028 827	0	0	0	0	0	19	Beech	30/40
Fulton House		0	0	0	5	0	0	Beech	50
Glenae		2	0	42	33	0	0	Beech	60/70
Hazelrigg		0	0	67	147	0	0	Mainly Oak/ some Ash	60
Johnfield	NY 005 856	0	0	0	0	0	38	Mixed deciduous	30/40
Lawridding	NX 995 836	0	0	0	0	0	6	Beech	30/40
Maxwellbank	NY 064 831	0	0	0	0	0	12	Beech	30/40
Millands		0	0	0	0	55	0	Deciduous	
Pinnaclewood		0	0	47	79	16	0	Silver Birch	30/40
Robertland		0	0	22	0	0	0		
Shieldhill		0	0	0	0	35	0	Deciduous	30/40
The Slacks		0	0	146	0	0	0		
Tinwald House		0	0	190	122	96	0	Deciduous	30/40
Tinwald Kirk	NY 003 816	0	0	0	0	15	46	Mixed deciduous	30/40
Tinwald Shaws		0	0	157	29	18	0	Beech ('93 Ash)	30/40
Townfoot		0	0	0	0	87	0	Deciduous	30/40
	Parish Totals	**544**	**520**	**1113**	**1102**	**752**	**296**		
Torthorwald									
Barlouth	NY 047 779	0	0	0	0	78	63	Scots Pine	40
Barlouth 1		0	0	75	94	0	0	Spruce	50
Barlouth 2		0	0	0	65	0	0	Spruce	30
Greenbogue	NY 016 795	0	0	0	0	0	31	Beech	30/40
Hemplands (Road	NY 025 797	0	0	0	0	0	29	Ash	
Linns	NY 044 768	0	0	50	20	57	62	Ash	50
Manse		2	0	0	0	0	0		50
Redhills		0	0	12	202	0	0	Silver Birch	60
	Parish Totals	2	0	137	381	135	185		
Tundergarth									
Banks		0	0	0	0	9	0		
Bankshill	NY 191 819	0	0	0	0	0	4	Beech	30/40
Burnhead Cottage.	NY 199 812	0	0	0	46	32	15	Beech	
Burnhead Cottage. S. of		10	0	33	22	0	0	Beech	50
Burnhead. E.		0	0	0	0	46	0	Beech	
Capelfoot	NY 239 864	0	0	0	0	0	102	Scots Pine	50/60
Castlehill Cottage		0	0	0	0	35	0	Beech	
Chapelfoot		0	0	15	0	40	0	Beech	
Cleughhead	NY 198 822	0	0	0	0	0	17	Mixed deciduous	30/40
Craighousesteads		0	0	0	98	0	0	Spruce Sp.	60/70
Crawthat	NY 251 825	0	0	37	53	22	43	Scots Pine (2)	
Cudscroft		0	250	0	0	0	0		
Dixons	NY 155 797	0	54	0	76	55	21	Spruce, Larch	40
Gibsons		0	0	0	0	6	0	Beech	
Grange	NY 234 828	50	125	0	0	62	19	Beech	
Hallmeadow		0	0	0	0	32	0	Larch	
Hazelberry 1		0	0	2	110	0	0	Deciduous	60/70
Hazelberry 2		0	0	2	72	0	0	Deciduous	60/70
Linnhall		0	0	80	120	0	0	Spruce/Beech/ Scots Pine	50/70
Linnhall. S. of		0	0	0	29	0	0	Spruce/Scots Pine	50/60
Linnhead	NY 166 807	0	0	0	0	0	8	Beech opp. Farmhouse	30/40
Northburn	NY 184 818	2	0	20	21	0	28	Beech	60
Paddockhole	NY 228 834	32	90	0	0	18	12	Scots Pine	
Pearsby Hall	NY 235 846	100	140	100	105	77	16	Scots Pine/Beech	60

LOCATION	GridRef	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	TREES	HEIGHT (Ft)
Raggiewhate		0	0	32	0	0	0		
Scroggs Mill	NY 164 813	0	0	11	0	0	15	Mixed deciduous	30/40
Standburn	NY 212 826	0	0	0	0	25	11	Ash	
Tundergarth Mains	NY 177 806	0	0	90	172	58	37	Beech	
Tundergarth Manse		0	0	0	40	0	0	Beech	
Westwood		60	0	0	0	0	0		
Whitstonehill		50	130	25	60	0	0	Ash/Elm	60/70
Wyliehole (East Drive)		0	0	0	11	0	0	Conifers/ Deciduous	
Wyliehole. S.W. of		50	80	77	52	0	0	Coniferous/ Deciduous	60/70
	Parish Totals	**354**	**869**	**524**	**1087**	**517**	**348**		
Tynron									
Auchenbrack	NX 766 965	0	0	0	0	0	30	Scots Pine	80
Courthill	NX 815 932	0	0	0	0	0	37	Larch	80
McQueston	NX 772 940	0	0	130	107	4	43	Birch, Scots Pine	60/80
Old Auchenbrack	NX 763 969	0	0	0	0	114	80	Scots Pine	70/90
	Parish Totals	**0**	**0**	**130**	**107**	**118**	**190**		
Wamphray									
Girthhead		150	150	158	19	4	0	Oak/Beech	50
Kilbrook	NY 117 973	0	0	0	0	20	89	Scots Pine, Beech, Oak	40/50
Langside		0	0	0	0	45	0	Deciduous	50/60
Laverhay	NY 138 979	0	0	0	0	0	14	Beech	50/60
Milnehouse (Milne)	NY 138 972	300	125	0	0	10	28	Scots Pine, Beech	30/40
Poldean	NT 104 003	0	0	0	18	0	45	Conifers, Beech	60/70
Saughtrees	NY 126 954	0	0	0	0	74	42	Scots Pine	40/45
Shawwood Fingland		20	49	0	0	0	0		
Station. Near Wamphray		10	0	0	0	0	0		
Stenrieshill	NY 110 978	0	0	0	142	94	142	Beech, Scots Pine	50/60
Wamphray Church	NY 113 946	0	0	125	48	0	62	Beech, Scots Pine	50
Wamphray Glen		0	0	157	75	0	0	Beech, Sycamore/ Scots Pine	40/60
Wamphray School	NY 118 958	0	0	0	0	0	3	Beech	45/60
Wamphraygate	NY 121 962	0	0	0	0	11	34	Deciduous Scots Pine	50/60
Wamphraymoor Plantation		0	0	0	0	28	0	Scots Pine	30/40
	Parish Totals	**480**	**324**	**440**	**302**	**286**	**459**		
Westerkirk									
Burnfoot		50	0	0	0	0	0		
Douglan Bank		2	0	0	0	0	0		
Effgill	NY 341 928	0	0	0	0	65	95	Larch/Spruce	50/70
Enzieholm	NY 286 913	0	0	0	0	0	7	Beech	80
Georgefield		0	0	0	0	42	0	Birch	60/70
Glendinning	NY 299 970	0	9	0	0	8	9	1 Scots Pine	30/40
Kemra Bank		30	0	0	0	0	0		
Lyneholm	NY 278 916	0	0	47	0	0	5		
Megdale	NY 300 955	0	0	0	0	150	24	Spruce Sp. & Larch	50/70
Wester Hall		2	0	0	0	0	0		
Westerkirk Mains		0	0	0	31	0	0	Scots Pine	30/40
	Parish Totals	**84**	**9**	**47**	**31**	**265**	**140**		
	Grand totals (County)	17069	15746	17047	20799	25489	17853		

BOG BODIES FROM DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

by John Pickin, Stranraer Museum

A recent review of the evidence for bog bodies in Scotland has added 14 previously unrecognised examples to the existing gazeteer (Cowie et al 2002). Seven of these 'new discoveries' – actually old finds hidden in local newspaper accounts and antiquarian reports – are from Dumfries and Galloway.

Baltersan, Penninghame, Wigtownshire (approx. NX 4261 or 4361)

This well-preserved human body was discovered during peat cutting in 1889. The event was recorded in *The Galloway Gazette* for 22 June:

'On Wednesday afternoon while a man was engaged cutting peats on the farm of Balterson, about three miles from Newton-Stewart, his spade struck upon something hard; and on inspection he discovered that it was a skull. More minute investigation revealed the entire body of a person about four feet in length. The body was five feet from the surface and the skin was shrunk and tanned by the moss. A messenger was despatched to the house for Mr Hewitson, who came to the spot and caused the moss to be carefully cleared away from the remains. A special messenger was sent to Newton-Stewart for the police, who went to the scene, and had the remains carefully removed to a place of safety at Balterson farm. From the appearance of the remains, and their position lying in the moss, and the fact of several hazel withs being found around the remains, there is little doubt but that this has been an internment of most probably a Briton, from the usual contracted position of the body, and lying on its left side. From the action of the moss on the skin it has left the same in a very fair state of preservation. No vestige of clothing or anything being visible in the grave, leads still further to show this must have been an internment of a very ancient date. The teeth in the lower jaw which were quite intact show that the subject has been a youth from 12 to 15 years of age. The matter has been placed in the hands of the Procurator Fiscal of Wigtown, and an effort is to be made to secure the body for the Antiquarian Museum.'

A similar but shorter report appeared in *The Kirkcudbright Advertiser* for 28 June. It repeated the information contained in the *Gazette* account but described the body as being 'a lad' and referred to the hazel withies as 'some traces of a wicker work basket.'

Such an unusual discovery might be expected to have generated a degree of local interest. In fact the opposite appears to have been the case and nothing further was published in any of the local papers. The *Gazette* report states that the police authorities were involved but none of the Procurator Fiscal records for Wigtownshire have survived and the Procedure Books, which list all cases passed to the Crown Office, are also absent for the crucial period 1879-1894. M M'L Harper writing many years after the discovery repeats the Gazette's account of the discovery but adds the detail that ' the remains were forwarded to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh' (Harper 1908, 386). There is, however, no record of the body in either the Society's *Proceedings* or the minute books and surviving correspondence of the Museum.

Mrs Dunlop of High Baltersan, whose family, the Hewetsons, farmed Baltersan for many years, was asked in 2001 if she knew anything about the discovery and her recollections add some detail to the two newspaper accounts. She remembered her mother seeing the body and was told by her that it was leathery with finger nails still intact and 'lay on a wee cradle'. She was also told that Sir Herbert Maxwell of Monreith House came to see the body and recommended sending it to a museum in Edinburgh. Intriguingly, Mrs Dunlop recalled going with her son to the "museum in Edinburgh" - either Chambers Street or the former Museum of Antiquities on Queen Street - in the 1950s or 60s. They asked to see the body but were told it had disintegrated.

The body is likely to have been found on the Moss of Cree close to Baltersan Farm. This is the largest of a number of surviving estuarine peat bogs that once covered the carselands either side of the Cree estuary. The Moss was a major source of peat fuel for the town of Wigtown during the 18th century and some 70 acres were drained and reclaimed by John Hewetson of Baltersan in the 1840s and made 'fit for being dug and ploughed' (*NSA* 1843, 185).

Moss of Drumblair, Mochrum, Wigtownshire (approx. NX 2851)

Under the weekly collections and disbursements in the records of Mochrum Kirk is the following entry:

July 3 1737

'Whereof to Wm. McTire for a box to the human bones digged up in the Moss of Drumblair this summer …12sh'

The Moss of Drumblair is an area of open moorland below Garheugh Fell which drains north-east into Mochrum Loch. The bones were presumably found during peat cutting and reinterred at the parish's expense in Mochrum graveyard. There is no other information on the discovery.

Lochar Moss, Torthorwald, Dumfriesshire (approx. NY 0471)

Lochar Moss is a large raised bog south-east of Dumfries. Much of the site is now obscured by conifer plantation and there are traces of former peat cuttings at the eastern end. At least three discoveries of human remains are known from the bog.

Lochar Moss 1

In 1871 a skeleton was found on the moss; it was wrapped in or associated with a piece of cloth and a pair of leather sandals (DGNHAS LetterBooks,1). The remains are now lost. Interestingly, another leather sandal was recovered from the moss in 1709 at a depth of 9 feet (2.7m); it was not,however, associated with human remains (Wilson 2003, 150).

Lochar Moss 2

The skull and two vertebrae of a young adult were discovered during the cutting of a drainage trench in 1947 (Burnett 1949). The peat here has a depth of around 5.5m and the remains were found some 2m below the surface. An investigation of the find spot failed to recover any other material and no dating evidence was discovered. The skull was transferred to the Anatomical Museum at Edinburgh Museum but can no longer be located.

Lochar Moss 3

Recorded in the 17th century, this is one of the earliest accounts of a British bog body:

'In a moss which lies upon the east side of this town, seven miles long and one mile broad, did I have the leg of a child cut off (as appears) by the patella. It's of a stickish like substance, the tibia and fibia inhosened in a casement like the black bark of a tree, which is in place of the muscles tibiaeus, peronaeus, &c., all the interossean muscles of the foot, toes, ancles, nails and all other parts exactly well proportioned as anything Nature can efform. "Num fuerat lutum instructum animal principio integrum, vel deficiens animal procedens; an foetus homo commissus, et a bituminiso calore conservatus et processu temporis quasi transmutus dignus est D.D. Sibaldo nodus, ad cujus augusta subsellia hoc ipsim reclino." [Had the formed clay been an animal originally entire or an immature animal in process of development? Was it a foetus buried in the ground, preserved by the bituminous heat and in process of time transformed as it were? This is a problem worthy of D. D. Sibbald, on whose august judgement seat I leave the thing itself]'(MacDonald 1900, 54).

Racks Moss, Torthorwald, Dumfriesshire (approx. NY 0372)

A portion of woollen cloth enclosing human remains was found in Racks Moss (Anderson and Black 1887-88, 376). In 1888 the cloth was in Dr Grierson's Thornhill Museum but it does not appear to have formed part of the Grierson collection transferred to Dumfries Museum in 1965; it is now assumed to be lost. Racks Moss and Lochar Moss are adjoining areas of bog separated by the Mouswald Burn and it is possible that this find is the same as the piece of cloth discovered with the sandals at Lochar Moss in 1871 (see Lochar Moss 1 above).

Bengall, Dryfesdale, Dumfriesshire (NY1278)

A possible bog body was found here in the late 18th century:

'They [two forts] are built on two hills E. of the village of Bengall, the name alluding to the forts on the hills, signifying the hill of the Gauls. Old pieces of armour and warlike weapons have frequently been found in them, and not many years since, the skeleton of a man was found in a cairn, on the intervening morass, thought to have lain there for some ages, and some fragment of his dress or accoutrements were carried off as a curiousity, particularly his sandals, curiously wrought and bound around the mouths with leathern thongs, which were conveyed into England, for the Oxford Museum' (*OSA* Dumfriesshire, 425).

The context of the find is ambiguous. The use of the term 'morass' indicates that the ground was waterlogged but is not evidence enough for a bog burial. The *OSA* description could place the 'cairn' on the ridge north of the late prehistoric defended settlement at Castlehill; this area is now a conifer plantation and no archaeological features were recorded here during the recent Royal Commission survey (RCAHMS 1997). Alternatively, the find spot could have been between the Castlehill settlement and another earthwork enclosure in the south-west corner of Hallmuir Plantation; interestingly, there is a waterlogged area with a large number of large stones at NY127787 which could equate with the *OSA's* 'morass'.[1] Neither the Ashmolean Museum nor the Bodleian Library have any records of the 'curiously wrought' sandals 'conveyed into England for the Oxford Museum.'

Dating the burials

What can be said about the dates of these bodies and the circumstances surrounding their burial?

The description of the body from the Moss of Drumblair is tantalisingly brief and provides no indication of possible date. Ambiguity also surrounds the date of the Bengall body although its association with a possible 'cairn' might suggest that this is an example of the chance preservation of leather and textiles from a Bronze Age burial.

The remaining bodies are also undated but a number of things point towards the possibility of their being prehistoric or Roman Iron Age. The Baltersan body, in common with a number of late prehistoric bog burials from north-west Europe, was unclothed and lay in a contracted position and was thought on discovery to be of a 'very ancient date'. It was associated with what appears to have been a woven wooden object variously described as 'several hazel with[ie]s', a 'wicker work basket' and a 'wee cradle'. No woven wood items have been recorded with bog bodies but other wooden objects are known from dated British and Irish bog burials (Turner and O Floinn 1995; Wells and Hodgkinson 2001); these include: hazel wood fragments associated with a Late Bronze Age skull at Briarfield, Lancashire; oak stakes surrounding an Iron Age child burial at Prestatyn, North Wales; the wooden stakes from the first millennium BC burial at Gallagh, Galway; and the cut stakes and brushwood cover from the Early Medieval burial at Baronstown West, Kildare. Wooden objects are also known from a number of undated but probably prehistoric burials and include the hazel walking sticks found with the Scaleby and Seascale bodies, both in Cumbria (Turner 1988; Turner 1989). The depth at which the Baltersan body was found - five feet - is not in itself a reliable indicator of relative age as the original surface of the moss may have been removed by peat digging. Similarly, the position of the burial in relation to the base of the peat is unknown and the problem of stratigraphical dating is further compounded by the fluid nature of some peat bogs which can lead to the downward movement of buried objects. A recent geomorphological and palynological study of the Moss of Cree (Smith *et al*, in press) has shown that the surface peat has an average

1 Pers comm., R McEwen.

depth of 4m and was formed directly above estuarine sediments. The base of the peat produced two radiocarbon dates of 4050 +- 90 BP (2880-2311 Cal BC) and 4330 +- 80 BP (3311-2704 Cal BC) which means the body can be no earlier than the late fourth millennium BC.

The human remains from Lochar Moss and Racks Moss can be compared with the skulls and other body parts recovered from the wetlands of north-west England which range in date from the late Bronze Age to the Romano-British period. The concentration of human remains from this one area of Dumfriesshire invites comparison with the bodies found on Lindow Common in Cheshire and suggests that the Lochar and Racks mosses might have been a focus for ritual activity. If this was the case it would also provide a ceremonial context for some of the high status Roman metalwork deposited in Lochar Moss such as the beaded torc and bowl and the now-lost bronze cup decorated with dancing *bacchantes* (Wilson 2003, 147). [2]

In the absence of the bodies themselves any discussion on dates must remain speculative. But the fact remains that bog bodies, both ancient and modern, form part of the archaeology of Dumfries and Galloway. All the examples discussed above lay hidden in paper archives and it is more than likely that further chance discoveries will be made by researches delving in the dark recesses of family and parish histories. It is also possible that new bodies may be discovered during development work, especially in the east of the region where lowland peat mosses are still being exploited commercially.

Acknowledgements

Thanks go to Ian Devlin, the late Bill Cormack and James Williams who rediscovered the Baltersan, Moss of Drumblair and Lochar Moss 1 and 3 bodies respectively and to Jack Hunter who interviewed Mrs Dunlop. Thanks also to David Devereux, Fraser Hunter, Dr Arthur McGregor, Neil Miller, Marion Stewart and Joanne Turner for searching a number of mare's nests, Tim Mighall and David Smith for information on their work on the Moss of Cree, Bob McEwen for suggesting a possible findspot for the Bengall body and Trevor Cowie and Ric Turner for help and advice.

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THE EXCAVATION OF MULTI-PERIOD REMAINS ADJACENT TO THE BANKED ENCLOSURE OF WARDEN'S DYKES, GRETNA:
Neolithic, Bronze Age and Early Historic Evidence from the M74

by Dr I Banks, GUARD, Department of Archaeology, Glasgow University

Excavations were carried out by GUARD around the site of Warden's Dykes on behalf of Trusthouse Forte and BP Oil UK Ltd in advance of the construction of a access road for the new Gretna motorway service station on the M74/M6 extension. The excavations demonstrated the presence of considerable activity outwith the putatively Iron Age enclosure, ranging in date from the Neolithic to the Medieval period.

Introduction

In April 1990, the Scottish Office began construction work on a long-term project to upgrade the notorious A74, creating a three-lane motorway from the end of the M74 near the town of Douglas in South Lanarkshire to the M6 in Cumbria. This construction project has had a considerable impact on archaeological sites along the route and a number of excavations have been carried out, largely sponsored by central government. However, the impact of the construction of a new motorway is greater than simply the route of the roadway, and several archaeological sites have been excavated as a result of the associated works. One such excavation was carried out adjacent to the presumed Iron Age enclosure of Warden's Dykes near Gretna (fig 1).

The existing service station at Gretna was too small for motorway requirements, while the slip roads to the station were not of motorway standard and required re-alignment. This had an impact on archaeology, as the new north-bound slip-road would have to cross an area of cropmarks located in 1984 (RCAHMSAP 84.A.22586/Man Uni DF/2545). The cropmarks were in close proximity to the site of Warden's Dykes (NY 3031 6888), a large enclosure measuring 54 m by 42 m, with a substantial double earth and stone bank and presumed on typological grounds to be Iron Age in date. The cropmarks were presumed to be associated with the enclosure.

The aerial photograph of the enclosure revealed a field system straddling the line of the existing A74, with a concentration of cropmarks around the enclosure. Although the main cluster of cropmarks lay outwith the area of development, Dumfries & Galloway Regional Council required an assessment of those cropmarks that were within the development area. The aim of the assessment was to determine the nature of the cropmarks and whether associated archaeological remains lay in the affected area. The cropmarks within the area affected by the slip-road construction were a pair of linear features and were investigated through both geophysical survey and trial trenching in December 1991. The results fully justified the assessment, with a much greater density of features revealed than had been suggested by the aerial photograph. Accordingly, a full excavation was commissioned which was carried out between January and March 1992.

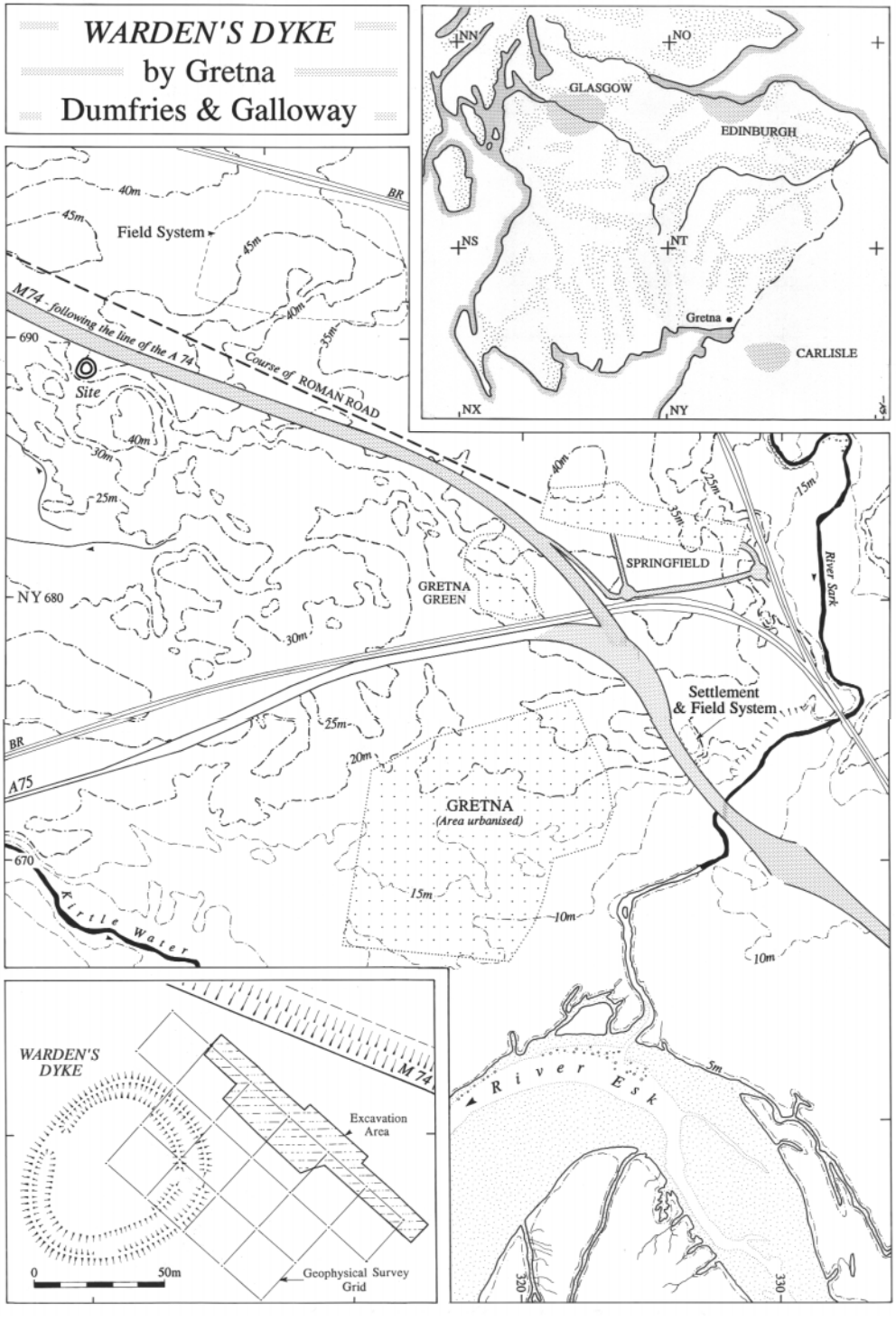

Figure 1
Location and Geophysical Grid.

Background

The enclosure of Warden's Dykes stands at a height of 43 m OD on a small hillock overlooking the Solway Firth near Gretna in Annandale. The enclosure stands in a field that falls steeply on the southern side and to the west, while to the east it slopes more gently. To the north, the field has been cut by the line of the A74 but would originally have been relatively flat. The enclosure is a type particularly common in the area and can be seen as characteristic of this part of Scotland (cf RCAHMS 1997). There are a large number of enclosures in Dumfries & Galloway, many of them surviving only as cropmarks, many of them apparently possessing associated droveways and field systems.

The Warden's Dykes enclosure is believed to be Iron Age, based upon radiocarbon dates from other similar sites in Dumfries & Galloway that have been excavated. The dates are generally in the late Iron Age, running into the Roman period. Rispain Camp, a rectilinear enclosure near Whithorn, produced a range of radiocarbon dates relating to the Iron Age from 490 ± 85 BC uncal to 250 ± 155 AD uncal (Haggarty and Haggarty 1983). Boonies, a banked enclosure at Westerkirk, Dumfriesshire, produced a radiocarbon date of 108 ± 47 AD uncal (Jobey 1975), while Long Knowe in Eskdale, another banked enclosure, produced dates of 585 ± 135 BC uncal and 290 ± 60 BC uncal (Mercer 1981). More recent evidence from Hayknowes Farm, near Annan, provided two radiocarbon dates for a double ditched enclosure which suggest its occupation between 550 BC and AD 120 (Gregory 2001). The excavation at Woodend Farm in Annandale produced a series of dates in the Romano-British period around 100 AD uncal and one at 210 ± 40 AD, although this enclosure seems to have been built in the pre-Roman period according to a first century AD date from organic material in the base of the ditch (Banks 2002). On this evidence, it can be assumed that the Warden's Dykes enclosure dates to the Iron Age, although there is no way of knowing without excavation whether the occupation was pre-Roman Iron Age, Romano-British or both. Furthermore, it is possible that the site might have been occupied in the post-Roman period, either as a new construction or as a re-occupation of an existing structure.

The Fieldwork

The cropmarks in the aerial photograph consisted of a series of linear features which appeared to represent ditches relating to land divisions; the linear features appeared to respect the enclosure and they were thus considered to be contemporary with the enclosure. However, the full extent of the archaeological features could not be determined solely on the basis of the single aerial photograph, and a geophysical survey and trial trenching were carried out.

The Geophysical Survey (fig 2)

The survey was carried out using both resistivity and magnetometry. The reason for using two techniques is that the two methods are complementary; the combined results would give a better indication of the full extent of archaeological remains than using only one

technique. The equipment used consisted of a Geoscan FM36 fluxgate gradiometer and a Geoscan RM15 resistivity meter, conducted in both cases across 20 m grid squares at a reading interval of 1 m; this interval gives the best balance between survey speed and detecting archaeological features.

The survey covered an area of 5600 m^2 around the site of Warden's Dykes, allowing the course of the linear cropmarks to be recorded across a much larger area than could be achieved through excavation. On the plots (fig 2), the linear cropmarks stood out clearly, particularly in the resistivity survey but also in the magnetometer survey. The surveys also confirmed the suspicion that there were more archaeological remains than were visible in the cropmarks. Further linear anomalies appeared perpendicular to the cropmarks and were interpreted as additional ditches, although geophysical survey alone could not reveal how they related chronologically to the cropmarks.

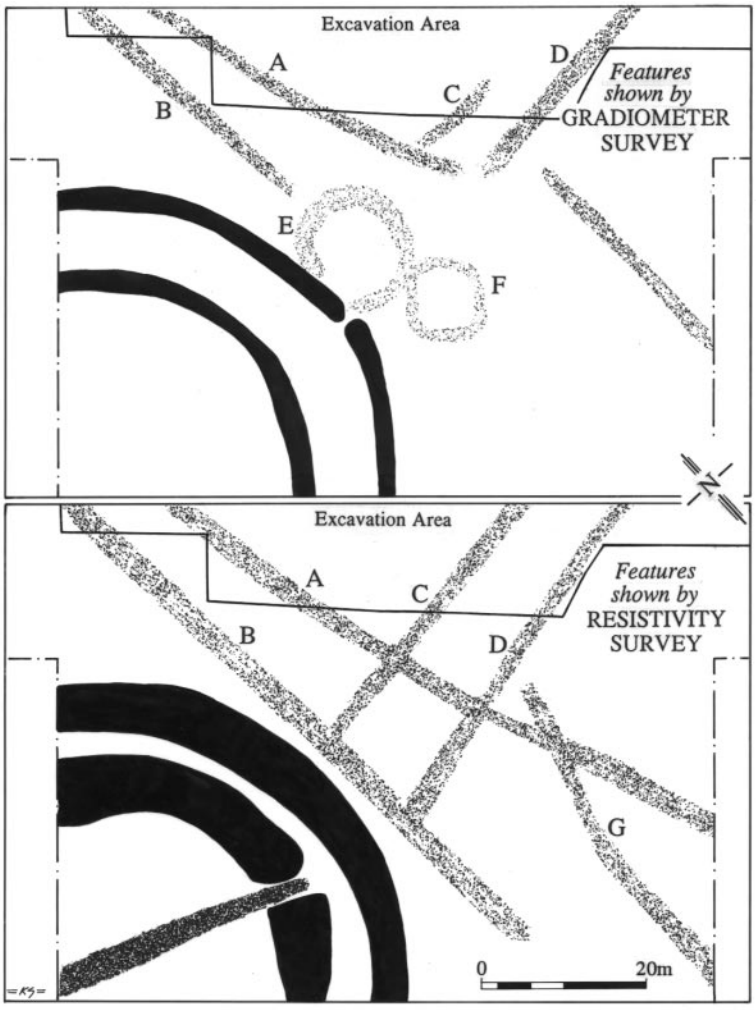

Figure 2
Geophysics Plots.

Adjacent to these linear anomalies, the magnetometer survey indicated patches of enhanced magnetic signals likely to have derived from human activities. These anomalies did not appear as clear features, but were areas of general enhancement. This lack of clarity suggested that the activity in this area would have a relatively long duration and that the anomalies were the result of a long sequence of events (Banks 1996, 43). Downslope to the east, furthest away from Warden's Dykes, there were further anomalies within the affected area, also indicative of human activity.

The geophysical survey also produced anomalies around the probable main entrance to the enclosure. These anomalies suggested structures that might have stood immediately outside the ramparts of the enclosure, or even have been partially truncated by the construction of the enclosure. Within the terms of reference of the project it was not possible to investigate these anomalies and they remain as an intriguing hint of what might be found by excavating the enclosure.

The results of the geophysical survey were very encouraging and suggested that the environs of the Warden's Dykes enclosure would reveal significant archaeological remains. The survey results also strongly suggested that the remains encountered would be multi-period.

Trial trenching

The initial stripping of turf and topsoil revealed that the archaeological remains lay relatively close to the surface. The trenches confirmed the presence of several ditches, thus confirming the evidence of the geophysical survey. They also revealed an area with patches of grey-white clay, unusual in the local geology, containing large amounts of black organic soil and charcoal. This was interpreted as an occupation surface, requiring further excavation (later called area B). The evaluation results demonstrated that full-scale excavation of the access road was necessary.

The Excavation (fig 3)

Weather Problems

An unfortunate consequence of the late incorporation of the archaeology into the development programme was that the excavation had to take place in the winter of 1991-2. This caused a series of problems for the excavation schedule: sub-zero conditions at the start of the excavation meant that the soil was frozen below the depth of most of the postholes, making the soil impossible to work without destroying the features. The subsequent thaw caused the frozen soil moisture to be forced to the surface, obscuring all features and requiring further cleaning of the trench; heavy rain after the thaw obscured the surfaces again as the top layer of silt was washed downslope. As a result of these adverse weather conditions, the excavation was restricted to the southern side of the A74. On the northern side, a trench was opened and the features planned, but there was no time to investigate them.

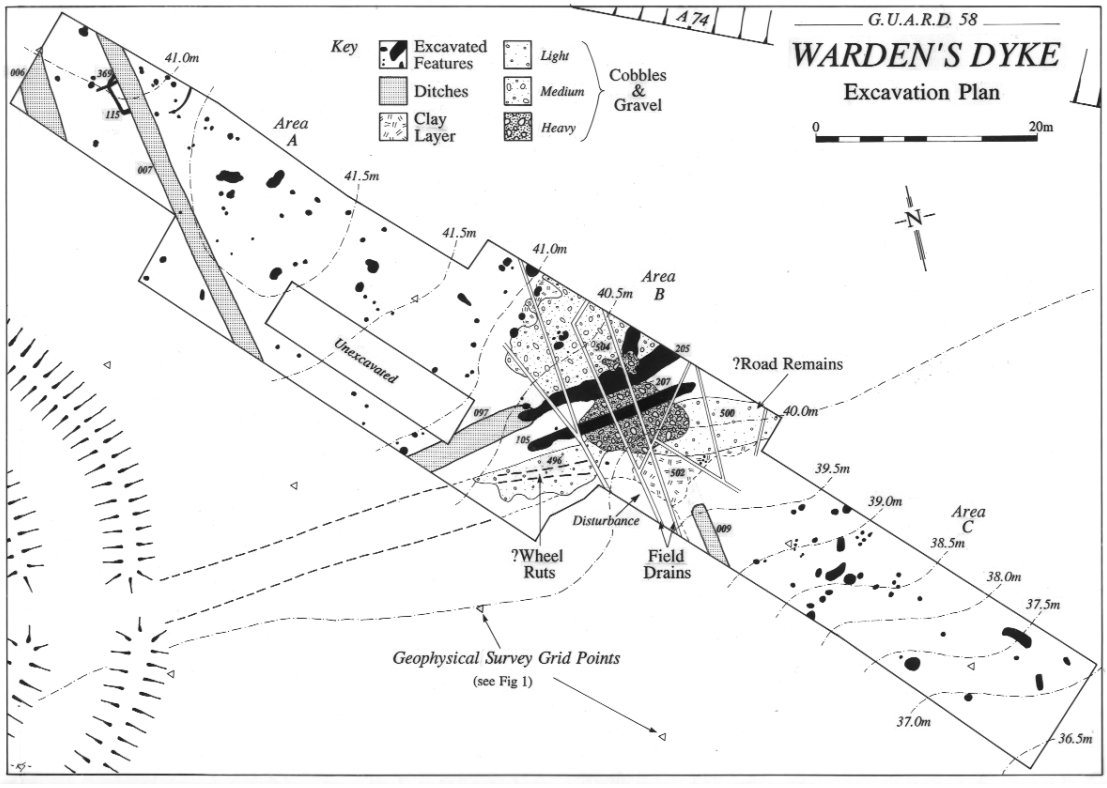

Figure 3
The Site (Plan).

The Features

The site was divided during excavation into three areas (A, B and C) running down the slope. These will be dealt with separately, although there was some degree of chronological overlap between the areas. The ditches form a separate element to the site and are discussed separately. The location of all sections is depicted on figure 4.

The Ditches (fig 5-6)

A number of ditches ran through the area of the excavation. The largest of these, two ditches running roughly parallel and NE-SW (006 & 007), were visible both on the aerial photograph and in the geophysical data. Another ditch (097) was visible only in the resistivity survey, running roughly NW-SE. Excavation then revealed a fourth ditch (009) running NE-SW, which may correspond to a faint geophysical anomaly but was not visible as a cropmark.

Sections were excavated through the two largest ditches; two in ditch 007 and one in ditch 006 (fig 5). One of the sections in ditch 007 contained a layer of organic material (037) within a re-cut. This organic layer was not present in the other section of the ditch, nor was it present in ditch 006 despite the fact that the latter also contained some evidence for a re-cut. The existence and location of layer 037 must relate to the topography. Ditch 007 lay up-slope from ditch 006, so any material washing downslope would accumulate in ditch 007 before reaching ditch 006. The second section through ditch 007 was at the same altitude as the summit of the hill, higher than the area where layer 037 had accumulated, and thus would not receive any wash material. The significance of the accumulation of layer 037 is that it suggests an occupation on the summit of the hill as the source of the organic material. This in turn would suggest that the features on the summit of the hill were connected with the activity of this putative occupation. If this material does represent organic detritus from an occupation, then it can be dated to the pre-Roman Iron Age by a radiocarbon date derived from layer 037.

It is likely, considering the parallel courses of ditches 006 and 007, that the two were contemporary. The same is probably true of ditch 007 and ditch 097. The projected alignments of ditches 007 and 097 can be seen to form a right-angle downslope, while the prob-

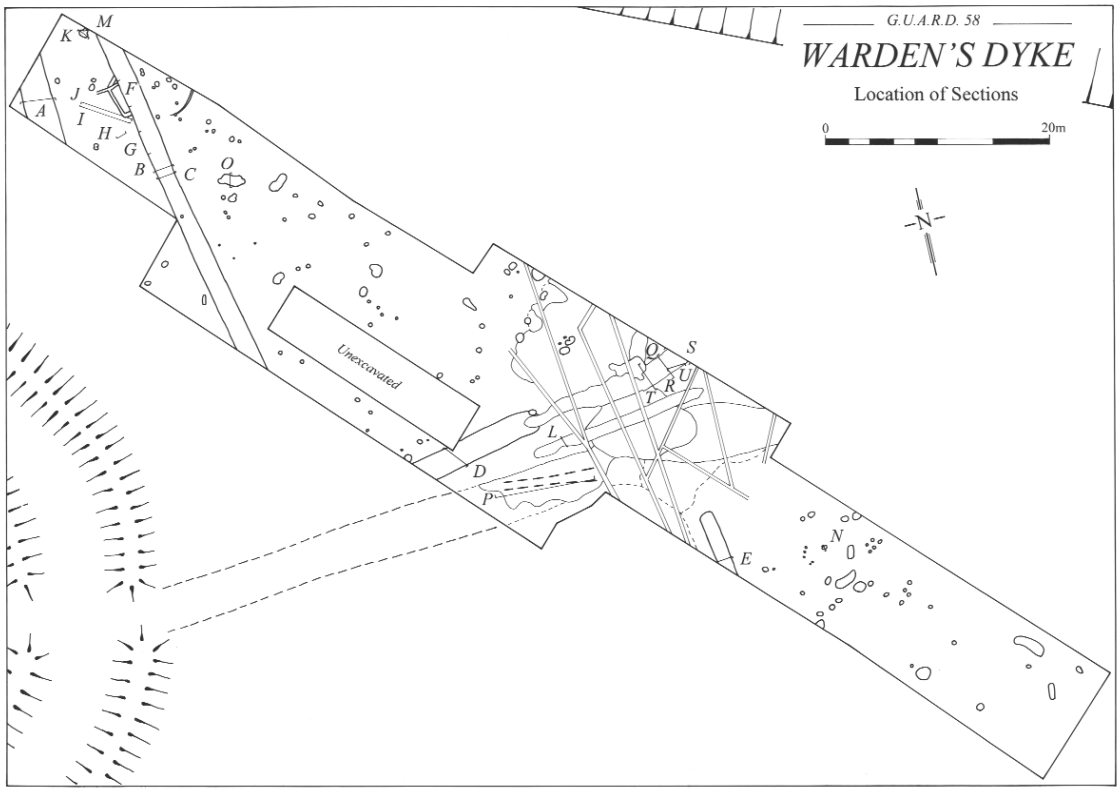

Figure 4
Section Locations

able relationship between ditches 007 and 097 is reinforced by their similarities. Ditch 097 had been re-cut like ditch 007, while the re-cut contained an organic layer (088) similar to layer 037 (fig 5). This was presumably caused by the same wash-effect as before, and possibly derived from the same source. This would then date layer 088 to the same pre-Roman Iron Age period as layer 037. The overall similarities imply strongly that the ditches were contemporary.

Ditch 009 contained only silts and had no evidence at all for re-cutting (fig 6), unlike the other excavated ditches (006, 007 and 097). It ran on a NE-SW alignment, as did ditches 006 and 007, but was noticeably narrower and shallower. It ran from area C into the deposits of area B where it appeared to terminate. Whether it was related in any way to the land division suggested by the other ditches (006, 007 and 097) is unknown, but the fact that it differs markedly from the other ditches could suggest that it relates to another phase of activity, of a different time.

The dating of ditch 007, and by extension ditches 006 and 097, is possible only as a *terminus ante quem* for the original digging of the ditch of 488-197 BC, provided by the material from the organic layer 037, and as a *terminus ante quem* of 442-657 AD for the abandonment of the ditch provided by a charcoal patch (393) from the surface of the fills of ditch 007. It is, however, impossible from the available evidence to date the original digging of the ditch. The evidence for the ditch can date the secondary use, in this case to the pre-Roman Iron Age, but the ditch had already been in existence at that date and had silted to the extent of requiring a re-cut. The dates from features within Area A, the location of the putative occupation, range from the early Neolithic to the Bronze Age, and the original excavation of the ditches could have been at any time from the Neolithic period onwards.

