

Transactions
of the
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History
and
Antiquarian Society



LI 1975

Transactions
of the
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History
and
Antiquarian Society

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME LI

Editors

A. E. TRUCKELL and W. F. CORMACK, FF.S.A.Scot.

DUMFRIES

Published by the Council of the Society

1975

OFFICE - BEARERS 1973 - 74

Hon. President

Mr JAMES BANKS, B.Sc.

Hon. Vice-Presidents

Mr R. J. LITTLE, Mr H. McA. RUSSELL, Mr J. WILLIAMS and Mr L. MASTERS.

Fellows of the Society

Sir ARTHUR B. DUNCAN, B.A.; D. CUNNINGHAM, M.A.; Dr J. HARPER, M.B.E.;
Mrs M. D. McLEAN; Major-General JAMES SCOTT-ELLIOT, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.;
Mr J. D. STUART MARTIN, B.Sc.; and Mr JAMES ROBERTSON, B.Sc., O.B.E.,
J.P., F.I.C.E.

Hon. Secretary

Mrs P. G. WILLIAMS. Hillis Tower, Lochfoot, by Dumfries, assisted by Mr JAMES
WILLIAMS (Tel. Lochfoot 352).

Hon. Treasurer

Mr A. ARCHIBALD, Eriskay, St Anne's Road, Dumfries.

Hon. Editors of Transactions

Mr A. E. TRUCKELL, Burgh Museum, Dumfries; and Mr W. F. CORMACK, Royal
Bank Buildings, Lockerbie.

Hon. Librarian

Mr D. DONALDSON, Ewart Library, Dumfries.

Hon. Assistant Librarian

Mr JAMES WILLIAMS, Hillis Tower, Lochfoot, by Dumfries.

Hon. Curator

Mr A. E. TRUCKELL, Burgh Museum, Dumfries.

Members of Council

Mr A. W. WILSON, Miss B. GERDES, Mr G. ANDERSON, Mr R. McEWEN, Mr J. E.
CHINNOCK, Mrs C. GAIR, Mrs A. F. HARRIS, Mr A. JOHNSTON, Miss C. MATHE-
SON, Mr J. KINGAN, Mr R. SPILLING, and Mrs W. ROBERTSON.

OFFICE - BEARERS 1974 - 75

Hon. President

Mr A. E. TRUCKELL, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., F.M.A.

Hon. Vice-Presidents

Mr H. McA. RUSSELL, Mr J. WILLIAMS, Mr L. MASTERS and Miss B. GERDES.

Fellows of the Society

Sir ARTHUR DUNCAN, B.A.; Mr D. CUNNINGHAM, M.A.; Dr J. HARPER, M.B.E.; Mrs M. D. McLEAN; Major-General J. SCOTT-ELLIOT, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.; Mr J. D. STUART MARTIN, B.Sc.; Mr JAMES ROBERTSON, B.Sc., O.B.E., J.P., F.I.C.E.; and Mr JAMES BANKS, B.Sc.

Hon. Secretary

Mrs E. ADAMSON, 39 Roberts Crescent, Dumfries, assisted by Mr D. ADAMSON (Telephone 2930).

Hon. Treasurer

Mr A. ARCHIBALD, Eriskay, St Anne's Road, Dumfries *

Hon. Librarian

Mr D. DONALDSON, Ewart Library, Dumfries.

Hon. Assistant Librarian

Mr JAMES WILLIAMS, Hillis Tower, Lochfoot, by Dumfries.

Hon. Editors of Transactions

Mr A. E. TRUCKELL, Burgh Museum, Dumfries. and Mr W. F. CORMACK, Royal Bank Buildings, Lockerbie.

Hon. Curator

Mr A. E. TRUCKELL, Burgh Museum, Dumfries.

Members of Council

Mr G. ANDERSON, Mr R. McEWEIN, Mr J. E. CHINNOCK, Mrs A. F. HARRIS, Mr A. JOHNSTON, Miss C. MATHESON, Mr J. KINGAN, Mr R. SPILLING, Mrs W. ROBERTSON, Mr D. ADAMSON, Mr R. LITTLE, and Mr M. ANSELL.

* For Hon Treasurer at date of publication see Editorial.