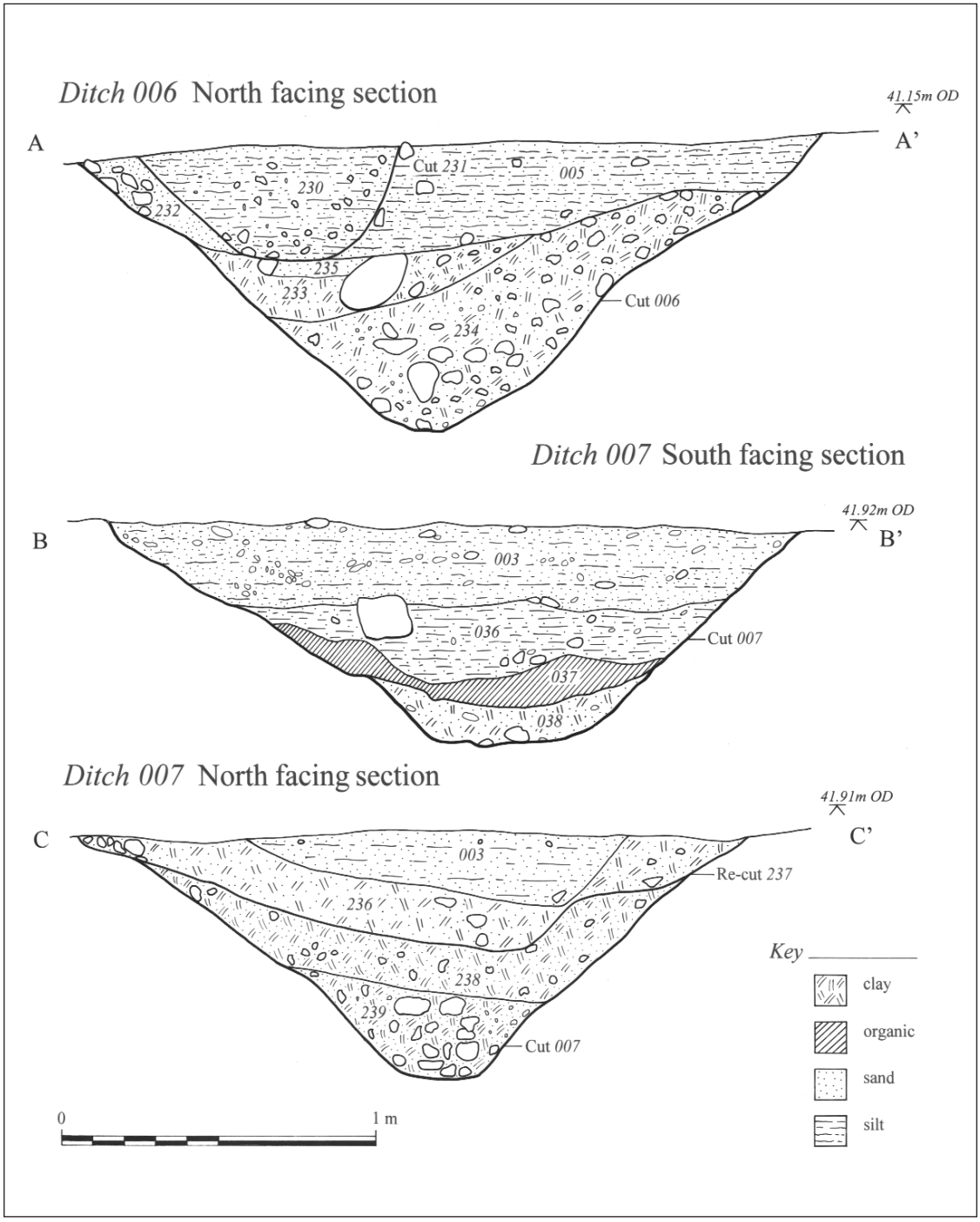

Figure 5
Ditches 006, 007 – Sectins A-A': B-B'; C-C'

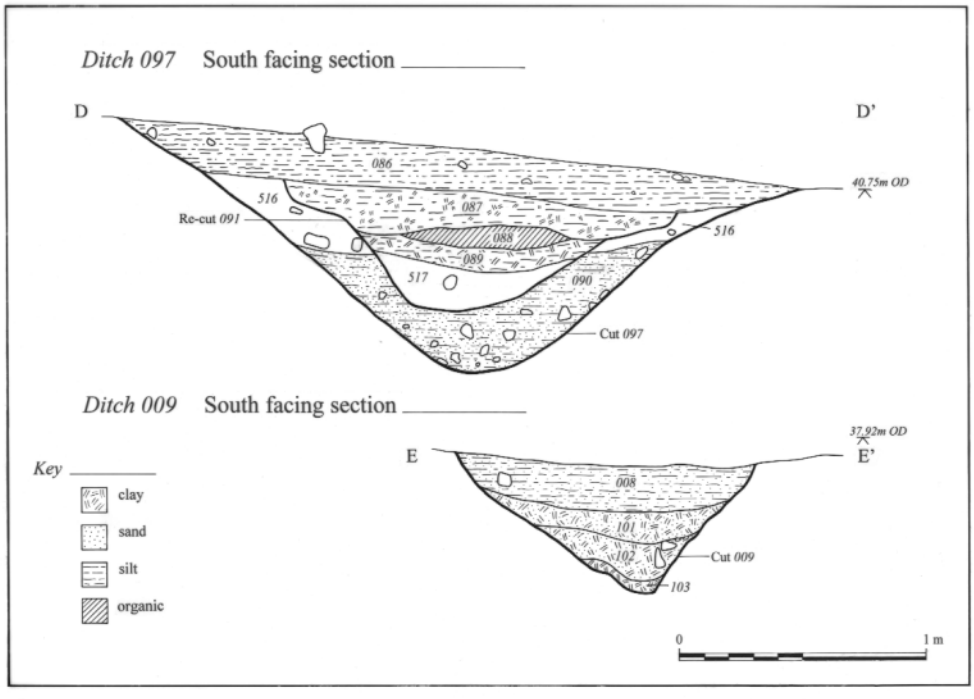

Figure 6
Ditches 097, 009 – Sections D-D'; E-E'.

Area A

Area A, which was situated at the highest part of the hill, included a large number of pits and post-holes in addition to the two ditches 006 and 007. Further significant archaeological material consisted of two rectilinear cuts (115 and 369; fig 7). These sets of features seem to represent distinct phases of activity.

The two rectilinear cuts 115 and 369 were on different but overlapping alignments, and were truncated by ditch 007. They were interpreted during the excavation as the earliest element on site purely on instinct, but both were devoid of dating material. The two cuts certainly pre-dated the ditch that truncated them; they are thus likely to be earlier than the Iron Age. The relationship between the two features was unclear despite several sections through these deposits. Of the two, cut 115 was the less damaged, being truncated only by ditch 007, while cut 369 seemed to have undergone plough damage on its western, downslope side and may therefore have been earlier.

Neither feature was complete, but they suggested the foundation trenches of small structures. No evidence for a superstructure survived in terms of internal postholes or stakeholes, but they would have been small structures that may not have required earth-fast roof supports. There was no stratigraphic evidence to link these cuts with any of the other contexts in this area, so the features remain undated.

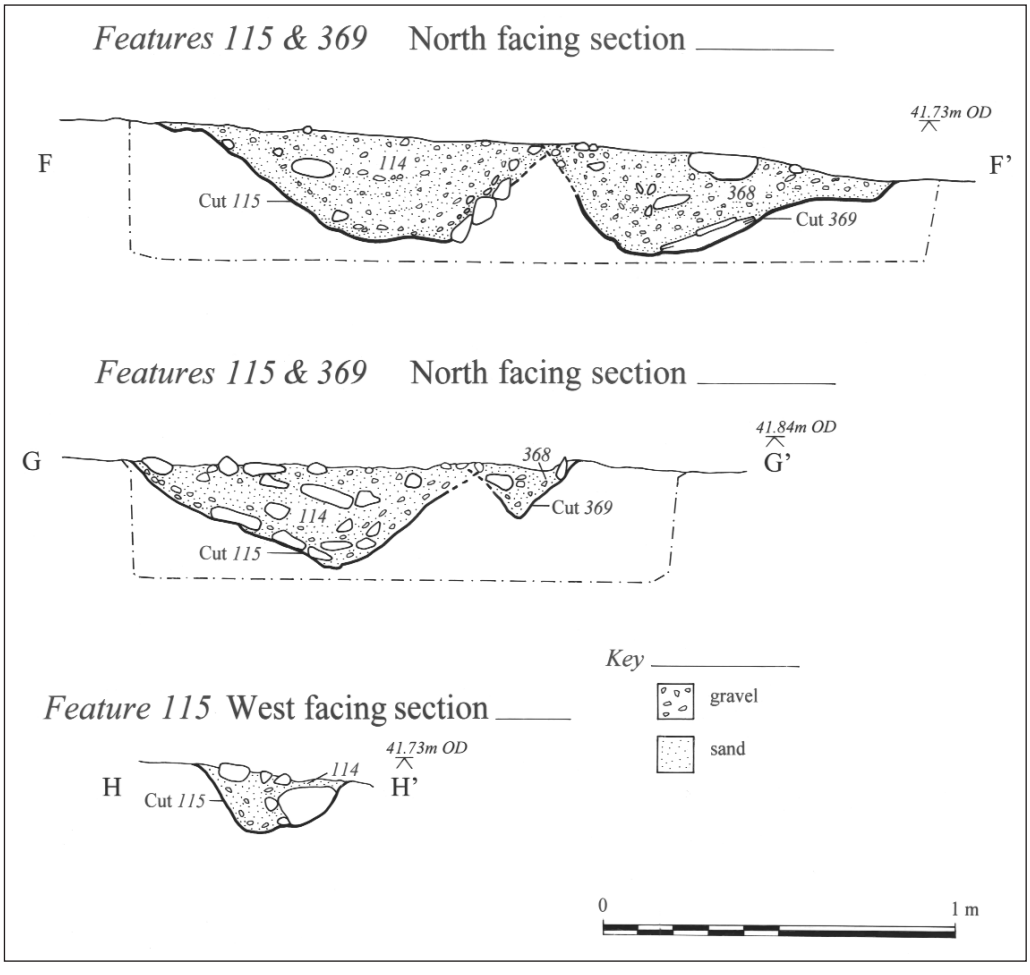

Figure 7
Features 115 and 369 Sections F-F'; G-G'; H-H'.

A group of features some 5 m to the north-west of the two rectilinear cuts date to the early Neolithic. The group consists of a pit (096) cut by three postholes (098, 099 and 100), which were in turn cut by a further posthole (127). Radiocarbon dates were obtained from postholes 100 and 127. Posthole 100 produced a date of 3633-3139 BC cal, while posthole 127 gave a date of 3755-3384 BC cal. The overlap is statistically very high, with a 99% probability of posthole 100 dating to 3633-3335 BC cal and posthole 127 dating to 3713-3371 BC cal. It is clear that the two events probably took place at roughly the same time and represent a flow of events from a single episode of Warden's Dykes history. Although posthole 127 has a slightly earlier radiocarbon date than posthole 100, it is stratigraphically later and the dating anomaly can confidently be seen as an effect of the statistical nature of radiocarbon dating and has no archaeological significance.

Of the other features in area A, little can be said. Numerous pits and postholes lay within the area defined by ditch 007. Feature 142 appeared to be a shallow trench that disappeared under the baulk that had been left between the two original evaluation trenches. It was cut sharply on the eastern side but sloped gently on the western. A stakehole (484) had been driven into the fill, providing a radiocarbon date of 1908-1536 BC cal and with a 98% probability that the date was between 1908 BC and 1609 BC. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for the trench, which must be either Neolithic or early Bronze Age.

A Neolithic date is made more likely by the other dating evidence from area A. Pit 061, an amorphous pit with several re-cuts and demonstrating a long sequence of use, produced lithics that may relate to the Neolithic and certainly would fit such a date reasonably well. To the east of this pit, a small posthole (083) produced a radiocarbon date of 4220-3700 BC cal, with a 94% probability that the date was between 4097 BC and 3700 BC. This is an early date for Neolithic activity, and the fact that the date was produced by mainly oak charcoal must be considered. As most of this charcoal is likely to have derived from heartwood material (see environmental report, below), the date may represent the early to middle fourth millennium BC.

Feature 023 may represent another structure. This appeared as a shallow linear feature running south from the baulk for roughly 3 m. It was no more than about 0.03 m in depth and about 0.15 m wide. Towards the southern tip of the feature was a small posthole (373), only 0.09 m deep, demonstrating the level of truncation that has taken place. Feature 023 may represent the bottom of a trench into which posts were inserted for the walls of a structure. If so, the structure would appear to have been rectilinear. If the feature does represent part of a structure, then there were adjacent postholes that might relate to the superstructure as well.

The implication of the dates from area A is that the activity on the summit of the hill may relate to a Neolithic occupation. However, the organic material in the re-cut of ditch is Iron Age, with the implication that there was some form of activity in this area during that period. None of the features in area A can be demonstrated to be Iron Age, but this reflects the problems of dating a multi-period cropmark site through the application of radiocarbon dates from specific contexts. It is possible that the ditch might date to the Neolithic activity, but the fact that it cuts the rectilinear features 115 and 369 would suggest that it is not one of the earlier features of the area and is more likely to have been Bronze Age or early Iron Age.

Area B

This area appeared as a slight terrace into the hill-slope covered by a mixture of black organic soil and leached clays typical of flooring material. It lay about half way along the trench, below the summit and above the major break in slope.

This was the most complex area of the site, and was further complicated by a series of eleven field drains and pipe trenches that criss-crossed the area. Despite this, it was possible to observe five separate elements of activity within the area. The earliest was the clay layer 502, underlying all of the other features in area B. Overlying this material was a much greater quantity of small stones than in any other part of the site; this may have

been an attempt to create a hard-standing. The matrix of these small stones was a much blacker organic soil (004), absent from the rest of the site.

This area may post-date the activity in area A. The radiocarbon dates and artefactual evidence available for area A suggest a Neolithic date for much of the activity, other than the ditches, while a posthole with the remains of a burnt post (210) in area B gave a radiocarbon date of 2552-1981 BC cal (with a 98% probability of lying between 2492 and 2025 BC). This is substantially later than the radiocarbon dates from the pits and postholes in area A, although there is a slightly later date from stakehole 484 in area A (see above). However, the radiocarbon date from post 210 is not as useful as it might be. What little evidence exists for occupation in area B is slightly downslope of the posthole and no direct relationship can be made. Posthole 210 is also problematic in that it forms a cluster with two other features, an amorphous pit (261) and a small stone-packed posthole (509), which are unlikely to have all been contemporary.

This radiocarbon date indicates that there was at least some activity in this area in the rather uncertain chronology of the Beaker period (Kinnes *et al* 1991). Unfortunately, the date relates directly only to the post from which it was derived. It might be relevant to the rest of area B, but this cannot be proved. No artefacts relating to the period encompassed by the radiocarbon date were recovered. Whatever the problems of the date in terms of archaeological chronologies and site stratigraphy, the area excavated was very obviously the edge of a more substantial area of activity that lay under the baulk between the excavation and the northbound carriageway of the M74. The complexity of the activity in this area was apparent in the sections created by the numerous field drains. The delays caused by the weather conditions prevailing during the course of the excavation made it impossible to investigate this area fully, and it was recorded only in section.

The sections revealed the considerable complexity of the deposits within area B. In the section shown in, a number of pits, postholes and layers are visible and can be grouped into a series of sequences. The detail presented here tells us little of the overall history of the site but gives a flavour of the complexity of the deposits.

The two earliest features were postholes 455 and 478 that were both sealed by later features. A layer of mid grey-brown clay sealed posthole 478, and was cut by pit 473. This pit was itself cut by a sequence of features: a layer of mid red-brown clay (474) was laid within a cut (475), which was in turn cut by pit 469 and pit 467. This sequence was terminated by the creation of a new layer (463) consisting of grey silty clay with frequent patches of black organic material. Following this came another pit (462). This was in turn cut by a small pit (459), sealed by a later pit (457), with this sequence finished by the creation of a layer of orange sandy clay (453). This may have derived from the digging of one of the ditches as it appeared to be re-deposited natural, and the ditches provide the most likely source given that there is no other evidence for quarrying. This layer was cut by another pit (450), after which layer 451 probably accumulated, consisting of medium grey silty sand. This may relate to occupation on its surface. Finally, a new layer was created (447) consisting of a dark grey silty sand containing cobbles. It is unfortunate that it remains impossible to give a date to the activity represented in this section. The radiocarbon date cannot provide a date for it, being stratigraphically unrelated to these features.

The next chronological element in the stratigraphy of this area was the construction of a metalled track or roadway (496 and 500) terraced into the hill-slope (cut 497/501), and cutting through the black organic soil (004). The 'road' interpretation was partially because this linear feature had been provided with cobbles to make a firm surface, and partially because of what appeared to be two wheel ruts (499). These ruts were roughly 0.3 m wide and 0.5 m apart, surviving to a depth of only c 0.03 m. This roadway appeared to be leading up to the entrance of Warden's Dykes itself and this interpretation is supported by the geophysical plots. The relationship between the Warden's Dykes enclosure and the road might suggest that the road dates to the Iron Age, but this presumes that the enclosure is indeed Iron Age.

It is probable that the roadway is no later than the Iron Age: the adjacent ditch 097 was out of use by 657-980 AD cal and the parallel alignment of the ditch and roadway argues for some degree of contemporaneity. Even were the roadway later than the ditch, their parallel courses make it likely that the ditch was still a visible presence at the time the road was laid. The road is therefore earlier than the early Historic activity that included the lighting of the fire over ditch 097. There is no reason to suggest that the road was earlier than the ditch and it is most likely to be either contemporary with, or later than, the ditch. In the absence of datable material from the roadway, however, its precise dating must remain supposition.

The next element of the activity in area B consisted of two cobble spreads (207 and 504). Within spread 207 was some suggestion of structure with the possibility of details of walling. The other spread (504) consisted of less densely packed cobbles. The two spreads were discrete from one another, while spread 207 as a whole overlay the road. Consequently, it can be assumed that the spreads date to a period when the road to Warden's Dykes was no longer in use. This does not necessarily imply that they were later than Iron Age or even later than the occupation of the Warden's Dykes enclosure. There is another entrance to Warden's Dykes, to the west, and it is possible that the entrance route to Warden's Dykes shifted leaving the road unused.

It is difficult to determine what the spreads 207 and 504 represent. However, there is a slight suggestion of a circle in the way the stones are distributed in 207, and it is possible that this spread represents the final remains of a roundhouse. However, there were no indications of any internal features, so the only evidence is a possible distribution of stones visible in one of the site photographs taken from a tower. The notion of a roundhouse must therefore remain tentative. Undoubtedly, the area did include some settlement and, while it must be assumed that most of the structures lay under the baulk, it is possible that the cobbles represented a late phase of settlement.

The final element of the proposed chronology of area B consisted of two parallel linear features (105 and 205) running along the same alignment as the ditch (097). The shorter, 105, was confined within the area of excavation, with both terminals apparent and is best described as a trench. This shallow feature cut straight through cobbled area 207, demonstrating that trench 105 was of later date. The other cut, 205, corresponded to the geophysical feature D and would appear to have been yet another, though this time less substantial, ditch. It overlay the terminus of ditch 097 and ran between the cobble spreads 207 and 504. Its proximity to the edges of these spreads militates against contemporane-

ity, while the fact that some of the cobbles from spread 504 had slipped down the side of ditch 205 suggests that the cobbling was earlier. In addition, the fact that ditch 205 and trench 105 are parallel would suggest that they are contemporary and that ditch 205 post-dates the cobbles 207 which were also cut by trench 105. Some notion of chronology is given by ditch 097. Ditch 205 is on the same alignment as ditch 097, but appears to have been later. It seems most likely that ditch 205 post-dates 097, in which case the presence of the spread of charcoal (389) overlying 097 may be of relevance. This would date ditch 205 to the post-Roman or even Medieval period. One extra element to be considered in this consideration of the dating is the recovery of a fragment of clay pipe from the fill of ditch 205; however, as the fragment was recovered during the wet-sieving process, there is no certainty over its deposition, and the complex of pipe-trenches and drains allows ample opportunity for contamination.

Area C

In the zone between areas B and C, there was the terminal of another ditch (009), first encountered during the initial phase of trial trenching. This was probably a field boundary. It contained no organic or artefactual material in the section excavated.

In general, area C contained mainly postholes and large pits. It is difficult, with the lack of datable material or stratigraphy, and the fragmentary nature of the remains in this area, to make much sense of the features. The pits do provide some environmental evidence: pit 283 contained fragments of oak, birch and hazel charcoal together with fragments of hazelnuts and a seed of sun-spurge, an arable weed. Trench 296 contained fragmentary remains of burnt organic material and oak charcoal, while pit 425 similarly contained traces of burnt organics, oak and hazel charcoal. This tenuous evidence, if it is possible to assume contemporaneity for the different posts and pits in this area, hints at farming settlement set near the edge of woodland. Unfortunately, as the evidence is very tenuous, this interpretation must remain purely speculation, especially in the absence of any dating evidence to link the ecofacts from the different features.

The terrain does not suggest that area C was an area of occupation. The slope was much steeper at this point and it is unlikely that any of the features were parts of buildings, although it is possible that they represent areas of stockading for animal pens. The absence of finds is commensurate with such an interpretation. Several of the postholes showed remains of the actual posts used in the form of post-pipes, and they seem to have been reasonably substantial timbers. The precise function of these features is unclear, but they may have represented part of a fence line or of a wooden stockade enclosing the summit of the hill; certainly, the density of pits and postholes at this point is unusual across the site as a whole. The pits and posts form a curving line running roughly north to south across the trench. If this is indeed the remains of a palisade enclosing the summit of the hill, then it is likely that such a structure would be a different date than the ditches. These ditches indicate a different form of land division and which, from the presence of the charcoal patches over ditches 007 and 097, may have been visible in the post-Roman period (see above).

LITHICS REPORT

by Tony Pollard

The excavation at Warden's Dyke resulted in the recovery of eleven pieces of struck stone. Seven of these were recovered by hand during the excavation while four smaller pieces were recovered during the post-excavation sieving of soil samples.

Catalogue

Find no	Description
AA (002)	Core rejuvenation flake
AB (003)	Flake
AD (204)	Scraper
AE (010)	Utilised crested flake
AF (374)	Waste fragment
AH (060)	Scraper/knife
AK (479)	Microlith

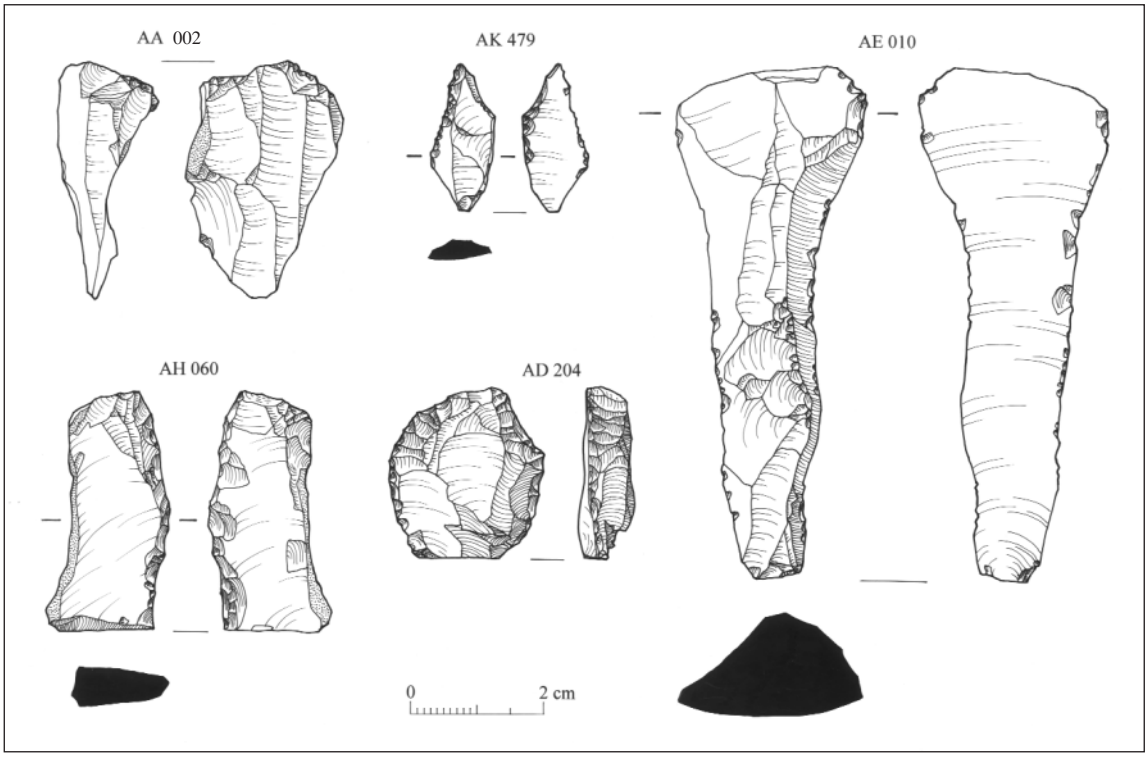

Figure 8
Artefact illustrations.

Discussion

Although very few pieces of struck stone were recovered, the assemblage is of note due to the relatively high proportion of diagnostic pieces it contains. Notable here is the microlith (AK479; fig 8), a well-made trapeze indicative of late Mesolithic activity on the site. The similarity in the character of raw material shared by the microlith and the utilised flake (AB003; not illustrated) may indicate that they originated from the same source, perhaps even from the same core.

The almost exclusive use of flint in favour of generally poorer quality chert is probably a reflection of the site's proximity to the coast of south-west Scotland, which provided an important source for beach pebble flint throughout prehistory. However, the large size and dark colour of the crested flake (AE010; fig 8) may suggest that drift flint was also being used on the site, and this may have been obtained through trade routes, perhaps from the south of Britain or indeed from the north of Ireland.

The microlith is the only piece that can be regarded as truly chronologically diagnostic, fitting well within current understanding of late Mesolithic technology. However, some attempt can be made to place several of the other pieces within a chronological framework. The edge-retouched flake is difficult to place but slightly invasive retouch from both sides along the worked edge may indicate a Neolithic rather than Mesolithic provenance. Retouch toward the distal end is from the dorsal face only and its steepness may suggest a side scraper. These two different forms of retouch may indicate a dual scraper/knife function that may again suggest a Neolithic date.

The scraper (AD204; fig 8), although a readily identified tool-type, is somewhat ubiquitous in lithic assemblages from the Mesolithic through to the Bronze Age and therefore difficult to date. The small size and rounded shape of the piece may suggest either a Mesolithic or Bronze Age provenance, with Neolithic scrapers tending to be made on regular flakes with only part of the edge retouched (end or side scrapers). However, given the presence of a microlith within the assemblage and the slight tang, a feature not usually found on Bronze Age examples, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the scraper is Mesolithic.

It is probable then that the assemblage contains elements from several periods in prehistory, possibly stretching as far as the Mesolithic to the Bronze Age, but more certainly from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic. Given the small size of the assemblage and the use of the site over a very long period of time, it is not possible to make any statement on the activities to which the various elements related. The presence of core rejuvenation flakes and several pieces of micro-debitage does indicate that tool manufacture took place on site but this does not appear to have been intensive. However, much evidence may have been removed in the continued use of the site, with the disturbance of prehistoric activity areas probably responsible for the very small size of the assemblage recovered.

ENVIRONMENTAL REPORT
by the late Camilla Dixon

Samples were taken from many of the features, of variable volume according to the amount of material available. Flots were collected over a 500 µm sieve and residues over 2 mm were dry sorted for charcoal and other plant remains. The term seed is used for both fruits and seeds in this report. The nomenclature for the wild plants follows Stace (1991).

As noted in the archaeological report above, the features lay close to the surface and would have been affected by ploughing over the millennia. Modern roots were abundant and recent unburnt seeds and earthworm egg capsules were found in most samples. A control sample of 25 litres was taken from the area adjoining the excavation trench. This produced several hundred recent seeds of *Chenopodium album* (fat hen), and seeds of *Fallopia convolvulus* (black bind-weed), *Galeopsis*

subg Galeopsis (hemp-nettles), *Persicaria maculosa* (redshank), *Polygonum aviculare* agg (knotgrass), *Rubus fruticosus* agg (blackberry), *Rumex spp* (docks), *Stellaria media* (chickweed), *Trifolium cf repens* (white clover) and *Urtica dioica* (common nettle). All were also recovered as unburnt remains from the archaeological features apart from *Trifolium* and *Urtica*.

In addition, occasional coal fragments, also present in some of the contexts, and charcoal of *Coniferae* (conifer), *Pomoideae*, which includes *Crataegus* (hawthorn), *Malus* (apple), and *Sorbus* (rowan, whitebeam), *Quercus* (oak), and cf *Salix* (willow) were also noted. The fragments of *Quercus* were particularly small, 3-4 mm in diameter, and it is thought that they in particular may have moved up and down in the soil as a result of earthworm activity; twenty-five earthworm egg capsules were recovered and were also present in many of the features. Similar small fragments of charcoal, especially of *Quercus*, were found in the features usually weighing <0.1 g; these are all listed in the plant catalogue.

Charcoal

The charcoal recovered from four of the ditches is of *Alnus* (alder), *Betula* (birch), *Corylus* (hazel), *Pomoideae*, *Prunus spinosa* (blackthorn), and *Quercus*. All could well have grown in local woodland.

The remains of burnt posts were noted in several postholes during the excavation. The charcoal ranged from >5-20 mm in its largest diameter and probable posts of oak were represented from contexts 064, 083, 093/094, 112/113, 126, 184, 210 and 310. All except 184 were of heartwood, which would have been chosen for its greater durability. Rare or occasional fragments of other woods present were *Alnus*, *Betula* and *Corylus*, presumably part of later infilling. Stakeholes with similar oak charcoal are contexts 212, 430, 484 and 492; all were of heartwood. *Betula* and *Corylus* charcoal were present in small quantities. Similar mixtures of woods were found in the pits with oak present in all of them. A silty layer in one of the cobble spreads produced a little *Quercus* and *Betula* charcoal.

In one of the ditch fills, context 389, was a charcoal spread consisting of *Corylus* and *Quercus*, both partly of roundwood, with rare *Alnus* and *Betula*; it was not possible to ascertain the diameter of the roundwood.

Seeds

There were surprisingly few carbonised seeds present. Only two grains of *Hordeum vulgare* sl (six-row barley) were found and *Corylus* nuts were present as rare fragments in seven contexts. A seed of *Rubus fruticosus* agg (blackberry) and two of *Rubus idaeus* (raspberry) were the only other food plants represented.

A few burnt seeds were identified from a black organic layer, context 088 in ditch 097. These are *Aphanes arvensis* (parsley-piert), *Plantago lanceolata* (ribwort plantain) and *Rubus idaeus* (raspberry). Cultivated or bare ground, grassland and scrub are respectively indicated. *Euphoria helioscopia* (sun-spurge), present in one of the pits, is an arable weed.

Discussion

The wood most used throughout the archaeological activity was oak, both for posts and stakes; the charcoal fragments were too small to assess the diameter of these. Wood of mature trees was probably used as the heartwood seems to have been mainly selected for the posts and the stakes. Oak was the most important wood used throughout the occupation.

A radiocarbon dated diagram from Burnfoothill Moss, 7 km north-west of Warden's Dykes, shows a marked reduction in *Alnus*, *Betula*, *Corylus*/*Myrica* and *Quercus* pollen in the Romano-British Iron Age, and is probably pre-Roman though persisting into the Romano-British period (Tipping, forthcoming). This clearance seems to have been primarily for pasture, although Tipping also records pollen of open ground and arable types and he suggests that crops were grown. The general lack of arable weed seeds and rare barley grains from Warden's Dykes suggests that cereal cultivation was not an important part of the local economy.

THE RADIOCARBON DATES

Context	Area	Species	Lab ID	$^{13}C‰$	Uncal date	1 sigma	2 sigma
Post 184	B	Quercus	GU-3507	-25.0	900 ± 50 BP uncal	cal AD 1034-1211	cal AD 1020-1250
Pit 095	A	Quercus, Corylus, unident	GU-3508	-25.3	4670 ± 60 BP uncal	cal BC 3598-3362	cal BC 3629-3207
Pit 126	A	Quercus, Alnus, Corylus, unident	GU-3509	-25.9	4800 ± 80 BP uncal	cal BC 3694-3387	cal BC 3779-3370
Ditch fill 393	A	Quercus, Alnus, Corylus, Pomoideae	GU-3510	-25.7	1490 ± 60 BP uncal	cal AD 534-632	cal AD 420-660
Post 082	A	Quercus, unidentified	GU-3511	-27.0	5120 ± 100 BP uncal	cal BC 4043-3788	cal BC 4226-3701
Charcoal spread 389	B	Betula, Quercus, Alnus, Corylus	GU-3512	-26.2	1240 ± 90 BP uncal	cal AD 669-889	cal AD 640-990
Post 210	B	Quercus	GU-3513	-26.0	3830 ± 90 BP uncal	cal BC 2462-2142	cal BC 2569-2030
Stakehole 484	A	Quercus	GU-3514	-26.4	3450 ± 60 BP uncal	cal BC 1880-1688	cal BC 1930-1630
Ditch fill 036	A	Quercus	Beta-114938	-25.1	2310 ± 50 BP uncal	cal BC 400-370	cal BC 415-210

DISCUSSION

The features uncovered during the excavations at Warden's Dykes produced valuable information concerning the extent and duration of activity around the enclosure, yet left considerable uncertainty about the nature of that activity. This was in part attributable to the weather conditions, while it is also apparent that the archaeological features surrounding Warden's Dykes have suffered considerably from plough-truncation in the past, as few of the sub-soil features were particularly deep and several features appeared to have been almost entirely removed. Nonetheless, the site has produced evidence for activity throughout the Neolithic, during the Bronze Age, in the post-Roman period and even into the Medieval.

The enclosure itself is assumed to be Iron Age in date, yet the only radiocarbon evidence for this period comes from the organic layer in ditch 007. Artefacts provide no help with the dating; very few were recovered, and the few examples from the site date to the earliest phases of activity. The features themselves are of little help in constructing the chronology of the site. As is frequently the case with cropmark sites, there was little coherent stratigraphy, only small areas containing much build-up of archaeological layers. Most features were encountered as single entities with no way of relating them to surrounding features. As the spread of the radiocarbon dates indicates, the site is a palimpsest of around 5,000 years of activity; little of that activity seems to have had the coherency of a settlement. This is perhaps inevitable when excavating an area adjacent to a settlement rather than the settlement itself.

It is frustrating that, despite the large number of negative features recorded, there is no unequivocal evidence for the nature of the activity at the site. There is the possibility that two of the features in area A represent the remains of small huts, with a further possibility that they date to the early Neolithic. There is undoubted early Neolithic activity in area A, shown by both radiocarbon dates and the lithics recovered. To relate this material to the ephemeral rectilinear cuts is possible only through inference, providing a tantalising glimpse of what may have happened at Warden's Dykes in the early Neolithic. However, it is only a glimpse and no real story can be made from the evidence.

Nor can the initial excavation of the ditches be accurately dated. Ditches 007 and 097 pre-dated the Early Historic charcoal patches which overlay their latest fills, and thus had to be at least Iron Age in date, while the organic material in the re-cut of ditch 007 produced a date in the pre-Roman Iron Age. This might suggest that the re-cuts represent Iron Age re-use of Bronze Age or even Neolithic land divisions, but a date in an earlier phase of the Iron Age is just as likely. It is frustrating not to be able to date the first phase of the ditches, as there is a possibility that they represent early land division that survived into later periods.

Turning away from the issues of internal chronology, the excavation results are of value to the archaeology of the South-West. The Neolithic radiocarbon dates for the site are not the earliest from the Solway area; palaeo-environmental dates from Burnfoothill Moss indicate forest clearance through fire between 5800 and 5400 BC (RCAHMS 1997, 52), although the major episode of clearance occurred at the end of the first millennium BC (RCAHMS 1997, 55). No other settlement sites are known locally from the Neolithic period, the only evidence of the period being ritual structures or stray finds of artefacts. Of most relevance is the fluted and grooved axe-hammer, found in the near vicinity of Warden's Dykes and on the same farm (Roe 1967). A henge survives as a cropmark at Broadlea, some 10 km to the north-west of Warden's Dykes, while there are a number of ritual monuments nearby: a cursus to the north at Cadgill, stone circles at Branteth to the north and Broathill to the east and a standing stone at Clochmaben which appears to have been a part of a stone circle (RCAHMS 1997, 54). Beyond this, there is little other evidence for Neolithic settlement in the immediate area. Indeed, the distribution maps published by the Royal Commission indicate little in the way of Neolithic activity in the Solway area (RCAHMS 1997, 95 ff). There is evidence of Neolithic settlement further inland, such as the site of Beckton Farm (Pollard 1997) and that of Kirkburn (Cormack 1961), but these are to the north, not on the Solway coastal plain.

The importance of the Warden's Dykes radiocarbon dates for the Neolithic of south-west Scotland is thus apparent. It is unfortunate that the dates derive from pits and postholes that are not from definite structures. There are features present that do suggest a Neolithic occupation, albeit of a fairly ephemeral appearance; however, the excavations at Beckton Farm near Lockerbie to the north show that this would not be unusual for a Neolithic settlement (Pollard 1997). At the moment, the Warden's Dykes radiocarbon dates are the best such evidence for Neolithic settlement in this area on the Solway Plain so far.

The evidence for the Bronze Age at Warden's Dykes is far less substantial, relying upon a single radiocarbon date from a stakehole (although the late Neolithic date from area B could be argued to be from the early Bronze Age). There is no structural evidence or artefactual evidence to support a Bronze Age occupation. Roughly 2-3 km east of Warden's Dykes at Mossknowe is a cluster of cairns, suggesting that there must have been Bronze Age settlement in the area, but the evidence of one stakehole can scarcely be taken to demonstrate this settlement. There are, however, no other settlement sites datable to the Bronze Age on the Solway Plain, despite the relatively large numbers of hut-circles and unenclosed platform settlements to the north in the hills. Indeed, the distribution map of Bronze Age settlement sites in Eastern Dumfriesshire shows clearly that nearly all of the sites are on land above 150 m OD (RCAHMS 1997, 103). This must reflect differences in later farming practices, with the Solway Plain being within a zone of destruction. Nonetheless, in the circumstances of partial excavation, where only a small part of the environs of Warden's Dykes was excavated and none of the interior, Bronze Age settlement cannot be ruled out.

The results of the excavation contribute little directly to the study of the Iron Age. The only date from the Iron Age relates to the re-cut of ditch 007, and the settlement relating to that organic deposit cannot be demonstrated in the excavation results. The banked enclosure itself, on morphological grounds, would appear to be an Iron Age site, but without excavation this cannot be proved. The roadway is assumed to be Iron Age because of its relationship to the enclosure: inference built upon inference. Similarly, we may suspect that the ephemeral traces of huts in the cobble spreads of area B relate to the Iron Age, standing as they did next to the roadway, but it is impossible to prove their date, or even their existence. However, an Iron Age date for these features and for the enclosure can be adopted as a working hypothesis on the basis of excavations of similar sites elsewhere.

If the enclosure is Iron Age, then it may be a part of the extensive pattern of settlements and enclosures spread across the whole of Eastern Dumfriesshire (RCAHMS 1997, 128). A large number of enclosures are recorded in the NMRS from aerial photographs; several have also been excavated, beginning with Boonies, near Westerkirk (Jobey 1975) and most recently the enclosures at Hayknowes Farm, Annan (Gregory 1997). These have shown a wide variation of defensive enclosure but a generally poor level of artefact recovery. The agricultural regimes followed may have varied as well; Boonies and Woodend Farm (Banks 2002) seem to have followed a mixed economy, with evidence both for cereals and for their processing together with evidence for livestock; the evidence from Long Knowe (Mercer 1981) and Uppercleugh (Terry 1993) was in both cases interpreted as demonstrating pastoral economies. Unfortunately, the interpretations of the site economies are in every case constrained by the low level of artefact and ecofact recovery and the picture remains somewhat unclear.

The dates provided by the excavations of these sites range from pre-Roman in the case of Long Knowe to Romano-British in the case of Boonies and Woodend. However, there is also the possibility that the Warden's Dykes enclosure was used after the Iron Age. There is evidence for activity in the early medieval period from radiocarbon dates from charcoal patches over two of the large ditches. Again, this does not relate to structural remains, but does indicate a human presence during this period. It can be argued that this may have constituted no more than two passing visits, but it is a reasonable assumption that the enclosure might have been used in the first millennium AD. There is evidence of settlement in the south-west in the post-Roman period in the form of high status sites, but sites relating to the ordinary farmers of the Solway plain are as rare as they are elsewhere in Scotland.

There is relatively good evidence for the élite of Dark Age society along the Solway coast during the early medieval period. One example is the Mote of Mark near Dalbeattie (Curle 1914; Laing 1973; 1975; Longley 1982). The partial excavations of the fort so far have produced some structures associated with pottery of the post-Roman period that was imported from continental Europe, along with large amounts of cullet (presumed to be for the manufacture of enamel) and moulds for penannular brooches. It has been suggested, from the amount of material present and the small size of the fort, that the site may not have been a "royal" residence, but an industrial site, perhaps the residence and work-place of a smith such as the mythical Culann from the *Táin Bó Cuailgne* (Alcock 1983). This hypothesis is unlikely in view of the amount of imported pottery on the site, which suggests a centre of political power, and the chances are that the site was a royal or aristocratic site of the kingdom of Rheged; dates from the site, despite some reservations expressed in print (eg Graham-Campbell 1976), indicate that the site was occupied in the sixth century and thus roughly contemporary with one of the radiocarbon dates from Warden's Dykes.

In addition to the secular élite, there is also good evidence for the clerical élite. Ecclesiastical sites of the period are well-attested on the Solway Plain: Whithorn Priory in Galloway was one of the most important southern Scottish ecclesiastical centres of the first millennium AD, the *Candida Casa* mentioned by Bede. There also appears to have been a secular settlement alongside the ecclesiastical remains, dating from the fifth/sixth centuries AD to the twelfth century (Pollock 1992, 27-8). Although no full account of the excavations has yet appeared, some interesting material has emerged from the interim accounts published thus far. There is also the important Anglian

monastery of Hoddom near Annan to the east of Warden's Dykes (Lowe 1991), which was also active during this period.