Contents

	PAGE
The Vegetation and Land Use History of Torrs Warren, Wigtownshire, by E. T. Idle and Joanna Martin	1
Notes on a Short-Tailed Vole Plague at Eskdalemuir, Dumfriesshire, by J. Mitchell, C. Placido and R. Rose	11
Unpublished Finds from Luce Sands, Wigtownshire, by Stephen H. Penney, B.A.	14
Excavations at Dinwoodiegreen, Annandale, by Miss K. S. Hodgson, F.S.A., assisted by W. F. Cormack, F.S.A.Scot.	18
An Architectural Fragment from Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire, by James Williams, F.S.A.Scot.	29
The Re-Discovery of a Cross from Kirkinner, by James Williams, F.S.A.Scot., F.R.S.A.I.	32
Border Parish Clerkships, by Denis McKay, M.A., Ph.D.	40
Unpublished Witchcraft Trials, by A. E. Truckell	48
The Solway Smugglers and the Customs Port at Dumfries, by W. A. J. Prevost	59
The Testament of John Ewart in Lochanhead, Kirkpatrick Juxta, by James Williams, F.S.A.Scot., F.R.S.A.I.	68
Minutes of the Presbytery of Lochmaben 1701-1822, by J. B. Wilson, M.D. ...	71
Moffat and Beattock Inn, Two Mail-Coach Stages, by W. A. J. Prevost ...	76

EDITORIAL

Contributions are invited on the Natural History, Antiquities, Archaeology or Geology of South-West Scotland or the Solway Basin and preference is always given to original work on local subjects. It may also be possible to provide space for Industrial Archaeology. Intending contributors should, in the first instance, apply to the Editors for "Instructions to Contributors." Each contributor has seen a proof of his paper and neither the Editors nor the Society hold themselves responsible for the accuracy of scientific, historical or personal information.

Presentations and Exhibitions should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, Mrs Eva Adamson, 39 Roberts Crescent, Dumfries, and exchanges to the Hon. Librarian, Ewart Library, Dumfries. Enquiries regarding purchase of Transactions should be made to the Assistant Hon. Librarian, Mr J. Williams, Tranzay Villa, Maxwell Street, Dumfries. New members are invited to purchase back numbers—see rear cover—which, and also off-prints of individual articles may be available from the Assistant Librarian. For Prof. Robertson's "Birrens," also see rear cover. Payment of subscriptions should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Miss Morag Donald, Roshven, 1 Suffolkhill Avenue, Dumfries (Tel. 5694) who will be pleased to arrange Bonds of Covenant, which can materially increase the income of the Society without, generally, any additional cost to the member. The attention of Members and friends is drawn to the important Capital Transfer Tax and Capital Gains Tax concessions which are conferred on individuals by the Finance Act 1972, inasmuch as bequests to or transfers of shares to the Society are exempt from these taxes.

The illustration on the front cover is of the Wamphray Grave Slab from the article, "The Early Church in Dumfriesshire," by the late W. G. Collingwood, in Volume XII (1924-25) of these Transactions.

This Volume is made with the assistance of a generous Carnegie Grant.

THE VEGETATION AND LAND USE HISTORY OF TORRS WARREN, WIGTOWNSHIRE

By E. T. Idle and Joanna Martin,
Nature Conservancy Council

Introduction

The area known as Torrs Warren is a sand dune complex at the head of Luce Bay in Wigtownshire (grid reference NX 150550). It occupies the southern edge of the low isthmus of land between the Rhins and Machars of Galloway separating Loch Ryan and Luce Bay (see Fig. 1). The area is roughly rectangular in shape and tapers southwestwards. It is bounded to the south by the sea, to the north by the A715, and to the west and east by the Clayshant and Piltanton Burns respectively (see Fig. 2). Covering some 1200 hectares, Torrs Warren is the largest area of blown sand in South-West Scotland and the most significant on the west coast of Britain between north Lancashire and the Outer Hebrides. In 1955 it was notified by the Nature Conservancy as a Site of Special Scientific

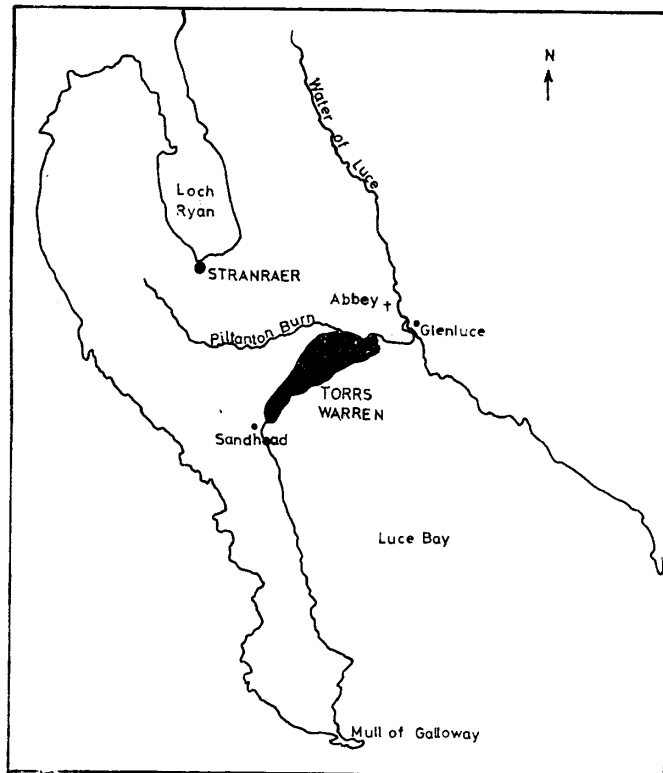


Fig. 1

Interest under Section 23 of the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act (1949). Since then survey has revealed a complex pattern of high and low sand dunes and extensive wet areas, with a range of botanical habitats from dry heath to mesotrophic fen.

The aim of this study is to bring together existing information on the site and to use it to interpret the present day topographic and botanical features. Sources of information were maps, legal and historical documents, archaeological papers and persons with local knowledge of the Warren. Secondary and less reliable sources were local histories, gazeteers and travellers' descriptions.

Physical Structure and Climate

Torrs Warren is made up of three main topographic zones. The first is a broad band of high dunes occupying about half of the total area of the site and lying alongside the A715 and the Piltanton Burn. These dunes reach a height of 50 ft. but show no clear ridges. They are much dissected by the wind and have several very large "blowouts" or wind-eroded hollows, most of which are orientated normally to the coast, i.e. in line with wind direction. The blowouts seem to lie in lines which converge towards the narrow south-western end of the site at Clayshant. At the north-eastern end the high dunes occupy most of the area between the A715 and the coastal dune ridges. The high dunes, particularly those near the A715, are probably the oldest within the system as a whole. Humus horizons indicating former land surfaces are often exposed in the sides of the blowouts (Smith 1903) and flints and iron slag occur at levels considerably below the crest height of the dunes.

The second topographic zone is the series of dune ridges which runs adjacent to and parallel with the shore. These ridges show the well-known features of embryonic dunes, foredunes and "grey" dunes and are lower and more recent in origin than the high dune zone further inland. At the north-eastern end the coastal dune ridge is backed by a large area of blowout, known as the Devil's Meal Chest, which merges with the high dune zone further inland. The south-western end of the dune ridges is interrupted by a shallow embayment around the mouth of the Clayshant Burn. This small area is occupied by a line of brackish pools (NX 120533) which probably arose during the 17th or 18th centuries as a result of the diversion of the Clayshant Burn. The build up of a new dune ridge is now in the process of isolating these pools from occasional inundation by the sea.

The third topographic zone occupies the area between the high dunes and the coastal dune ridges. It is an area of relatively level ground showing many signs of drainage, former cultivation and field boundaries. The March Burn running across the dunes probably divides lands formerly farmed from High Torrs and Clayshant.

The materials which make up the dune system are mainly siliceous and have accumulated by windblow from fluvio-glacial and marine beach deposits. Towards the east of the site there is a small amount of shell sand.

The climate of the area is mild and relatively dry. Rainfall amounts to 40 inches (1016 mm.) a year. Wind direction is variable but the prevailing wind is westerly. Considerable speeds are recorded from other quarters so that though sand transport is most likely to be from the south and west there is movement within the dune system itself. The water of Luce Bay circulates clockwise and longshore drift is eastwards. Thus the beach deposits on the western shore particularly near Sandhead, are being eroded and the material is deposited along the northern shore and at the eastern end of the Warren diverting the mouth of the Piltanton Burn.

Vegetation and Flora

The vegetation of Torrs Warren is generally acidic but with locally richer areas as in the more calcareous dunes to the east, and the fen vegetation of the wetter sites. The embryonic dunes running parallel to the shore are colonised first by scattered plants of *Rumex crispus*, *Tripleurospermum maritimum*, *Honkenya peploides* and *Atriplex laciniata*, which give way a little higher up the shore to a ridge of dune grassland (foredune) dominated by *Agropyron junceforme*. The foredune is backed by a low trough and a higher dune covered with dune grass-