These sites have produced unusually good information about early medieval Dumfries and Galloway. It is far more normal for only fragments of the early medieval settlement to have survived. Castle Haven, on the coast near Kirkandrews in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright (Barbour 1907, 78-9), produced finds suggesting activity from the Iron Age into the middle of the first millennium AD, but the evidence for activity at this site in the post-Roman period is slight. The thirteenth century Cruggleton Castle on the Solway Coast between Garlieston and Whithorn was built on top of the fragmentary remains of earlier structures: a complex hut circle dating to the second or third centuries AD and a second phase consisting of a small rectilinear timber hall with associated palisade wall dating to the eighth to ninth centuries AD (Ewart 1985, 12). Unfortunately, the radiocarbon dates are all the dating evidence available from the site. The only evidence of the nature of the occupation consisted of faunal remains from kitchen midden deposits, which were almost entirely domesticates (Ewart 1985, 68).

Similar evidence comes from non-élite sites: excavations at Kirkhill in Annandale to the north, another part of the M74 programme, recovered a hearth dating to the mid-first millennium AD in the near vicinity of a Mesolithic to Neolithic site (Pollard & Donnelly, forthcoming). The post-built timber structure at Kirkconnel, just to the north of Warden's Dykes at Springkell, is undated but did produce a bead (unfortunately unstratified) dated to the sixth or seventh centuries AD (Clough and Laing 1969); however, the identification of this site as an early Medieval settlement is tentative at best. Excavations at Uppercleugh, also a part of the M74 construction and reported in this journal, produced a radiocarbon date of 433 to 656 AD from a double posthole in the one hut-circle encountered, although the date is considered to have been contaminated by modern carbonised material (Terry 1993, 82). However, it is also possible that the date was not contaminated and actually indicates that the site continued to be occupied in the post-Roman period. The evidence for occupation at Warden's Dykes is even less substantial than for these other sites. Of the two radiocarbon dates, one favours the earlier period, that of the kingdom of Rheged. The early Taliesin poems are addressed to Urien of Rheged and were dated by Jackson to the latter part of the sixth century (Jackson 1969, 10). Rheged must have survived into the seventh century AD, as a wife for Oswiu of Bernicia (643-71) was said to have come from Rheged, but the kingdom had certainly been absorbed by Bernicia by the end of seventh century. The second radiocarbon date relating to this general period could derive from either the Anglian period or from the succeeding period of Strathclyde ascendancy.

There is also a radiocarbon date from Warden's Dykes that runs into the second millennium AD, bringing the history of the site into the Medieval period. Deriving from a burnt post in area B, and thus not having any obvious structural relationships, the date could indicate that the area around the enclosure was still in use in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries AD. It is likely that the enclosure was used in the sixteenth century; the name 'Warden's Dykes' refers to the tradition that this was one of the locations for meetings between the Wardens of the Scottish and English West March. These meetings were designed to allow the authorities on either side of the border to deal with cross-border raiders and to allow the Wardens to confer about current events in pursuit of good government. Whether Warden's Dykes was indeed one of these meeting places is not confirmed, but Gretna is frequently mentioned as hosting the meetings on the Scottish side. Since the name has been attached to the site, there is reason to believe that it may have been used for this purpose. If this is the case, it might have been the site of the meeting that Sir John Carmichael, Warden of the Scottish West March at the end of the sixteenth century, attended two days before his murder by Armstrong reivers on 16 June 1600.

The medieval élite of Dumfries and Galloway is well represented in terms of archaeological remains as the Royal Commission's volume on Eastern Dumfriesshire demonstrates (RCAHMS 1997, 186-220). However, the non-élite sites of the period are far less common. While there is plenty of documentary evidence for the medieval rural settlement of Dumfries and Galloway, little of

the structural material has survived. Where the structures have been preserved, it has mainly been in the upland areas. This should come as no surprise given the fertility of much of the lowlands of Dumfries and Galloway. The medieval farming settlements attested in the documentary sources have most probably vanished beneath later replacements or been ploughed over for later fields. Even at a site such as Boyken, where the records go back to 1376, many of the structures will be later. The excavations at Dowglen in Eskdale revealed little to advance our understanding of the rural settlement of the medieval period, with no artefacts and nothing capable of providing a date (RCAHMS 1997, 234-5). The medieval date from Warden's Dykes is thus important, even although the post that provided the radiocarbon date, centred on the twelfth century AD, cannot be related to a settlement. It is possible that the enclosure was still in use in some form during the medieval period, or perhaps the settlement was in the near vicinity of the enclosure; whatever the case, it does indicate the presence of medieval activity around the site.

The excavations at Warden's Dykes were undertaken to investigate the nature of activity surrounding the enclosure. The results are simultaneously frustrating and illuminating. Little detail has emerged concerning the nature of activity around the enclosure, although it would appear that there was settlement adjacent to the enclosure. Unfortunately, as its date is unknown, there is no way to determine its contemporaneity to the enclosure. It may have been a subsidiary settlement, but more likely is that it represents an open phase either before or after the enclosure; certainly, none of the other enclosures excavated in Dumfriesshire has had a dependent settlement adjacent.

The best result of the excavation has been to demonstrate the considerable time-depth that the landscape of the Solway can preserve. Prior to the excavations, the only period attested in the archaeological record in this location was the Iron Age; now, every period from the early Neolithic onwards has been represented, at least in the radiocarbon dates, while the artefacts hint at a Mesolithic date. That the area has seen a considerable amount of prehistoric settlement is attested by the density of cropmarks in the area and by the archaeological material recorded in plan on the north side of the M74. The likelihood is that the field through which the southbound slip-road passes still contains the remains of settlements. An important lesson to learn is that there is significant evidence about the past that survives only in very fragmentary forms, as material that is of little value at first sight. The features at Warden's Dykes are all damaged, truncated by later activity, but the radiocarbon dates recovered are important in expanding our understanding of the history of settlement on the Solway Plain. The results of the excavation show the importance of the planning process, where archaeological remains, such as the cropmarks adjacent to the upstanding remains at Warden's Dykes, are investigated and preserved through record. Without an effective archaeological monitoring of development, evidence like the material presented here will be lost forever and the task of recovering the lost histories of our past will be all the harder.

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EARLY HISTORIC AND MEDIEVAL ACTIVITY AT CHAPELTON, HAUGH OF URR, DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

by Derek Alexander, National Trust for Scotland, West Region, Glasgow
with contributions by Fraser Hunter, Elizabeth Pirie, Philip Simpson & Gordon Thomas

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to announce the discovery of a potentially important early historic and medieval site, with likely ecclesiastical associations.

In June 1993 Irish Gas commissioned the Centre for Field Archaeology, University of Edinburgh (CFA) to excavate a suite of archaeological features discovered near Chapelton Farm, Haugh of Urr (NGR NX 7969 6748, Fig 1). These previously unrecorded remains were exposed during topsoil stripping associated with the construction of Irish Gas' Southwest Scotland Pipeline (Maynard 1993 & Strachan *et al* 1998 report other important archaeological discoveries made along the route of this pipeline). David Maynard, the Project Archaeologist, identified the remains and conducted an initial investigation that revealed the presence of stone spreads and cut features, as well as lead artefacts.

The site is located in a gently undulating landscape, c.110m NW of, and upslope from, the supposed site of a Pre-Reformation chapel recorded in the Ordnance Survey Name Book (1847) and on the Ordnance Survey first edition map of 1854 (Kirkcudbrightshire, sheet 34) (NX 7971 6736, NMRS Ref: NX 76 NE 13). The pattern of field boundaries around the site appears to have remained unchanged since that date.

The excavation has revealed only part of what could be an extensive and complex archaeological site, and only preliminary conclusions can be advanced as to its character and history at this stage. This report presents only summary findings, and readers wishing to learn more detail are directed to the project archive deposited with the National Monuments Record of Scotland, Edinburgh and the finds assemblage allocated to Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright.

Excavation

The excavation site was divided into three sub-rectangular areas (Figs 2-3, A-C), totalling c. 270 m^2 and separated by baulks c. 1 m wide. The topsoil, which was 0.2-0.3m deep, had been mostly removed by machine prior to CFA's involvement. However, the site sloped down to the NE and some topsoil remained across the northern parts of Areas A-C (Fig 2), bounded on its S side by a curvilinear stone spread which it overlay.

This residual topsoil was removed at the start of the excavation, and was found to contain a diverse range of artefacts. These include a sherd of Roman samian pottery (SF21, Area B), a medieval or post-medieval copper alloy belt buckle (SF1, Fig 7), and a fragment of a cannel coal bangle (SF10; Fig 10) of possible Early Historic date. Modern material was restricted to a fragment of clay pipe. Other less securely dated artefacts include four pieces of struck chert and two pieces of struck flint; three fragments of scrap lead sheet, a rolled lead tube (eg SF39, Area B; Fig 8); eleven pieces of iron slag; two possible iron tools (eg SF8, Area B; Fig 9); and a stone disc.

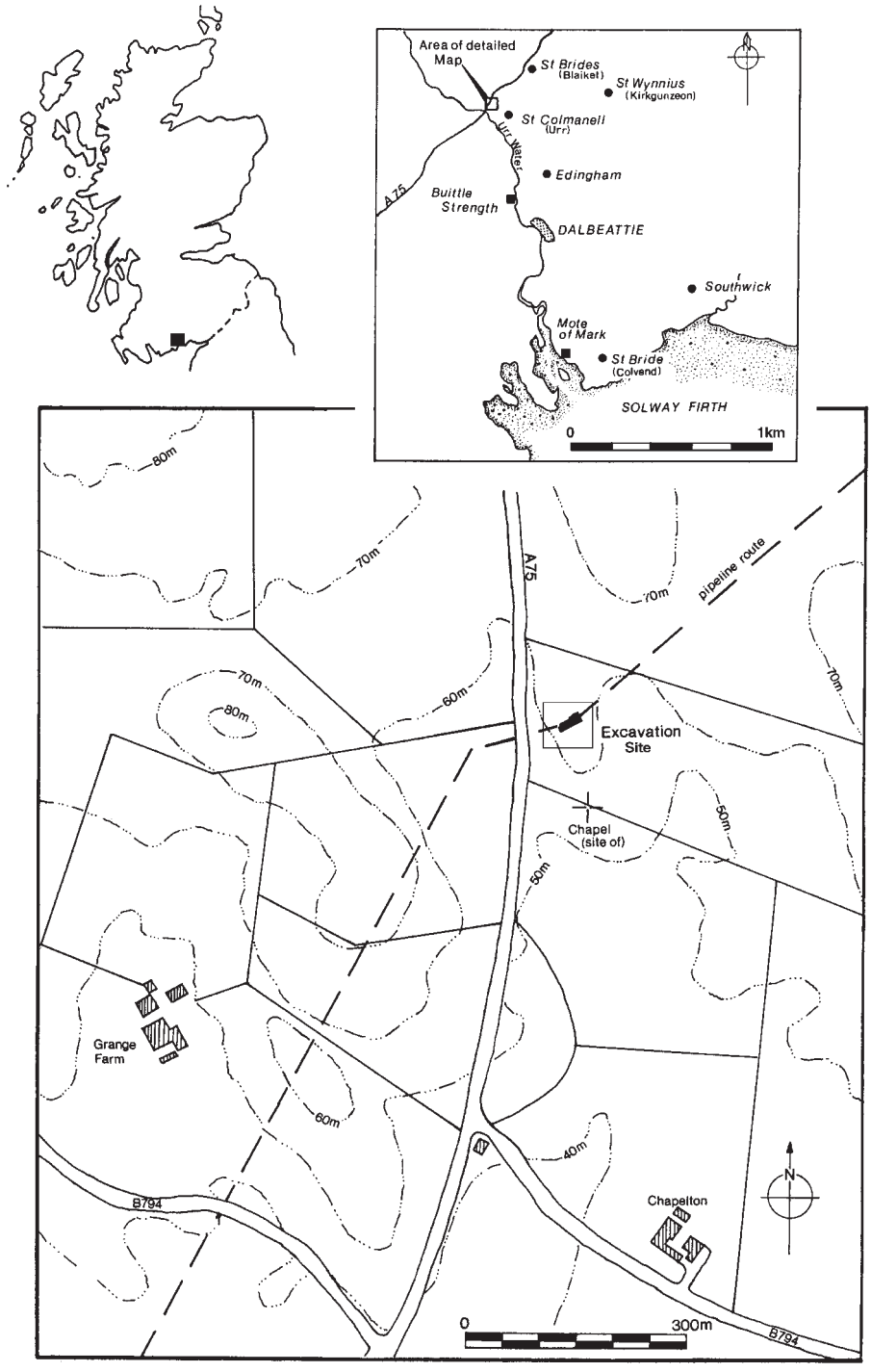

Figure 1 Location Map

Stone spread

An irregular curvilinear spread of stones, c. 24m long and between 1m and 4m wide, ran in a rough arc through Areas A, B and C. It was abutted and overlain by the residual topsoil (Fig 2). There appeared to be a break in the spread of stones between Area A and Area B. The size and density of the stones varied, with noticeably fewer but larger stones present within Area B.

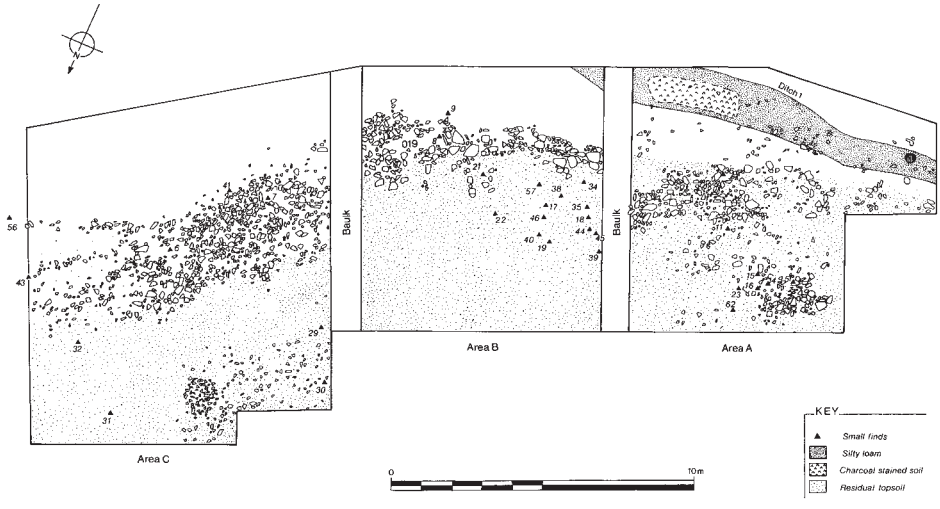

Figure 2 Stone spread

It was clear that the stones did not present the vestigial remains of a building foundation, as the majority in Areas A and B formed the upper fill of a ditch (Ditch 2, Fig 3). In Area C the stones mostly filled a shallow scoop in the subsoil. Three lines of stones, running SW-NE, were visible at the NE end of Area C, the southernmost of which was found upon excavation to fill a shallow linear slot (070, Fig 3). Moreover, there was no dressed or squared stonework to suggest that this material represented redeposited building debris. Some of the stones showed plough damage marks, suggesting that the stone spreads may be the result either of deliberate field clearance from agricultural land or may have collected in the hollow of a ditch as a result of ploughing.

Finds recovered from around the stones included a sherd of probably 14th century glazed pottery (SF3) and the tanged blade of a small iron knife (SF6, Area C), possibly of pre-13th century date. Other undated items include part of a possible decorative iron stud (SF51, Fig 9), several lumps of iron slag and a struck flint. No diagnostically modern artefact was recovered.

Ditches

Two ditches were located (Fig 3). Ditch 1 ran for 12 m through Area A and beyond the limits of the excavation under the baulk between Areas A and B. Where excavated it was c. 0.9-1.5m in surface width and c. 0.3-0.4m deep (Fig 4). The ditch was filled by a sequence of silty sediments where excavated towards the centre of its exposed length (Fig. 4 I-J), but by a single homogeneous deposit to either end (Fig 4, E-F & G-H). Only the uppermost fill of section I-J (013), a black silt rich in charcoal pieces, may represent a deliberate deposit.

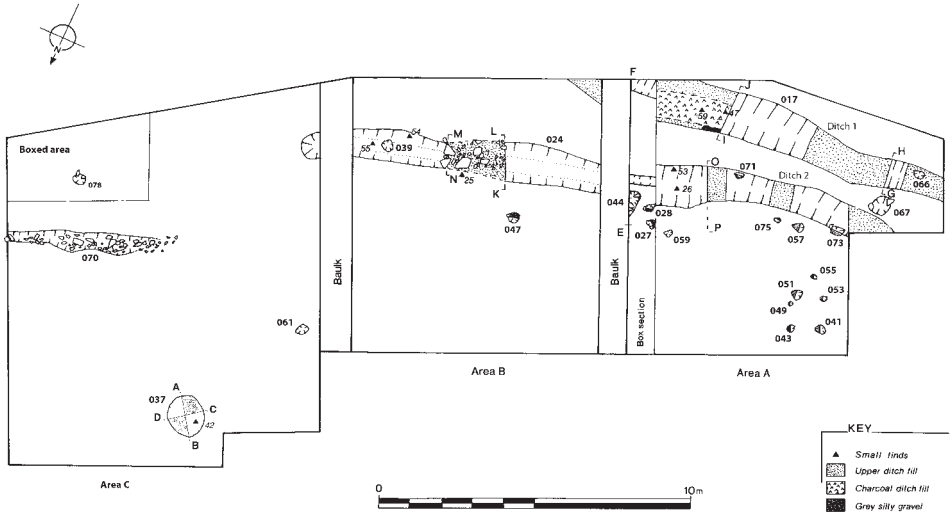

Figure 3 Ditches

Ditch 2 was exposed over a c. 19m length, entering the excavation site from the W and terminating at the W end of Area C. Where excavated it proved to be 1.1-1.3m wide and 0.3-0.5m deep (Fig 4). The deposits filling the ditch were consistent with natural weathering and silting, apart from a black silty soil containing charcoal pieces present within section O-P (Fig 4, 004), itself very similar to the uppermost deposit encountered in Ditch 1 (013).

The precise chronological relationship between the two ditches could not be established, although their relative alignments suggest that the construction of one respected the other. The two ditches were closest within Area A but diverged to the E, and possibly also to the W. If it assumed that the charcoal-rich deposits identified in each ditch reflect the same event, then it would appear that at the time of their deposition Ditch 1 had become more choked with sediment than Ditch 2. In addition, the absence of stones from Ditch 1 might indicate that it was completely infilled by the time the stone spread was deposited in Ditch 2. These factors might in turn indicate the primacy of Ditch 1. The

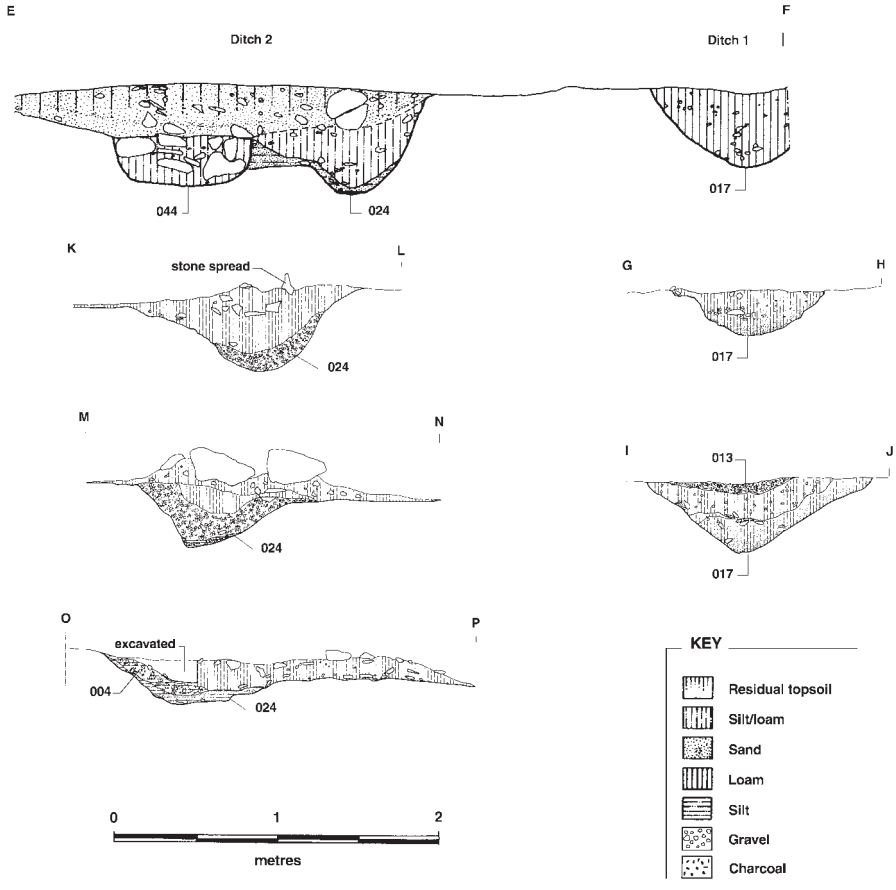

Figure 4 Ditch sections

functions of the ditches cannot be established from the limited areas exposed – they could be, for example, settlement or enclosure boundary ditches or agricultural field boundaries.

Finds from Ditch 1 included an iron, loop-headed spike (SF4, Fig 9) and a piece of iron slag from the basal fill at the W end. A small iron knife with a whittle tang (SF47, Fig 9) and a further piece of iron slag were found in the upper charcoal-rich fill. A tanged knife with a semi-circular end cap (SF55, Fig 9) was found within the basal fill of Ditch 2, and has been tentatively dated to the later 14th century. An iron nail shank (SF54) and a piece of sheet lead (SF50, Fig 8) were recovered from the uppermost fill. A shard of blue glass (SF53, Fig 11) found within the charcoal rich fill (004) may be the remains of a ribbed handle of either a Roman glass vessel or a more recent vessel, although the latter is unlikely on stratigraphical grounds.

Pits

Several pits were recorded, mostly in Area A (Fig 3). In general the pits were c. 0.3-0.4m in surface width and 0.1-0.25m deep, with steep sides and level bases, and filled with silty loam or gravel fills. Some of these features may have been post-pits, although only two (027, 057) contained evidence of packing stones. They formed no interpretable pattern. Moreover, some were stratified below the stone spread (eg 027, 059), whereas others were both cut into the ditch fills (eg 066, 044, 073) or sealed beneath them (eg 039, 071), suggesting that the pits result from different periods of activity.

In Area C a comparatively large pit (037), c. 1.5m across and 0.3m deep, contained a charcoal-rich fill with many angular stones (Fig 5). A copper alloy styca dating to c. 840 AD (SF42, Fig 6) was recovered from this fill. A bulk sample of hazel and birch charcoal produced a radiocarbon date of 1410 ± 70BP (Beta-73550), giving a 2 sigma (95% probability) calibrated date range of AD 430-780 (calibrated using OxCa3 v3.5; Bronk Ramsey 2000).

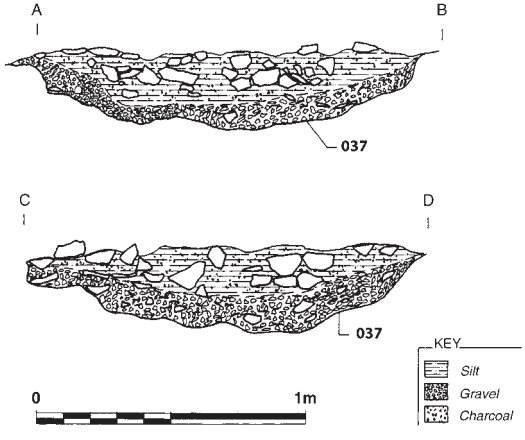

Figure 5 Pit 037, sections

Disturbed subsoil

The ditches and pits were cut into disturbed subsoil deposits, varying across the site from brown silty soil in Area A to a pink gravel in Area C. These deposits are probably derived from weathering, cultivation and bioturbation of the underlying subsoil.

Finds (Figs 6-11)

The finds recovered during the excavation include a wide range of materials with items of medieval, Early Historic, and Roman date present. Only the more diagnostic finds are considered below. Discussions of other materials – pieces of burnt clay, a Post Medieval clay pipe stem, chipped stone artefacts, a stone disc and pieces of iron slag - are omitted but can be found in the site archive.

Coin (Elizabeth Pirie)

The coin (SF42, Fig 6) recovered from the upper fill of pit 037 is a copper alloy Northumbrian styca of irregular issue, probably dating to c. AD 840. It is a double reverse of Huaetred and Eardulf, who were moneyers respectively for Eanred and Aethelred II.

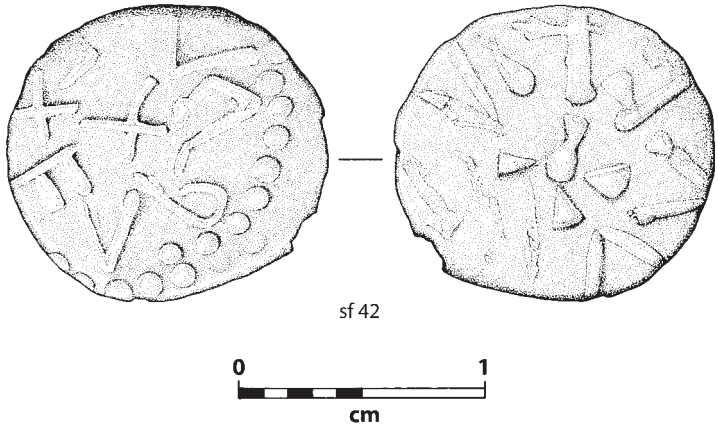

Figure 6 Styca

During the years c. 790 to c. 796, in the second reign of Aethelred I, stycas were first introduced. Phase I of the styca coinage lasted from c. 790 - c. 835. These were small and were initially of silver. About 830, striking in silver ceased and the first coins in copper alloy appeared, after an interval (identified by the absence of coins for Archbishop Uulfsige). This second phase of coinage was undertaken by a new team of moneyers. Large numbers of specimens survive from the years c. 837 to c. 855. Some specimens struck from aberrant dies, or in unofficial combinations of reverse with reverse (as in the present example), are to be identified as irregular issues, possibly contemporary forgeries. Several features on the dies of the irregulars (letter-forms, motifs and even names) bear a remarkable similarity to such detail on earlier coins of the western Celts. It may not be altogether unreasonable to identify a robust British element surviving in the ninth-century population of Northumbria. It therefore seems inappropriate to describe the coinage as Anglian; failing a whole-hearted recognition as Anglo-British, use of the term Northumbrian is preferable.

In SW Scotland stycas were found in considerable numbers at Whithorn (Hill 1997), and a styca of Aethelred II (by the moneyer Fordred), struck c. 841-843/4, was found at Hoddom, in Dumfriesshire (Lowe *et al* 1991, 25). Other styca finds in the region include those from Luce Sands (Cormack 1965) and Talnotrie (Maxwell 1913).

Samian Ware (Gordon Thomas)

A small sherd of samian ware (SF21 - not illustrated), was found in residual topsoil, just to the N of the stone spread in Area B. It has been badly damaged but still preserves part of a rim or carination of the vessel. It may come from a Dr 18/31 dish but the articulation between the inner and outer preserved faces is unusual in this respect and may suggest another vessel type. The size and condition of the sherd, however, make positive identification highly problematic.

Medieval pottery

A single body sherd (SF3) of medieval pottery was recovered from the stone spread in Area C. It has a very slight shoulder and may be the base of the neck of a jar. The exterior is covered in a pale yellow/green glaze while the interior is unglazed. It is possibly 14th century in date (G. Haggarty pers comm).

Metal objects (Fraser Hunter)

The Chapelton metal assemblage is an interesting mixture: while much of the lead has the character of scrap, as perhaps does the copper alloy belt buckle, the iron comprises a surprisingly high number of tools. In terms of dating, little is diagnostic but all would fit happily in an Early Historic or Medieval context. The copper alloy buckle is broadly Medieval or Post-Medieval, but is too corroded for precise dating. Ironwork is notoriously hard to date typologically, but broad parallels for the knives can be found among Early Historic examples at Buiston crannog (Munro 1882, figs 34-39), from Medieval Perth (Ford 1987, 131-2), and within the major assemblage from Medieval London (Cowgill *et al* 1987). If fragment SF6 does indeed preserve traces of an angled back, this would suggest a pre-13th century date (Cowgill *et al* 1987, 78), while the London evidence suggests the use of end-caps (as on SF55) became more common during the later 14th century (Cowgill *et al* 1987, viii).

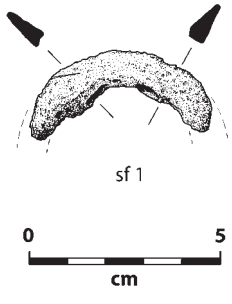

Figure 7 Copper alloy buckle

Copper Alloy (Fig 7)

SF1 Possible buckle fragment, L 48mm; W 12mm; H 5mm, (residual topsoil). Copper alloy fragment, external edge curved, internal edge more rectilinear. Tapers in section towards the outer edge. Probably part of a Medieval or Post-

medieval buckle. Identified by qualitative X-ray fluorescence analysis as leaded gunmetal.

Lead (Fig 8)

SF29 Two sheet fragments, 51 x 32 x 4.5mm; 57 x 34 x 3mm, (residual topsoil). Two irregularly-shaped fragments of lead sheet, both cracking extensively. Neither has any clear original edges; both are probably scrap.

SF39 Rolled tube fragment, L 31mm; diameter 12 - 14.5mm, (residual topsoil) Rolled lead tube: the edge is overlapped, but it is unclear if it actually joined. Subsequently distorted and flattened; ends broken. Function uncertain.

SF50 Folded sheet, L 26mm; W 19mm; H 3.5mm, (top fill of Ditch 2). Hexagonal piece of lead sheet, folded symmetrically in two. May have been some form of edge binding, but may simply be scrap.

SF58 Curved strip, L 30.5mm; W 8.5mm; H 3mm, (residual topsoil). Fragment of lead strip, slightly curved in section. It is unclear whether any of the edges are original. A fold-mark around the middle of the strip suggests it was intended as scrap.

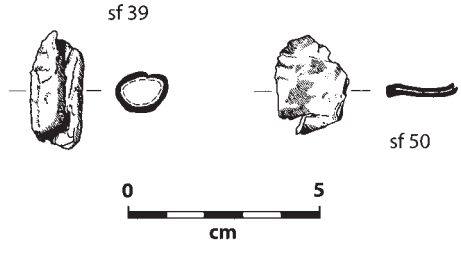

Figure 8 Lead objects

Iron (Fig 9)

SF4 Loop-headed spike, L 107mm; W (at loop) 11mm; H 8mm, (fill of Ditch 1). Square-sectioned bar, broken at one end and expanded and flattened towards the other, which has been worked into a loop with an oval eye, 8 x 4mm in size. The broken end would have terminated in a point. Designed to provide a loop which could be attached to masonry or wood.

SF6 Knife fragment, L 42mm; W 7.5mm; H 14mm, (stone spread, Area C). Part of the tang and blade of a small knife. The tang (probably a whittle tang) is rectangular in section, and continues the line of the blade back; blade form unclear due to small size and corrosion, but there is a suggestion of an angled back.

SF8 Tanged tool, L 55mm; W 14mm; H 12mm, (residual topsoil). A round-section whittle tang, c. 8mm tall and 6mm wide, expands into a tool of uncertain type. From the X-ray, both edges expand (the lower more markedly) and then taper to a flattened tip. The section is trapezoidal, broader towards the top. There is no obvious working edge, but the tip may have been flattened or broken off in use, in which case it may have been a small chisel or similar tool.

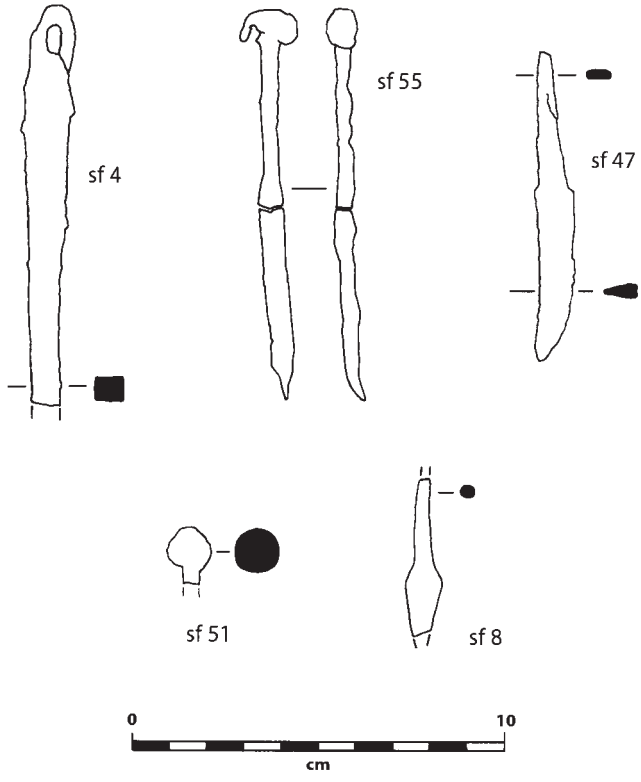

Figure 9 Iron objects

SF22 Bar fragment, L 37mm; W 8.5mm; H 13mm, (residual topsoil). Rectangular metal bar. From the X-ray, one end may be broken but the other appears intact. Section unclear. In its corroded state this fragment has few characteristic features, and could come from any of a range of objects, from structural fittings to tools such as files.

SF47 Knife, L 84mm; W 7mm; H 14mm, (top fill of Ditch 1). Small knife, with a rectangular-sectioned tapering whittle tang, 37mm long, and a blade 47mm long. The back of the knife curves downward to the point; as it survives the edge is slightly concave.

SF51 Possible stud head, L 24mm; D max. 12.5mm, (stony fill of depression, Area A). Amorphous mass which from the X-ray appears to comprise a globular head, c. 12.5mm in diameter and 12mm tall, slightly pointed at the top, with a shank c. 5mm wide extending from the base. Shank section unclear. The head shape implies an ornamental purpose perhaps as a decorative stud.

SF54 Nail shank, L 33mm; D 6mm, (top fill of Ditch 2). Round-sectioned rod fragment, terminating in a rounded point.

SF55 Knife with semi-circular end cap, L 106mm; W 11mm; H 20mm, (bottom fill of Ditch 2). Single-edged knife, with the blade, 59mm long, parallel for much of its length before tapering sharply to the point. The rectangular-sectioned tang, 47mm long, terminates in a semi-circular end cap which X-rays reveal to be forged as an integral part of the tang. This implies that a form of composite plate handle must have been used. No rivets are visible through the tang, implying the components were bound together. The identification is not certain, since this form of integral end cap appears to be rather unusual, and blade morphology is also unusual, terminating in a very thin point. This presumably derives from extensive resharpening.

Cannel coal (Fraser Hunter)

Two artefacts from Chapelton were analysed by X-ray fluorescence and X-radiography (see Hunter *et al* 1993 for methodology) and are most likely to be cannel coal. Cannel coals are abundant in Coal Measures deposits, and such strata are known from eastern Dumfries and Galloway, although not from the Haugh of Urr area (Greig 1971, fig. 13). However, experience elsewhere has shown that geological references often overlook the smaller sources exploited by people in the past, and the possibility of a source more local to the site should not be discounted without further fieldwork.

The partial nature of SF10 (Fig 10) makes identification difficult. It seems most likely to be an unusual bangle. The other possibility, the rim of a vessel, is improbable as these are unknown from Scotland, and rare in Britain as a whole. Roman shale vessels are comparatively plentiful within the civilian zone of the province, but unknown N of Hadrian's Wall; prehistoric examples are largely restricted to the Wessex Early Bronze Age (Newall 1929) and the SE English Iron Age (Kennett 1977). The diameter lies towards the upper end of the bangle range, but is plausible for a large armlet. Parallels for concave-sided bangles are few: they have not been noted in the repertoire of Iron Age bangles, nor in standard Romano-British types (Lawson 1975). However, references to four similar fragments may be quoted: stray finds from Culbin Sands, Moray (NMS BI 29470) and Kilfeddar, New Luce, Wigtownshire (NMS FN 143); one from Dunadd fort, Argyll (NMS HPO 43): and one from a burial site at High Knowes, Northumberland (burial 3; Jobey and Tait 1966, 37-42). The three Scottish examples have internal diameters of 75 - 80mm, while the High Knowes example measures around 90mm. Jobey and Tait (op cit) argued this latter could be part of an Early Bronze Age cup, but the presence of abrasion scars on the inside surface suggest that this was hidden in use, as in a bangle rather than a cup. It is preferable to interpret all as bangles.

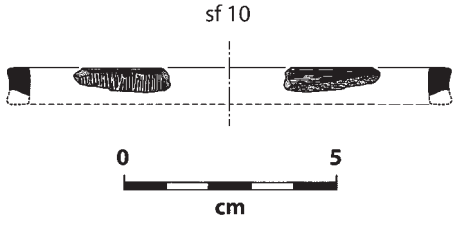

Figure 10 Cannel coal object

The fragmentary nature of all the above examples makes their identification as a type tentative. Dating is even trickier. The context of the Chapelton example is insecure and

the potential date range of the site wide, and two of the others are stray finds. Jobey and Tait (op cit) suggest the High Knowes possible burial is Bronze Age, but the dating, and the association of the bangle fragment with the feature, is tenuous. As for Dunadd, Iron Age and Early Historic occupation is attested (Lane & Campbell 2000). Given the apparent absence of this type from other Iron Age sites, it can be tentatively suggested that it is an Early Historic type. However, the dating is too inadequate to be dogmatic about this.

The piece of cannel coal working debris (SF11) clearly indicates working of cannel coal in the vicinity of the site. It is almost certainly pre-medieval, as the use of this material became less common during the medieval period.

SF10 Possible bangle fragment, L 22.5mm; W 4.5mm; H 5.5mm; internal diameter 90 - 95mm; 6.5% of circumference surviving, (residual topsoil). Fragmentary object of unusual form, originally probably annular, with flat top edge and concave external side. Polished externally to a high lustre: no visible tool marks remain but there are traces of wear. Internally, vertical abrasion scars from manufacture are visible. Internal section slightly rounded.

SF11 Working debris, L 24.5mm; B 24mm; H 2.5mm, Context 001 (topsoil). Broken flake from a part-worked cannel coal block, detached in the course of manufacture. One edge of the flake has been cut square, another is (perhaps naturally) angled, with hints of abrasion scratches, while the rest are broken. There are no visible working traces on the upper surface. This implies it was detached from a block which had been roughly squared, a typical preliminary to roughing out the desired shape of the object. The sparsity of working signs suggest it came from an early stage in manufacture, perhaps initial thinning of the block after squaring off.

Glass (based on information from Philip Simpson)

A single shard of light blue/aqua glass was recovered from Ditch 2 (Fig 11, SF53). It has two ribs, one slightly more pronounced than the other. At first it was believed to be a fragment of a modern screw-top, however, the curvature is wrong. The slight angle near one end and the general morphology are far more likely to represent a handle with the “threads” being vertical decorative ribs. If it was a screw-top the ribs would be more uniform in height, whereas one is here markedly less raised. These ribs seem to be moulded rather than applied, although whether by press moulding or by careful tooling is not apparent. In any case subsequent marvering or other finishing may have removed typical traces of tool working. It is possible that this piece is either Roman or Modern. It is a colour of glass common to all periods, and the glass itself is well made and worked. In the absence of any diagnostic features, it is impossible to assign a definite date.

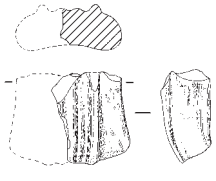

Figure 11 Glass objects

Radiocarbon dating

Charcoal recovered from pit 037, which contained the Northumbrian styca, was submitted to Beta Analytic Inc, Florida, for radiocarbon dating. The charcoal was identified by Ann Crone of AOC (Scotland) Ltd as 11 fragments of Corylus av. (hazel) roundwood with bark attached and 4 fragments of Betula sp. (birch). The following result was obtained:

Sample No	Beta 73550
Radiocarbon age	1410±70BP
Calibrated dates	1 sigma (68% prob.) cal AD 560 to 690
	2 sigma (95% prob.) cal AD 430 to 780

The calibrated date ranges (using OxCal v3.5; Bronk Ramsey 2000) suggests at face value that the pit contained charcoal from wood older than the styca, which is dated to c.AD 840. However, since this date was obtained, Ashmore (1999) has highlighted the pitfalls of obtaining misleading radiocarbon dates from bulk samples containing charcoal of different ages, and thus the accuracy of this determination must be treated with some caution. Whilst it cannot be proven on the basis of these uncertainties, the likelihood is that both the charcoal and the styca were deposited in the pit towards the end of the 1st millennium AD.

Sequence and chronology

A basic sequence of activity can be reconstructed from the stratigraphic relationships between the excavated remains. The two ditches and slot 070 appear to comprise some of the earliest features within the excavation area. The ditches are likely to be of broadly contemporary origin, and it is possible that the cutting of Ditch 1 preceded that of Ditch 2, since the filling of Ditch 1 appears to have been completed before Ditch 2. Ditch 2 and slot 070 were subsequently sealed beneath stone spreads that reflect either the deliberate dumping of cleared stone or the accumulation of ploughed-dragged stones. A series of pits reflect more than one phase of activity. Some were cut into the bases of the ditches, others were cut into its upper fills, and further examples were sealed beneath the stone spreads. The majority of the pits, however, had no stratigraphic relationships to other excavated features.

Establishing the dates of the excavated features is not straightforward, as only a small number of the features contained dateable artefacts. Moreover, the taphonomy of the artefact assemblage is open to question. Most if not all of the artefacts probably occurred in redeposited contexts, spread by ploughing from features in the immediate vicinity. This means that the date of an artefact does not necessarily date the deposit or feature in which it was found. This is certainly the case for those artefacts recovered from the residual topsoil and the stone spreads. The taphonomy of the items recovered from the ditch fills is less certain, although the problems of residuality are clearly demonstrated by the recovery of putatively Roman glass (SF53) from a fill of Ditch 2 which lay above another containing a medieval knife (SF55). The glass clearly could not have entered the ditch in the

Roman period, whereas the knife could represent an item deposited: (a) during the medieval period and soon after the cutting of the ditch; (b) during the medieval period but long after the cutting of the ditch; or (c) after the medieval period and at some stage after the cutting of the ditch. At best it can be said that Ditch 2 could not have been filled before the end of the 14th century.

These concerns mean that the cutting of the ditches cannot be reliably dated, although a broadly medieval date can be countenanced. The recovery of medieval pottery from the stone spread indicates that this feature may be of medieval or later origin. One of the pits (037) reflects Early Historic activity, but none of the others have any direct dating evidence.

The artefacts themselves cover a long time period. The chipped stone pieces could well reflect prehistoric activity in the vicinity, but they are undiagnostic in form, and without other prehistoric artefact types having been found it is difficult to be certain in that respect. A Roman samian sherd and a putatively Roman glass shard occurred on the site. They could reflect either Roman Iron Age activity in the vicinity or 'reliquary' items imported to the site substantially later. This latter mechanism has been invoked to explain the discovery of Roman period artefacts at early ecclesiastical sites in SW Scotland with no evidence of earlier, Roman period settlement, including Hoddom (Lowe *et al* 1991), Barhobble (Cormack 1995) and St Brydes Kirk, Annan (Crowe 1984). However, the former mechanism was preferred by Hill (1997) to explain the discovery of considerable amounts of Roman material at Whithorn. The styca, and possibly also the cannel coal bangle fragment, reflect Early Historic activity, whereas medieval activity is attested by pottery and one or more iron knives. Most of the remaining diagnostic artefacts, principally the metalwork, are consistent with a broadly Early Historic / Medieval date, suggesting that this is the principal period of activity represented at Chapelton. Besides a clay pipe fragment there is no certain post-medieval element to the artefact assemblage, suggesting that the site was finally abandoned during the medieval period.

Chapelton in context

It appears likely that the archaeological remains located at Chapelton relate primarily to an Early Historic and medieval occupation site. In this regard it is reasonable to propose that the archaeological site provides some physical evidence to substantiate previous claims that a pre-Reformation chapel lay nearby. If the archaeological site does form part of an ecclesiastical site, then it is presently uncertain how the excavated features relate to it.

The Chapelton artefact assemblage does not contain any items characteristic of a chapel site, although it may reflect secular activity in its vicinity. A remarkably similar range of finds were recovered during the excavations at Barhobble, Mochrum (Cormack 1995). At that site the remains of a 12th century stone built church were later converted into a chapel in the 13th century. The church had been built over an earlier burial ground displaying of two phases; one phase of the cemetery was of Celto-Norse origin dated to between 925 and 1125 AD, while the recovery of an Anglian silver sceat of Eadberht suggests some form of occupation around 740 AD. The site at Barhobble is surrounded by

the remains of a drystone wall which the excavator suggests may have belonged to a "cashel" type enclosure. The finds suggest similarities with Chapelton, including a range of iron knives, some with angle backs; pieces of lead sheet, some folded; and a fragment of decorated Romano-British glass bangle.

Interestingly, a piece of partly rolled lead sheet recovered from the floor of the Phase III stone-built chapel on Ardwall Isle, Kircudbright (Thomas 1967, 145) was interpreted as scrap, as have the pieces from Chapelton. The Ardwall Isle chapel was surrounded by a stone bank, and spreads of stones were interpreted as the foundations of possible cell structures. There is no evidence that the stone spreads at Chapelton are structural remains, although the possibility that they may have derived from structural remains in the vicinity cannot be overlooked.

It is worth exploring briefly whether the presence of the styca might indicate that the site at Chapelton has Anglian origins. Anglian settlement in Galloway during the period of Northumbrian supremacy dates from the mid-seventh to tenth centuries AD. The exact date for when the Northumbrians took control of Galloway is unclear, although the setting up of the bishopric at Whithorn c.AD 730 may have consolidated "two or three generations of Anglian settlement and church organisation" (Brooke 1991, 301). Archaeological evidence for settlement has been recovered from ecclesiastical sites at Whithorn (Brooke 1994, Hill 1997) and Hoddom (Lowe *et al* 1991) and from the fortified settlement at Mote of Mark (Laing 1973).

Brooke (1991) identified three "shires" in Galloway and Carrick on the basis of place-name evidence, church dedications, historical events and archaeological features. One of these "shires" consisted of five geographical groups of settlement: the Estuary of the Urr, Glenken, Kelton, the Dee estuary and the Mouth of Fleet. The site at Chapelton falls into the northern end of the Estuary of the Urr group. This group included the site of Buittle on the W side of the Urr and the Mote of Mark on the E side. In addition, there may have been a church at Edingham, which lay within the diocese of Whithorn during the 8th century. Possibly linked to this church were a number of outlying chapels at Blaiket, Preston and Southwick (Brooke 1991, 315). It is possible, therefore, that the supposed chapel at Chapelton may be an Anglian foundation which fits into "the pattern of minsters (mother church) and outlying chapels", with Edingham in this case being the mother church (Fig 1). Only excavation of the chapel site itself would prove or refute this interpretation.

There is other evidence that may suggest Northumbrian activity in the Chapelton area. During the medieval period, Spots, which lies less than a kilometre to the SW of the site at Chapelton, was a very large grain producing estate, comprising the present holding plus what is now called King's Grange. Such very large estates are compatible with 8th - 9th century practice, especially demesne estates of the ruling house (Brooke pers comm). It is possible that Spots, which is a suggestively Old English name, may have been a Northumbrian settlement. Finally a possible 10th century, flat bronze flask inlaid with interlace work had been found at the chapel at Barr of Spottes, c. 1km E of Chapelton (NX 8053 6717, NMRS Ref: NX 86 NW 2).

The styca is a notable addition to the ever increasing evidence for Northumbrian activity in SW Scotland and could suggest an early origin for the foundation of the reputed

chapel at Chapelton. This would fit into an identified pattern of outlying chapels based on a mother church at Edingham. However, these suggestions, along with a more rounded view of the nature and extent of the intriguing archaeological site at Chapelton, must await the results of further field investigation.

Acknowledgements

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'NAKED AND UNARMOURED': A REASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF THE GALWEGIANS AT THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARD

by Ronan Toolis
AOC Archaeology Group, Edgefield Road Industrial Estate, Loanhead, Midlothian.

And the column of Galwegians after their custom gave vent thrice to a yell of horrible sound and attacked the southerns in such an onslaught that they compelled the first spearmen to forsake their post, but they were driven off again by the strength of the knights…the southern flies swarmed forth from the caves of their quivers and flew like closest rain…like a hedgehog with its quills, so you would see a Galwegian bristling all round with arrows and none the less brandishing his sword and in blind madness rushing forward now smite a foe, now lash the air with useless strokes…then the Galwegians could sustain no longer the shower of arrows, the swords of the knights and took to flight after two of their leaders had been slain. Ailred of Rievaulx (Anderson 1991, 202-203).

Accounts of the Battle of the Standard, fought in 1138 between the army of David I, King of Scots and the northern English forces rallied by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, have unvaryingly placed the blame for the Scottish defeat on David's Galwegian warriors who, against armoured English ranks, fled in confusion. Medieval chroniclers such as Ailred of Rievaulx, Richard of Hexham, Henry of Huntingdon, John of Hexham and John of Worcester all stressed the ineptitude of the Galwegians during the battle, culminating in the rout and defeat of the entire Scottish army (Anderson 1991, 177-204). Although the Galwegians' role in David's campaign has been reviewed with more insight by some (Brooke 1994, 87; Stringer 1993, 31) the traditional Anglo-Norman interpretation of events is still widely accepted (Barrow 1989, 39; Bartlett 1993, 81; Oram 2000, 66; Bradbury 1992, 191; Strickland 1992, 221-222). However, as no Galwegian account of the battle survives (or indeed was probably ever written), one cannot help but maintain a sense of scepticism for what has been argued (Brooke 1994, 95-99) was part of a deliberate campaign of Anglo-Norman propaganda created with the intent of discrediting the customs, people and leaders of Galloway during the twelfth century.

While the apparent Galwegian debacle at the Battle of the Standard has become a classic example of victorious new feudal military technology over an old fashioned 'tribal' style of warfare (Bartlett 1993, 81; Strickland 1992, 209-229), there are grounds, based on the varying twelfth century accounts of the battle and what is known of the competing Celtic and Anglo-Norman cultures of the British Isles, to question this view. Indeed, it is possible, as will be set out below, to argue that it was not the Galwegians' failure but rather the failure of David's Anglo-Norman retinues that resulted in the Scottish retreat from the battlefield.

Accounts of the battle

The backdrop for the battle had begun in 1137 when David I, exploiting the civil war between Stephen and Matilda, had launched large raiding parties into Northern England. Adopting a policy of skirmishing, ravaging and pillaging Northumbria, besieging the castles from which the surrounding countryside could be held, but avoiding outright battle

(Strickland 1992, 217-221), David's raiders had repeatedly retreated and counter-attacked in response to the advance and withdrawal of English forces throughout 1138. Although most castles withstood David's marauders, the terror tactics of the Scots were apparently on a scale not experienced since the notorious 'harrying of the north' seventy years before. As Richard of Hexham recorded, 'that execrable army, savager than any race of heathen…harried the whole province and slaughtered everywhere folk of either sex…destroying, pillaging and burning the villages, churches and houses,' (Anderson 1991, 181). The Galwegians were accorded special denunciation for atrocities such as the slaughter of children, the enslavement of women and girls and the desecration of churches (Brooke 1994, 96). These tactics were clearly aimed at undermining Stephen's ability to protect the northern counties so that he would be forced to yield to Scottish claims over Northumbria (Stringer 1993, 31).

With the exception of an encounter at Clitheroe when a force of Galwegians had beaten away a group of English knights, Scottish tactics had been successful in provoking English musters but at the same time largely avoiding battle, thus wearing down English opposition (Annals of Loch Cé: Anderson 1922, 197-199). One must presume that by August when David's host of 'Anglo-Normans, Germans, English, Northumbrians, Cumbrians, men of Lothian and Teviotdale, Galwegians and Scots' (Anderson 1991, 181) did commit to battle near Northallerton, David simply wished to consolidate his conquest by ensuring that there were no English forces left in the north to oppose him (Bradbury 1992, 184; Strickland 1992, 227).

On the eve of battle and having rejected offers of negotiation by Robert de Brus and Bernard de Balliol, who subsequently renounced their fealty to him and returned to their English comrades (Anderson 1991, 192-193), David set about marshalling his army. This according to Ailred of Rievaulx (Anderson 1991, 198-200) led to heated dispute between the Galwegians and the Anglo-Normans within his army. While the Anglo-Norman knights pressed for armoured men to lead the Scottish assault, the Galwegians opposed this, claiming their traditional right to form the vanguard and citing their recent victory over mail-clad men at Clitheroe (Anderson 1991, 198). To avoid the argument deteriorating into bloodshed, so the story goes, David gave way and allowed the Galwegians to take their traditional place in the Scottish army. Almost certainly using eyewitness accounts (Bliese 1988, 555), Ailred reported that the Scottish army was thus composed of Galwegians in the front ranks, followed by David's son Earl Henry, with the bulk of the knights and archers, the Cumbrians and men from Teviotdale in the second rank (Anderson 1991, 200). The men of Lothian, the islands and Lorn formed the third rank while the fourth rank was composed of David, his English and French bodyguard and the Scots and 'Moravians'. Richard of Hexham too recorded the Galwegians at the front, the king with his knights in the middle and the rest of the army around them on all sides roaring (Anderson 1991, 202).

Opposing this was an English army, composed of all the knights, archers and the general fyrd that the Archbishop of York and the barons of Yorkshire could muster (Anderson 1991, 191). According to Richard of Hexham, the greater part of the English knights dismounted and the picked men of these together with the archers formed the front rank while the rest, excepting the 'disposers and prompters of the fight' massed around the

Standard (Anderson 1991, 201). Both Henry of Huntingdon and Ailred of Rievaulx concur with this arrangement of archers and lancers mingled with knights forming the front ranks of the English army (Greenway 2002, 72; Anderson 1991, 201).

Amidst a great clamour of shouts, trumpets and clashing of arms, the Galwegians made such a furious onslaught, according to Ailred of Rievaulx, that they drove away the first ranks of English spearmen but were held back by the ranks of armoured knights (Anderson 1991, 203). Unable to break through with their spears, the Galwegians then closed in with swords but bearing the brunt of English archery until they could sustain it no longer, they broke and fled the field. Earl Henry then launched his own line upon the English and forced them back, causing the unarmoured English levies to flee as far as 'two furlongs' (Anderson 1991, 203-204). But even Earl Henry's mounted knights (Anderson 1991, 204) could not break the massed ranks of armoured English infantry. The English rallied again and following the disarray of the Galwegians' retreat, the men of Lothian broke and fled and the rest of David's army with them (Anderson 1991, 204; Greenway 2002, 72). Henry and his men, left isolated within the midst of their English foe, cast aside their banners and armour in their haste to join the rest of the Scottish army (Anderson 1991, 206-207). According to some chroniclers, such as Richard of Hexham and Henry of Huntingdon, David's army was routed in confusion (Anderson 1991, 205; Greenway 2002, 72). Other chroniclers, such as John of Hexham, John of Worcester and Ailred of Rievaulx, give David credit for retreating in good order and discouraging close English pursuit (Anderson 1991, 204, 207). Nevertheless according to John of Worcester, of the two hundred mailed knights whom David had, only nineteen brought back their hauberks (Anderson 1991, 207-208). What casualties the retreating army suffered, Richard of Hexham recorded, was at the hands of its own disparate ethnic groups as they each fell upon one another on the journey back north (Anderson 1991, 208).

The peace negotiated the following year was surprisingly favourable to David given these accounts of the battle. David was not made to do homage to Stephen but his son Henry did and was thus confirmed in the earldom of Northumbria (Brooke 1994, 87; Scott 1997, 36). Thus was recorded by twelfth century chroniclers the events surrounding the Battle of the Standard.

Galwegian warfare

One of the strongest points taken up by all accounts of the battle was the contrast between the ferocious but lightly armed and naked Galwegian warriors and the heavily armoured Anglo-Norman knights and archers of both David I's retinue and the opposing English army (Anderson 1991, 177-203). The plea for negotiation by Robert de Brus and the pre-battle oratory of Walter Espec and Ralph, Bishop of the Orkneys offered Ailred of Rievaulx and Henry of Huntingdon the opportunity to convey Anglo-Norman contempt for the light arms and naked bodies of the Galwegian and Scottish warriors (Anderson 1991, 193 & 197-198; Greenway 2002, 70-71). As Walter Espec is attributed as saying to his comrades before the battle, 'Who would not laugh rather than fear, when to fight against such men runs the worthless Scot with half-bare buttocks?…they oppose their naked hide to our lances, our swords and our arrows using a calf-skin for a shield, inspired

by irrational contempt for death rather than by strength' (Ailred of Rievaulx: Anderson 1991, 197). Or as Ralph, bishop of Orkney is attributed as urging the English army with the words, 'They do not know how to arm themselves in war…What is there to doubt as we march forward against the unarmed and naked?' (Henry of Huntingdon: Greenway 2002, 71). This is precisely the contrast that has been used by historians (Bartlett 1993, 81; Strickland 1992, 209-229) to highlight the superiority of feudal military technology, and implicitly feudalism itself, over the Galwegian and Scottish military technology, and again implicitly, native Galwegian and Scottish society. However, if from hindsight the Anglo-Norman knights and archers appear overwhelmingly superior, one must ask why the native Galwegians and Scots, and Welsh and Irish for that matter, did not see this when opposing English forces in battle. In examining the role of the Galwegians at the Battle of the Standard, we must understand why they were armed as they were in order to establish what they may have been expected to achieve on the battlefield.

While not a little outlandish to modern modesty, there seems little reason nevertheless to doubt that the Galwegians did indeed fight 'naked and unarmoured' as Henry of Huntingdon (Greenway 2002, 71), Ailred of Rievaulx (Anderson 1991, 197) and other medieval commentators describe (Anderson 1991, 178 & 247). Given the ancient customs of marriage and fosterage still apparent in Galloway society during the twelfth century (Brooke 1994, 98 & 101), this too perhaps derived from traditional Celtic customs, exemplified as early as the second century BC in Polybius' account of the naked 'Gaesatae' or spearmen who formed the vanguard of the Celtic army at the battle of Telemon (Powell 1980, 129-130; Ritchie & Ritchie 1997, 29). There they had apparently thrown off their clothing so that they might not be hindered in the use of their weapons (Koch 1994, 7). Accompanied by such loud cries, trumpets and clashing of arms, so that the noise echoed from the countryside around, as at the Standard (Ailred of Rievaulx: Anderson 1991, 202), the conduct of the spearmen at Telemon appears remarkably similar to the Galwegians over thirteen hundred years later. Overwhelmed by Roman missiles, some of the spearmen at Telemon rushed in hopeless rage upon their Roman enemies while most retreated back sending the rest of the Celtic army into confusion (Ritchie & Ritchie 1997, 25). Notwithstanding these startling parallels between the battles of Telemon and the Standard, there are accounts of naked warriors much closer in time to the twelfth century. Northern Welsh warriors within Edward II's army at Bannockburn were apparently naked to the waist (McNair Scott 1988, 161) and as late as the seventeenth century, Highlanders discarded all but their shirts before battle so as not to hinder the speed of their charge (Stevenson 1994, 83; Sadler 1996, 171). While those medieval people largely descended from the Celtic peoples of Britain may have retained more ancient customs than generally realised, there may very well have been good reasons for retaining such traditions. Welsh and Irish warfare depended more on agility, speed and dexterity than weight, according to Gerald of Wales (Thorpe 1978, 233 & 269; Scott & Martin 1978, 247). The small-scale and individualistic nature of warfare endemic amongst the Celtic cultures of the British Isles from at least the Iron Age onwards (Alcock 1973, 341; Newark 1986, 39-40), largely consisting as it did of single combat, cattle raiding and ambush within rough terrain, probably led such warriors, who depended on agility and mobility, to despise heavy armour as of little practical value and which could rapidly become a fatal encumbrance, a point stressed by Gerald of Wales (Thorpe 1978, 233-234;

Scott & Martin 1978, 247) and seemingly recognised by most of David's Anglo-Norman knights as they fled the battlefield in 1138 (John of Worcester: Anderson 1991, 207). It was because of this, rather than prohibitive cost as some have suggested (Strickland 1992, 222) that more convincingly explains why the Galwegians, like probably most of the Scots in David's army, went to battle unarmoured.

At Northallerton, the Galwegians fought on foot, armed apparently with long spears, swords and cowhide shields (Ailred of Rievaulx: Anderson 1991, 197-198). It is unclear from these accounts if their spears were wielded as javelins or as thrusting pikes and what shape and size their shields were. Walter Espec's derision for the ease with which one might 'catch' a Scottish spear and so disarm a Scot (Ailred of Rievaulx: Anderson 1991, 198), implies that the Galwegians wielded their spears as javelins rather than as pikes. Henry of Huntingdon, though confusing the vanguard with the men of Lothian, also described the English ranks being attacked with javelins and long lances (Greenway 2002, 72). Ralph De Diceto in describing the Galwegian warriors who reinforced William the Lyon's army in 1173, praised their skill at throwing spears from a distance as well as their agility (Anderson 1991, 247). He also mentions their custom of raising their long lances when advancing to battle (Anderson 1991, 247) in the same way as described at the Battle of the Standard by Ailred of Rievaulx (Anderson 1991, 202). This custom was also apparent amongst the Northern Britons of the seventh century AD who, in the words of Taliesin, were exhorted by Urien of Rheged at the battle of Argoed Llwyfain to 'raise our spears over our heads, men and charge Fflamddwyn in the midst of his host' (Dillon & Chadwick 1973, 272). It might also be added that Gerald of Wales described the northern Welsh in the twelfth century as being particularly expert in wielding *long* spears as javelins (Prys-Jones 1955, 77; Thorpe 1978, 182) and from his description it appears that the Northern Welsh employed identical tactics to the Galwegians (Thorpe 1978, 259). The evidence thus suggests that in the twelfth century the Galwegians wielded their spears as javelins, rather than as pikes within close formation (Strickland 1992, 222). While this latter technique was the predominant tactic of Scottish infantry during the following centuries, spear-throwing was still practised by Scottish soldiers in the sixteenth century (Caldwell 1981, 256).

With regard to their shields, there is again no clear understanding of what they looked like or how they were wielded. Earlier medieval depictions of Celtic warriors such as the Dupplin Cross (Sutherland 1994, 170), the St Andrew's Sarcophagus (Ritchie 1969, 38) and the Book of Kells (Meehan 1994, 23) uniformly depict shields, whether round, square or rectangular, as small and similar in size to Highland targes. While a small shield, at first glance might appear to be less protective than a large shield, in practice it is more effective to deflect heavy blows by punching them away rather than absorbing them (Andrews 1998, 11-12 & 36). Since the larger a shield is, the more difficult it is to control and the more an encumbrance it becomes, it is not surprising if small round shields were preferred for deflecting large missiles such as spears. Tacitus, probably drawing on an observation by Agricola himself, remarked on the ability of the Caledonians to 'catch' the Roman javelins with their small shields (Mattingley & Handford 1970, 87). It seems highly probable that Galwegian warriors used their shields in similar fashion. Since square or rectangular shields did not continue beyond the ninth century AD (Ritchie 1969, 37), native shields during the early twelfth century were probably round. If we are to assume that the

Galwegians were armed thus (Brooke 1994, 83), such warriors needed the dexterity to deflect missiles with only a small shield held with one hand and to strike their enemy with a spear from their other hand.

This style of fighting was more appropriate to skirmishes and raids than full-scale battles (Stringer 1993, 31) and if Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical observers, let alone field commanders, were aware of this (Strickland 1992, 223) David I must have been aware of it too. With their ferocious charge and their ability to dismay and confuse the enemy with noise and javelins, all attributes held in common with Welsh and Irish warriors (Thorpe 1978, 259; Scott & Martin 1978, 39 & 249), the Galwegians must have been given the place of vanguard by David for a good reason. It also seems unlikely, given David's previous cautious approach to offering battle during the campaign (Strickland 1992, 221), that he would have allowed petulant allies to disrupt his plans on the very eve of battle. Furthermore if, according to Ailred of Rievaulx (Anderson 1991, 202), the Galwegian attack was launched as soon as Robert de Brus and Bernard de Balliol had returned to their ranks, there was remarkably little time for the infamous disagreement to have taken place between the native and Anglo-Norman captains of David's army, as Ailred claims (Anderson 1991, 198) and which many historians seem to unquestionably accept (Bartlett 1993, 81; Bradbury 1992, 191; Strickland 1992, 223-224). While lightly armed native warriors could on occasion beat armoured Anglo-Normans, as was noted by Gerald of Wales, (Thorpe 1978, 233; Jones 1955, 107) and which had happened at Clitheroe, the value of the Galwegians to David I was probably based on their ability to clear the field of similarly armed light skirmishers, such as the English 'disposers and prompters of the fight' who opposed them, as Ailred of Rievaulx and Richard of Hexham imply (Anderson 1991, 202). The ferocity of their charge appears to have given the Galwegians the edge over the English spearmen. Having driven these English skirmishers back into the ranks of the main English force (Ailred of Rievaulx: Anderson 1991, 202-203), a point missed by many writers, the Galwegians then showered the enemy with spears to sow further confusion, as their onslaught and 'horrible yell' were obviously intended to do. It is probably worth raising the point here that if the English army had instead panicked at the retreat of their front ranks, it might have been the lightly armed English skirmishers that chroniclers would have blamed for an English defeat. However, this was only the prelude to the main battle.

Despite the fact that the Galwegians, by all accounts, were halted by the line of armoured English knights and the power of the English archers, their role had already been fulfilled by this time. Naked, unarmoured, lightly armed warriors may have been effective in driving off similarly lightly armed warriors but agility and dexterity was clearly less important in the massed close combat of a large battle line than heavy armoured weight. Thus it should not be surprising that the Galwegians made no headway against the English knights and so retreated, as was the custom in Wales and Ireland when assaults were repulsed (Gerald of Wales: Thorpe 1978, 259; Scott & Martin 1978, 249), and which was probably necessary to allow the second line of the Scottish army to advance.

Like against like

Seen in this new light the Galwegians appear to have done what they were required to do in the battle. As David almost certainly planned (Anderson 1991, 198), his army was marshalled so that like against like, the Galwegians would meet the English skirmishers, Henry's knights and archers would meet the English knights and archers and the rest of the Scots army would follow up Henry's onslaught. Contrary to what some recent commentators have argued (Strickland 1992, 209), the contrast of a sophisticated professional English military elite with a hybrid Scottish tribal amalgam bolstered by a small core of feudal settlers and adventurers is inaccurate. From what we can ascertain from the accounts of Ailred of Rievaulx, Richard of Hexham and Henry of Huntingdon (Anderson 1991, 191 & 201; Greenway 2002, 72) the English army was as motley as the Scottish army (Bradbury 1992, 191; Beeler 1971, 108). Both forces contained a relatively small elite of knights and archers, although significantly there were probably almost twice as many knights amongst the English than amongst the Scots (Strickland 1992, 225). These were supplemented by a larger number of lightly armed men, composed of the hosts of Galloway, Lothian, Lorn and the Isles on the Scottish side and the parish levies or general fyrd on the English side (Beeler 1971, 107-109). However, despite their impressive arms and armour, the knights of David I signally failed to live up to their self-made reputation as the enforcers of his rule and the backbone of his martial power (Anderson 1991, 193). The mounted Anglo-Norman knights that Henry led may have succeeded in pushing back the unarmoured English levies as far as 'two furlongs' according to Ailred (Anderson 1991, 203-204) but they failed to break the English infantry because these infantry ranks were strengthened by the pick of the English knights mingled amongst them (Anderson 1991, 201). As has been recognised (Bradbury 1992, 193), this was the crucial English tactic that swung the balance of the battle since it enabled the English to withstand Henry's assault, on which Scottish tactics were pinned. While the division of the Scottish army into a series of ranks that could deliver successive shocks appears a sound tactic, the lack of co-ordination on David's part resulted in these ranks being too far apart to prevent the English from shoring up their line when it was momentarily broken by Henry's knights (Beeler 1971, 110).

Given that the battle raged for some time after the Galwegian withdrawal, it seems simply inaccurate to blame the Galwegians for causing the rest of the Scottish army to retreat. It was the failure of Henry's Anglo-Norman knights to decisively break the massed ranks of dismounted English knights and the subsequent English rally that caused the third line of David's army, composed of the men of Lothian and of Lorn, to disperse after scarcely making an assault, as both Henry of Huntingdon (Greenway 2002, 72) and Ailred of Rievaulx (Anderson 1991, 204) attest. On seeing his Anglo-Norman troops fail to sweep the English from the field, it is no surprise that David decided to call it a day rather than risk more men in a futile advance against a doggedly determined enemy. His own line followed shortly after the fleeing men of Lothian, leaving Henry and his men to fight their way back out of the battle to rejoin the retreating Scottish host (Anderson 1991, 206-207). However, far from a confused retreat, the bulk of the chroniclers give David credit for retreating in good order and discouraging close English pursuit (Anderson 1991, 204-207).

A Scottish defeat?

The question that naturally follows is: was the Battle of the Standard such a massive Scottish defeat at all, as is normally interpreted (Lynch 1992, 84; Barrow 1989, 38)? While it is indisputable that David conceded the field, the apparent good order of his retreat and the favourable terms he obtained through the truce the next year indicate that he still held a strong position after the battle. While this was partly due to Stephen's inability to exploit the aftermath because of the civil conflict in the south (Barrow 1989, 39), Scottish losses were probably very limited since most of his army had not actually joined the battle. Most of the Scottish casualties apparently came much later during the retreat north and derived from internal divisions within the Scottish army (Richard of Hexham: Anderson 1991, 208). Certainly David appeared far from defeated in the autumn of 1138. Upon reaching Carlisle, David gathered his forces together and immediately reinforced the siege of Carham (Richard of Hexham and John of Worcester: Anderson 1991, 208), blockading the town and sending more raids into Northumbria. Rather than send a relief force, all that Walter Espec, who had been one of the English leaders at the battle and whose men held the castle, could do was send a delegation headed by Martin William, Abbot of Rievaulx, and possibly including Ailred of Rievaulx (Powicke 1978, xlvi), to arrange for the English surrender (Richard of Hexham: Anderson 1991, 213). The following year, Stephen granted to Henry, son of David I, the earldom of Northumbria in return for homage and hostages (Richard of Hexham: Anderson 1991, 214). Thus the aim of David's campaign was achieved and England north of the Tees and Duddon was effectively annexed to his kingdom until 1152 when Earl Henry died (Barrow 1989, 39).

Who would not laugh, rather then fear

Nevertheless, while it is possible to argue that David I was merely checked at the Battle of the Standard and this due to the failure of his Anglo-Norman retinue to break the opposing English army, we must explore why twelfth century chroniclers made such a bitter attack on the Galwegians who fought at the Battle of the Standard (Ailred of Rievaulx: Anderson 1991, 193, 197 & 203-204; Henry of Huntingdon: Greenway 2002, 70-71). The accusations of cowardice and weak arms have been unquestionably accepted and used by many historians as the example par excellence for the superiority of Anglo-Norman warfare over Celtic warfare (Barrow 1989, 39; Bartlett 1993, 90-91; Bliese 1988, 556; Strickland 1992, 229). Yet the Galwegians were subsequently employed by both English and Scottish kings not as feudal levies but as mercenaries (McDonald 2000, 177; Stringer 1998, 88-89; Brooke 1994, 130), which surely contradicts the impression that they were worthless in war by the twelfth century.

During William the Lyon's attempt to recover Cumbria and Northumbria in 1173, a campaign that closely followed David's tactics of raiding and destroying but avoiding battle, Galwegians formed a large part of his army (Ralph De Diceto: Anderson 1991, 247-248). Galwegian tactics in this campaign had not apparently developed since the Battle of the Standard thirty-five years before. Galwegian warriors still came to battle naked, unarmoured, agile and skilled with the javelin and were associated with the familiar terror tactics of slavery and the slaughter of children (Ralph De Diceto: Anderson 1991, 247).

William's aims were probably identical to that of David's; that of reducing the northern English provinces and sapping the morale of English defence. Lightly armed warriors, such as the Galwegians, were well suited to this kind of warfare (Stringer 1993, 31; Simms 1987, 125) and recognised for this by various paymasters. King John of England evidently appreciated their value when he asked Alan of Galloway for 1,000 hand-picked Galwegians in 1212 for an abortive campaign in Wales and he again sought Alan's military support against his barons in 1215 (Stringer 1998, 88-89). The martial quality of the Galwegians was undoubtedly a significant element of Alan of Galloway's formidable military reputation during the early thirteenth century when he campaigned in Northumberland, Ireland, the Irish Sea and along the western seaboard of Scotland (Stringer 1998, 89-90; Brooke 1994, 130 & 132).

Far from being contemptibly feeble soldiers, the Galwegians appear to have been widely respected for their martial valour by those who most required their skills and manpower. While feudal knights were important members of the royal Scottish entourage of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this was less to do with their actual military value and more to do with maintaining the countenance of Scottish kings before the rulers of England, France, Flanders and Brittany (Barrow 2003, 255). Time and time again after the Battle of the Standard, Galwegian mercenaries were called upon by the kings of England and Scotland and it was as masters of this martial power that the successive princes and earls of Galloway, Fergus, Gilbert, Roland and Alan, held considerable power within the political stage of Northern Britain during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Not men but brute beasts

The martial power of the leaders of Galloway is important in understanding why medieval writers picked out the Galwegians in particular from the 'wicked army' (Richard of Hexham: Anderson 1991, 181) that had laid waste to Northern England in 1138. As well as scorning their role at the Battle of the Standard, numerous atrocities, such as desecrating churches, enslaving women and slaughtering children were attributed by the monastic chroniclers to the Galwegians but while David's army undoubtedly committed atrocities, the accusations against his soldiers were clearly embellished during the following decades (Brooke 1994, 96). As has been recognised (Brooke 1994, 95) this occurred as part of what now looks like a concerted campaign of vilification during the middle of the twelfth century for all things Galwegian. The apparent scorn amongst the Anglo-Norman elite of Northern England for the people of Galloway, as exemplified by the pre-battle oratory of both Ailred of Rievaulx's and Henry of Huntingdon's accounts (Anderson 1991, 197; Greenway 2002, 70-71) was not simply limited to Galloway's warriors. The customs of Galwegian society, its rulers and even its monks were derided (Powicke 1978, 45-46) to the extent that Galloway became synonymous with barbarity during the twelfth century (Brooke 1994, 119). This Northern English vilification occurred at the same time when similar derision for the Welsh appeared further south (Gillingham 1992, 68-69). One reason for this was that after Henry I's death, the Scots and Welsh seized the military

initiative (Gillingham 1992, 70). The old fashioned nature of their campaigns, in particular the capture of slaves, was especially repugnant to the English because slavery no longer existed there (Gillingham 1992, 71-72).

But the Galwegians were also the focus of Anglo-Norman contempt for other reasons. Throughout the twelfth century the kings of the Scots, and especially David I, had pursued a deliberate policy of establishing Anglo-Norman knights and barons as their vassals in Scotland, particularly around the borders of Galloway (Bartlett 1993, 79; Lynch 1992, 80-81; Talbot 1981, 3). In Robert de Brus' plea to David before the battle, he apparently asked the king, 'New is this confidence in Galwegians, attacking with arms today those by whose aid hitherto thou hast ruled the Scots with affection, the Galwegians with terror.' (Ailred of Rievaulx: Anderson 1991, 193). Ailred's pre-battle dispute between the Galwegians and Anglo-Normans of David's army has since been used (Bartlett 1993, 80-81) to highlight the resentment felt by the natives of Scotland at the encroaching influence of Anglo-Normans within Scotland, although this may perhaps be better characterised as resentment at the increasing centralised power of the Scottish crown which the Anglo-Norman landowners represented (Oram 2000, 192-193; Lynch 1992, 80). This was aptly demonstrated by the Galwegian rebellion of 1174 following William the Lyon's capture, when Gilbert, son of Fergus, purged from Galloway all the English and French royal officials and landowners that William had established there (Brooke 1994, 110). For the Princes and Lords of Galloway were not concerned solely with the Scottish orbit of power, with whom they had not a feudal relationship but one based on an older form of social structure (Brooke 1991a, 56). The Lords of Galloway were also major players in the politics of the Irish sea, an orbit of power that on several occasions during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries threatened to coalesce into a distinct unit of power (Davies 2000, 62). This outlook, independent of Scottish Kings, undoubtedly created tension between Galloway and Scotland.

However, although it may be tempting to dismiss the antipathy between the Galwegians and Anglo-Normans as merely a result of the expansion of Scottish royal power into Galloway's affairs, there were fundamental differences between Galwegian and Anglo-Norman society. While Anglo-Norman nobility was defined by lordship over lands, in Galloway, as in Wales and Ireland, nobility was defined as lordship over people (Davies 2000, 105) and was probably the biggest difference between the two societies (Davies 2000, 132-133). The similarity of the terms used in Carrick, and probably across Galloway, for the chieftain of a kin group, *Kenkynnol* to the title *Pencenedl* used in Wales supports this (Barrow 1989, 12; Davies 2000, 105; MacQueen 1998, 280). Despite the reservations of some (MacQueen 1998, 280) this comparison with Welsh customs is appropriate as many of Galloway's customs, from that of warfare, marriage, fostering, lordship and even many of its settlement place-names, owed more to its native Brittonic or Cumbric heritage than its latter Gaelic Norse veneer (Brooke 1983, 64; Brooke 1994, 79-81; Breeze 2000, 2001, 2002; Cowan 1991, 72; MacQueen 1955, 88-89; Scott 1997, 15; Truckell), a view supported by the antiquity of many of the traditional seats of power within South-West Scotland (Ewart 1985, 1-18; Stell 1991, 146-149), and the description of Galwegians as Welsh by some chroniclers (Benedicts of Peterborough, Gesta Henrici II: Anderson 1991, 286; Ralph De Diceto: Anderson 1991, 247).

The charge of cowardice and weakness attributed to the Galwegians at the Battle of the Standard may then owe more to the Anglo-Norman propaganda of commentators, such as Ailred of Rievaulx, who were determined to discredit Galwegian culture and society (Brooke 1994, 95-99) seen as it was by them as far removed from the norms of western Christendom (Stringer 2000, 131). If Ailred of Rievaulx relied on eyewitnesses for his sources (Bliese 1988, 555; MacQueen 1962, 139-141), it is highly probable that most of these eyewitnesses would have been happy to make the Galwegians scapegoats for the defeat, if not merely for their audacity in attacking English lands instead of meekly bearing the brunt of Anglo-Norman expansion into Scotland, but perhaps more especially to avoid antagonising the Scottish kings. After all, the same Anglo-Norman nobility who faced David's army were the same Anglo-Norman elite that had been invited into Scotland to provide the military muscle deemed necessary to consolidate and centralise royal power. The case of divided loyalties that affected Robert de Brus before the battle best exemplifies this but Ailred of Rievaulx himself suffered divided loyalties as he not only belonged to one of the new monastic orders bequeathed considerable lands within Scotland (Lynch 1992, 80-81), but had only a short time before served in David's court (Powicke 1978, xlv). It was important therefore that commentators like Ailred of Rievaulx might give an account of the battle that, while glorifying the Anglo-Norman defenders that rallied to Thurstan's Standard, also praised David I and his son Henry for their conduct. Obviously someone had to be blamed for the destruction of Northumberland and given their opposition to Anglo-Norman expansion in Scotland, the Galwegian warriors of David's army were the obvious choice. As a virtually independent kingdom within Northern Britain, Galloway was rightly identified at the time as the main native obstacle to secular Anglo-Norman influence and prestige within southern Scotland. The centralisation of power had initiated a process of change, part of a process seen across Europe (Bartlett 1993; Lynch 1992, 81), which in Scotland was changing a traditional kin based society into a feudal society and twelfth century writers like Ailred of Rievaulx knew this (Powicke 1978, xlii) and indeed were spurred to actively support it (Stringer 2000, 163). Contemporaries saw the Battle of the Standard as a clear struggle between the competing cultures within this process (Gillingham 1992, 74). It was this mindset that singled out the Galwegians for blame in 1138.

It is perhaps ironic then that at the culmination of this process of Anglo-Norman influence over Scotland, when both the Bruce and Balliol dynasties claimed the crown of Scotland, albeit through Galwegian blood, the feudal chivalric form of warfare proved wholly ineffective in repulsing English conquest. The disastrous battles at Dunbar and Methven (McNair Scott 1993, 36 & 81; Sadler 1996, 37-38) and the fact that not one Scottish castle was able to withstand English siege weapons left the Scottish resistance little choice but to adopt a traditionally native style of guerrilla warfare as the only effective means of countering overwhelming English force (Barrow 1988, 223; Lynch 1992, 124; McNair Scott 1993, 116-142). As has been recognised, no Scottish feudal host of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries could seriously challenge any large English cavalry force (Barrow 2003, 255) and not simply because Scotland could never produce enough heavily armoured knights to meet such a challenge. Scottish resistance to English invasions from the thirteenth century onwards was more effectively pursued as hit and run raids and ambushes by relatively small but highly motivated groups of soldiers. For, with the excep-

tions of Stirling Bridge and Bannockburn (McNair Scott 1993, 46 & 146-160) time and time again, at Halidon Hill, Neville's Cross, Flodden and Pinkie, Scottish leadership proved woefully inadequate in marshalling large Scottish armies effectively.

Conclusion

From the surviving accounts, both armies at the Battle of the Standard were composed and drawn up in similar ranks, with skirmishers to the fore and massed heavily armoured knights and archers at the core, supported by lightly armed levies. The Galwegians' role at the Battle of the Standard was to clear the battleground of the similarly lightly armed English spearmen, who might otherwise have harried and impeded the advance of the rest of David's army. For good measure the Galwegians tried to soften up the English ranks before the mounted and heavily armoured knights of Earl Henry's line launched their charge. It was Earl Henry's assault that failed to decisively break the opposing English ranks and the rest of the Scottish army withdrew rather than risk more men in a futile advance against a determined enemy. So while the Galwegians fulfilled their role in David's battle plan, his Anglo-Norman knights and archers failed to fulfil their role on the battlefield.

The Galwegians are wrongly blamed for a Scottish defeat that was not as emphatic as many historians portray. All near contemporary accounts of the battle were written at a time when Scotland was an opportunity for Anglo-Norman families, particularly from Northern England, to increase their lands and influence. This process, at least in terms of the military technology it offered Scotland, ultimately failed against determined English invasion.

The Galwegians undoubtedly committed many terrible deeds during the wasting of Northumberland in 1138 but they do not deserve the reputation as poor fighters too.

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53 GEORGE STREET, WHITHORN: THE LATE MEDIEVAL PRIORY GATEHOUSE, TOGETHER WITH A NOTE ON A SERIES OF POSSIBLE RITUAL MARIAN MARKS

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SUMMARY

A programme of building recording survey was undertaken in connection with alterations to 53 George Street, Whithorn, a Listed Building. The building lies at the junction of Bruce Street and George Street and forms the north side of the pend that leads up to the medieval priory and graveyard.

The results of the survey suggest that an originally late medieval structure was substantially rebuilt or altered in the post-medieval period. The original structure, interpreted as a gate-house with a building attached on the north side (and possibly to south [No.55] as well), was entered from within the pend. This entrance was subsequently blocked, with the building then being accessed from the George Street frontage. There are possible indications that the pend may have originally been covered with a barrel-vault.

The structural development of the building is re-assessed and considered within the context of the Premonstratensian priory and its relationship to the medieval burgh of Whithorn. Attention is also drawn to a series of so-called 'protection' or 'Marian marks' that were discovered on a lintel above an early hearth in an upper room.

INTRODUCTION *(Figures 1 & 2)*

No 53 George Street comprises a simple two-storey building (Rooms A & B), together with an upper floor (Room C) to the south spanning the pend below. A modern extension and courtyard, partially incorporating a 19th century building that formerly fronted onto Bruce Street, lies to the rear of the property.