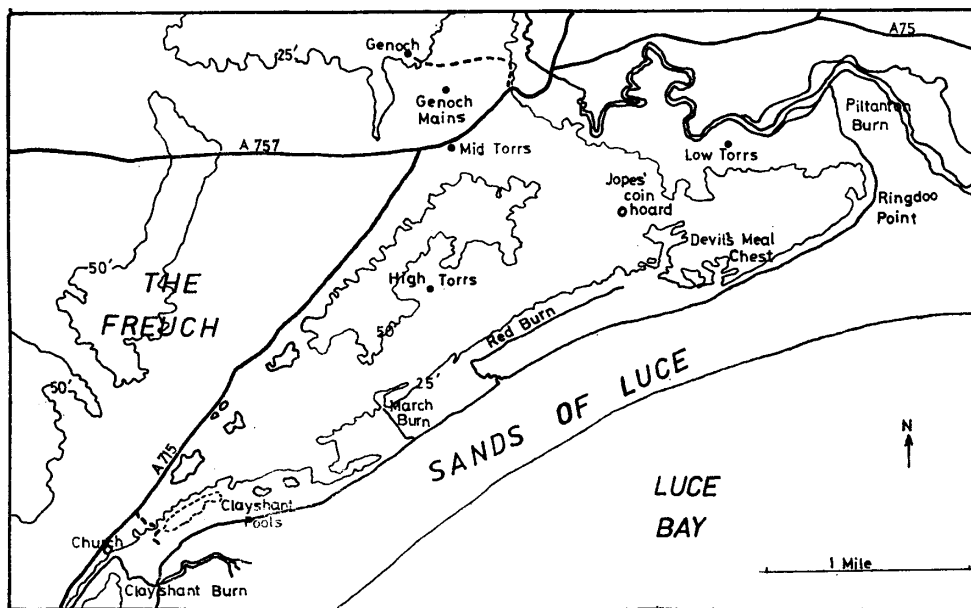


Fig. 2

land dominated by *Arrhenatherum elatius* and later *Ammophila arenaria*. The series of dunes is broader in the south-west of the site than the north-east. The high dunes to the north and east of the site are a mosaic of dune heath, dune grassland and blowout. The dune heath vegetation is dominated by *Calluna*

vulgaris with *Erica cinerea*, sometimes mixed with apparently thriving *Ammophila arenaria*. *Vaccinium myrtillus* is characteristically absent but there are small localised patches of *Empetrum nigrum*. This vegetation corresponds to one of the "dune heath" variants of Gimingham's *Calluna-Erica cinerea* heaths (1962). Closely related to this is the *Calluna-Peltigera polydactyla* sociation described by Thorpe (1972). Dune grassland is inter-mixed with dune heath and is dominated by variable amounts of *Festuca rubra* and *Ammophila arenaria*. The sides of the dune slacks or blowouts are either bare sand or may be colonised by actively growing *Ammophila arenaria* even among the high dunes well back from the shore. The bottoms of the slacks and blowouts are colonised by *Salix repens* and *Juncus effusus* with *Littorella uniflora*, *Drosera rotundifolia* and *Juncus inflexus* in the wetter sites. In the short swards low down in the blowouts *Viola tricolor* var. *curtsii*, *Calluna vulgaris*, *Filago minima* and *Teesdalia nudicaulis* are commonly found. The drains of the flat interdune land are now largely ineffective and have been filled with a poor fen vegetation dominated by *Myrica gale* and *Molinia caerulea*. Willow carr invades drier sites in these situations, with *Osmunda regalis* or *Carex paniculata*, while the wetter undrained sites are covered with *Sphagnum* spp.-*Carex panicea* lawns. The Clayshant Pools are about 2 metres deep and have a range of fringing and emergent vegetation characteristic of flood plain transition mires. *Nuphar lutea*, *Hippuris vulgaris* and *Menyanthes trifoliata* occur on the open water and the fringing sedges are *Carex vesicaria* and *Carex paniculata*, with *Rumex hydrolapathum*, *Filipendula ulmaria*, *Typha latifolia*, *Oenanthe crocata*, *Cicuta virosa*, *Scirpus lacustris* and *Berula erecta* frequent co-dominants.

The total number of vascular plants recorded in Torrs Warren is about 260 including several species which show interesting patterns of geographical distribution. *Rumex hydrolapathum*, *Berula erecta*, *Anagallis tenella*, *Apium inundatum*, *Bidens cernua*, *Hypericum elodes* and *Oenanthe lachenalii* are generally southerly in their distribution in Great Britain and reach their near northern limit on the north Solway coast. All are wetland species and at Torrs Warren are confined to the mire surrounding the Clayshant Pools. The relatively recent origin of these pools and the evolution of mire habitats associated with them suggests that these "southerly" species are probably recent colonisers of the area and may have travelled considerable distances from their next nearest colony.

Other species e.g. *Corallorhiza trifida* and *Teesdalia nudicaulis* show discontinuous distribution and are associated with the dunes and dune slacks. With the disappearance of suitable habitats outside Torrs Warren, these species may survive among the dunes as remnants of a former more widespread population.