The building lies at the junction of Bruce Street and George Street. It spans Bruce Street and also forms the north side of the pend that leads up to the medieval priory and graveyard. The building itself is outwardly quite plain, forming part of what is essentially a late 18th or early 19th century street frontage, although laid out on what Hill (1997, 6) has described as a 'pristine high-late medieval plan'. Early visitors to the burgh describe the houses in Whithorn as 'very coarse, low and thatched' (Sir John Clerk [1721] in Prevost 1964, 193). By the end of the 18th century, the houses are described as 'generally covered with slates, and … very commodious' (*(Old) Statistical Account* 1795, 276). Further improvements are described in the *New Statistical Account* (1845, 54):

'The dwelling houses have been much improved since the termination of the war with France, many old ones having been pulled down, and new ones erected on the same site.'

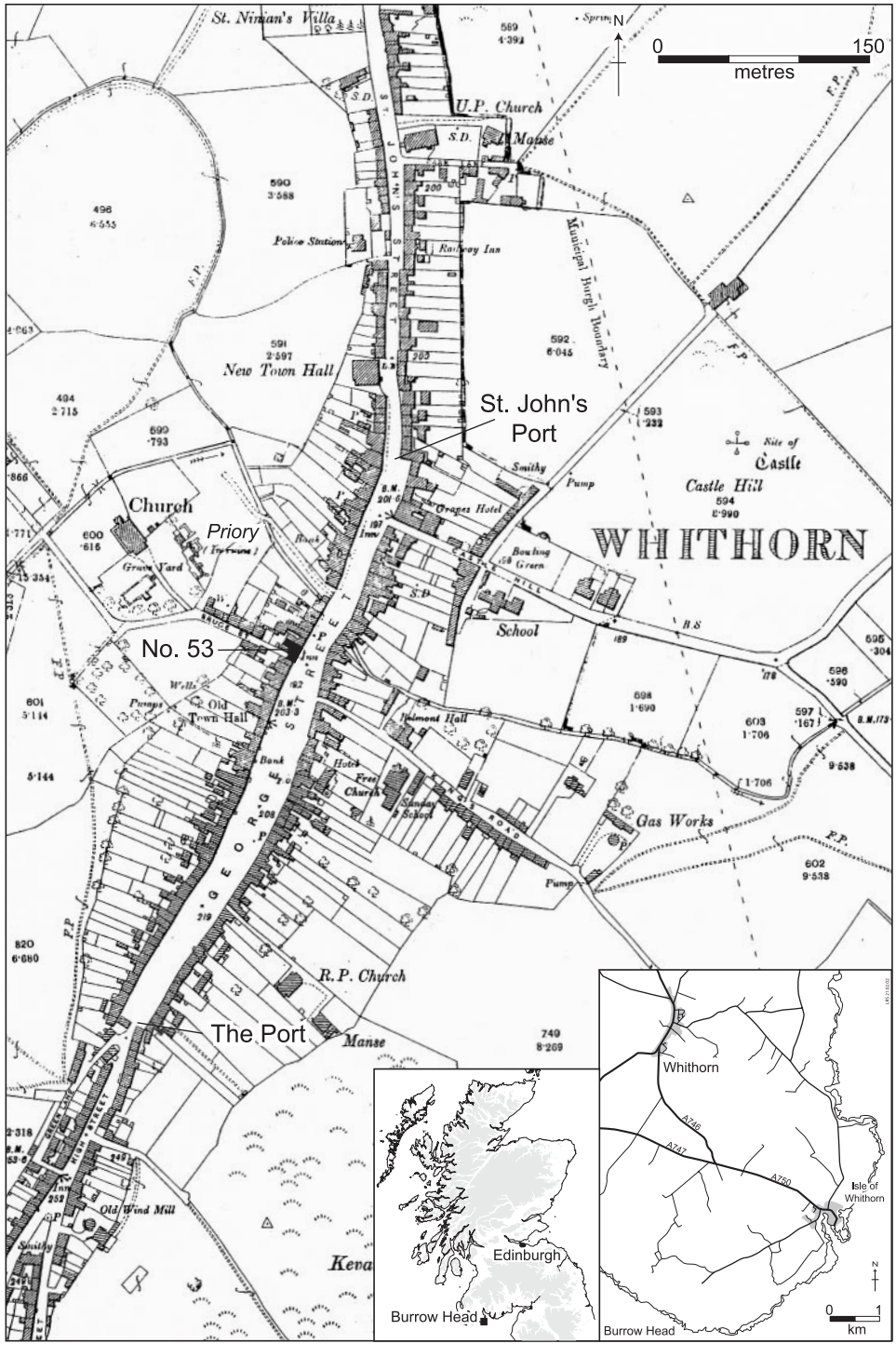

Figure 1 Site location

In the 19th century and down to the 1930s, No. 53 George Street was one of Whithorn's many public houses. It is, however, the arch over the pend and the exterior face of the pend-room itself which are of particular interest and significance, not only with regard to the possible function of the building and its dating but also in respect of its place within the medieval townscape.

THE PEND ARCH & FRONTAL

The semi-circular arch springs from a pair of drum-moulded clustered shafts supported on plinths and surmounted by decorative capitals, one either side of the pend entrance. The capitals are foliated and each bears a heraldic shield with arms of or incorporating the Vaus family. The shield on the north pier is surmounted by a bishop's mitre; that to the south displays a crozier. The shields are generally accepted as relating to, respectively, George Vaus (1482-1508), bishop of Galloway, and his kinsman, Patrick Vaus (1478-1503), prior of Whithorn (Donaldson 1949). Meanwhile, above the arch is a heraldic panel, not later than 16th century in date and showing the Royal Arms of Scotland of that period. Set within a bolection-moulded frame, the Arms comprise a central shield with an embossed lion rampant surmounted by a coronet and flanked by two unicorns. Two carved thistles lie below the shield.

The late 15th or early 16th century date which can be ascribed to the eastern arch frontal, and the broadly 16th century date for the panel on the pend room, are the key dates in any discussion of the building and its function. Much, of course, depends on whether the pieces are in their original setting. Kemp (1887, 15), for example, in a series of footnotes to *Pococke's Tour of 1760*, describes the arch as 'modern, not older than 17th century' and goes on to relate that the 15th century pillars are said to have been taken from the 'Prior's House', an unlocated structure possibly in the vicinity of the medieval cloister. However, the antiquity of this claim, as indeed the very notion of the 'Prior's House' and its location, is by no means clear. It may well be that this comment derives from William Galloway who was excavating at the priory in the late 1880s and 1890s (Muir Watt 2001) and it is not unlikely that he would have been in correspondence with Kemp at this time (Julia Muir Watt, pers comm).

It is also interesting that Kemp, in the same footnote, should have cast doubt on the coat of arms, noting it as 'singular' that Pococke omitted to mention this 'most prominent feature of The Pend'. The Arms, however, were clearly seen and described by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik in 1721 (Prevost 1964, 193), the earliest reference to the panel.

Despite the heraldic display which is self-evident in the building and the pivotal position it occupies between the priory on the one hand and the burgh on the other, it is nonetheless clear that the significance of the building has either been overlooked or, at best, played down.

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, in his visit to the priory in 1721, simply described the building as 'the head of the street' (Prevost 1964, 193). Admittedly, Pococke, in his *Tour* of 1760, described it as a 'gateway' but it was left to his editor to dismiss it as 'not older than 17th century' and to introduce into the equation the account of a transfer of stones from

the so-called 'Prior's House' (Kemp 1887, 15). Meanwhile, the RCAHMS (1912, 162-163) account, despite the detailed descriptions of the heraldry, simply describes the pend building as 'a stone arch forming a passage below the dwelling-houses of the street', emphasizing the building as a feature of the street frontage rather than as an outlying part of the priory. More recent accounts (Radford & Donaldson 1953, 28; 1984, 15: Stell 1986, 22), although brief, have gone some way to re-establishing the building's ecclesiastical credentials, describing it as the old priory gatehouse, erected around 1500. It is, however, disappointing that the building should have been overlooked in a recent survey and gazetteer of medieval monastic gatehouses in Britain (Morant 1996) but perhaps this simply reflects the relative obscurity or ambiguity that surrounds the building.

Refurbishment of No.53 George Street and its attached room over the pend thus presented the opportunity of re-assessing the structural development of the building and reconsidering its place in the townscape of medieval Whithorn.

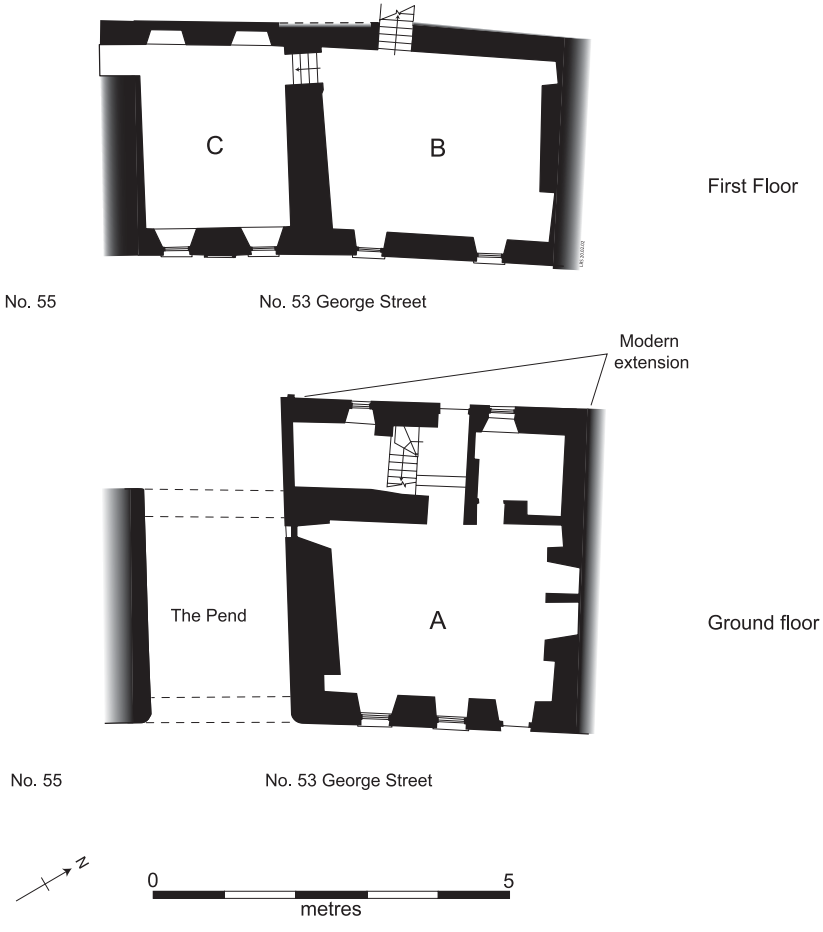

Figure 2 No. 53 George Street: Floor Plans

METHOD

Much of the interior had been stripped of its lath-and-plaster and plasterboard surfaces prior to the building survey. The modern stud-partition walls that divided the upper and lower rooms had also been removed.

The only intrusive work undertaken involved the stripping of the wet-dash render from the south exterior wall of No.53 (ie the north side of the pend) and the removal of the blocking from the west-facing windows in the pend room above. A series of 1:10 scale drawings of the exposed wall fabric was subsequently produced. Full details of the project are contained in the archive report (Lowe & Baker 1998) that has been deposited with the NMRS and in the local Sites & Monuments Record.

No intrusive work was undertaken inside the building and, aside from the stripping of the north side of the pend, exterior renders not otherwise removed. There are thus difficulties in linking the building fabric throughout the structure, both inside and out and indeed sometimes between adjacent walls or wall-faces where their relationships were obscured or truncated by modern alterations to the building. Nonetheless, a provisional phasing scheme can be proposed.

RESULTS

The south wall, the only part of the structure where the external and internal wall-faces could be confidently correlated, provides the key to the structural development of the building. Five broad phases can be identified. Features or fabric associated with Phase IV works, however, are only evident on the interior elevation.

EXTERNAL ELEVATION (Figure 3)

The earliest fabric (Phase I) in the building is represented by the lowest three to four courses of masonry (250), set in a very hard creamy-white lime mortar without clay. This basal fabric incorporates an opening, the segmental arch of which is partially preserved inside the building (discussed below). The external jambs of the opening incorporate dressed red sandstone blocks and reused architectural fragments of medieval type (Appendix 1, Stones S1 & S2). The identifiably early fabric extends 1.7 m to the west of the entrance, where it terminates in a straight-line joint with fabric (248).

The apparent absence of clay in fabric (250) sets this masonry apart from all other fabrics identified in the building. Visually, however, there is little to distinguish this fabric type from adjacent units in the eastern part of the elevation, including the masonry elements associated with the construction of the pier and arch. Creamy white lime mortar is also present in these units. It is, however, less hard and, where it has been removed, it can be seen to overlie red clay bonding. The hard mortar in fabric (250) may conceal similar clay bonding. In terms, then, of appearance (stone size, shape and orientation) and mortar colour, the fabric units to the east of the blocked entrance, rising up to and including the arch itself, appear to have formed part of the original external wall-face (Phase I).

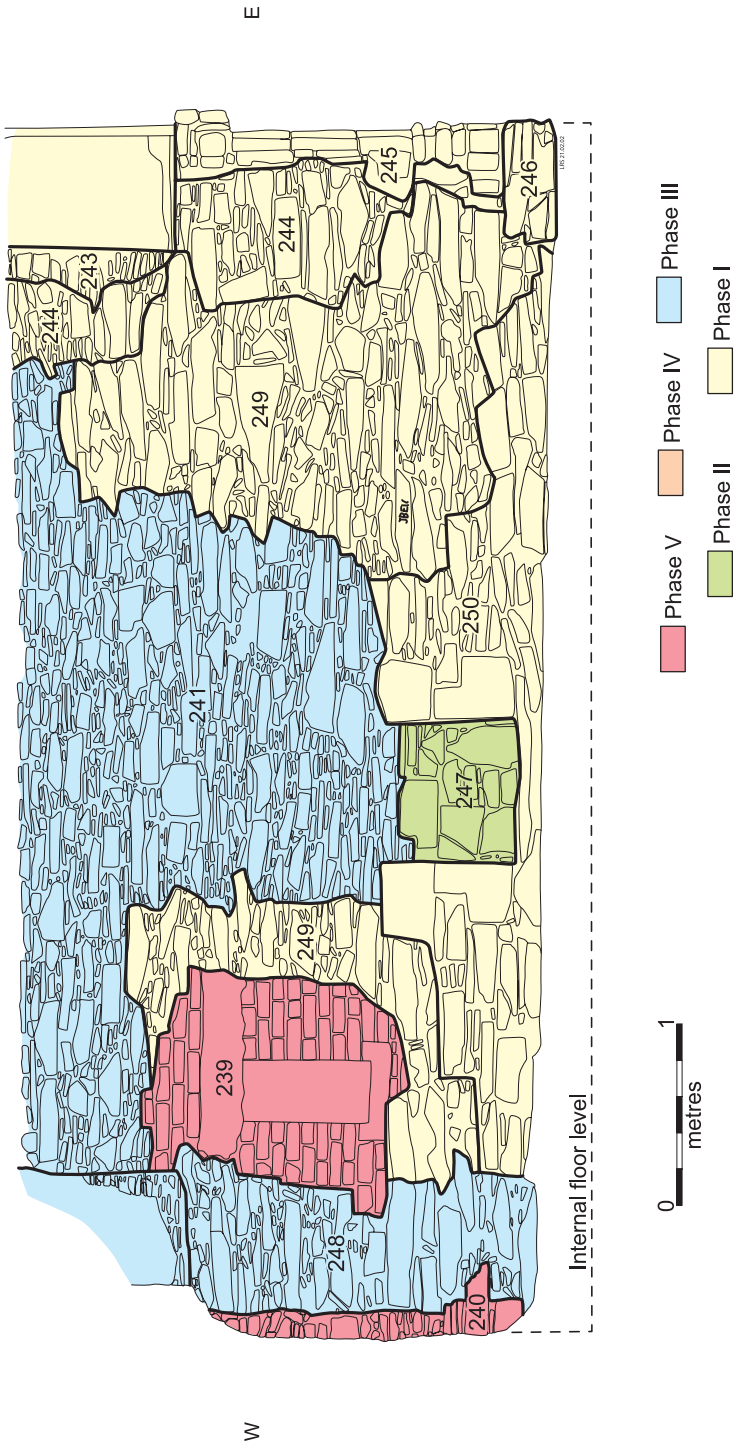

Figure 3 External elevation, north side of the Pend

Phase II fabric is represented solely by the blocking of the former entrance. Laid relatively early in the building sequence, it was clearly in position prior to the rebuilding work which is represented externally by the Phase III fabric, (241). This latter masonry group is distinguishable from all adjacent fabrics, both below and to the side, by its very distinctive pink clay bonding. Possibly contemporary with this major rebuild is fabric group (248) and the west arch above. Fabric (248) abuts the basal element of the primary masonry (250) to the east and forms a ragged joint, marked by tipped stones, with the remaining Phase I fabric below the inserted modern window of Phase V. Fabric (240), to the west, also Phase V, represents part of the modern extension at the rear of the building, occupied now by a bathroom and kitchen.

INTERNAL ELEVATION (Figure 4)

Much of the Phase I fabric survives internally, in the south wall of Rooms A and B. The masonry is rubble-built, clay-bonded and pointed with lime mortar. Occasional patches of turf, incorporated as leveling material, were also identified in the fabric.

The dominant feature is the blocked entrance, 0.9m wide and at least 1.55m high, its base having been removed by the insertion of a damp-proof course. The opening is represented by a segmental arch (200) and the adjacent masonry forming its east and west jambs (100 & 201). The sides of the opening are plastered and traces of a bluish plaster are evident behind the blocking on the eastern reveal.

The rubble-built arch has been set back at the impost to accommodate a temporary wooden centering during its construction. The feature corresponds to the opening, 0.75m wide, in the external fabric (Figure 3), the external threshold lying some 0.45m above present internal floor level. The evidence of the internal and external elevations suggests that the opening was slightly splayed and must have contained steps down from the outside. The feature is interpreted as an arched and vaulted entrance of late medieval date. To the west of the entrance is a large, thin stone, now broken, possibly the lintel of a window that originally looked out onto the pend. The masonry, however, has been much disturbed by the insertion of a modern casement window (Phase V) at this point.

Phase II works, as in the external elevation, are represented by the blocking of the Phase I entrance. A possible cross motif (Appendix 1, Stone S8) is visible on one of the stones in the blocking.

The upper east side of the entrance has been removed by the insertion of a fire-place, represented by a large stone lintel. This, together with the masonry above it (198), is tentatively assigned to the alterations associated with Phase III. The wall-fabric above and to either side of this (194, 202 & 203) may represent elements of the original late medieval fabric of Phase I.

The principal features in the upper part of the elevation (Room B) consist of two blocked voids, probably fire-places (213 & 214). Both extend below and thus predate the current floor level. The earlier feature (213), corresponding to a floor level that was 0.3m lower than present, may represent an original feature of the building; certainly, there is no

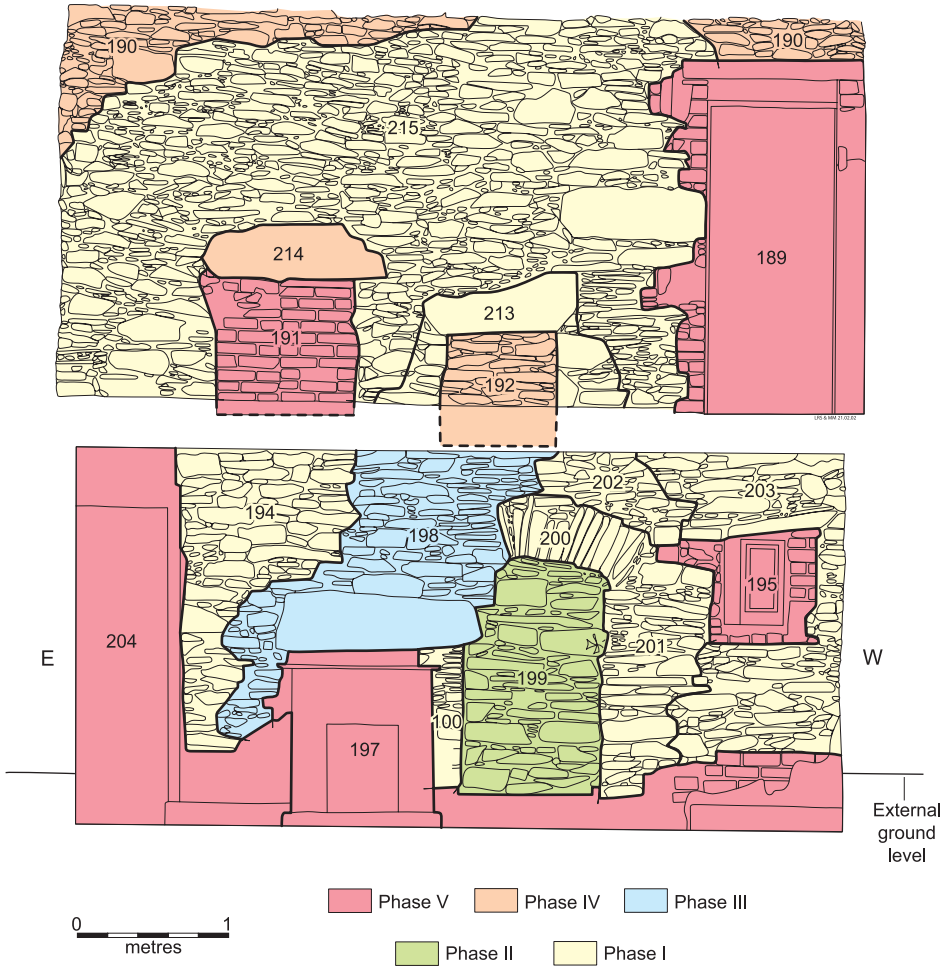

Figure 4 Internal elevations, south sides.

evidence to suggest that it has been inserted into the existing wall-fabric. On the other hand, it may be associated with the Phase III work that can be seen in Room A below, any relationship being obscured by the ceiling joists and floorboards.

The opening, under a large stone lintel (213), is 0.7m wide, 0.75m high and of unknown depth. An inscription on the left-hand face of the lintel is discussed below. Plaster on the sides of the feature is assumed to relate to its reuse as an aumbry or cupboard; possibly the basal element of its blocking (192) was also introduced at this time (Phase IV). The modification of this feature is likely to be contemporary with the insertion in Phase IV of a second fire-place (214), just to the east but set at a higher floor level.

Also probably contemporary with this change in floor level in Phase IV is the raising of the wall-head and roof-line. The latest features in the elevation (Phase V) comprise the inserted damp-proof course, window, cast-iron fireplace and cupboard downstairs; and upstairs the bricking-up of the Phase IV fire-place and the slapping through of the entrance into Room C, the room over the pend.

THE EXTENT OF THE PHASE I FABRIC

The Phase I fabric can only be confidently identified in the south wall of the building. It seems likely, however, that much of the east wall is also early, despite the fact that it has clearly been much altered over the years by the insertion and replacement of various windows and doors. Although the insertion of a modern recess in the south-east corner of Room A has effectively removed all trace of the relationship of the walls downstairs, it is nonetheless clear upstairs in Room B that the south wall is bonded with the eastern frontage of the building, and by implication with the arch over the pend.

Two blocked features, probably windows, are evident in the interior face of the east wall. Both are relatively early features and could conceivably belong with the Phase I building. In Room A, the north side of an opening is preserved in the fabric between the two present windows. The feature is 1.04m high, at least 0.6m wide and its sill is set 0.8m above present internal floor level. In terms of proportion and symmetry, a second window of similar form might be envisaged in the area of the present doorway. Meanwhile, there is a similar feature near the north-east corner of Room B above. Roughly 0.8 x 0.8m, its sill lies 0.38m above present floor level, or roughly 0.7m above the primary level of the upper floor.

The relationship between the north and east walls of the building is uncertain, having been obscured downstairs by modern block-work and upstairs by the formation of a recess in the north-east corner of the room. Meanwhile, much of the north wall, both in Room A and in Room B above, is taken up with an inserted chimney-breast and range which is cut some 0.5m into the fabric of the wall and protrudes 0.35m into the room. The masonry in the downstairs range includes several pieces of dressed red and yellow sandstone. The west pier contains an architectural fragment with nail-head moulding; a fragment of roll-moulding and a large cross-marked block of sandstone have been incorporated into the east pier (Appendix 1, Table 1: Stones S4, S5 & S7).

Despite the lack of stratigraphic continuity between the north, south and east walls and despite the irregular form of the building in plan (Figure 2), it is nonetheless possible that the walls form part of an original build. The west wall, however, clearly does not since it abuts both the north and south walls of the building. This may suggest that the building originally lay with its longer axis at right angles to the George Street frontage. Alternatively, the west wall may have been re-erected roughly on the site of the original. This would seem to be implied by the abrupt break in the masonry that is evident externally between the Phase I and Phase III fabrics in the area beneath the west arch (Figure 3). This, however, has certain implications for the structural integrity of Room C, the room above the pend.

THE PEND ROOM

In many ways the pend room is the most significant part of the building, particularly given its association with the 16th century armorial panel on the east frontage and the various elements of the arch below. The eastern side of the room clearly belongs with the Phase I building; it is less certain, however, that the same holds true for the arch on the west side of the room which appears to have been reset. The evidence for this comes from the exterior elevation (Figure 3) where there is a clear break between the primary fabric (250) and fabric (248) to the west, including the arch above. The anomalous relationship of the building's west wall and the fact that it is not keyed into the rest of the building might also be part and parcel of the same story. This is considered further in the structural synthesis below.

The pend room itself, unfortunately, throws little light on the problem. The north and south wall-faces are both late constructions. Both abut and thus post-date the east wall of the pend; the north wall-face, meanwhile, has also been butted against the wall of Room B to the north. The wall, in effect, has been thickened, presumably to accommodate the fire-place and flues in the wall between Rooms B and C; the same seems likely for the gable fire-place in No.55 to the south. Meanwhile, the entrance from Room B to the north and the former entrance from No.55 to the south have effectively removed any relationship that may have existed between the west wall and those to the north and south.

Finally, there is the question of the floor level in Room C and the fact that (prior to 1999) it lay below the line of the arch head. A constructed scarcement, 0.25m wide, was identified roughly 0.2m below the then floor level. In the north wall it extended between the east side of the doorway and the east wall of the room. It corresponds to a similar feature of the same limited extent in the south wall opposite. This is considered further in the structural synthesis below.

DISCUSSION

STRUCTURAL SYNTHESIS

Five broad phases of construction or major alteration can be identified among the fabric and features of the building. The phasing scheme, broadly dated with reference to architectural features such as the piers, the heraldic shield and window types and with reference to historical context, attempts to provide a coherent structure to the fieldwork observations. The five phases are assigned to the following broad periods:

Phase I	early 16th century
Phase II	late 16th century
Phase III	17th century
Phase IV	late 18th century
Phase V	19th / 20th century

Phase I (early 16th century)

The late medieval building of Phase I is represented by parts of the north, south and east walls together with their associated features. These comprise an originally arched entrance in the south wall of Room A, together with the eastern arch to the pend and its associated piers. Also probably part of this structure is the small window in the east wall of Room A, together with any additional windows on the street frontage that may have been removed by later alterations. The early fire-place in the south wall of Room B, together with other features associated with the primary (low) upper floor level (such as the cupboards in the north wall and the window to east) may also belong to this phase. The floor of the building lay significantly below external ground level to judge by the level of the external threshold, the site of its internal equivalent and the height of the interior arch-head. The position of the original west wall of the building is unknown. Clearly, however, it must have lain to the west of its present position.

The Phase I building is envisaged as a one-and-a-half or two-storey gatehouse (No.53 and possibly also No.55), together with the pend room between. It is clear from the evidence of the blocked door in the south wall that the building, lit from the east, was entered from inside the pend. This is a significant position and suggests that the building was associated with and accessed from the priory rather than the burgh, controlling access into and out of the ecclesiastical precinct.

The original form of the roof of the pend is uncertain. However, it seems unlikely, on aesthetic grounds alone, that the dropped floor, protruding below the arch-head, is an original feature of the building. There is some evidence to suggest that the structure may have originally been barrel-vaulted. There is, for example, a pronounced bulge along the south side of the pend, coincident with the springing level and indicative perhaps of where the vault has been clawed back. The very thickness of the south wall of No.53 might also predicate the need to support such a structure. Finally, there is the evidence of the wall-fabric itself and the extensive rebuild that is indicated externally by the works associated with Phase III (Figure 3). This appears to be too extensive to be simply related, for example, to the provision of flues or basic repair and maintenance of the building. The possibility arises, therefore, that it is the result of a major collapse of the structure. Such a scenario would also provide a context for the resetting of the western arch and the re-erection or re-alignment of the west wall of No.53 to the north. It also raises the possibility that the scarcement ledges to north and south, although essentially re-formed to accommodate the dropped floor after Phase III, could originally represent the level of the extrados of an original barrel-vault over the pend.

Phase II (late 16th century)

Phase II may be characterised as a period of change in the use of the building. It is only represented structurally by the blocking up of the south entrance, with alternative access presumably being provided from the street. The blocking of the ground-floor east window may also belong to this phase of activity. The end of Phase II is marked by substantial collapse and predicates the rebuilding works and other alterations in Phase III. The collapse of the putative barrel-vault, together with the west arch, is considered to constitute the

principal event at the end of this phase. There is clear evidence in the north elevation of the pend (Figure 3) that the entrance was blocked prior to this collapse and its subsequently rebuilding in Phase III. The spatial re-organisation of the building may reflect the transfer of the property from the priory to the burgh.

Phase III (17th century)

Phase III represents a period of major rebuilding and reconstruction on the site. The massive refurbishment works are assumed to have been predicated by the collapse of the putative barrel vault in the pend. The principal changes in Phase III are considered to have involved the reconstruction and realignment of the western side of the building and the dropping of the floor in Room C, reusing the reconstructed scarcement ledge.

Phase IV (late 18th century)

Phase IV activities on the site are represented by a further series of changes and modifications, associated with the raising of the upper floor level in Room B. The introduction throughout the building of new windows along the street frontage and the raising of the wall-head to accommodate the larger windows are likely to be associated with this change in floor level.

Phase V (19th & 20th century)

The features and fabrics grouped together at Phase V represent a palimpsest of modern features. These include the present arrangement of door and windows in Room A, elements of brickwork and other miscellaneous features.

PRIORY & MARKET-PLACE

Early modern visitors to Whithorn priory were clearly less than impressed with the burgh itself. Sir John Clerk in 1721, for example, described it as 'very inconsiderable. It consists only of one street of about 300 yards in length' (Prevost 1964, 193). Meanwhile, the Reverend Christopher Nicholson, the parish minister at the time of the *New Statistical Account* (compiled in 1839), was less than complimentary, echoing Sir John Clerk's earlier description of the town but adding his own gloss on the practicality of its street plan:

'The burgh of Whithorn consists chiefly of one street, running from north to south, which is very irregular, being inconveniently narrow at both extremities, and uselessly wide in the middle.' *New Statistical Account* 1845, 54

Clearly, this 'uselessly wide' street, constricted at both ends, was considered irrelevant to the economy of 18th and 19th century Whithorn. It is, however, together with the priory itself and the medieval cult of St Ninian (Yeoman 1999, 33-44), one of the keys to understanding how the medieval burgh developed. The street's elongated lozenge shape,

constricted at either end by The Port and St John's Port (Figure 1), betrays its medieval origins. At roughly 300m long and 15 – 30m wide (an area of roughly 0.7ha), Whithorn's medieval market street is comparable in size to those identified at St Andrews (0.8ha) and Crail (0.4 – 0.7ha: Lowe 2001, 102). The size and extent of the market street reflects, in part, the status of the burgh. Principally, however, it is a testament to the wealth, power and status of the burgh's superior, the prior of Whithorn. This is also the context of the priory gatehouse itself.

The construction of the gatehouse around 1500 was not an isolated event but part and parcel of a major construction programme within the priory itself. The early 16th century not only witnessed the construction of a large building, identified tentatively as the Commendator's House, in the area to the south of the present lane (Hill 1997, figure 2.24), but also saw extensive modifications to the east end of the cathedral priory and the construction of a side chapel over the enlarged barrel-vaulted crypts (MacGibbon & Ross 1896; Radford & Donaldson 1953, 29-32; 1984, 19-20).

The origins of the burgh are obscure and original charter evidence of the 13th or early 14th century has not survived. It is clear, however, from later 15th and early 16th century transumpts, reaffirming earlier grants (*RMS*, ii, 453, 733 & 3569), that jurisdiction over the burgh was assigned in free regality to the prior and convent. The effect of these various grants was to bring together the priory's rights over the burgh and other lands throughout the lordship of Galloway, together with the tolls of the Isle of Whithorn, into a single entity with its head court and administrative centre at Whithorn (Richard Oram, pers comm). The social status and role of the prior, as head of the community, was consequently much enhanced. In this context, Dr Richard Oram (pers comm) has made the significant point that, at every monastery where grants of free regality were made, the superior social status of the head of the community was underscored by the construction of a monumental gatehouse. Dominating the market-place, its heraldic display would have been a constant reminder of the priory's status and, by means of the Royal Arms, the source of that influence.

RITUAL 'PROTECTION' MARKS

Description & Context (Figures 5 and 6)

Faint traces of an inscription were recorded on the left-hand side of the lintel above the primary upper-floor fireplace (213). It is set out in two lines and comprises a series of predominantly angular strokes, up to 3mm wide. It has probably been cut with the point of a knife.

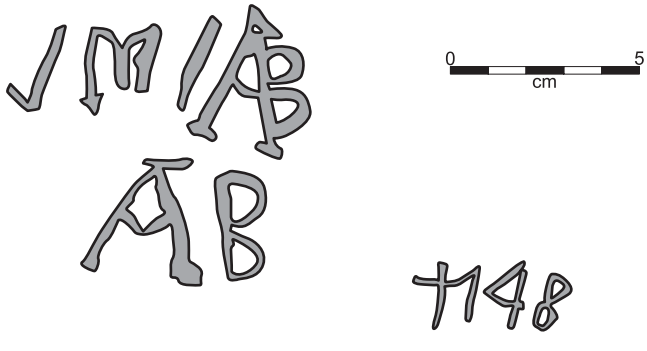

Figure 5 Inscription on upper floor

The upper line comprises: V (or simply, /), M (with a downward-pointing arrow at left), / (or possibly, V) and AB (ligatured, with an upward-pointing arrow at right, and a possible dropped bar on the 'A').

The lower line comprises: A (with a prominent dropped bar) and B, together with an area to the left that comprises a mish-mash of indecipherable angular strokes. Light scratch-marks, 1mm wide, for the date –1748- lie a little below and to the right.

Interpretation

This is an unusual set of markings. Possible parallels, however, which facilitate their interpretation, have come to light on historic timbers from buildings in Suffolk (Easton 1999) and Norfolk (Dean 1997) and, most recently, Anstruther in Fife (Bruce Walker; Julia Muir Watt, pers comm). The Whithorn example, however, is the only example currently known to have been carved on stone.

It seems likely that the marks belong to a class of little-known ritual or apotropaic 'protection marks', carved in effect to protect the building and its occupants from the effects of witch-craft. The perceived threat to householders from witches or their familiars is made explicit in James VI's treatise on the subject of *Daemonologie*, republished in 1604:

'for some of them sayeth that being transformed in the likeness of a little beast or fowl, they will come and pierce through whatsoever house or church, though all ordinary passages be closed, by whatsoever opening the air may enter in at.' (quoted in Easton 1999, 22)

Doors, windows and hearths were thus perceived as being particularly vulnerable and Easton (1999) has noted a wide range of marks and symbols, including the hex symbol, employed on lintels at such locations. The practice, after cleaning, of decorating the hearth-stone and threshold with circular designs in white chalk, recorded in Wigtownshire as late as the 1930s or 1940s (Julia Muir Watt, pers comm.), may represent a late and corrupted manifestation of this tradition.

Reading & Date

Given the layout of the inscription, the duplication of the AB 'signature' and the obscured area to the left of the lower line (Figure 6), it seems likely that the second line could be a repeat of the first. The VMV string has been recorded elsewhere and transliterated as 'Virgo Maria Virginum', 'To Mary, Virgin of Virgins' (Easton 1999, 24). The AB mark, however, is previously unrecorded. The dropped bar on the 'A', however, suggests that it may be a ligatured AM (and thus a triple ligature, AMB, in the upper line). Given the context of the VMV string, this would suggest the reading: 'Ave Maria Beata', 'Hail Blessed Mary'. Interestingly, the AMB ligature also appears on the wooden lintel above the hearth at Shore Street, Anstruther (Bruce Walker; Julia Muir Watt, pers comm.).

Figure 6 - Inscribed lintel.

The majority of the Suffolk marks, where datable by inscription or context, appear to date from the period 16th - 18th centuries (Easton 1999). The Whithorn lintel can also be accommodated within this chronology, whether as a Phase I feature (early 16th century) or as a feature of Phase III (17th century). The question, however, of whether the date (1748) is associated with the inscription, is a different matter. Although possibly carved with the same type of implement, it is clear that the two have been treated in a different manner, with the date simply scratched onto the lintel. This may suggest that the two elements of the inscription are dissynchronous. However, if it does date the inscription then it suggests the continuation of strongly Catholic associations well after the Reformation. The context is not impossible, given the resurgence of Catholic symbolism and the use of the *Arma Christi* and the *IHS* monogram in north-east Scotland in the post-Reformation period (Bryce & Roberts 1993; 1996). It would, however, suggest that the Whithorn inscription is one of the latest examples of Catholic recusancy in post-Reformation Scotland.

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Appendix 1

Re-used architectural fragments (sandstone)

[S1] L-shaped block, 450 x 300mm overall. Set on edge and incorporated into basal W jamb of blocked entrance in exterior S wall of Room A (ie N side of the pend).

[S2] L-shaped block, 450 x 350mm overall. Set on edge and incorporated into basal E jamb of blocked entrance in exterior S wall of Room A (ie N side of the pend).

[S3] subrectangular stone, 290 x 120 x c150mm thick. Sill of narrow splayed window lancet, 80 - 180mm wide. Incorporated into E wall (interior face) of Room A.

[S4] rectangular stone, 360 x 135 x c150mm thick, with line of nailhead ornament. Incorporated into W pier of inserted range in N wall of Room A.

[S5] fragment, 105 x 160 x c150mm thick, with simple roll moulding on side. Incorporated into E pier of inserted range in N wall of Room A.

[S6] rectangular stone, 275 x 160 x 80mm thick. Fragment of sill or transom with glazing channel, 10mm wide and 10mm deep along centre. Incorporated into blocking material of window in pend room.

Cross-marked stones

[S7] subrectangular block of sandstone, 360 x 185 x c150mm thick, with part of an incised cross to one side (Figure 7). The roughly pocked grooves (14 - 18mm wide and up to 10mm deep) appear to form an asymmetrical outline cross with expanded terminals. A plain sunken cross, 48 x 41mm overall, lies to the left. Inverted and incorporated into E pier of inserted range in N wall of Room A. Similar in style and treatment to a fragment recovered during the 1984-91 excavations from the backfill of a late 15th century quarry pit (Craig 1997, 436, figure 10.107/10).

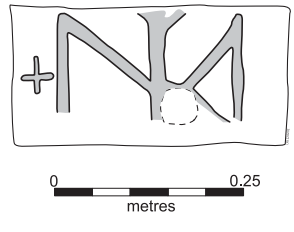

Figure 7 Cross-marked stone in late fire-place

[S8] greywacke slab, roughly 450 x 150mm, with crudely scored cross at one end. The scored lines (7mm wide and roughly 5mm deep) form an outline cross with expanded terminals, each roughly 75mm long. Incorporated into blocking of former entrance in S wall (interior face) of Room A (Figure 4).

Dressed sandstone fragments

In addition to the individual pieces noted above [S1 – S7], fragments of dressed red and yellow sandstone were also incorporated into the fabric of the building. Aside from the pieces associated with the arch-head and external jambs of the former entrance in the S wall of Room A (ie the N side of the pend), most of the fragments occur in what are demonstrably late contexts, at the margins of late window or door openings or from the inserted chimney-breast and range.

Wall-face	**Red sandstone**	**Yellow sandstone**	**Location**	**Comments**
exterior	4	0	at door jambs of blocked entrance	includes fragments [S1] & [S2]
A South	1	0	forms voussoir of arch	
A East	5	1	at margins of late window or door openings	includes splayed sill fragment [S3]
A North	3	7	all from inserted chimney-breast & range	includes cross-inscribed stone [S7] & architectural fragments [S4 & S5]
A West	2	0	door jamb to late kitchen	
B South	1	0	W side of early fire-place	
B East	1	0	near floor-level	
B North	1	1	both incorporated into inserted chimney-breast	
B West	0	0		
C South	0	0		
C East	0	0		
C North	0	0		
C West	0	2	both incorporated into blocking of window	includes grooved window fragment [S6]

Table 1: Distribution of dressed sandstone blocks in the fabric of the building

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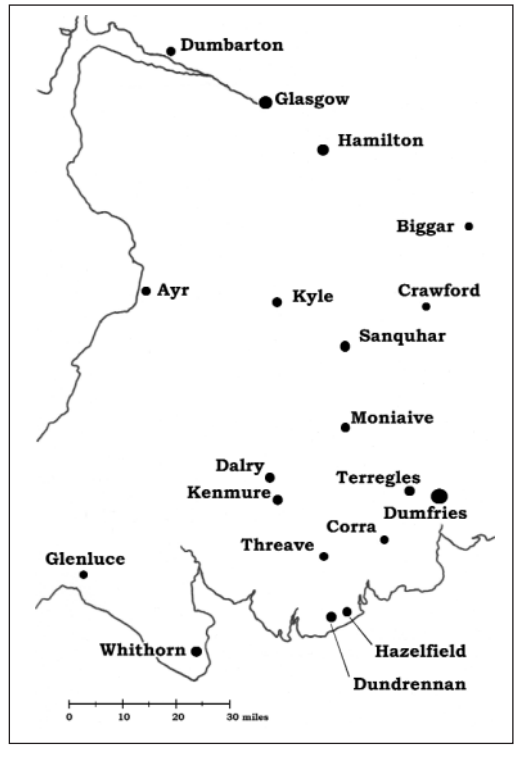
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS' LAST NIGHT IN SCOTLAND

by A E MacRobert[1]

It is frequently stated as fact that Mary Queen of Scots stayed at Dundrennan Abbey on her last night in Scotland. There is no valid evidence that she did so.