Pre-History

On the basis of detailed analyses of flint tools found in the area, Coles (1964) has described the earliest settlers of Torrs Warren as "south west Scottish coastal Mesolithic". Though there is some doubt about the absolute chronological dating of these settlers, they probably appeared between 5000-3500 BC, i.e. at approxi-

THE VEGETATION AND LAND USE HISTORY OF TORRS WARREN

mately the time of maximum or near maximum sea level. The concentration of artefacts among the high dunes indicates that this was the main area of occupation within the site and therefore the oldest part of the existing dune system. This is further substantiated by a clear demarcation of the dunes to the north east from those along the shore to the south and their separation by a relatively flat area which probably represents the so-called 25 foot post-glacial raised beach. Both Smith (1903) and Jope (1959) indicate that the basal gravels of the raised beach were covered with 30-40 feet of sand, which Smith describes as "stratified sea sand", subsequently deformed by the wind. The humus horizons exposed in the blowouts represent the remains of earlier vegetated land surfaces and though it is difficult to correlate these surfaces with particular artefacts, clearly those lowest down are of earliest age. The lowermost and earliest horizons are often irregular and sloping, suggesting that even in those times parts of Torrs Warren were undulating dune land. Smith and Callander (1910-11) both described up to four different land surfaces represented as humus horizons, each of which seems to have been covered by varying depths of blown sand. The discovery of numerous post-Mesolithic artefacts led Callander to conclude that a thriving population must have occupied Torrs Warren, and McInnes (1963-4) to suggest that the pattern of settlement must have been complex. Judging by the range of artefacts discovered in the area, occupation of Torrs Warren seems to have been reasonably continuous from Mesolithic times to at least the 4th or 5th centuries and probably even later. It is not clear whether occupation was entirely continuous or whether it was interrupted by sand blows.

Botanical names are those used in Clapham, A. R., Tutin, T. G. and Warburg, E. F. (1962) *Flora of the British Isles*, Cambridge.

12th-16th Centuries

In the 12th century Torrs Warren was part of the holdings of Glen Luce Abbey. Jope and Jope (1959) have shown that at least one house was present in the area during the 14th century and from detailed examinations of the associated humus layers and podsols, they have suggested that the house stood on a "fairly stable flat heath". The site of the house lies in what is now high dune and blowout. The house was subsequently deserted and covered with about one foot of blown sand. By the end of the 15th century this had in turn been colonised by dune heath with a higher proportion of ericaceous species. The new heath surface was then covered by about 20-40 feet of blown sand which must constitute the main high unstable dune area of the present day. Pollen analysis by Dimbleby as an addendum to Jopes' paper indicates that tree pollen was very low and restricted to Hazel (*Corylus avellana*).

In 1560 Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, was given the heritable bailieship of the Abbey and Barony of Glen Luce, including the "five merk lands of Hiddir Torres, and the three merk six shillings eight pence land of Over Torres". This was followed in 1572 by a Charter in favour of Gilbert covering the same two farms. These documents are the first to mention the Torrs farms and their proximity to

the dating of the second heath surface described by Jope indicate that the final wind blow which produced the high dunes probably occurred after 1572. Furthermore the Torrs Warren landscape at that time must have been undulating heathland on the dunes, with swampy areas on the flatter ground, left through relative lowering of sea level.

Discovery of iron slag and charcoal stores led McInnes to suggest that the sand blows from prehistoric times onwards may have been caused by the exposure of the sands following tree felling for iron smelting. If this is the case it can only have affected the prehistoric landscape, as Dimbleby's pollen analyses show little or no tree pollen within the area in the 13th century. Other possible and more likely explanations of the blows of sand are the exposure of larger sand sources with the retreat of the sea and the deliberate or accidental burning and grazing of the vegetational cover.

16th-19th Centuries

The Torrs farms (Mid Torrs, Low Torrs and High Torrs) were part of the Genoch Estate which in about 1620 passed from the Kennedy family to the Cathcarts and remained in their possession until 1842. The agricultural difficulties the owners encountered in Torrs Warren in comparison to richer areas inland are underlined in a Decree of Valuation presented in 1765, in an attempt to reduce the annual rate for the land. Extracts from this Decree are as follows:—

John McTier, tenant of the Freugh and John Hannay described the lands of Mains of Meikle Genoch and Mid Torrs and assessed these lands worth the yearly rent of grozum £52 sterling; their being worth no more on a 19 year tack as the tenants had the expense of maintaining houses, ditches, drains, fences and as much of the land had been low lying and boggy draining had been carried out at great expense. If maintenance were not done the lowlands would be of very little value. James Templeton, tenant of Laigh (Low) Torrs, swore that he possessed the lands of Laigh Torrs and 2 acres of the Genoch on a 19 year tack for which he paid 500 merks Scots yearly and a full rent, teinds and supply, and that he paid 6 hands shearing one day, 12 men one day to peat casting and 4 men and a horse one day to hay leading.