Mary escaped from Loch Leven Castle on 2 May 1568 to Niddry Castle and thence to Hamilton, where about 6,000 of her supporters soon assembled. On the morning of 13 May she witnessed the sudden, unexpected and irretrievable rout of her army at Langside. About 10 am she fled with a small escort in great danger of her life and almost certainly in a southerly direction towards the wilds of Galloway. From that time nothing is known of her whereabouts until she boarded a fishing boat at the Abbey Burnfoot about 3 pm at high tide on 16 May to cross the Solway. It is not known when she had arrived at the Abbey. It is highly improbable that in the first two days of her flight she even had Dundrennan Abbey in her mind for any purpose. Any categoric statement about the route she followed or any map showing a definite route cannot be substantiated.

During the ten days after Mary's escape from Loch Leven it is clear that she had carefully considered what she could do if her supporters were defeated. In the past she had received firm assurances of help from Queen Elizabeth, and soon after her escape from Loch Leven she sent her trusted follower John Beaton to London to remind Elizabeth of her promises. After Langside there were even fewer in Scotland whom Mary could fully trust, and there was no realistic prospect of raising another army. Her thoughts must have turned at once to seeking refuge and help in England.



Various places in relation to her flight were mentioned by contemporaries and near contemporaries and also in various traditions. These include Crawford (Lanarkshire), Kyle Castle (to the east of Cumnock in Ayrshire), and in the Stewartry, Threave Castle, Corra Castle (on the A711 near Kirkgunzeon) and Hazelfield (on the A711 between Dundrennan and Auchencairn).[2] It is possible that Mary may have stopped at some of these places, but the reports and traditions lack corroboration.

1 6 Fergus Road, Kirkcudbright, DG6 4HN

2 Rev E W J McConnel, 'The Maxwells of Hazelfield', *TDGNHAS Series III, Vol 21*, 48-58.

There is an old Galloway tradition, which apparently can be traced only as far back as the *Old Statistical Account* (1792), that Mary went through the Glenkens. This, however, may have been confused with her Progress through South-West Scotland in 1563, when she entered Galloway from Ayrshire and visited Glenluce, Whithorn, Clary, Kenmure, St Mary's Isle at Kirkcudbright and thence to Dumfries.[3] According to the tradition she rested at what has been named Queenshill (north of Ringford and east of the A762), but this stop could have been in either 1563 or 1568. Some support for the Glenkens tradition is provided by the route taken by the Regent Moray in June 1568 when he went into Galloway punishing those who had helped the Queen. He passed through Biggar, Crawfordjohn, Sanquhar, then westwards across the hills (along what is now the Southern Upland Way) to St John's Town of Dalry, Kenmure, the Water of Urr and thence to Dumfries. He may have followed the Queen's route at least to some extent but there is no certainty.[4]

Some historians have stated that Mary fled to Dundrennan by Sanquhar and Dumfries (in Lord Herries' house at Terregles and not actually in the town). This is based on the Herries Memoirs. From internal evidence the Memoirs were compiled in the 17th century by the 6th or the 7th Lord Herries. The only surviving copy is a transcript on paper watermarked 1742 or 1749.[5] It was certified by an anonymous person as 'faithfully copied from the Abridgement of the Scottish History by Lord Herries'. The differences between the transcript and the abridgement and the original are not known. It is also not known why or by whom an abridgement of the original version was made. The Memoirs may contain some information 'handed down' by the 4th Lord Herries (who fought at Langside and later joined the Queen in the course of her flight but where and how and when are not known) and his son the 5th Lord Herries (who was with the Queen during the battle). The information about the Queen's flight is disappointingly reticent and very brief. It does not carry the hallmark of having been written by someone who was actually in Mary's party. Instead it resembles the work of a person who knew the outline of those four days but did not know the intimate details. The Herries Memoirs cannot therefore be regarded as indisputable first-hand evidence that Mary went by Sanquhar and Dumfries to Dundrennan.

Mary herself provided a few details of her flight. In a letter which she sent to Queen Elizabeth on 17 May 1568 from Workington she stated that she had not dared to proceed except by night. On 21 June 1568 she wrote to her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, that she had suffered 'flight without knowing whither, 92 miles across country without stopping or alighting, and then sleeping on the bare ground, and drinking sour milk, and eating oatmeal without bread, and have been three nights like the owls, without a female servant'. It is, of course, highly improbable that she rode 92 miles without stopping, and it is intriguing how that distance was calculated. In her letter of 17 May to Elizabeth she stated that she had travelled 60 miles across the country the first day, and that seems more plausible.

3 Sir Herbert Maxwell, 'Tour of Mary Queen of Scots, in the South-West of Scotland, August 1563', *TDGNHAS*, Series III, Vol 10, 80-95.

4 J Stevenson (ed), Claude Nau's *'Memorials of Mary Stewart'* 1883. This contains accounts of the Regent's itinerary.

5 The transcript is in the National Library of Scotland. The Herries memoirs were published by the Abbotsford Club (1836) and edited by R Pitcairn as the 'Historical Memoirs of the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, and a portion of the reign of King James the Sixth by Lord Herries.

Some years later Mary gave some more information about her escape to Claude Nau, who was her Secretary from 1575 to 1586. Unfortunately his account[6] consists only of brief notes:

'The road which Her Majesty took after the loss of this battle to reach England.
How she drank some sour milk in the house of a poor man.
Borrowed some linen.
Caused her head to be shaved.
Was 24 hours without eating or drinking.
Laird of Lochinvar gave her some clothes and a damsel'.

We cannot be certain that Nau's headings are in chronological order. Although Nau did not state where Lochinvar helped her, this may point to the Queen stopping at Kenmure.

What clearly emerges from Mary's accounts is that she knew she was in dire peril and that her guides led her by obscure routes to throw off any pursuers. There is nevertheless no mention of pursuing forces in her accounts and from the evidence available there is no indication that the Regent ordered a pursuit. His motives in deciding not to hunt for her are not known, but he may have decided that she was cornered and in a hopeless predicament.

It is clear from Mary's statements that the weather was not unduly harsh. The conditions for travelling by night may have been favourable. Those three nights were just after the full moon, and there would have been bright moonlight unless there was heavy cloud cover. Travelling by night would not have deterred Mary. She had already made three notable nocturnal escapes: from Holyrood to Dunbar in March 1566 after the murder of Riccio; from Borthwick Castle in June 1567 (possibly to escape from both Bothwell and the rebel lords); and from Loch Leven Castle to Niddry Castle earlier in the month. If Mary did spend three nights like the owls, this implies that she did not stay in Dundrennan Abbey on her last night in Scotland.

The assertion that Mary arrived at Dundrennan on 15 May is based on a letter which it is alleged that she wrote to Elizabeth from Dundrennan on 15 May. In this letter Mary asked to see Elizabeth as soon as possible. The original of the letter has never been found. Yet even though the 19th century historian John Hill Burton doubted its authority, this letter has continued to exert an unfortunate and misleading influence on accounts of Mary's final hours in Scotland.

The letter was included by Prince Labanoff in his 'Lettres de Marie Stuart'.[7] He quoted as his authority for this letter Pierre Boisguilbert's 'Marie Stuart Nouvelle Historique' (Paris, 1674). Boisguilbert was a distinguished economist, but it is not clear why he wrote this book on Mary which is clearly intended as a serious biography. It seems to have been a unique venture on his part into 16th century British history. Despite the title ('*Historical Novel*') he asserted in his introduction that he had written not a novel but a very true history. Labanoff indicated that the letter had been written at Dundrennan on 15 May, but his source, Boisguilbert, gave no date and also did not mention Dundrennan. Boisguilbert

6 J Stevenson (ed), op cit.

7 1844 edition, vol 2, Labanoff was a Russian who specialised in research on Mary, Queen of Scots.

stated that he had relied especially on Camden for true information. He did not quote any source for the letter of 15 May apart from inserting the one word 'Camden' in a footnote to the letter.

William Camden (1551-1623) was an English antiquary. His '*Annales*' was published posthumously in 1625, but it does not contain the letter of 15 May in any form. The Victorian historian, Agnes Strickland, who was extraordinarily devoted to Mary, included the letter of 15 May in her '*Letters of Mary Queen of Scots*' (1843) and showed the letter as having been sent from Dundrennan. She added to Labanoff's version a sentence at the end of the letter which is almost certainly a concoction. Strickland stated in her notes that 'Camden has a curtailed version of it (the letter) but the whole is in the Mauvissière or Castelnau collection'. Michel de Castelnau, Sieur de la Mauvissière, was a French diplomat. He died in 1592. His Memoirs were first printed in 1621 and then reissued with Additions by Le Laboureur. There is no trace of the 15 May letter in the Memoirs or the Additions.

It is highly unlikely that Elizabeth and Cecil, her astute Secretary, would have allowed such a letter with its emotional and embarrassing plea for help to have passed out of their control. Another query against its authenticity is that whereas in 17 of the letters which Mary sent to Elizabeth in 1568 she addressed her as 'Madame ma bonne soeur' and in five other letters as 'Madame', it is only in the letter of 15 May that Mary addressed her as 'Ma très chère soeur'. Yet another query is that if the letter was precisely copied from the alleged original, it contains some orthographic discrepancies compared with Mary's usual spelling.[8]

In conclusion, the letter of 15 May cannot be accepted as authentic. This in turn means that there is no proper evidence to prove that Mary arrived at Dundrennan on 15 May. It was probably only on 15 May that a rendezvous on 16 May at Dundrennan Abbey for a conference on future plans was suggested and arranged. Mary's supporters who gathered there on 16 May were probably few in number and there may still have been the fear of a surprise attack. It should be appreciated that in 1568 the buildings at Dundrennan Abbey were much more substantial than the ruins may now suggest, and that the Abbey employed many laymen. It was not a very secluded location. A premature arrival of the Queen at the Abbey would have attracted unwelcome publicity and possible danger. The sensational news of the Queen's arrival would have spread quickly.

Many of the accounts of what happened to Mary between 13 and 16 May by historians and others have been inaccurate, unfounded and misleading. The history of those days must be radically revised. This includes the Queen's reasons for crossing into England with the resulting momentous consequences for both Scotland and England.

It will never be known precisely when the Queen arrived at the Abbey, but it cannot be proved that she stayed there on her last night in Scotland.[9]

8 J H Pollen, *'Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots 1561-1567', 1901*, pp 533-534 list peculiarities of her spelling.

9 The author's unpublished book *'Mary's Flight to the Solway'*, *1993*, includes the main documents and provides further details. The Dumfries and Galloway Libraries Department placed bound copies of the typescript in its main libraries.

The Dumfries Incorporation of Fleshers, 1658-1829[1]

by A.E.Truckell

The Flesher trade was an important one: it controlled the supply of meat in Dumfries, and its Minutes run from 1658 to 1829. They begin by quoting from the regulations as laid down in the acts of penult September and 15th October 1578, in the 'old book' - oh, if that book had survived! - and ratifying all these[2]. The term 'Common Slayers' is used: the meeting of 2nd June 1659 is held in the Kirkyard: the same minute states that the Kirk Session has granted them liberty to build and construct a loft within the Kirk. On the last September 1659 Robert Martin son to John Martin flesher is admitted Journeyman: Apprentices, Journeymen, Stallangers and Freemen in fact form the bulk of the Minutes throughout, with the annual Elections of Deacon, Treasurer (later Boxmaster) and the six Masters.

17th May 1660 - it is agreed that there be no selling on trust of legs and sides of mutton, shairs of beef, legs and sides of lambs and kids. On fifth July it is complained that apprentices and journeymen have been buying beasts in the country and slaying them to unfreemen for weddings, baptisms and other feasts, and on 4th October 1661 we hear the first of Homer Anderson Deacon and Thomas Gibson Master - the Gibsons run through the Minutes till 1829.

5th April 1666 - it is statute that no journeyman is to slay any meat to any person or persons within the burgh without liberty of the deacon or masters and no person of the trade is to lend his shop to any person not a freeman.

In 1678 James Maxwell the Trade's Clerk died and was succeeded by William McGeorge notar.

21st September 1679 - at the election Baillie Fingass of the Town Council was present: Homer Anderson, many years Deacon, refused to take the Test and was replaced by John Martin. The Test figures again at the election of 25th September 1684: on 24th March 1688 in obedience to a letter from the Privy Council the present Deacon is to continue but Homer Anderson appears as a Master - but on the same day conform to a missive from the Privy Council, Homer Anderson is made Deacon (has he taken the dreaded Test?).

25th September 1679 - the meeting was held in the Castle.

7th April 1690 - mention is made of 'a sort of unsufficient meat in the Shambles or shops' and animal diseases are mentioned - Rowtan ill, Muirill, Leprous or Cornie swyne or sows without being w[t] pigg. The Deacon and one of the Masters are appointed to 'veize' (inspect) 'all meat that shall be presented to the mercat two tymes everie week'. 'to be comptent judges of the unsufficiencie of the forsd unsufficient meat'.

1 This paper was prepared by Mr Truckell following his transcription of a microfilm copy of the Minutes of the Incorporation: the transcript has been lodged with the Dumfries Archive Centre [Eds.]

2 See Appendix for a copy of the regulations from 1578 as ratified by the Clerk: it is clear from the language that he was making an exact copy of the 16th century original.

7th May, 1700 - there was an entry, 'Especially for hindering of the buying of Sheep from any of the underwriten - John Walker in Rickhorn, James Colter in [?]Loganhead, James Afflect in Edingum, Jn^{o} Cortent in [.....]nrig, William Morison in Cornbreachan, James Herise in Dromstanshel, [ ] Wilson in Richhorn, Gilbert Paigan at Butle mill, William [ ], William in Lard Loch & James Merchal & Roger Aiken of Auchenhay and all his partners, Robert White in the glen, William Slowan in [?]Dynston & the two Clarks in litle Milton, Jn^{o} McGirie at debetie, Nathaniel [?]Dick in up^{r} glen of almorness, James Wilson at Blockhill or any other Comon coupers that do use to come to the bridgend of drumfries under the paine and penalty of tenpound Scots'.

20th September 1700 - the meeting of this date was held on Townhead Mote.

June 30th 1702 - those who do not come to the tradesloft in St Michael's on Sunday are to be fined 6/- Scots, or for the forenoon service only 4/- Scots. On the same day it is ruled that no freeman of the trade is to blow any mutton lamb or veal under pain of a mark Scots.

20th August 1702 - we have detailed rules for the Dinners given by 'new Elected Deacons Thes^{rs} or Masters' which have been 'troublesome expensive & inconvenient both to the trade & parties & frequently disordered'.

3rd September, 1702 - buying of sheep in the bridgend predjudicial to the trade.

11th March, 1703 - Purchase of the room above the Meal Market from Doctor George Archibald[3] physician for 900 merks - signed Robert Edgar clerk - he had first appeared as Clerk on 20th August 1702 - he was also Clerk to the Seven Trades and in fact the entry about the purchase ends 'The Trades have joined to buy a property over the Meal Market from D^{r}. Archibald for 900 merks'.

At the election of 24th September 1702, by the way, Baillie W^{m} Copland of Collieston appeared to see the members take the Oath of Allegiance in his presence - this is exceptional and probably relates to fears of a Jacobite revolt.

10th November 1704 - we hear that James Rowan, workman, is keeping and drawing sheep and selling mutton in his own house without inspection as to sufficiency - he is not a freeman - he comes in will and agrees not to do so.

12th April 1705 - Jacob Wylie, late flesher in Newcastle on Tyne in England is made a Freeman of the Trade on payment of a larger fee than local men.

6th November 1731 - Robert Wallace and William Jackson, both Weavers, were admitted Freemen - the first time non-Fleshers were admitted.

29th November 1732 - we have Robert Edgar's receipt for four years' Salary - 'part payment if any be due to me at Two risk dollars [Reichstalers].

19th May 1730 - it was been ruled that 'no beasts to be killed at any of our shop doors'.

3 Dr George Archibald died 6th may 1715 - see M'Dowall's *Memorials of St Michaels*, pp. 370-72 and also J Macdonald's Dr Archibald's 'Account of the Curiosities of Dumfries' and 'Account Anent Galloway', these *Transactions* Series II, Vol. 17, p.50 *et seq*.

12th June 1741 - the Skinners complain of damage to skins during butchery and the Fleshers agree to stop this.

It should perhaps be mentioned that from 1658 to 1701 the Minutes are in perfect condition, clear and legible, but from 1701 the condition suddenly becomes much worse, with many pages faded to the point of illegibility and entries sometimes becoming legible on the second or later pages, and that this becomes even worse by the early 1800s: so times pass with little to record.

13th September 1756 - James Gibson and [ ] are appointed essay masters for essaying all meat in the market.

Robert Edgar had last appeared as Clerk on 14th May 1743: Will Edgar (son or grandson to Robert?) is Clerk by 20th September 1748.

19th January 1760 - the Deacons of the Wappers[sic], Squaresmen, Weavers and Skinners ask for 'Some Supply to maintain them in their Offices and Stations and Defending the processes of Reduction depending before the Lords of session at the [blot] of the pretended Deacons of these several Incorporations against the present Deacons'. The Deacon is to uplift £3 Sterling for this purpose.

13th October 1763 - the Grand Committee of the Seven Trades had resolved to dispose and sell their old hall lying near the New Church: the Fleshers unanimously support this.

11th September 1764 - some members warned but do not attend - Robert Goldie's Act of Admission as a Freeman of 17th September 1763 is agreed to but Will Edgar the Clerk declines and gives his reasons for declining.

3rd August 1765 - reference is made again to the seats in the Trades Loft: changes are to be made and the seats covered with cloth.

1st November 1766 - Thomas Gibson, Deacon, and John Walker, Member of Trade, have been summoned to appear before the Sheriff Depute at the instance of William Robson, butcher in Dumfries, accused of 'spoiling and away taking a Certane quantity of Beef in his shop' - they are the Essaymasters of meat and have seized it as 'insufficient'. Robson is not a freeman of the Trade. The Trade unanimously approve of fighting the case and hiring lawyers.

14th September 1768 the Minutes state 'About Whit last they entered to possess the New Flesh Market: since then they have been in use of Slaughtering and Selling promiscuously each day of the week (Sunday excepted) and being sensible that this is a great inconvenience to themselves as it takes up most of their time and hinders them of proper opportunities of buying Cattle and Collecting their debts & otherwise. And further considering that originally there were but two mercate days in the week and that it is likewise reasonable [?]certin [?]not Mercate hours should be fixed to prevent Unecessay attendance' - they now draw up detailed day-by-day and hour-by-hour regulations.

11th December 1772 - it is reported that David Duncan has been fined £10 Scots for an abuse committed by him and is imprisoned until he pays it: he hasn't the money so the Trade advances him it.

11th December 1772 - the keys of the market place have lain in the house of John Maxwell for nine years past: now they agree to pay him a small amount yearly for this service.

8th January 1774 - David Duncan (whose fine was advanced by the Trade) is 'Secluded from assembling, marching or treating with the Trade or voting therein during the pleasure of the Corporation & deprived of the benefit of sitting in the Trades Loft of St Michael's Church' (and he is a freeman).

20th May 1775 - he is received back 'and behaving himself as a fit member of Society' - what has he done?

7th December 1775 - we hear that Dung is very beneficial and advantageous to the Trade - 'no Gabrige [garbage] such as Leights and trippes [tripes] and Slink Calves' is to be taken away but put upon the common Dung Hill: blood, Sharn or Dung to be laid upon the Dung Hill: transgressors to pay ten groats.

5th July 1777 - we hear that the Seven Trades have appointed all trade members to attend and march in procession to the shooting for the Siller Gun - to be fined £40 Scots if they refuse - and if they refuse to pay to be laid aside - Fergus Rae and Andrew Blackstock refuse and are laid aside.

29th January 1778 - we hear 'how necessary it is that a proper constitutional dependance of the Colonies of Great Britain upon the Mother Country be preserved': it is Desirous to testify the Trade's attachment to his Majesties Government - so a subscription is to be raised - the American Revolution, of course!

2nd May 1778 - George Maxwell of Carruchan buys the dung for £17.14/- Sterling - quite a sum for those days - presumably it would be taken on carts the few miles to Carruchan.

On the same day the 'Gabridge' is reserved for one year to Mr Anderson Smith Merchant in Dumfries for £5.

2nd August 1781 - Fergus Rae pays his fine for not attending at the Sillar Gun Shooting but insists that a vote of the whole Trade be taken: and on 22nd August Thomas Goldie, a Freeman of the Trade for upwards of 60 years, says that he has been sick on the Sillar Gun day - but some of the younger members object to his having any trade among them unless he pays the £40 Scots.

27th March 1783 - John Walker Senior is fined for using bad measures and laid aside from meetings, etc. until the fine is paid - but restored on 7th May.

15th November 1783 - we hear that Joseph Henderson and John Broadfoot have for some years attended the flesh market and have been accepted in the butcher and flesh business and have done business honestly within the Burgh of Dumfries - but this is greatly to the prejudice of the Trade as they are not Freemen.

9th September 1786 - The Clerk's annual salary is raised from 3/- yearly to £1.1/-.

20th July 1792 - Frazer Richardson, Deacon and James Gibson, Essaymasters of meat are served with a copy of a petition presented by William Lorimer to the Magistrates for

seizing a calf of his they had slaughtered, and for the value of the hide, head, etc., which they had sent to the Hospital: the Trade unanimously approve of the Essaymasters' seizure of the calf and the presentation of the hide and head to the Hospital and tell the Clerk to defend the case to the utmost.

15th December 1792 - we hear of the distressed condition of several of the Members of the Trade, 'and thinking it their duty to support them as far as their funds will permit' the Boxmaster is to pay Robert Goldie 1/- at present and 1/- quarterly and to pay Andrew Blackstock late Deacon and John Morrane 5/- cash: and Mrs Muncie is to be paid 2/6 'to assist her in her present Distressed condition' - this is unexpected.

[Same date] - There is mention of the acquisition of two apparently adjacent plots of land, one from Mr Maxwell of Terraughty and the other from Mr Sharp of Hoddom, and the Deacon is willing to take a 19 year lease and tack from Sharp.

[Post 7th November 1797] Robert Gibson, admitted Freeman this day, has admitted he is a discharged soldier - though not bound to do so £1 of his Freedom Money is returned to him.

The later pages of the Minutes are taken up entirely with apprentices, freemen, journeymen, etc.: there is no formal ending: the minutes simply stop in 1829.

Appendix

The regulations of 1578 as ratified in 1659.

5th May 1659 - The samen day the sd deacon treassrer M^{r}s & haill body of the flesher trade w^{t}in the sd burgh of drumfreis Ratifie approve & reafirme all the former acts ordinances statuts & constitu^{o}nes of the sd trades made be the former deacons treassrers M^{r}s & haill body of the samyn In respect that they find the samyn maid and [?]compented for the benefit & vtility of the sd trade and yrfore …. Old buik shall be observed and kept be the haill members of the sd trade qrvpon they requyred note. [signed] R.Bartane clerk.

And sicklyk the sd deacon treassrer M^{r}s & haill body of the sd flesher trade ratifie & confirm ane act made be the former deacon treassrer m^{r}s & body of the sd trade daitit the penult of septer 1578 ordeining yt in na tyme cuming any person be vpon the lysts for the deaconry or chosen of Treassrer or M^{r} of the sd trade vnles he dūells W^{t}in the liberteis of this burgh & [?]sealys of the calsay Confoirme to ane act in the old buik qlk they ratifie in all the heids y^{r}of & enact that the samyn be observed in tyme cuming qrvpon the sd trade required act. [signed] R.Bartane Clerk.

And sicklyk they ratifie ane act maid the [ ] day of octo^{r} 1578 that na frieman of the sd craft marrow w^{t} any unfrieman oy^{r} of this craft or mchand alswell w^{t}out burgh as w^{t}in the samyn vnder the payne of fourty shilling of vnlaw vnforgiven toties quoties: with this addition that incaise y^{t} any frieman marrow or be pairtner w^{t} any vnfrieman as said is That for the second fault he shall lose his friedome & liberty of the sd trade qrvpon the sd trade requyred act. [signed] R.Bartane clerk.

This day ratifie ane act of the samyn dait ordeining that alle prenteisss Srvants & comon slayers shall find cautione for thair honesty fidelity & lawteth And that under the payne of Ten marks scots money qrvpon the sd trade requyred act. [signed] R. Bartane clerk.

The qlk day ratified ane other act of the same dait for the weille of the craft & for quyetnes amongst thairselfes That nane of the sd craft q^{t}sumever Take ane uther mans buith over his head he occupyand the samyn except the possessor of the sd bū̄yth declair to him that desyres to take the samyn that he is willing to remove y^{r}fra vtherways so that taking the said buith above his neighbors quhose buith he takes The haill buith maill y^{t} he shall pay for sum all he shall be necessisat to take qrvpon the sd trade requyrit act. [signed] R.Bartane clerk y^{t} up frieman taken a shop ower a friemans head.

2th June 1659 - The whole trade being convened 'in the kirkyaird of drumfreis' They did all w^{t} one consent & assent ratifie ane act maid be the deacon treassrier & M^{r}s of the sd trade saitit the [ ] day of october 1578 qrof the tenor follows. It is statut & ordeined that give any master or frieman q^{t}somever of this craft being ay^{r} within this burgh or without the samyn In q^{t}somever pairt of the countrey buying aither nolt or sheip or give any vther guids That na vther person of this craft shall aither buy or bid for the samyn whill the person hath bein in hands w^{t} the sds gū̄ids vnder the payne of fourty shilling of vnlaw give the samyn be tried And y^{r}vpon the sd trade requyred act. [signed] R.Bartane Clerk

Act anent baying of sheep or others ower one anothers head.

BRITTONIC PLACE-NAMES from SOUTH-WEST SCOTLAND
Part 5: Minnygap and Minnigaff

by Andrew Breeze, University of Navarre, Pamplona

The names of Minnygap near Moffat and Minnigaff by Newton Stewart have puzzled scholars. Yet they can be taken as Cumbric forms meaning 'bush by a hollow' and 'smith's bush'. They parallel obsolete 'Munmaban' near Peebles and Monynut near Haddington, the first meaning 'Maban's bush', the second 'nit-infested bush' or 'wretched settlement called "Bush"'.

Minnygap (NY 0496), six miles south-west of Moffat, is a lonely farm up on Minnygap Height (1308 feet). It is in the news as the site of a proposed windfarm, so the editors have asked the writer for an account of its name. Hence this note. Early forms include *Mungep* of 1315, *Munygip* of 1320, and *Moneygep* of 1427 (all in the Register of the Great Seal), plus *Minnygap* of 1729 from the Dumfries Testament Register. Minnygap can here be linked with another place, Minnigaff (NX 4166) by Newton Stewart. Citing *Monygof* of 1548, Watson explained the last element from Welsh *gof* 'smith' but called the first doubtful, though with possible equivalents at Monynut (NT 7264) in East Lothian and former 'Munmaban'in the parish of Kirkurd (NT 1142), near Peebles (Watson 1926, 399-400).

These four names have been obscure. Yet there may be a solution in obsolete Welsh *mynyw* 'grove, bush', cognate with Irish *muine* 'thicket (of thorns, brambles, etc.), bushes; grove', which figure in lives of St David. The Welsh for St Davids has long been *Tyddewi* 'David's house', but its earlier name was *Mynyw* 'bush', attested as *Miniu* in the twelfth century and latinized as *Menevia* (a title still born by Welsh Catholic bishops). An older *Mynyw* is found at Henfynyw 'old bush' (SN 4461) in north Dyfed. St David was brought up there and perhaps took the name with him on moving south-west to found a monastery (Richards 1970, 166-167). Though *miniu* is the usual Old Welsh form, *moni* (corrected to *moniu*) also occurs and has been derived from (unrecorded and reconstructed) British *Monouia* (Jackson 1953, 378; Evans 1988, 55-56).

Old Welsh *moni[u]* helps with Minnigaff, where the meaning would be 'smith's bush' (in Welsh, *mynyw gof*), with original *o* surviving very late in the *Monygof* of 1548. If so, Minnigaff 'smith's bush' would resemble Shepherd's Bush in west London or Beggar's Bush near Huntingdon. As for Minnygap, the early element *-gep* and *-gip* can be explained from Welsh *cib* 'vessel, bowl, cup; casket' and Breton *kib* 'shell, vessel', which are borrowed from Latin *cupa* 'cask, tun, barrel'. Welsh *cib* occurs in place-names. The river Cib flows through hill country in Carmarthenshire, rising above Blaen-Cib (SN 6621) and passing Cwm-Cib and Tre-gib to join the Tywi near Llandeilo; at Bwlchycibiau (SJ 1717) 'pass of the bowls, pass of the hollows' in north Powys the A490 exploits a gap between two ridges. Welsh use of *cib* to mean 'hollow in a landscape, natural depression, bowl-shaped valley' also explains the name of Inskip (SD 4637) 'island with a hollow' in north Lancashire, by a valley enclosed on three sides by ridges, with one exit through former marshes (Coates & Breeze 2000, 227-228). Minnygap looks down upon a depression formed by Broadshaw Water and its tributaries, their waters leaving by a cleft thick with trees. So there is no difficulty in understanding Minnygap as 'bush by a hollow', with the

Cumbric cognate of Welsh *cib* having undergone lenition between vowels to give *-gep* and *-gip* (compare Tre-gib above).

Minnigaff and Minnygap offer meanings for two other places. The first is the long-vanished chapel of *Munmaban*, figuring in a papal bull of 12 June 1186. This stood somewhere in the parish of Kirkurd (at Ladyurd by its eastern boundary?), eight miles west of Peebles. Watson took the second element as perhaps *Mabon*, a personal name familiar in Dumfries from Clochmaben (Gaelic for 'Mabon's stone') by the Solway Firth, and the town of Lochmaben (NY 0882), with a loch once sacred to Maponus, Celtic god of youth (cf. Welsh *mab* 'son, boy'). Or it may be Brittonic *Maban*, with another termination (Watson 1926, 180-181 & 399-400; Somerville 1982, 124). Bede mentions a cantor called this. Obsolete *Munmaban* would, then, mean 'Mabon's bush' or 'Maban's bush'.

Finally, Monymut in the far east of Lothian. This is recorded as (corrected) *Moninet* (also *Maninet*) in the time of William I and *Monynett* on Jan Blaeu's atlas of Scotland. Watson called the forms difficult (Watson 1926, 399). But the first part may again be 'bush' (the farms of Monymut are in a remote valley). As for the second element, this is not savoury. It seems to be the Cumbric equivalent of Welsh *nedd* 'nits', Middle Breton *nezenn* 'nit', and Old Irish *sned* 'nit', either because bushes at this spot were full of vermin, or more probably because it was a poverty-stricken place. If this is doubted, compare Luston (SO 4863) two miles north of Leominster, now explained as 'louse-infested farmstead', but surely with a figurative sense 'wretched farmstead, insignificant farmstead' (Mills 1991, 218). Herefordshire folk clearly had no regard for Luston, and Monynut seemingly prompted a like sensation among North Britons. It was not the only receptacle of misery thereabouts. *Crachoctre* figures in a twelfth-century document of Coldingham Priory. Its exact site is lost, but it must have been above the 650-foot contour on the road by the modern farm of Drokemire (NT 8062), five miles east of Monynut. The toponym is Cumbric and means 'scabby homestead; vile homestead'. It was another bleak place for the men and women who dwelt there, trying to wrest a living from the soil (Breeze 2000, 117-134).

If these interpretations are sound, they tell us something new about the Britons of Southern Scotland. Welsh *perth* means '(thorn-)bush, thicket, copse' and can be linked with Perth in the Highlands, but also Perter Burn (NY 4185) near Langholm, where *-er* perhaps indicates a collective 'many bushes, scrubland' (Watson 1926, 356-357). Welsh *prys* means 'copse', its Cumbric or Pictish cognate giving Scottish Gaelic *preas* 'bush' with consequences for many Scottish toponyms, including *Dumfries* 'fort of the copse(s)' itself and compare Prees in Shropshire (Watson 1926, 419-421; Coates & Breeze 2000, 327, 329, 354). So Minnygap 'bush by the hollow' and Minnygap 'smith's bush' will resemble these, as will *Munmaban* near Peebles, the bushy place belonging to Mabon or Maban, and Monynut in upland Lothian, 'bush infested by nits' or, better, 'vile place called "bush"'.

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TWO 'BIRD HALL' NAMES IN KIRKPATRICK FLEMING

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A type of place-name formation in which the word *hall* is preceded by a bird-name has long been recognised in northern England but has only recently been identified in Scotland. Representative examples from south of the present border include Gawk Hall, Laverock Hall and Spink Hall in West Yorkshire, Hooter Hall and Pewit Hall in Cheshire, and *Pyewipe Hall* (lost) in Lincolnshire, while the full corpus of Scottish occurrences known to date comprises Lark Hall in the Borders region, Chuckethall, Corbiehall, *Laverock Hall* (lost), *Ploverhall* (lost), Pyothall and (possibly) Corbiehill in Lothian, Larkhall, Laverock Hall and (possibly) Corbiehall in Strathclyde, and Laverock Hall and (possibly) Larkha in Tayside. (Hough 2003 p1-3) Common features are that these names represent minor rather than major toponyms,[1] contain dialectal forms referring to small species of birds (e.g. *chucket* 'blackbird', *corbie* 'raven', *gowk* 'cuckoo', *hooter* 'owl', *laverock* 'lark', *pyet* 'magpie', *pyewipe* 'lapwing' and *spink* 'finch'), and are not recorded until the sixteenth century or later. The second element *hall* is generally taken to have the sense 'farmstead, manor-house', with the name as a whole designating a house where the bird nested or was often seen.

The close similarity between *hall* and the Old English place-name element *halh* 'nook of land, land in a river-bend', which also makes good sense in combination with bird names and can survive as *hall* in modern spellings, has delayed recognition of this type of formation in Scotland.[2] The absence of a systematic county-by-county survey of place-names, such as has been in progress in England for nearly eighty years, has led to potential instances being viewed in isolation, and attributed to *halh* (or the Scots reflex *haugh*) on grounds of sense.[3] Alternatively, attempts have been made to explain the first element as something other than a bird name.[4] Although comparison with the well attested group of 'bird hall' names in England has now made it possible to interpret the Scottish names along the same lines, the Scottish corpus is still so small that any new additions have a significant impact on our knowledge of its range and geographical distribution. The purpose of this article is to draw attention to two previously overlooked occurrences in the south-west.

No occurrences of the 'bird hall' formation have as yet been identified in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, and it is therefore particularly interesting to find two examples here within a single parish. The Ordnance Survey Name Book for Kirkpatrick Fleming, compiled

1 Larkhall is the only one to have achieved parish status.

2 Among the place-names cited under the headword entry for *halh* in A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols, English Place-Name Society, 25–26 (Cambridge, 1956), i, 223–24, are Beanhall, Benthall, Broomhall, Calverhall, Cromhall, Edenhall, Markshall, Midgehall, Nuthall, Oxenhall, Posenhall, Ryhall, Saughall, Southall, Strethall, Uckinghall, Wolf Hall, Wraxhall and Yen Hall.

3 See for instance D. Dorward, *Scotland's Place-Names*, expanded edn (Edinburgh, 1995), p. 73, on Larkhall, and S. Harris, *The Place Names of Edinburgh: Their Origins and History* (Edinburgh, 1996), p. 388, on Laverock Hall.

4 For the suggestion that Larkhall might derive from Gaelic *learg* 'slope' or *làrach* 'farm', see A. Room, *Dictionary of Place-Names in the British Isles* (London, 1988), p. 207. As Room himself points out, *learg* 'slope' does not suit the topography of Larkhall.

during the 1850s in preparation for the first edition of the six-inch scale map, records *Gowkhall* 'cuckoo farmstead' and *Laverock Hall* 'lark farmstead'. Each of these has direct parallels among the established 'bird hall' names. *Gowkhall* is a doublet of Gawk Hall in West Yorkshire mentioned above, while *Laverock Hall* is paralleled by Larkhall in Strathclyde (first recorded as *Laverockhall* in 1620), and by other occurrences of Laverock Hall or Lark Hall in Strathclyde, Borders, Lothian, Tayside, and several English counties. (Hough, 2003) The use of the dialectal terms *gowk* 'cuckoo' and *laverock* 'lark' is, as noted above, highly typical of this group of formations. Although both are in fact attested in northern England, they tend to be associated particularly with Scots dialect. For instance, Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith identify *gowk* as one of the large group of Scandinavian loan-words which help to differentiate the vocabulary of Scots from that of southern English,[5] and Nicolaisen describes *laverock* as the Scots equivalent of English *lark*. (Nicolaisen 1970, p121) Also typical of 'bird hall' formations is the survival of the two elements as separate words in *Laverock Hall*, suggesting a late date of coinage. The earliest attestation of *Gowkhall* is *Gruckhall* in the Hearth Tax Return of 1690-91, and *Laverock Hall* first appears as *Lavrockhall* in the Military Survey Map of Scotland of 1747-55. (Mercer 1997, p57) Other spellings recorded in parish registers, memorial inscriptions, maps and Census returns are fully consistent with the proposed derivation. *Gowkhall* appears variously as *Gaukhall*, *Goouk hall*, *Gouckhall*, *Gouk*, *Goukhall*, *Gowckhall*, *Guckhal*, *Guekhal*, *Gukehal* and *Gukhal*, and *Laverock Hall* is attested as *Lairockhall*, *Laverickhal*, *Laverickhall*, *Laverock*, *Laverock-hall*, *Laverockhall*, *Lavirickhal*, *Lavorickhall*, *Lavrockhall* and *Leverickhal*. [6] In no instances are there any traces of an inflectional *-s-* to suggest a surname as an alternative possibility for the first element, nor of forms indicative of *halh*, *haugh* 'river-meadow' as the second. *Gowkhall* and *Laverock Hall* can therefore confidently be added to the corpus of Scottish 'bird hall' names.

The two names are of particular significance to the understanding of this group as a whole since they are still associated with farmsteads, thus confirming the interpretation of the second element *hall*. (Mercer 1997, p17) Rarely is it possible to identify the original referent of a 'bird hall' name, and this has led to some discussion of the meaning of *hall* in such a context. The definition 'house' appears in the *English Dialect Dictionary* [7] but not in the *Oxford English Dictionary* [8], and is represented primarily but by no means exclusively in northern dialects, including Scots. Although this is regarded as the most likely meaning in the 'bird hall' names, the matter is far from settled, and other recent suggestions include a development from OE *halh* 'nook of land', or a link with an Early

5 J. Corbett, J. D. McClure and J. Stuart-Smith, `A brief history of Scots', in J. Corbett, J. D. McClure and J. Stuart-Smith, *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots* (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 1–16, at p. 6. In the same volume, M. Scott, 'Scottish place-names', pp. 17–30, at p. 25, similarly treats *gowk* as a distinctively Scots term.

6 I am grateful to the editors of these *Transactions* for providing me with names from the Ordnance Survey Name Book, as well as from Census returns, memorial inscriptions, parish registers, and Ordnance Survey maps. Mr McEwen also kindly draws my attention to a farm named Laverockhall in Lochmaben parish (NY 074830), which would appear to be a further example of the same type of formation.

7 J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1898–1905), s.v. *hall sb.*[1] and *int*.

8 *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1989), s.v. *hall*[1].

Modern English usage of *hall* to mean 'a space in a garden or grove enclosed by trees or hedges' [9]. The fact that the Kirkpatrick Fleming names both refer to farmsteads strongly supports the interpretation 'farmstead, manor-house', not only in these two instances but by analogy in the rest of the 'bird hall' group.

The intrinsic interest of these two toponyms suggests that other names in *hall* in Kirkpatrick Fleming may also repay investigation. At first sight, *Foxhall Wood* invites comparison, despite the fact that it would be more unusual for an animal-name to combine with *hall*.[10] Here, however, the name is recorded by the Ordnance Survey Name Book and map only, with no independent witnesses to confirm the form *Foxhall*. Comparison with Foxhall in Lothian, first recorded in 1539 as *Toddishauch*, *Todhauch* from Scots *tod* 'fox' and *haugh* 'river-meadow', (Nicolaisen 2001, p24-25) suggests that the same second element may be represented in the Kirkpatrick Fleming name - unless, indeed, the latter represents a corruption of *foxhole*, a compound common in minor toponyms[11]. The place-name Foxhall in the English county of Suffolk is recorded in Domesday Book as *Foxehola* 'foxholes', reflecting precisely such a development. (Skeat 1913, p43) The name *Todholes* also appears on the Ordnance Survey map for Kirkpatrick Fleming and in three memorial inscriptions, so it may even be possible that the first element of *Foxhall* has undergone the same process of translation from *tod* to *fox* as in the Lothian Foxhall[12]. In the absence of historical spellings, no firm conclusion can be reached.

Equally inconclusive is the etymology of *Fairyhall*, recorded thus in the Census Return for 1841 and consistently in the same form in memorial inscriptions and parish registers.[13] Although references to the supernatural are not uncommon in minor toponyms, another Fairyhall in the county of Essex in south-east England turns out to have the somewhat disappointing meaning 'pig enclosure', with early spellings revealing a derivation from the Old English words *fearh* 'pig' and *(ge)hæg* 'enclosure'. (Reaney 1935, p422) This is unlikely to be a doublet of the Kirkpatrick Fleming name, however, as the first element occurs again in two other local toponyms, *Fairyknowe* and *Fairyrow*. It may be significant that the second element of *Fairyknowe* (*knowe* 'knoll') also combines with terms for supernatural creatures elsewhere in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, in names such as Elf

9 Both possibilities were explored by the present writer in a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the English Place-Name Society in London on 10 July 2002. The first had been suggested in a private communication by Professor Barrie Cox, on the grounds that birds seem more likely to be associated with topographical than with habitative generics. Formally the derivation may be possible, but we should expect at least a few earlier attestations, as well as traces of Old English inflections and Anglo-Saxon bird-names. The second possibility represents sense 9 of the entry for *hall*[1] in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. As a topographical generic, it would seem very plausible in connection with the types of wild birds featuring in the 'bird hall' names. However, the problem here is that this is an obsolete usage supported by only two citations, both from a single text dating from 1712. Although this corresponds quite closely to what appears to have been the 'boom period' for 'bird hall' names, it does not amount to a strong case.