His brother, Charles Templeton, swore that he possessed the lands of High Torrs and that for 14 years he had possessed the said lands without a tack and that he now paid 300 merks Scots and 9 men to peat casting, 4 men to shearing and 3 men and horse to hay leading.

John Rannie (ditcher) had measured ditches and drains in and about the land of High Torrs and valued them conform to an account of 8 pounds 14 shilling sterling and likewise the ditches in and about the land of Laigh Torrs and valued the same as per account at 23 pounds 19 shillings and 4 pence.

James and Charles Templeton described the devastation reaped by a night storm :—

“ The said lands of High and Laigh Torres and a part of Mid Torres and Whitecrook was very much hurt and damaged by a blowing sand . . . and that several considerable parts were now covered with sand which was once good pasturable land. But the sea for these many years past has done considerable damage to the lands of Laigh Torres and particularly in the year 1756 in the great storm of 6th October which carried away a ridge of bent and grass along the whole march of Laigh Torres on the sea side which the witnesses thought at least 40 shillings sterling yearly damages.”

Several points arise from this Decreet. Firstly it is clear that the problems of windblown sand and coastal erosion were particularly severe at that time and it is possible that the storms referred to were responsible for the 20-40 foot of sand covering the 1495 second heath level described by Jope. It is also clear that agricultural improvement of Torrs Warren was being attempted and that peat cutting was taking place either within the Warren or at sites inland. There seem to be no suitable peat cutting sites within the Warren at the present day though humified soils in the flat wetter areas of the Red Burn and near Piltanton Burn may have provided fuel. The ditches and drains are almost certainly those in the area of the Red Burn where an enclosure is marked on the 1856 Ordnance Survey map and field boundaries are still discernible on the ground today. The Freugh (meaning heather), an expanse of flat land immediately inland of the main dunes, was divided among each of the three Torrs farms as “ hay meadow ”.

In the Statistical Account of 1791 various improvements and land uses in Torrs Warren are mentioned including drainage, enclosure and manuring with kelp and seashells. The use of the area as a rabbit warren is also mentioned and the fact that “ 17,000 acres of sandy soil on the Bay of Luce are hardly capable of improvement ”. One other activity associated with the Warren at this time was the collection of Muskies or Razor Fish (*Ensis* sp.) on the sands of Luce. These must have been an important food source for local people for carts were brought on to the sands and a track along the beach marked on Ainslie's map of 1782 probably confirms this.

19th-20th Centuries

In 1842 Genoch Estate was sold to the M'Doualls of Logan. The principal source of information for this period is the Ordnance Survey name books for the parishes of Stoneykirk and Old Luce, compiled between 1842 and 1846, and the New Statistical Account 1841. Mid Torres was “ a neat and commodious farm with out-offices in a bad state of repair; there was a large farm attached consisting chiefly of sand hills, a small portion or arable and a rabbit warren abounding with rabbits, the sale of which was a source of profit for the occupier ”. Low Torres was “ a farmhouse with slated outhouses in good state of repair; the large

farm was sheep pasture; there was also a rabbit warren and a small portion of arable ground". High Torrs was a "small slated farmhouse with thatched out-houses and a large farm of pasture and a few fields of arable".

Pasturing was the principal agricultural activity for tenants of the Torrs farms. Rabbits in great numbers were a source of sport and food. In 1841 it was reported that 150 dozen rabbits were killed annually. Some skins were sent to the English markets and carcasses were sold locally at 4 pennies a pair in 1791 when the rental of the Warren was 100 pounds.

A 20th century tenant of Low Torrs farm described the agricultural activities on the Warren and it is reasonable to suppose that they were similar to those of the second half of the 19th century. Pasturing and stock rearing, particularly of sheep, were important. On the 1909 25 inch Ordnance Survey map a sheepfold is shown at High Torrs. The land was apparently very good for sheep rearing. The dryness of the sand meant that animals were free from troubles normally associated with damp ground. Feed was plentiful even during the winter when the animals wintered out and ate the sand-binding vegetation and its fleshy roots. Furthermore shelter was easy to find among the sandhills. The dune heath vegetation was burned in strips on a 7 year rotation. The burning often got out of hand and large areas of sand were exposed and blowouts developed. Three hundred Black-faced breeding ewes were kept by the tenant of Low Torrs during the 1920's and 1930's. They were of excellent quality and fetched high prices at local markets. A few cows were kept to supply milk to the family and hay was harvested from the meadow on the Freugh. Arable land was of little importance though a few fields around the houses were devoted to crops. Rabbits were caught on the Warren but provided only sport for the farmer fetching two shillings to two shillings and sixpence a pair locally.