10 Animal-names are, on the other hand, common with *halh*, *haugh*. A few examples are included in note 2: others cited by Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, s.v. *halh*, include Bullough ('bull'), Cattal ('cat'), Frognal ('frog') and Oxnall ('ox').

11 J. Field, *A History of English Field-Names* (London, 1993), p. 72, cites Fox Holes and a lost *Foxholefeld* in Cambridgeshire, and Foxholes and Foxhill in Warwickshire, the latter being recorded in 1213 as *Foxholes*.

12 The Ordnance Survey locations show that *Todholes* and *Foxhall* in Kirkpatrick Fleming refer to separate locations. If, however, they originated as doublets within a single parish, the need to distinguish between them would account for the change from *tod* to *fox* in one of the two.

13 There is also a single occurrence of *Firyhall* in one of the parish registers, which is evidently a mis-spelling.

Knowe and Warlock Knowe. (Waugh 1998, p51) Indeed, since a doublet, Fairy Knowes, occurs in the same region, (Maxwell 1930, p134) and a further doublet, Fairy Knows, in the northern English county of Northumberland, (Beckensall 1975, p60) an allusion to fairies in this name, and therefore also in *Fairyrow* and *Fairyhall*, can scarcely be in doubt. The second element of *Fairyhall*, however, remains uncertain. Against a derivation from *hall* 'house' is the fact that references to the supernatural generally combine with topographical, rather than habitative, terms, as for instance in Elf or Elfin Loch in Lothian,[14] and Elf Hills in Northumberland. (Watson 1970, p197) Comparable names in Dumfriesshire and Galloway include Fairy Moss and Witches Glen, (MacQueen 2002, p59) Knockieshee (from Gaelic *cnoc na sidhe* 'hill of the fairies'), (Maxwell 1930, p182) and *Dragon's Well*, another toponym recorded in the Ordnance Survey Name Books for Dumfriesshire, which has recently been the subject of close examination by Fraser (Fraser 2000, p107-11) Here, then, an original *haugh* 'river-meadow' may be most likely, although a corruption of Fairy Holes, a field-name recorded in the county of Cumbria in north-west England, (Field 1989, p74) cannot be ruled out.

Some names from *hall* survive as *hill* in modern spellings, and this too can lead to problems in identification. Early spellings of Corbiehill in Lothian fluctuate between *Corbiehall* and *Corbiehill*, making it difficult to ascertain whether or not it represents a genuine 'bird hall' formation. (Harris, p191) Similar uncertainties affect names for which few or no historical forms survive. The fact that there are now known to be two occurrences of Gawk Hall or *Gowkhall*, one in West Yorkshire and the other in Kirkpatrick Fleming, raises the possibility that Gawk Hill in the parish of Hickleton in West Yorkshire, (Smith 1961-63, i, p85) and Gouk Hill in the parish of Whithorn in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, (Maxwell 1930, p152) may be further doublets. Without early spellings for either name, however, it is not possible to confirm *hill* or *hall* as the second element. Another entry in the Ordnance Survey Name Book for Kirkpatrick Fleming is *Tinnis Hill*, the form which also appears on the 1850s Ordnance Survey map, but the same name is recorded as *Tennishall* in two memorial inscriptions, and as *Tinnishal* in a parish register. Here the first element appears to be an earlier place-name of Brittonic origin from *dinis* 'fort'. Watson identifies the latter as the etymon of 'Tinnis or Tennis near Yarrow Church, Tinnis Burn, a tributary of Liddel; and Tennis Castle, Drummelzier', (Watson 1926, p372) reflecting the same variation between *Tinnis* and *Tennis* as is attested for the Kirkpatrick Fleming name.

The importance of comparative evidence in the interpretation of place-names can scarcely be over-estimated. Both major and minor toponyms tend to be coined according to recurrent patterns, and this means that the growing corpus of onomastic material being made available from other parts of Scotland and northern England may make it possible to suggest interpretations for further names in Kirkpatrick Fleming parish whose derivation has been considered obscure. They in turn may throw light on others. Absolute certainty is rarely possible, but the rest of this short article will attempt a reconsideration of some problematic Kirkpatrick Fleming names which may be shown to have parallels elsewhere.

14 Harris, *The Place Names of Edinburgh: Their Origins and History*, p. 258. Harris raises the possibility, however, that the original derivation may be from British *elfin* or Gaelic *ailbhinn* 'rocky steep'.

Firstly, *Bakethin*. Another name recorded in the Ordnance Survey Name Book for Kirkpatrick Fleming, this has previously appeared to defy interpretation. Johnson-Ferguson's early study of Dumfriesshire place-names records it as *Bakethin Bridge*, the form that also appears on the Ordnance Survey map, but offers no explanation. The only other attestation is a memorial inscription dating from the early eighteenth century (*Here lyes John Graham in Bakethin who departed this life 2nd.March 1726 his age 57 years*) (Gilchrist and Shannon 1966), which confirms the spelling but reveals no additional information. However, an occurrence of the same name has now been identified in Northumberland, where it means 'thorny back or ridge' from a transferred use of the word *back* to refer to a hill or ridge. (Watson 1970, p177) A similar interpretation would therefore appear plausible for the doublet in Kirkpatrick Fleming.

Also left unexplained by Johnson-Ferguson – apart from the comment 'field on Branteth' – is Manitoba. (Johnson-Ferguson 1935, p79) At first sight this does indeed appear difficult to relate to any local feature. Recent work on English field-names, however, most especially by the late John Field, has established 'nicknames of remoteness' as a major category of field-naming. As he explains: "In many parishes, fields have been given the names of places in distant parts of Britain, or elsewhere in the world. The reasons for the adoption of such names include nostalgia, celebration, and occasionally a real or imagined similarity of climate or of topography." (Field 1993, p150) Examples include Antigua in Cheshire, Barbados in Shropshire, Mexico in Westmorland, and Pennsylvania in several English counties. (Field 1993, p159) A similar metaphorical application has been suggested for Scottish field-names such as Egypt and Gibraltar in Lothian, (Hough 2001, p39-41) and also seems likely to apply to Manitoba in Kirkpatrick Fleming.

Another Branteth field-name is Sidlands, which Johnson-Ferguson derives from *sid* 'the husk of oats'. (Johnson-Ferguson 1935, p80) As a place-name element, this appears to be unparalleled elsewhere, and while a reference to oats themselves would be fully plausible, a reference to husks is much less so. An alternative explanation is suggested by the corpus of field-names assembled by Field from Old English *sidling* 'land alongside (another piece of land or a stream)', which develops into (The) Side Land(s), Great and Little Sideland, Side Land Ground, Sidelay Furlong, Sidelings, The Sidelong and Sidelong Meadow in various English counties. (Field 1993, p203) In light of this, it seems possible that Sidlands in Branteth may have the same derivation.[15]

It may also be possible to challenge Johnson-Ferguson's derivation of *Farrylandis* (1625) in Kirkpatrick Fleming from Old Norse *faran* 'to go', apparently with reference to a passage, an etymology which he extends to Fairyknowe on grounds of location: "This may be the origin of the name Fairyknowe as the context shows Farryland to have been in that neighbourhood." (Johnson-Ferguson 1935, p78) The problem here is that the Old Norse verb is not to my knowledge represented elsewhere in the toponymic corpus. Such a construction would be highly unusual, whereas Fairyknowe is readily explicable as a name referring to the supernatural along similar lines to those discussed above. It therefore seems more likely that *Farrylandis* is itself a corruption of Fairyland, a field-name on record in the English county of Shropshire. (Foxall 1980, p67)

15 Against this suggestion is the fact that all the English occurrences of which I am aware have a long first vowel, whereas the *i* of Sidlands appears to be short.

Finally, Johnson-Ferguson explains The Tey Field in Kirkpatrick Fleming as ‘probably “the added field”’. (Johnson-Ferguson 1935, p81) More recent scholarship has identified such formations as shape-names, so that this can now be understood as a reference to a T-shaped piece of land alongside other field-names such as The Tays Park in Lothian and Tea Close, T Acres and Tee Field in England. (Hough 2001, p49)

In conclusion, no place-name can be understood in isolation, but must be seen in relation to the onomasticon as a whole. Only through comparison with the other English and Scottish ‘bird hall’ names is it possible to identify *Gowkhall* and *Laverock Hall* as members of the same group and hence to establish a firm etymology as ‘cuckoo farmstead’ and ‘lark farmstead’. These in turn extend the overall profile of the ‘bird hall’ names in Scotland, showing that this type of formation is represented considerably further south-west than has previously been recognised.

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A LOCAL TREASURE-TROVE:
John Mactaggart's *Scottish Gallovidian Encyclopedia*.

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The distinguished tradition of Scots linguistic scholarship began long before the twentieth century and the advent of modern dialectology and lexicography. By far the greatest reference work on the Scots tongue to appear before this period, namely John Jamieson's ***Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language****, was first published in 1808; and well before this magnificent work, substantial glossaries and word-lists had appeared, principally as appendices to collections of poems. Robert Burns, as is well known, compiled fascinating glossaries to both the Kilmarnock and the Edinburgh editions of his poems; and Allan Ramsay had set the precedent by supplementing his collections with not only glossaries but extensive lists of words selected to demonstrate phonological correspondences between Scots and English. Self-contained glossaries and word-lists, or works including not only these but nuggets of information concerning local customs, folk-beliefs, characters, flora and fauna, topography and the like, exist in respectable quantities from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: many of these can be described appropriately as labours of love, made up as a spare-time hobby by men intent on commemorating the dialect or the entire local culture of their native areas. The best of them retain to this day the status of landmarks in Scots language studies: perhaps the most distinguished and most credible as scholarship, coming at the very end of the period when language study could be the exclusive province of enthusiastic amateurs, are the set of three books by Sir James Wilson.*[1] *One of the most individual and most entertaining works in this tradition is John Mactaggart's* ***Scottish Gallovidian Encyclopedia****.*

Mactaggart was born in 1797, and his opus was published in 1824. That he was no self-effacing objective researcher is obvious throughout: the entry *Mactaggart* in his *Encyclopedia* begins "This is no less a personage than myself, born some twenty-five years ago, at Plunton, in the parish of Borgue, quite beside the *auld castle o' Plunton*." In a headlong rush of anecdotes and personal comments he tells us that his father – "I have never met with any whom I considered to have so much native strength of intellect" – is a farmer, descended from a man who had been killed fighting against Cromwell at the Battle of Dunbar; recounts a near-fatal fall into a peat hole in his childhood, the tragic death of his pet houlat and his memories of being "lashed upstairs and downstairs" at Borgue parish school; and pays a generous tribute to a dominie without whose guidance "I should have crawled about, a mean artificial worm of man's formation, without one spark of nature's fire in me." He explains the name MacTaggart (correctly, although he has clearly done no more than guess at the form of the Gaelic source word) as meaning "son of the priest": "God knows if there be much of a priest about me." While attending school he had no reluctance to being kept at home by farm tasks; on leaving school at thirteen, however, he found full-time work on the farm little to his taste, and being equally averse to other practical forms of employment, he applied to several publishing firms for

1 *Lowland Scotch as Spoken in the Lower Strathearn Dialect of Perthshire* (Oxford 1915), *The Dialect of Robert Burns* (Oxford 1923) and *The Dialects of Central Scotland* (Oxford 1926).

work as a printer. Unsuccessful in this, he consoled himself by reading voraciously, teaching himself French and Latin and working through the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, kindly lent to him by a neighbour. A single term at Edinburgh University proved a disappointment: "I was there told nothing but what I had before gathered." Rambling through Scotland and England, writing poetry and articles for magazines, and other assorted activities only hinted at in the article, contributed to what appears to have been a life of restless energy and enthusiastic enjoyment of the natural and intellectual worlds. His brief autobiography concludes with two samples of his poetry, the first being a flamboyant self-presentation in *Cherrie-and-the-Slae* stanzas.

A lanely melancholy lad,
Ane quarter wise, three quarters mad,
Wi' gloomy brow a burning;
Whiles merry too, and looking gay,
Enjoying then a sunny day,
Before rude storms returning –
Is what I am, and in this breast
I find wild creatures working,
A throbbing pulse that will not rest,
Strong independence lurking –
Nae cringing, nae whinging,
Shall ever come frae me,
Nor fawning, nor yawning,
My stars have borne me free.

Mactaggart admired Burns – another of his poems is a tribute to him inspired by a visit to a tavern in Edinburgh which the poet frequented, beginning:

So this is Johnnie Dowie's cabin,
Where aft dear Scotia's bard got lab in,
And then sae witty wild did gab in,
That roun the table,
A' laughed to hear the mighty Rabin,
While they were able.

– and his great predecessor would surely have enjoyed a convivial crack with the writer of those lines. (The rhyme-word *lab* in that stanza, incidentally, glossed by Mactaggart as "to be intoxicated", is not attested elsewhere in this sense: a typical example, as we will see, of the encyclopedist's fondness for unusual words.)

Subsequently to the publication of his *Encyclopedia*, a continuing series of short-lived ventures gave way to what appears to have been the most sustained task of his life: the post of Clerk of Works for the Rideau Canal in Canada, planned to connect the Ottawa River with Lake Ontario. Mactaggart's diligence, energy and natural ability won him great respect: from John Galt, then occupied in the founding and developing of the town of Guelph, among others. Sadly, his health failed and he returned to Scotland, his experiences in Canada furnishing material for a two-volume study of the country and its resources. He died, aged only 32, at Torrs, near Kirkcudbright, leaving several unpublished writings and – characteristically – plans for a variety of new literary projects. One

of these is referred to in his *Gallovidian Encyclopedia*: s.v. *Putt-gude*, he writes "A man is said to have made his *putt-gude*, when he obtains what his ambition panted for; thus I have got my *putt* made *good* respecting this book, for all the thousand *barrs* flung in its way" – but he hopes also produce a large quarto volume entitled "'The *Scotch Encyclopedia*, or the *natural, original,* and *antiquated* curiosities of Scotland'" … and I hope Heaven will permit me to make my *putt-gude*."

Equally characteristic, one is tempted to say, is the fate which befell Mactaggart's *Encyclopedia* on its first appearance. Among the many articles describing local characters is one headed "Star o' Dungyle." "A few years ago, the most beautiful woman in Galloway was a Miss H–; her father was a laird. … The celebrated Maggy Lauder never so much attracted the attention of the crowds in *Anster Loan*, whatever *Tennant* may say to the contrary." The effects on men's hearts of Miss H–'s charms are described with Mactaggart's customary flamboyance, as are her easy-going ways. Unfortunately for Mactaggart, his careful preservation of the lady's anonymity was insufficient to conceal her identity from his readers, and her father threatened legal proceedings unless the book was withdrawn and all copies destroyed. (Many Gallovidians are described with far less sympathy in Mactaggart's pages than "Miss H–"; but not daughters of lairds.) However, some copies survived, and the book was reprinted fifty years later. The edition which is currently available is a reprint of the original edition, with a new introduction by L.L. Ardern.

Mactaggart's *Encyclopedia* is a wonderful gallimaufry of a book: an assorted compendium of articles, ranging from brief definitions of dialect words to essays several pages long, on all aspects of Galloway: its history, traditions, games and customs, bird and plant life, local characters, and above all vocabulary. We read of many individuals whose exploits have brought renown to Galloway: most are now remembered only through Mactaggart's tributes, but two of more lasting fame are the pirate Paul Jones ("A Gallovidian, I am rather sorry to say, but he was a clever devil, and had strong talents of the infernal stamp") and the poet Allan Cunningham, now remembered principally for his satirical squib "The Wee Wee German Lairdie." Mactaggart speaks in terms of high enthusiasm of his fellow Gallovidian, comparing him judiciously to Burns and Hogg: "He is not such a mannerist as the first, nor such a fairy man as the last": and ending his article with a lively tribute in verse.

The local dialect is one of his principal enthusiasms: patriotic Gallovidians "scorn to lose any of that darling legacy left them by their forefathers; they scorn to lisp English, but tell their honest tales in plain '*Braid Scotch*'". Mactaggart's interest in the Scots tongue becomes obvious from the third paragraph of his Introduction. This essay, as cheerfully self-revelatory as his autobiographical article, begins by expressing the wish that he could write an introduction which would "seem like a lovely country lass, with fair yellow hair, red cheeks, and bosom divinely moulded" but fearing that it will "turn out to be more like a '*rouch curr tyke*,' seated in a comfortable manner on some foggy *tomack*, on his '*ain twa tashellie hurdies*,' introducing, with many *bouchs* and *bow-wows*, a straggling club of ill-tongued *tinklers*, with their *cuddies*, their *hampers*, and their *ram-horns*, to a wild *clauchan*, situated in the '*loop*' of some wild moorland glen." Some, though not all, of the Scots words in which this passage abounds are defined in his *Encyclopedia*:

curr is "a shepherd's dog," *bouch* "one of a curr-dog's barks," *bow-wow* "a dog's bark, when he first smells strangers," *hampers* "large baskets, carried on the backs of asses," *ram-horn spoons* "large spoons, made of the horns of rams": of the ones for which he does not provide a definition, most (*tyke*, *tinkler*, *hurdies*, *cuddie*) are sufficiently familiar, but *tomack* "a small mound" is predominantly south-western in its distribution, and *tashellie* "with dirty matted hair" is not attested except in this instance.

Many of the entries in the *Encyclopedia* are local words for which Mactaggart provides definitions. On some occasions he offers suggested etymologies too, but these are almost invariably wrong, though the errors are understandable and the results sometimes entertaining. *Alicreesh* (liquorice) is simply the same word, proximately from Dutch and ultimately from Greek, with a stress shift, and not, as Mactaggart conjectures, related to *creesh* "grease"; *bedall* (defined as "gravedigger", though the bedall or beadle has other functions as well) is not so called "for why, he 'beds' us mostly 'all'"; *bragwort* (mead) is a folk-etymologised version of *bragget*, ultimately of Celtic origin, not "a *wort* that can *brag* all others for being so good"; the second element of *e'enshanks* (an evening meal) is from Dutch *schenken* "pour out", invalidating Mactaggart's conjecture that it is called so from being taken "about the close or end, or *shanks of e'en*"; *gellock* (earwig) and *gell* (crevice in a rock) are unrelated words, despite the fact that the former frequents the latter; and whatever may be the origin of *Hogmanay* we may be absolutely certain that Mactaggart is wide of the mark in deriving it from "hug me now". These and other examples, nonetheless, are clear testimony to his enthusiasm for the Scots tongue.

As in all dialect vocabulary lists then and since, by no means all are unique to the area, but many are; and in Mactaggart's case a surprising number appear to have no other attestations. Here is a selection of words which, on the evidence of the SND, have always been restricted in their geographical distribution to the South-West: *blackbides* (brambles), *braiggle* "any old, unsafe article – as a large gun with a large lock," *camrell* "a piece of wood used by butchers, notched on either end, used for hanging up carcases by the hind legs," *chawlin* "eating in a sickly manner," *currbawty* "the art of seeking quarrel," *dodjell-reepan* (the marsh orchis, a decoction from the roots of which was used as a love potion: Mactaggart comments "Methinks this sap will aid Cupid nothing more than a *sploit o' tobacco brew*"), *gorroch* "to mix and spoil porridge, or such food," *jabbloch* "weak, watery, spirituous liquors," *mushoch* "a heap of grain, thrashed out and laid aside in a corner for seed," *oozlie* "a person is said to be *oozlie* looking, when he has on a long beard, unbrushed clothes, and dirty shoes, as is the case with those who love the 'late debauch'," *robbin-rin-the-hedge* (sticky willie), *whumgees* "vexatious whisperings, trivial tricks in *truth-telling*, as it were." And here is a selection of those for which the SND gives Mactaggart as the only attestation: *boytoch* "a thick short little animal, bad at walking," *chawchlin* "eating like a swine," *climpets* "sharp pointed rocks," *dunnerbreeks* "a person, such as an old cobler, with breeches so *barkened* or stiff and *sleek wi' dirt*, that they *dunner*, when struck, like a dried sheepskin": this entry contains a poem worthy of the best specimens in the Scottish tradition of indecorous humour entitled *The Death o' Dr. Dunnerbreeks*; *ginners* "the gills of a fish," *hallyoch* "a term used to express that strange gabbling noise people make, who are talking in a language we do not understand. Thus, a club of Manxmen together, are said to *haud an unco gabbie labbie o' a halyoch*

wi' ither"; *jarble* "an old tattered garment," *loddans* "small pools of standing water," *mervadie* "any fine sweet brittle cake is said to be *mervadie*," *morgoz'd* "made a confusion of," *noitled* "intoxicated with liquor," *stunch* "a lump of food, such as of beef and bread," *proop* "the *still small voice* of a certain *wind-pipe*; one of the children of that strange animal which *flies wingless*:" this word occurs in the poem of Dr Dunnerbreeks, and the description is recalled in a riddle which Mactaggart quotes elsewhere:

What is it, that is skinless born,
And whilk doth wingless fly,
To death a rairing it doth go,
Perfuming earth and sky?

Several semantic fields are represented in special abundance. One of these is bird names. Many of those cited are common-core Scots: *green lintie, stane-chacker, heather-bleat, yallow yorlin*. His description of *allan hawk* suggests a little auk, though the term is used elsewhere to refer to different birds. The note on *hoodiecraw* propounds the interesting error that the birds are carrion crows grown grey with old age; *raen* (the local form of "raven") is the peg for a poem of no less than 45 Habbie stanzas on a pet corbie he once had. Under the heading *scaurt* he gives other names for the bird (cormorant): *douker, Mochrum laird, elder o' Cowend*. Some names are of much more restricted geographical distribution: *beerbuntlin* (corn-bunting), *burnbecker* (pied wagtail), *dykie* (hedge-sparrow), *luggie* (horned owl), *pyardie* (magpie), *sand-tripper* (sandpiper). *Buttermilk gled* (hen harrier) appears to be unique; and in two cases, *chittler* "a small bird of the titmouse species" and *jorinker* "a bird of the titmouse species: its name is its cry", it is impossible to be certain which birds Mactaggart had in mind.

Another field which illustrates the distinctiveness of Mactaggart's vocabulary is games: as he says (in the entry for a very simple game with pins called *hattie*), "Navigators sail away by the pole, and travellers pop their noses into Africa, yet bring not home accounts of the manners of any people half so strange as our own, when truly described." Many of these are still known, though under other names in different areas: the etymologically self-explanatory *hap-the-beds* has numerous local names (in my Ayrshire childhood it was *peever*), *loup the bullocks*, a rougher form of leap-frog, *dishaloof*, 'a singular rustic amusement' in which each player in turn slaps his open hand on the back of another's placed flat on a table, *neivie-nick-nack, cockawinnie* (ride on the shoulders), *quirklums* (riddles), *coggle-te-carry* (his word for "see-saw"). *Blinchamp*, a competition in which blindfolded players attempt to break the eggs from herried nests, is also etymologically clear, and *gled-wylie*, a chasing and capturing game with accompanying rhyme, presumably utilises the associations of *gled*. *Burly-whush*, a game of throwing and catching, and *allicomgreenzie*, a girls' chasing game, are the most fanciful terms in this set: again, neither is attested except in Mactaggart.

Perhaps the most entertaining set, as well as one of the most extensive, is the astonishing variety of critical, uncomplimentary or outrightly insulting terms: Mactaggart ends his Introduction with the splendid eulogy "Heaven ever smile on the natives of the South of Scotland; for a better race of beings is no where to be found between the sea and the sun;" but this noble race appears to have included a remarkable range of highly defective individuals. The following sampling contains only words which are either (on the evidence

of the SND) restricted to the South-West or unique to Mactaggart. Many refer to physical peculiarities, though sometimes these appear to be associated with undesirable behavioural habits as well: *bilt* "a short, thick man," *bowloch* "a person with ill-shaped legs," *brallion* "an unwieldy man," *crawtt* "a small insignificant person," *dwamlock* "a very sickly person," *gloit* "a soft delicate person," *flingstick* "a rowly-powly man," *gemmle* "a long-legged man," *spaig* "a person with long ill-shaped legs," *stilch* "a young, fat, unwieldy man," *bemmle* "a bad ill-shaped man," *birst* "a little person full of impudence," *brilch* "a short thick impudent person," *galdroch* "a greedy, long-necked, ill-shaped person," *guldie* "a tall, black-faced, gloomy-looking man," *pisk* "a dry-looking, saucy girl," *staveral* "a bad walking foolish person." Dress often comes in for criticism: *clippie* "a person with too neat cut clothes," *dallion* "a person whose clothes befit not his body, being too large for it," *flaiper* "a foolish person, both in dress and manner," *flapdawdron* "a tall ill-clad person," *haurl* "a female careless of dress," *jyple* "a person with clothes badly made." Mental inadequacies and defects of personality have their associated range of critical terms: *blumf* "a stupid loggerhead of a fellow, who will not brighten up with any weather," *cuddroch* "a timid worthless youth," *doaffie* "a lifeless fellow," *doyloch* "person doyled (the latter word defined as "crazed in mind)," *firespang* "a quick-tempered person," *glundy* "a fellow with a sulky look, but not sulky for all," *moylie* "a mild, good-natured person … a tame person, even to silliness," *pinkerton* "a person beneath expectation, one with a small mind, with only a *pink*, or small gleam of light in it," *sluneoch* "a person of a brutish disposition." Undesirable traits of behaviour are evoked in several colourful words: *abok* "a name for a gabbing, impudent, chatting child," *faichloch* "sorry working labourers; always seeming busy, but putting little work past them," *gamf* "an idle meddling person," *giezie* "a person fond of prying into matters which concern him nothing," *hasple* "a sloven in every sense of the word," *luscan* "a sturdy beggar, and a thief," *nitters* "a greedy, grubbing, impudent, withered female," *reepan* "a low-made wretch, a tale-pyet," *spirran* "an old female of the nature of a spider," *squeef* "a blackguard; one who rails against women, and yet is fain to seduce them," *taploch* "a giddy-brain girl," *teevoo* "a young man who flashes about with ladies but has no great affection for them."

Mactaggart's fondness for the mither tongue is not restricted to the collection and explanation of picturesque individual words. Many of his articles, though written in English, include several Scots words appropriate to the topics of the essays: they are printed in italics, but used simply as parts of the sentences in which they appear. His book abounds in poems, many of which are avowedly his own and many more, having no named author, presumably so: several are in English or "thin" Scots, but often he utilises a full range of local words with great panache. One of the most exuberant, if not the most attractive, comes under the heading *clanch* "a mannerless man, given to eating in the swinish style," and describes one such.

WULL HULLYOCH

Wull Hullyoch was as big a clanch
As e'er was kend by ony body;
Rasps and crabs he up wad cranch,
His haurns wi' slawk and sludge war muddy.
The slunyoch's visage was fu' ruddy,
His sillar up in meat he'd hanch,
Whilk keep'd his hurdies unco' duddy,
The beast had sure a strong digestive panch.

Whan bacon in the pan did crack,
And gravie deep aroun' did sotter,
Than Wull his fipples red wad smack,
He smell'd the imry like an otter.
And on the scent awa wad hotter,
And sae hae at the roast a snack;
He'd glutt a cargoe till his knees wad totter,
It took a clisk his pechan out to rack.

A greedy gormandizing cheel
Has been detested, and will be for ever,
They wi' the kyte, belike the swauld woocreel,
Dear modesty is seen to suffer never.
For, let a fallow ever be sae clever,
This gies his character the bursen seal,
Whilk frae his name he'll ne'er be fit to sever,
'Twill dog his hatefu carcase to the De'il.

In Mactaggart's definitions for the more obscure words, *cranch* is "the noise that teeth make in eating unripe fruit," *slawk* "a slimy plant, which grows in *burns* and springs," *slunyoch* "a person of a brutish disposition," *hanch* "to eat like a swine," *fipple* "the underlip," *imry* "the scent of roasted meat," *glut* "swallow," *pechan* "the belly." Even more interesting, though fewer in number, are several stories and anecdotes put into the mouths of local characters and told in their words: a notable example is the one told to illustrate the word *damdyke* 'a mound of earth flung across a stream, to confine the water, for mechanical affairs', in which a miller tells, in expressive Scots, of the disastrous results that followed when he was diverted by the offer of a drink from opening the sluice of his own damdyke in anticipation of a spate.

Finally, the question may be raised of the extent to which the distinctive and colourful dialect enshrined in the *Encyclopedia* survives to our own day. That issue has been examined recently, and the results are heartening. An extensive and detailed research project on the dialect vocabulary of Galloway was conducted in the 1970s and '80s by W.A.D. Riach, and the results published as *A Galloway Glossary* (Association for Scottish Literary Studies Occasional Papers no. 7, 1988). Riach, in pursuit of his intention to find as many words as possible which were still at least passively known to the oldest and most conservative speakers to be found in Galloway, worked within what was by then a well-established and refined tradition of Scottish dialectological research, using the techniques

of selection and interview developed by the Linguistic Survey of Scotland; and his *Glossary* contains over 1000 words (far from all of which, of course, are peculiar to Galloway). In his introduction, he describes Mactaggart as "a pioneer in local dialect collection" and the *Encyclopedia* as "the only work of note on Galloway dialect." He specifically identifies all the words in his *Glossary* which were listed by Mactaggart, and the number is 209. Twenty of the most exclusively Gallovidian are: *beverage* (a kiss given to celebrate something new), *blinkit* (sour cream), *chuns* (potato sprouts), *cyanglin* (an exchange of verbal abuse), *daidly* (apron), *dauchy* (warm, moist, misty), *doach* (pile of stones in a river), *fleggin* (going with big steps), *gullion* (a stinking mud-hole), *kech* (an upset, turmoil, rage), *langle* (to tie the forelegs of an animal to prevent leaping), *lummin* (raining heavily), *moitered* (drunk), *nurg* (short, squat), *pirrmaw* (tern), *scraw* (a cut of earth), *sparabils* (boot nails), *suggan* (cover for a bed), *trog* (exchange), *wheegle* (persuade, cajole).

Despite the enormous social and technological changes which have altered the world Mactaggart knew beyond recognition, the dialect to which he provided such an impressive monument is still alive almost two centuries later, and still a definite part of a strongly-preserved local identity. Mactaggart in Elysium is surely rejoicing.

A FINAL REPORT ON THE LOCHMABEN COURT AND COUNCIL BOOK 1612-1721

by John.B.Wilson M.D.

A transcript of this volume was published in 2001 by the Scottish Record Society.[1] It covers 221 pages and records 404 meetings. The minutes were written by the clerk of the time, or his deputy, sometimes in a fair, sometimes in an almost indecipherable hand and often in an ungrammatical form.

Over the years three articles have been published in the Transactions[2] relating to some of the most interesting findings. This short article provides a short interpretation of this wonderfully interesting record.

The town council was composed of eleven men, a provost and two bailies. The elections were held yearly and only the councillors could vote. Two new councillors were voted on. The council then chose a dean of guild and a treasurer from within their ranks and appointed a local man with some legal knowledge to be their clerk. He acted as secretary to the council and wrote the minutes. Thereafter, two members were voted off the council. This archaic method of election was only abolished on the passing of the Reform Acts of 1835. How the first council was elected we know not, whether by election or appointment. However thereafter the council was self perpetuating

In the first minute, Wilkin Johnstone of Elshieshiels was the provost but soon James Johnstoun of that Ilk from the senior branch of the family at Lochwood took over. In his absence Elsieshiels took the chair. Fortunately for the council, in 1704, the Lord Provost was William Second Marquis of Annandale, President of the Privy Council a powerful figure in Scottish politics, so that, when a 'sham, riotous and pretended council' was set up he was able to ensure that the problem was taken to the Privy Council and the sham council declared illegal. During the period covered by these minutes the Lochwood Johnstones were also provosts of Annan, some indication of the influence the family had in the area.

After the elections, the council chose a burgh officer to act as their executive officer. Barliemen were appointed to assist him in his task of ensuring that the turf dykes separating the houses and yards, were 'biggit' and kept in repair. The barliemen also had to deal with 'night layers', beasts left on the common overnight. Eventually, in 1715, a herd was appointed to tend the animals on the common each day.

Approximately one third of the volume deals with these elections, one third with cases of civic violence, batteries, bloods and riots and the remaining third with council business, disputes and debts.

The burgh's lands were divided into two parts, an infield and outfield. The former were close to the town and were regularly manured and cultivated. The outfield consisted of common grazing land, nearly 2000 acres in extent. Its boundaries, after 1646, were ridden each year so that all, especially their marauding neighbours from Torthorwald, were aware of their extent. The only properties on the common were a few small farms, their boundaries marked by march stones.

The income of the burgh was small and derived mainly from the franchise of the customs and the feuing of four small properties, the Common Meadow, Priesthead, Croftfoots and the Blaemeadow. The imposition of various fines by the council produced additional income.

1 Wilson, John B., *The Lochmaben Court and Council Book 1612-1721*, published by the S.R.S, (2001).

2 Wilson, John B.,"The Royal Burgh of Lochmaben Court and Council Book 1612-1721". *Transactions*,(1990) 3rd series. vol. LXIV, p 84-92.

Wilson, John B.,"Life in Lochmaben 1612-1721" *Ibid*,(1993) vol. LXV, p 123-130.

Wilson, John B., "The Economy of Lochmaben 1612-1721", *Ibid*, (2000) LXXIV, p 114-119.

On several occasions 20 to 30 persons, both male and female, were charged with disturbances of the peace but whether these arose from a single incident or a backlog of cases we know not. While these fines may have gone some way towards the payment of council officials the small amount of money in circulation meant that the culprit was often sentenced to a spell in the stocks or jouges where he, or she, was exposed to public ridicule. Imprisonment in the Tollbooth was a very expensive alternative. The ultimate penalty available to the council was banishment from the town.

Some further income came from the sale of burgess tickets without which the owner was not allowed to trade and for which a charge of ten pounds was made. A welcome addition to the council's income came, in 1709, when 37 inhabitants were fined ten pounds for 'steping of lint and hemp in the lochs'.

By 1671 the money available proved insufficient for the town's needs so a detailed valuation was carried out of all properties in the town. After the Union of 1603 Lochmaben Castle with its garrison of two hundred soldiers became redundant and Lochmaben, in 1646, had only 19 indwellers. However, by 1657, a few tradesmen had made their appearance nine residing in the burgh and the number of house holders had risen to 39. Life in Lochmaben had become more sophisticated and the burgh was moving away from a simple subsistence economy.

With so little money in circulation many payments must have been made in kind. Everyone kept a few hens which could be used as barter. For example in 1698 'John Harkness drummer paid for his rent five merks Scots a kain fowl and a days work'.

No one travelled far from Lochmaben so that its main communication with the outside world was through the delegates to the Convention of Royal Burghs and the Scottish Parliament, both held in Edinburgh. They journeyed on horseback.

Two entries in the minute book are of special interest for, In 1619, the council ordained that, 'the fish which is taken and gotten by nets out of the lochs be brought to the Cross so that the same may be brought to the use and purpose of the burgh'. while in 1629 the council ordained that, 'no man to construct a house upon the High Street without authority granted by the council'. Remarkably early evidence to town planning!

The minutes provide a fascinating glimpse into life in Lochmaben three hundred years ago. During that time the burgh moved from a subsistence to a more sophisticated economy and establishing contact with the outside world. Matters not included in the minutes proved as interesting as those described. No reference can be found to wheeled vehicles or roads. Horses, not oxen, were used for heavy tasks and loads were moved by pack horse or sledge. Furthermore, no mention is made to events of national importance, Montrose's campaigns, the Killing Times or the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion.

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TOWN DEFENCES AT ANNAN?
A case not yet proven

by Colin Wallace, 1 Warriston Terrace, Edinburgh EH3 5LZ

In an earlier volume of these Transactions, a case has been made for the burgh ditch of Annan not having been dug until the (later) 16th century (Toolis and Cavanagh 2002, 151-55). The discussion appears in the report on some archaeological evaluation work in Butts Street, Annan in 1998. More recently, I have reviewed the evidence for late medieval / early post-medieval urban walls in southern Scotland (Wallace 2003) and as a result have come to doubt the strength of the Annan arguments. There was no space in that contribution to comment on the Annan report, so that it seems worthwhile to bring the matter to the attention of readers of this journal.

Not the least of any concerns with the case made in the earlier Annan paper is that the pottery dating evidence from the excavated ditch-fills (Crowley, in Toolis and Cavanagh 2002, 149) does not seem to support anything other than a Medieval (15th century?) date for them. If all the fills really were 16th-century and later, then one would not expect material like the unabraded 12th-15th century pottery in the lower fill of the ditch in Trench 3 or the unabraded 15th-century or later pottery from the lower fill in Trench 15. Instead, there ought either to have been much more in the way of the later, Reduced Greywares or overall a collection of poor, undateable groups of medieval pottery (as in the upper fills of the ditch in both Trenches).

As to the wall that Toolis adduces 'at the western limit of a substantial ditch' (Toolis and Cavanagh 2002, 153) as a possible town boundary in Annan, the published section shows that the wall was constructed right in the middle of the ditch when that was at least half-filled (*op cit*, fig 5c). The possibility that the wall is rather later than the 16th century and related to the 'subsequent' pipe trench beside it is nowhere discussed. Only the fact that it did not occur in any of the other excavation trenches excites some comment in the report.

Curiously, the comparable case of the Dumfries burgh defences is only mentioned in passing in the Annan report. Among the examples of 16th-century defences mapped on fig 46 of James Bond's 1987 urban defences paper is Dumfries. Bond presumably considers that the evidence from here - a reference of 1575 to the repair of 'all dykes and fowceis about the Burgh' (Gourlay and Turner 1977, 8), with further strengthening in time of crisis in 1578 (Truckell 1997, 113) - relates to the creation of defences. However, until we can be sure that all documentary sources have been surveyed, the dating significance of these 16th-century references is unclear. The Dumfries case offers a clear pointer to the provisional nature of the Annan argument.

Toolis' case relies heavily on pictorial evidence, while arguably mis-representing the pottery from the excavated site. In brief, he believes that, because no ditch is shown in views of 1547 and *c*1566, it did not then exist. Key to his argument is his contention that, by contrast, a town ditch is shown around Kirkcudbright *c*1566 (Toolis and Cavanagh 2002, 151). It is equally possible to take the view that on this evidence any ditch at Annan had long gone by the middle of the 16th century, or, to be more constructive, advance the view that it is Kirkcudbright's wall (Graham 1977, 176-77) that is being shown. One can set the fact that the English survey of the West Marches in 1547 (the 'Platte of Milkcastle') also shows no defences around Dumfries, against the documentary evidence of repairs to the ditches around this town in 1575 and 1578 (above).

From this the conclusion can reasonably be drawn that the date and nature of any defences at these three towns are still problems to be resolved, when documentary and archaeological evidence needs careful assessment, as in the case of the town wall at Dunbar (for references, see Wallace 2003, 15). At the very least, source limitations ought to better acknowledged, like the ceramic evidence from Annan, or the fact that the 1547 map of places under English control was done for quite

specific strategic purposes (Merriman 1967, 178), not as a topographical record. This is well illustrated by the plan of the battle of Pinkie in 1547, on which the medieval burgh of Musselburgh is reduced to the essentials of its church and bridge (eg Dennison and Coleman 1996, fig 11).

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SEARCHING FOR MOSSKNOW TOWER BY RESISTIVITY SURVEY

by James Williams & D.Shiel[3]

In the absence of either any upstanding remains or absolute documentary evidence for the presence of the former Mossknow Towerhouse the Ann Hill Committee commissioned a geophysical survey of two potential locations by GSB Prospection of Bradford. Survey work was carried out in December 2002 and the report published in early 2003: this note summarizes those results.

The Ann Hill publication on Kirkpatrick Fleming[1] provides detailed accounts of the present mansion house of Mossknow, Nat. Grid. Ref. NY281698, built by Dr William Graham in 1767 to the design of William Craik of Arbigland. The mansion house's predecessor is presumed to have been a towerhouse but details of that building are completely unknown apart from the presence of a 17th century inscribed doorway built into the walling of the 18th century garden. The lintel, bearing the initials WG 1663 MI and the inscription SOLI DEO HONOR & GLORIA, is briefly described in the Kirkpatrick Fleming volume[2] and commemorates the marriage of William Graham to Margaret Irvine in 1651. It has been suggested that the 1663 dating probably commemorates a programme of addition or improvement to the earlier towerhouse. Mercer notes that the position of this tower is not marked upon any of the earlier maps but that the first edition Ordnance Survey sheet of the late 1850s does show the remains of three avenues of trees meeting at right-angles some 100 metres north-west of the present mansion - and suggests that the towerhouse might have stood there. Another suggested position was within the old formal garden of the present mansion house.

The Ann Hill Committee being anxious to throw further light on these suggestions commissioned a geophysical survey of the two areas. The survey was undertaken between the 2nd and 4th December 2002 by the firm of G S B Prospection of Bradford[3]. The following notes summarize the information provided by their report, Ref. 2001/104, published 21st January 2003 - a copy of which has been lodged within the Ann Hill archive

1 *Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire: An Anatomy of a Parish in South West Scotland*, 1997, Mercer *et al*., pp.184-192.

2 *Ibid*, p.98.

3 G S B Prospection, Cowburn Farm, Market Street, Thornton, Bradford BD13 3HW. WebPage: www.gsbprospection.com . Project Co-ordinator, D Sheil; Project Assistants, M Saunders & Dr D Weston.