From 1842 onwards the farming of the Warren became less intensive. In 1882 the three farms were separately occupied; in 1910 High Torrs was empty; in 1920 Mid and High Torrs were farmed together and in 1935 the house of Low Torrs was empty too. The annual rental value of Low Torrs declined from 180 pounds in 1882 to 120 in 1936. Mid Torrs with the rap land and grassland was worth 230 pounds in 1882 whereas Mid and High Torrs together were worth only 94 pounds 8 pence in 1930.

Comparison of the 19th century Ordnance Survey maps with those of Ainslie and Blaeu, indicate that over the last 300 years the Clayshant Burn has been diverted southwards leaving wet areas which are now the Clayshant Pools. A line of dunes has now built up separating the burn from the pools which lie 100 metres inland from the high tide mark and which seem to be flooded on occasions by the sea.

Conclusion

The general picture which emerges of Torrs Warren during the period of occupation from Mesolithic times onwards, is one indicating a series of at least 4 severe blows of sand followed by stabilisation by vegetation containing variable

amounts of dune heath. With the recession of sea levels in post-glacial times increasing areas of dune land have been formed from the earliest in the central high dune area around High Torrs farm, to the most recent fronting the Clay-shant Pools. It is not clear whether grazing and other agricultural uses of the dunes were responsible for the sandblows, but comparison with other areas in east Scotland, e.g. Sands of Forvie, would suggest that climatic factors were more important. The evolution of the dune system may have provided new habitats suitable for colonisation by southerly species and at the same time a refuge for species whose normal habitats nearby have decreased.

Bibliography

- Callander, J. C. (1910-11). 'Discovery of two vessels ... at Culbin Sands'. **Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.** 45; 158-181.
- Coles, J. M. (1964). 'New aspects of Mesolithic settlement of South West Scotland'. **Trans. Dumfries & Galloway Nat. Hist. & Antiq. Soc.** XLL; 67-98.
- Gimingham, C. H. (1964). 'Maritime and sub-maritime communities,' in *The Vegetation of Scotland*. Edit. Burnett, J. H., Edinburgh.
- Jardine, W. G. (1964). 'Post Glacial Sea-levels in South West Scotland'. *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 80, 1.
- Jope, E. M. and Jope, H. M. (1959). 'A hoard of 15th century coins from Glen Luce sand-dunes and their context'. **Mediaeval Archaeology** 3; 259-279.
- Landsberg, S. Y. (1955). 'The morphology and vegetation of the Sands of Forvie'. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Aberdeen.
- McInnes, I. J. (1963-4). 'The Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery of Luce Sands, Wigtownshire'. **Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.** 97; 40-81.
- Perring, F. H. and Walters, S. M. (Editors) (1962). 'Atlas of the British Flora'. London.
- Ranwell, D.S. (1972) *Ecology of Salt Marshes and Sand Dunes*. London.
- Smith, J. (1903). 'Torrs Warren'. **Annals of Andersonian Nat. Hist. Soc. Glasgow.** II; 34-52.
- Thorpe, T. K. (1972). 'The Phytosociology and Ecology of Dwarf Shrub Heaths in South West Scotland'. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Glasgow.

APPENDIX 1

Summary of occupation/ownership dates at Torrs Warren

B.C.	Coastal Mesolithic	—archaeological evidence of occupation — 4000 B.C. or earlier.
	Neolithic	— occupation by colonists 3,500 B.C.
	Early Bronze	— pottery and worked flints.
	Bronze	— jewellery and pottery; definite evidence of occupation 2000 B.C.
	Iron Age	— pottery and equipment for manufacturing metal objects.
A.D.	Roman	— doubtful evidence of presence — possibly visits.
	Anglo-Saxon	— locally manufactured artefacts — settlement by Irish.
	Early Christian	— 5-7th centuries. 9th century — Northumbrian Coins.
	Middle Ages	— foundation Glenluce Abbey — 1129. Torrs Warren believed part of holdings.
	13th century	— foundation of Clayshant Church as a private establishment for the Norman builder of the motte at Sandhead (pers. comm. A. Truckell).
	15th century	— coin hoard and deserted hut, Torrs Warren.
	1543	— Earl of Cassillis acquires Barony of Glenluce and Torrs Warren.
	1568	— feu by Vicar of Clayshant of Kirkland on Claschant Schir.
	1574	— Reader still at Clayshant Church (pers. comm. A. Truckell).
	17th century	— church at Clayshant becomes disused following unification of Clayshant and Stoneykirk parishes.
	1618	— Torrs farms disposed to James Cathcart. great storm.
	1756	— Torrs farms disposed to James McDouall.
	1842	— decline in farming — increase in rabbits.
	1910-35	— A. K. McDouall sells Warren to Air Ministry.
	1936	— Torrs Warren notified as a Site of Special Scientific
	1955	— Interest by Nature Conservancy.
	1961(?)	— afforestation of part of Torrs Warren by Forestry Commission.