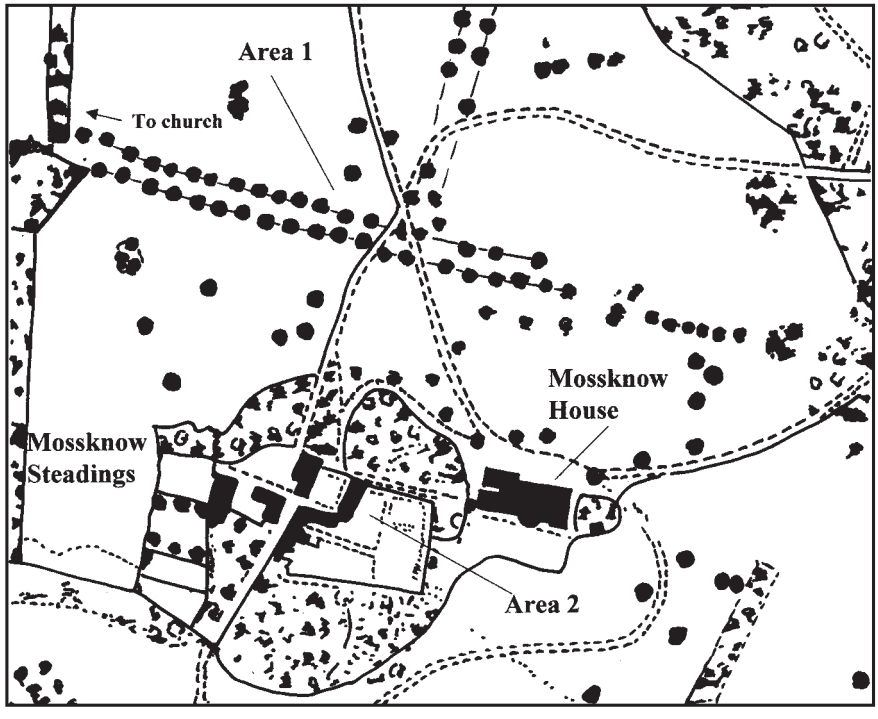

Figure 1. General site lay-out - based on O.S publication of 1859.

Survey Areas and instrumentation.

There were, as mentioned above, two survey areas, the first of which (Area 1) is situated about 100 metres north west of Mossknow House, on a flat platform bisected by a modern post and rail fence. Area 2 is located in the garden to the south west of the house, a flat area mostly given over to lawn. Both areas lie within fields used as pasture. The soils of this region are derived from Permian and Carboniferous sandstones and shales: the soils themselves are either brown forest soils with gleying or noncalcareous gleys, consistent with the waterlogging of the site. The two areas, respectively 0.6 ha and 0.4 ha were investigated by earth resistance survey. The survey grid was set out by *GSB Prospection* and tied into existing boundaries and walls using tapes. The tie-in information has been lodged with the Ann Hill archive. See fig. 1, *supra*, for approximate positions of areas 1 and 2.

The survey was carried out with a Geoscan RM15 resistance meter which measures the electrical resistance of the earth. The resistance is measured in Ohms and the calculated resistivity is indicated in Ohm-Metres. The resistance method is appropriate for area surveys and has a resolution of approximately 0.75m., although the nature of the overburden and underlying geology affect results - as do conditions of waterlogging which was frequent in some of the areas analysed at Mossknow.

General Considerations - Complicating factors

The survey was carried out in early December during a period of reasonably wet weather. The survey area was waterlogged with standing water present in some parts of Area 1. Area 2 was not

waterlogged but the soils were saturated. As resistance survey hinges on variations in soil conductivity, waterlogging may remove any contrast between a feature and the surrounding soil.

Following the complications noted in the above paragraph, the data, and the anomalies therein, are poorly defined. Given this limitation, a larger area needs to be surveyed so as to give a wider context in which to view the data and any patterns it may contain. However, the size of Area 2 was restricted by the boundaries of the garden in which it lay, allowing only the lawned area to be investigated

In Area 1, the survey did identify a selection of anomalies which could relate to the avenue of trees visible on the 1859 map. Despite being evident to an extent in the adjacent field, many of the trees have been removed and its precise location is unclear. Although the survey area was located by its proximity to the junction of the two existing roads, there is no guarantee that these should be in precisely the same position as those recorded in 1859 and by identifying this former landmark, it can be demonstrated that the survey was positioned in the most appropriate location.

Summary of Results

In Area 1, the survey predominately identified anomalies which could be related to features of natural or modern origin, such as field drains or waterlogged channels. There was no evidence for any structure having been present in this area at any time, although the line of the former avenue of trees does seem to have been located.

The survey undertaken in Area 2 identified anomalies which could be of an anthropogenic origin, with one high resistance area seen as potentially structural. The dimensions of the feature suggest that it may represent the foundations of the tower house, although no clear floor plan is evident and, therefore, the interpretation remains cautious. An alternative explanation is that these possible structural anomalies, together with the remaining responses in Area 2, represent the former layout of a garden. No categorical statements can be made without archaeological excavation being undertaken.

Results of Earth Resistance Survey

Area 1

1. The linear anomalies (A) appear to relate to an avenue of trees marked on the 1859 Ordnance Survey map, still partially visible in the field to the east of the survey area.
2. The low resistance area (B), although substantial, appears to be natural in origin and corresponds with the most waterlogged part of the site and to a visible depression in the field. The two linears (C) running along its length are thought to be modern field drains.
3. Three high resistance areas (D) appear to be natural and both (D_1) and (D_2) seem to relate to the presence of tree stumps in their localities. Again natural, (D_3) may indicate an area of slightly drier ground.
4. The high resistance anomaly (E) seems to correlate well with the edge of a platform-like area within the field. It is most likely that this is again natural in origin, the slope perhaps allowing more surface run off and thus giving a greater response. However, there has been a lot of recent landscaping within this field to create a motorcross track and it is possible that high resistance material could have been introduced in this area.

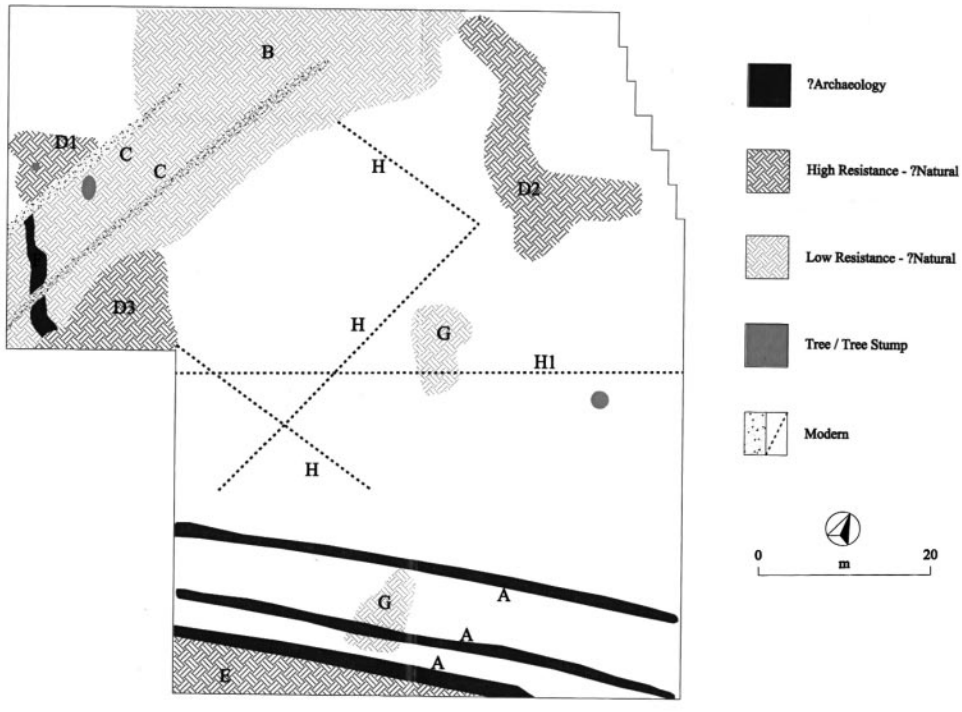

Figure 2. Plan of area 1.

5. The high resistance linear (F) runs across low resistance area (B) and is cut by linear (C). It is possible that this is archaeological but could also represent an earlier field drain or natural feature.

6. The low resistance anomalies (G) appear to be natural in origin and may relate to slight hollows in the ground which have greater water retention. These could indicate the former location of trees.

7. The linears (H) are fairly weak high resistance responses and again, their narrowness and regularity suggests that they may represent modern field drains. This is quite plausible in such a wet area. The anomaly (H_1) corresponds with a fence line.

Area 2

8. Anomaly (I) is visible on the ground as an extant earthwork and its position running outwards from the garden gateway indicates that it is some kind of path, although it is interesting that it does not respect the orientation of the present garden. The size of the responses obtained over it, in the region of 600Ω indicate that beneath the turf covering, a highly resistive material such as brick or stone must be present.

9. The high resistance anomalies (J) appear, broadly, to run parallel and perpendicular to (I) and hence may relate to it in some way, perhaps the layout of former paths or garden features. For this reason, they are tentatively viewed as possible archaeology. Immediately to the south of the survey area a stone drain and edging were visible and these could explain some part or all of anomaly (J).

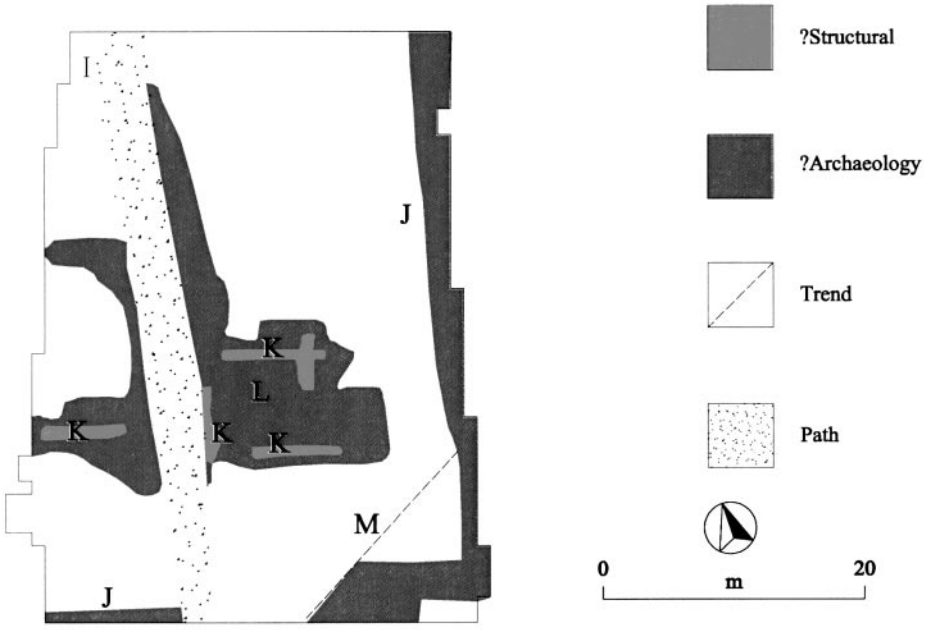

Figure 3. Plan of area 2.

10. The trends (K) suggests the presence of some sort of linear features amongst the generally high resistance area of (L). It is possible that these features indicate the existence of some kind of structure and the extent of the anomaly, 10 to 15m across, makes this explanation feasible. The nature of the response obtained is consistent with that found when a building has been demolished and the remaining rubble levelled off; a slightly raised area of ground was visible at this location.

11. The linears (K) measure approximately 1m across, slightly smaller than the 5ft (1.6m) recorded as the wall thickness of similar buildings in the area (such as the tower houses at Robgill, Bonshaw and Woodhouse)[6], although the walls here may have been robbed out. The three towers mentioned previously are reported to have had dimensions averaging 34 by 24 ft (10.4 by 7.6m) and certainly this suggests that the high resistance area (L) is large enough to have accommodated such a structure. A plan of Robgill also illustrates that any survey over a tower house may not reveal a simple rectilinear plan[7]. The possibility that anomalies (K) and (L) represent the location of the tower house can not be ignored although this interpretation must be cautious and archaeological excavation is required to give any definitive answer. Stone from the building has been reused in the general vicinity of this anomaly.

12. Anomalies (K) and (L) both seem to be cut by (I) indicating that this is a later feature. This would suggest that if (K) and (L) are some kind of structural feature, this must predate the present path (I).

6 National Monuments Record for Scotland (NMRS), Canmore database at www.rcahms.gov.uk .

7 See, for example, 'The Towerhouses of Kirtleside' by A M T Maxwell-Irving, these *Transactions*, III, Vol. LXXII, pp. 55-67.

13. The slight linear (M) gives a fairly weak response. Due to its straightness, it is possible that it is a modern drain but equally it could relate to (L) and (K) and perhaps represents a robbed out wall.

Conclusions.

The earth resistance survey carried out in Area 1 at Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick Fleming, does not appear to have identified any features consistent with the foundations of a tower house. Whilst this does not conclusively prove that it did not stand at the junction of the avenues of trees, this now seems unlikely. Although it is unusual to find a perfect plan of a building, especially in an area of abundant stone, one would expect to identity a large area of high resistance rubble, even if the foundations had been robbed out. Such an area has not been identified in this survey[8].

Area 2 yielded some evidence for the possible location of the tower house, with an area of high resistance (L) and several linear anomalies (K). Comparison with RCAHMS information on towers in the area indicates that (L) is large enough to represent the footprint of Old Mossknowe House and this would fit with Graham family tradition. However, the widths of (K) are perhaps too narrow to have been the foundations for this kind of building. Since a clear floor plan has not been revealed, no firm statements can be made as to whether this is the tower house. The remaining anomalies in this area seem to relate to a former garden layout, although, interestingly, these do not respect the present orientation of the garden wall. An alternative explanation for (L) and (K) is that they too were part of this former garden.

8 For future clarity it should be recognized that survey Area 1 does in fact lie to the west of the intersection, or focus, of the three avenues - the position originally suggested by Mercer.

From Auchencairn to the Glenkens and Portpatrick: The Journal of David Gibson, 1814-1843 by Innes Macleod. Old Galloway Papers, 3, 2003. 129pp, A5, colour-printed soft-cover with 4 internal colour illustrations. Available at £4.50 from a number of local bookshops - or direct from the author, £5.00 inc. p.& p., at Lower Glengorm, 14 Station Road, Biggar ML12 6JN.

David Gibson was born in Irvine in 1778. After an early life as a weaver he was recruited into the Baptist Scotch Intinerent Society as a lay missionary. His early experience lay mainly in central Ayrshire in the mining areas around Kilmarnock, Galston and the Cumnocks but by 1814 he was stationed in Girvan and intinerated throughout the south-western counties. In 1818 he took up lodgings in the little village of Auchencairn where, in 1822, a mission house was built for his use - and had attached to it a parish school. Until his death in 1853 he continued to itinerate from Auchencairn as a centre. We would know relatively little of Gibson's work except for two, inter-related, reasons – that he routinely kept journals of his work throughout the period and, secondly, by great good fortune extracts from these were made and preserved by Alexander Trotter (1835-1901). Trotter was a member of the Galloway family so well known for its four generations of medical activity. Gibson's Auchencairn years 1814 to 1853 included the period 1834-1853 during which two generations of the Trotter family were also resident.

The author has used the initial part of his volume to provide details of the life and times of Gibson himself; the Trotter family in Galloway and elsewhere; the development of Auchencairn as an economic community and various other aspects of life and work in Galloway in the first half of the 19th century. Trotter's diary extracts are reproduced over approximately 41 pages of the publication - and give an insight into Gibson's way of working throughout a period of major social, economic and religious change in Galloway.

The volume includes a number of appendices covering the work of the Missionary Society; the Bible Society at Rerwick; funeral expenses of John Cairns of Torr; lists of the moveable goods of Messrs Crosbie and McMurrie in 1745; an 1838 List of Subscribers (to the sum of £6.9.0) for a pony to be presented to Dr Robert Trotter; record of a Presentation to Mr James and Mr Robert Thomson in the Commercial Inn in 1850 and a number of extracts from Robert De B Trotter's well-known *Galloway Gossip* of 1901.

Once again Innes Macleod has to be congratulated upon producing a readable volume on an interesting aspect of Galloway's past and its people.

James Williams.

Kirkcudbright: An Alphabetic Guide to its History, written and compiled by David R Collin. The Stewartry Museum, Dumfries and Galloway Museums Service and Kirkcudbright Forum, 2003. 240 pp., A5, with numerous black and white illustrations, soft cover, Price £4.95. ISBN 09533907.

This volume is the result of many years work by the author within and around Kirkcudbright - the opening lines of his introduction capture the essence of the work- '… partly anthology, partly memories and partly tales of Kirkcudbight's past. It began as scribbled notes made when I was a child and has grown to incorporate information from a great variety of sources. My own inability to readily lay hands on information brought about the idea of putting everything into order…' The range is immense, under a contents listing of approximately ninety subject headings or 'mini-chapters' topics as wide ranging as Artists, Atkinson Place, Basil Warehouse, Rev. Thomas Blackwood, Brewery, Brick and Tile Works, Bridge, Broughton House,…Closes,… Creamery,… Fire Service,… Harbour,… Incorporated Trades,… Little Ross Island,… Madras,… Elspeth McEwen (the 17th century witch),… Pipe Band,… Soaperie Gardens,… Swimming,… War Memorial and to the end of the alphabet with … Williamson's Warehouse, Rev. Thomas Wylie and John Young. Whilst most of the subjects relate to the immediate environs of the town of Kirkcudbright itself there are a number of items which range further afield, such as electricity production at Tongland and the Dee downstream as far as Ross Island and its lighthouse at the outer reaches of the estuary. Each subject is treated in detail, usually including descriptive text, extracts from primary and secondary sources and typically well illustrated with an extended variety of images both historical and contemporary. Some of the early maps of the town, from the English spy's plan of 1566 to Gillone of 1790, Thomson of 1821 and John Wood's plan of 1843 have been reproduced. The people, trades and locations have been brought to light by extensive extracts from the early directories, census returns and other sources.

There are four appendices detailing Artists who have produced work in and around the town; a list of Provosts of Kirkcudbright from 1466-1975; Ships built from 1791-1817 and Ship-owners from 1825-1852. There is a substantial list of useful sources.

Although essentially laid out as alphabetic chapters, with fully supported cross-referencing, the volume is additionally served by a well constructed and effective index (21pp). The quality of the printing and the illustrations is excellent throughout. The author and his printers are to be congratulated. With an initial printing of 1000 copies already long gone the book has clearly reached a satisfied audience - for those with an interest in almost any of the varied aspects of the archaeology, history, art, folklore and people of Kirkcudbright this volume should be a more than useful addition to their shelves.

James Williams.

The People of Kirkcudbright in 1786 and 1788. The Visitation Lists of the Rev. Robert Muter, edited and with an introduction by Innes Macleod. The Stewartry Museum, Dumfries and Galloway Museums Service, 2002, 64 pp, soft cover. ISBN 09533907 4 8 Price £4.50 - also available by post from the Stewarty Museum for £5.00 including post/packing.

This excellent little booklet produced by the Dumfries and Galloway Museum Services describes in detail two catechismal examination lists prepared by the Revd. Robert Mutter in 1786 and 1788. The first of the lists covers those persons within the town of Kirkcudbright itself and that of 1788, covers those individuals living within the landward areas of the parish. At a later date, 1838, the lists came into the hands of William Johnston a local merchant and shipowner. From Johnston the notes passed through the hands of John Underwood, a later parish minister, and then John Commelin Mackenzie - all of whom appeared to have provided 'Additional Notes', abstracts and comments. The volume was acquired by the Stewarty Museum in May 1881 - and was one of the first acquisitions in the museum's archive collection.

The volume has been diligently edited for publication by our member Innes Macleod - one time director of Glasgow University's Extra Mural Classes for Galloway. An introduction provides an excellent overview describing the back-ground to the system of 18th century catechising; biographical information on the Revd Mutter and the other 'owning participants' and thereafter follows the texts themselves - fully annotated and collated with a supporting glossary and extensive notes on the individuals concerned. The lists themselves are fully indexed and the volume is supported by a number of excellent half-tone illustrations showing the cover of the original notebook, one of its internal pages demonstrating the method of presentation of the data, an engraving of the town in 1792 and a map of the town in 1790 extracted from Robert Heron's *An Eye draught of Kirkcudbright & parts adjacent*. The attractive colour-printed cover is decorated by a detail from Gillone's c.1790 *Plan of Kirkcudbright Castle and Yard together with adjoining subjects*.

For anyone with an interest in Kirkcudbright - whether from the point of view of genealogy, local history or social history - this little volume has much to recommend it.

James Williams.

Roman Artillery by Alan Wilkins. Shire Publications Ltd, September 2003. 64 pp., paperback. ISBN 0-7478-057-5X.

'Guid gear comes in sma bulk' is a term which can be applied to some of the diminutive books produced by Shire Publications. This is especially true in the case of Alan Wilkins' admirable book on 'Roman Artillery'. The author used to teach classics at Annan Academy, and Society members will recollect his excellent lecture on Roman Artillery some years ago.

Around 399BC Greek engineers working for Dionysius I of Syracuse probably developed the 'belly bow' which could greatly outrange the Scythian hand bow. Within 40 years winched bows could fire bolts and heavy stones.

Some time after this torsion catapults appear to have been invented by engineers working for Philip II of Macedon, and this type of artillery was adopted and developed by the Romans.

In the First Punic War the Romans were forced to acquire artillery with the help of Greek engineers, and in the later Punic wars both sides made extensive use of artillery.

Julius Caesar's landing in Britain in 55BC was made possible by the use of slings and catapults, while in the famous siege of Vercingetorix's hillfort of Alesia in Gaul tower mounted artillery played a major part in Caesar's success (52BC)

The Claudian invasion of Britain in AD43 included the capture of the great hillfort of Maiden Castle in Dorset and the nearby hillfort of Hod Hill. At Maiden Castle Sir Mortimer Wheeler's excavation unearthed the skeleton of a defender with a Roman bolt in his spine, and Sir Ian Richmond's work at Hod Hill revealed the astonishing accuracy of the Roman bolt shooter. Accounts of the sieges of the Gallic hillfort of Avaricum (52BC) and of Leptis Magna in Africa (46BC) underlined the accuracy of the scorpio or bolt shooter.

The Roman war against the Jews involved the successful use of great stone throwers in the siege of Jotapata (AD69) Jerusalem (AD70) and the rock fortress of Masada (AD73). At Jerusalem the great white stones were too easily seen by the defenders who were therefore able to take avoiding actions. The Romans' answer was to paint the stones black.

The only surviving detailed Roman battle plan is that of Flavius Arrianus, governor of Cappadocia. In AD 134 he defeated an invading army of Scythian Alani who were crushed by massed weapons of destruction from three sides. Thousands of arrows, bolts, stones and spears created an 'indescribable volume of missiles'.

Reference is made to the evidence of Roman stone throwers being used in our part of the world at Burnswark, Shan Castle in Glencairn, Halton Chesters, Risingham and High Rochester. On page 64 there is a fine aerial photograph of Burnswark by the late Professor Kenneth St. Joseph.

Substantial parts of the book describe the various types of Roman artillery of all sizes in great and intricate detail. The author is uniquely qualified to do this, being a Cambridge classics graduate and former field assistant to the late Sir Ian Richmond. During his National Service he was an officer in the Royal Artillery. As a result he is able to reinterpret the classical sources and to identify and analyse all the archaeological evidence from all over the former Roman Empire. In addition his great skills as a craftsman have enabled him to build superb reconstructions of various types of Roman artillery. This experimental archaeology has been recognised by the BBC and the author has played a leading role in several television programmes on Roman artillery.

A splendid little book by an author who has the material to write a much longer work of great scholarship.

John H.D.Gair.

Minute by Minute, 300 years of Lochmaben History, by John B Wilson, M D.
Copies available in local Libraries.
For several decades Dr Jack Wilson, a past president of the Society, has been well known for his various publications on the history of his adopted town, Lochmaben.

This latest volume is based on a re-examination of the minutes of Lochmaben Town Council which run from 1612 to 1974, although this study ends in the year 1896. Two additional factors were of value in the preparation of this work: the transcription of the first volume of the minutes starting in 1612 and its publication by the Scottish Records Society, and the discovery of a box of Lochmaben documents in 1996 in an auction sale.

The first volume (1612-1708) reveals the dominance of the Johnstone family in the Town Council. A list of Johnstone provosts includes the Earl of Hartfell and the Marquis of Annandale although, in the absence of the peers, the chair was usually taken by Johnstone of Elshieshiels. The council was self perpetuating, the election taking place each September with two councillors being replaced each year. The town councils of course provided a valuable indirect power base for the selection of the Member of Parliament.

Several colourful court cases are recorded in this volume, the most persistent offender being John Carruthers whose criminal record began in 1642 and appears to have ended in 1670. A picture emerges of a very small, impoverished royal burgh which could not even pay one shilling a year to the Convention of Royal Burghs for a period of fifteen years. The economy was essentially a subsistence one, although various local trades are recorded in the documents.

The first reference to the riding of the marches of the burgh appears in 1664. The draining of the Grummel Loch was proposed in 1707 and seems to have been largely accomplished by 1714 in order to provide more land for rouping by the council. Problems with this site are still in the news in the 21st century.

Volume 2 of the minutes (1718-1730) refers to the building of the present town hall in 1723 (although it was added to and altered in 1743 and 1877). This replaced an earlier tollbooth which had proved to be unsatisfactory.

In 1721 Sir William Johnstone of Westerhall was voted out of the Town Council while the Marquis of Annandale was elected provost. Westerhall took the dispute to the Convention of Royal Burghs and appears to have won his case in the end for, on the death of the Marquis in 1730, he was elected provost. The cause of the ill feeling between the Marquis and Westerhall is not revealed.

The next volume (1731-1763) recorded another council dispute involving Westerhall who objected to how elections in 1731, 1732 and 1733 were carried out. In September 1734 he was purged from the council but he returned as provost in 1740 and seems to have engineered the removal of non-resident councillors between 1742 and 1744.

The sale of feus of the commonty mentioned in volume 3 continued in volume 4 (1764-1790) and reflected growing concern about burgh finances. In volume 6 (from 1804) the near bankruptcy of the Lochmaben Town Council is recorded in 1821, 1822 and 1823, but by 1844 almost all debts had been paid. Between 1835 and 1859 the council strove to protect the burgh's interests in the Kirk and Castle Lochs.

This little book gives a most valuable and often entertaining insight into the affairs of a small royal burgh from the early 1600s to the late 19th century.

John H D Gair

Patrick Crichton M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

Patrick Crichton was born in the Wirral, his parents being from Scotland. After school at Moffat and Bryanston in Dorset, he had a gap year as a deck boy on the Blue Funnel liner 'Philoctetes' sailing to Korea and Japan. New College, Oxford followed, and after graduating in P.P.E., he joined the Royal Navy, serving on a destroyer in the Atlantic, and then as a navigating officer on motor torpedo boats. Before D-day his vessel carried out the reconnaissance of various French beaches. On D-day itself he navigated the leading boat to Juno beach with the Canadian General in charge of that area on board. Six weeks later his ship was mined and Patrick suffered a shattered knee and a double fracture of the spine.

After months in hospital and marriage to Barbara, he joined the Colonial Service. He became a district officer and a magistrate in Kenya and experienced six difficult months in the area around Mount Kenya during the Mau Mau emergency. During his later years in Kenya he was moved to Nairobi and became Deputy Director of Personnel during the period leading up to independence. He remained in this post until a year after independence and then returned to Britain after eighteen years in Kenya.

He now joined the Personnel Department of Guinness Overseas Ltd., and remained with this company for eleven years. Early retirement brought him to Tobermory, but soon afterwards he accepted the invitation to become Comptroller at Mount Stuart for the Marquis of Bute. Final retirement was followed by the move to Tinwald in 1988 for family reasons.

Patrick's interests were many and varied, including sailing, golf, music, birdwatching, scouting and the Church. He was Colony Commissioner for Scouting in Kenya, and founded the first multi-racial Sea Scout troop which sailed on Nairobi Dam. He was also County Commissioner for Scouting in Buckinghamshire for three years. In Nairobi he served as an elder of St Andrews Church, and much later he was an elder of Tinwald Church. Patrick also played a very active part in the campaign to bring a University to the South of Scotland and, when this was successful, he fervently hoped that more and more links would be formed between the Crichton Campus universities and the local community.

Of particular interest to the members of our Society were his antiquarian and his historical interests. when in Bute he was a member of the local natural history and archaeological society, and he helped to rescue the galley 'Guildford' from a ruinous boat house on the island. This vessel is now displayed in the Linthouse Building of the Scottish Maritime Museum at Irvine, another of Patrick's many interests. A fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, he also joined our Society when he lived at Tinwald, and served as a memorable President between October 1998 and October 2001. Many of us remember with great pleasure his Presidential Address 'From Pax Romana to Pax Britannica: Policing the Frontier', which compared the border problems of the Romans in Britain and the similar difficulties of the British in their East Africa colonies and protectorates. Patrick instigated the presentation of a set of our *Transactions* and of *Kirkpatrick Fleming: An Anatomy of a Parish* to Glasgow University at the Crichton Campus. He also represented our Society on the committee of the Dig History organisation, for which he served as Treasurer.

Patrick was erudite, energetic and endowed with a sometime anarchic but never unkind sense of humour. It was not surprising that his brother, the late Charles Crichton, was the Director of such films as *The Lavendar Hill Mob* and *A Fish Called Wanda*. Even during his last illness Patrick's fertile mind was full of ideas and suggestions.

Partick Crichton died in April 2003 at the age of 82, leaving his wife, two sons and their wives and two grandchildren.

John H.D. Gair

3rd October 2003

David Cowley, RCAHMS:
The Archaeological Survey of Dundrennan Range, Kirkcudbright

The Dundrennan Range was established in 1942. The RCAHMS, in partnership with the Ministry of Defence, has recently undertaken a baseline archaeological survey of the range to enhance the historic component of a Land Management Plan.

The survey has added significantly to the body of data relating to military history, including, as it does, material from World War Two. The functional parts of the Range include firing positions connected by a tank road and targets and bunkers scattered across an 'impact zone'. Agricultural activity did not cease altogether on the site but the land has generally been protected from the improvements and changes in agricultural methods which have transformed much of rural lowlands over the last 50 years and the Range is essentially a fossilised landscape of small fields , scattered plantations and trackways.

The survey, including all relict military features as well as the more traditional archaeological monuments, has resulted in 193 sites being added to the National Monuments Record.

17th October 2003

Chris Miles, Area Manager, Scottish Natural Heritage:
An Update of Plant Recording in Dumfriesshire

Botanical recording in Dumfriesshire started with the Watsonian system of 1852, through the work done by Scott-Elliot right to the more recent recorders including Milne Redhead, Stuart and Mary Martin and Olga Stewart. Much of the work done during this period has been published in the *Transactions*.

The proposed publication of the Atlas of British Flora re-stimulated interest in botanical recording and a comprehensive survey of all wild flowers in Britain and Ireland, based on 10 km squares was carried out. This project also recorded plants listed in previous surveys over three time periods, before 1970, between 1970 and 1987, after 1987. In 1999, 416 million records were produced and 4079 taxa recorded, the richest 10 km squares yielding over 1000 taxa. The Southern Uplands are acknowledged as an area generally not particularly botanically rich. Dumfriesshire contained 30 10km squares, the number of taxa found ranging from 257 in an area of Sanquhar moss to 450 in an area on the Solway coast.

7th November 2003

Alastair Durie, Department of History, University of Glasgow:
Moffat for Health? A Spa Town in Victorian Times

The treatment by water therapies of various medical conditions has a long tradition, back to the springs, baths and healing wells of Roman and medieval times. By the 17th century spas, or *sanitas per aqua*, were to be found in every European country, and some became highly successful in terms of attracting a high spending clientele for a season of taking the waters. Scotland had a number of long established spas, mostly either sulphur or iron, including those at Pannanich (near Ballater), Pitkethy at Bridge of Earn, Peterhead, Bridge of Allan and Duns, but despite authentication by chemical analysis, and the efforts of local landowners, they faded in Victorian times. By contrast Moffat and Strathpeffer did reasonably well, even though they were not in the first rank; unlike Baden Baden or Vichy they could not attract royalty, nor the tens of thousands of well-heeled visitors which made those health spas so prosperous. Moffat drew in a summer population to its hotels, many large houses and lodgings, outnumbering the residents, with a thirst for the wells and an appetite for walks, drives and exercise.The hydro, which opened in 1878, added another dimension to the locality's hydrotherapeutic provision; reasonably successful till the First World War, it was taken over by an evacuated school and then the military for a hospital. Renovated in 1919, it burnt to the ground in 1921 in what seems to have been a genuine accident, although the owners had been looking to sell it on. Moffat had many virtues, but was never going to make the top drawer as a spa for cultural as much as climatic reasons.

21st November 2003
Frances Wilkins:
Robert Douglas, 'Collector' of Customs and Master Smuggler

Robert Douglas of Fingland married Margaret Corbet, daughter of a Glasgow merchant. He obtained credit on the Isle of Man and contraband purchased there was smuggled into Scotland. As customs surveyor in Glasgow, Douglas provided paperwork to legalise any goods seized. He lost his post. A court case on the Island for debt was interrupted when Douglas joined the Jacobite cause, carrying letters from the Earl of Mar to England and leading a troop of horse under the Earl of Derwentwater. Captured at the battle of Preston, he escaped and continued his involvement in the smuggling trade from Virginia.

5th December 2003 – **THE CORMACK LECTURE**
Fraser Hunter:
Early Celtic Art In South-West Scotland: Its Origin And Purpose

The first Cormack Memorial lecture considered the topic of early Celtic art. The south-west is rich in Celtic art objects, and the lecturer attempted to examine them from a social rather than an artistic perspective, looking at the people behind the art and their motives for commissioning and using it. The period (c. 400 BC – AD 200) can be divided into two. From the earlier phase (c. 400 – 1 BC) come a small number of high-quality objects, either imports or types which drew on widespread international styles. The best example is the Torrs 'chamfron', in a style found across Britain and Ireland which harks back to Continental traditions. The people using this kind of metalwork were conspicuously signalling their links to wider international networks, showing how well-connected they were. This is one of the key social aspects behind the phenomenon of 'the Celts' – different elite groups in different regions sharing particular styles to mark these wider affiliations.

In the later phase (c. AD 1-200) this use of exotic contacts to mark out wider connections continued, as in the enigmatic hoard from Balmaclellan with its southern English connections. However two points make this phase stand out from what went before: the development of regional rather than international styles; and the explosion in quantity. Artisans in the south-west were making objects in a distinctive 'central British' style shared from the Forth to the Humber. It was argued that the stimulus for this was the challenges posed by the proximity and presence of the Romans: anthropological case-studies suggest that in such changing times societies often pull together and create conspicuous markers of their identity, to stand out and be distinctive. The wider background was also examined: there was a general tendency to use more jewellery in the period from c. 200 BC – AD 200, indicating a generally greater concern with marking people's identity, status, age, sex and so on. In this climate, the use of art to mark out regional and social identity would be seen as appropriate.

The situation was further complicated by the establishment of the Roman frontier. Local styles of metalwork were adopted in the forts and civil settlements of the frontier. This was linked to a general Roman adaptiveness to local circumstances, with the development of a distinctive 'frontier culture' mingling traits from Roman and local societies.

Finally the question of why so much fine metalwork has survived was addressed. It was argued that this was due to belief systems which involved the sacrifice of precious items, such as prestige metalwork, in places like rivers, lochs and peat bogs. However this shows considerable regional variation. For instance, groups in Wigtownshire, while participating in a separate long-lived tradition of making offerings of vessels (presumably with food or liquid contents) in peat bogs, did not make offerings of prestige metalwork. Different parts of the south-west have different histories in the Iron Age, and this affects the evidence we have to study.

It was hoped that the lecture provided some insights, however speculative, into the people behind these masterpieces of Celtic art, allowing the objects to be seen as powerful and active things within contemporary society. In offering this as the first Cormack Memorial lecture, it was hoped it fitted with the ethos which Bill Cormack brought to his own work. He was a man with a nose for a good story, and an amazing ability to ferret out new information and weave it into a wider picture. The lecture was offered as part-payment of the speaker's tremendous personal debt to Bill Cormack, and a tribute to a fine scholar and a fine man.

16th January 2004
Derek Hextall, Kirkconnel Parish Heritage Society:
Kirkconnel Parish Heritage Society

Kirkconnel Parish Heritage Society was set up in 1997 and continues to be run by a group of 8 volunteer Board Members. The Society employs 3 full-time members of staff, an archivist/ranger, a countryside ranger and a development officer. Over £250,000 in grants has been drawn into the area in the past 2 years. These grants have been awarded from the Heritage Lottery Fund, Dumfries and Galloway Council, Scottish Executive Rural Challenge Fund, The Coalfields Regeneration Trust and Scottish Natural Heritage, without whose help none of the projects could have been developed.

The Society has developed several projects to mark the vast heritage of the parish. Cairn School, Kirkconnel Junior School, convenanter sites at Friarminnan and Blackgannoch have all been commemorated with memorial walls.The Miners' Cairn at the ancient kirkyard was rebuilt, St Conal's Well was developed and St Conal's Cross protected from cattle. An area at the rear of the Society's premises has been renovated into an area filled with implements that depict the village's past industries of mining and farming.

The Society hopes to develop future projects as funding becomes available. The next venture is to hopefully conserve, record and protect an old Kirkyard which formed the foundations for Christianity in Upper Nithsdale and is in danger of being lost if not preserved now.

6th February 2004
Stan Tanner, Planning and Environment Forester, Forest Enterprise:
Forestry and Ecology

Planning: Forest Enterprise manage the Forestry Commission estate to create attractive productive woodland and manage them for people and financial return. Modern forest design is thinking ahead with multiple objectives, consulting, analysing options and gaining approval.

Practice: Ecological interest on our estate is prioritised by Local Biodiversity Action Plans and Dumfries and Galloway's Species Action Plans. This is done through the forest design process and aided by supportive actions through partnerships for: 5 priority species - night jar, black grouse, water vole, bats and red squirrels; 10 other species - adder, hairy dragonfly, small pearl-bordered fritillary, pearl-bordered fritillary, pine marten, badger, goshawk, buzzard, peregrine falcon and osprey; 2 habitat types - ancient woodlands with plantations and raised bogs.

Partnerships: Community groups: Dalbeattie, Cairnhead, Ae. External agencies/companies: European Union, Scottish Power (Rural Care and Harestanes Windfarm development), Scottish Natural Heritage, Seven Stanes, Mammal Society, Butterfly Conservation, RSPB and Scottish Wildlife Trust.

20th February 2004
Ian Gow, Senior Curator, National Trust for Scotland:
Recent Developments at Threave

The Gordon family, Liverpool merchants, with North-East Scotland connections, moved to the area in 1870 and, after renting accommodation, built Threave House. The Gordons were much influenced by the Scottish Baronial style and commissioned the Edinburgh architects Peddie and Kinnear to produce the design which they based on an original plan by William Burn. Although a modest house, not a major estate centre, Threave contains a remarkable triple arcade staircase.

When taken over by the National Trust the house contained a mixture of 18th century antiques collected by Kitty Gordon in the late 19th century and furniture made by a local Castle Douglas firm. The best of the antiques were dispersed to other Trust properties in the 1950s when the gardening school was established but these are now being returned to Threave.

5th March 2004
Members' Night
Mrs M Williams: Art Therapy at the Crichton Royal Infirmary

The term 'Art Therapy' did not come into use as a term in connection with the treatment of mentally ill patients till the 1940s but was effectively introduced to the Crichton in 1839 by Dr William Brown, the first Superintendent. A considerable archive of original patients' work still survives.

Mr M Taylor: Postcard Collecting

Postcards soon acquire historical value and this was well exemplified by the range of old and modern postcards used to illustrate this point.

Friday 19th March 2004
Mr Nick Chisholm, Environmental Manager, The River Annan District Salmon Fishery Board
River Management

The River Annan is unaffected by hydro-electric power schemes, unlike so many Highland rivers, and is still a natural river with natural waterflows. . The most dramatic losses for salmon occur in the sea where salmon spend over half their lives, currently only 5-10% return from the sea compared to about 40% in the 1960/1970s.

Commonly used management techniques include: limited predator control; bailiffing, to control the illegal removal of fish and identify problem areas; stocking, although the river Annan does not have a hatchery to stock the river; removal/creation of barriers; habitat improvement, which can also benefit other species of wildlife; catch and release; doing nothing - interfering with an ecosystem can run the risk of degrading it.

27th March 2004
Alastair Dodds, National Museums of Scotland:
The Tongland Engineering Works

The factory was built to a ferro-concrete design similar to that at Heathhall, Dumfries, itself based on Ford factory designs which allowed the creation of large, well-lit open spaces.

Manufacturing started in 1917. The first female engineers were trained in Glasgow and further recruitment, advertised as 'a new career for women', was originally directed towards women between the ages of 20 to 30. The Works were initially intended to produce engine components but came to produce whole engines, for example the Galloway Adriatic and Atlantic engines. The factory wound down at the end of the war then orders came in for tractor engines, agricultural implements and finally 2 ton Guy lorries.

A new company was formed in 1920 to produce a light, cheap car. The car produced was a copy of the Fiat 501, was called the Galloway, and production started in January 1921. A bathing/swimming pool was created for the staff and a tennis court on the roof of the building. Only 400 cars were built here and none are known to have survived. Production ceased at Tongland in 1922 but continued at Dumfries through 1923 and 1924 and the car evolved into a four seater.

The factory was taken over by Scottish Artificial Silks in 1927 to produce rayon and many women workers were still involved. Further research is needed for the later history of the works, but it was used to make parachutes during the Second World War, was then purchased for egg production, at which time the large windows were bricked up, and is currently owned by Galloway Boats and Mouldings.

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Records of the Western Marches, Vol. I, 'Edgar's History of Dumfries, 1746', with illustrations and ten pedigree charts, edited by R.C.Reid, 1916 *.

Records of the Western Marches, Vol II, 'The Bell Family in Dumfriesshire', by James Steuart, W.S., 1932.* (for reprint see Reviews in Vol 75)

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Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire - an Anatomy of a Parish in south-west Scotland, by Roger Mercer and others, Hardback*. Reprint in laminated soft cover, 1997. This publication was funded by the Ann Hill Research Fund - see inside back cover for details of price and availability.

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