NOTES ON A SHORT-TAILED VOLE PLAGUE AT ESKDALEMUIR, DUMFRIESSHIRE

By J. Mitchell, C. Placido and R. Rose

During the late summer of 1970, R.R. and J.M. observed unusually high numbers of Kestrels *Falco tinnunculus* and Short-eared Owls *Asio flammeus* hunting within the newly established conifer plantations at Eskdalemuir, Dumfriesshire. A subsequent enquiry into both predator and prey populations in this area is described by Picozzi & Hewson (1970). Observations on predator/prey populations at Eskdalemuir were continued during the summers of 1971 and 1972 by the present authors, and the following account summarises these investigations over the total three-year period.

Between 1965 and 1970, some 17,000 acres of former sheep pasture at Eskdalemuir were enclosed and afforested by the Economic Forestry Group. As described for a similar planted area elsewhere in the Scottish borders (Elton *et al* 1935), the cessation of muir burning, sheep grazing and trampling, induced a vigorous growth of coarse tussocky grass, creating conditions suitable for an abnormal increase in the numbers of Short-tailed Voles *Microtus agrestis*. Localised high intensity vole grazing was first noted at Eskdalemuir during the summer of 1971. Damage was generally confined to the sward, but a block of planted Alder *Alnus glutinosa* was found to contain a number of ring-barked stems. By the late autumn, bark and branch stripping of young Norway Spruce *Picea abies* was in evidence, and close examination showed that the fibrous roots had also been attacked by the voles. Tree damage continued until the summer of 1972, vole activity dying back generally from August onwards.

An apparent cycle of periodic fluctuations in numbers of voles has received a considerable amount of attention in Britain and elsewhere (see Elton 1942). Very occasionally, an increase in vole numbers will assume "plague" proportions and two such outbreaks in southern Scotland have been recorded in some detail. Between 1875-76 and again in 1891-92, Eskdalemuir together with other parts of the Scottish border country, experienced exceptionally severe plagues of Short-tailed Voles (Elliot 1878; Harvie Brown *et al* 1893). Of particular interest to naturalists during both outbreaks was a corresponding increase in the number of avian predators present, particularly the Short-eared Owl. In 1892, during the latter vole plague, some 30 pairs of Short-eared Owls were recorded nesting on farm ground at Eskdalemuir (Adair 1892). With the inevitable collapse of the abnormally high vole population, most of the Short-eared Owls had dispersed by the summer of 1893 (Adair 1893).

Little information is available as to numbers of Kestrels, Short-eared Owls and other predators breeding at Eskdalemuir in the immediate years prior to 1970. From 1970 onwards, annual records of nesting pairs located and breeding success have been maintained by R.R. (Economic Forestry Wildlife Development Officer.) For the three-year period (1970-72), the breeding records obtained for

Kestrel and Short-eared Owl in a study area of approximately 10,000 acres are summarised in Table 1. The Kestrels principally utilised old crows nests in small copses or semimature conifers about the former steadings, the numerous small road-metal quarries being used mainly as roosting sites by both the Kestrels and the Short-eared Owls. Other avian predators breeding within the study area during the three years were Barn Owl *Tyto alba* (max. of three pairs), Long-eared Owl *Asio otus* (max. of three pairs) and Tawny Owl *Strix aluco* (only one pair located).

Table 1.
Numbers of pairs located and average brood sizes of Kestrel and Short-eared Owl at Eskdalemuir

	Kestrel		Short-eared Owl	
	Pairs located	Average brood size	Pairs located	Average brood size
1970	5	5	7	5
1971	9	5	11	6
1972	12	4	14	6

Following Picozzi & Hewson (1970), 25 pellets of both Kestrel and Short-eared Owl were collected from roosts in the vicinity of vole damaged areas during 1971 and 1972, these being examined for prey remains by C.P. Small mammal remains were identified from skulls and lower jaws. As might be expected in an area of newly planted ground with little or no mature woodland, the small mammal remains consisted entirely of Short-tailed Voles and Shrews *Sorex* spp. Only one other species was detected from pellet analyses—the lower jaw of a Wood Mouse *Apodemus sylvaticus* found in one of a few pellets examined of Long-eared Owl. The analyses results (Table 2.) show that the 1970 percentages for voles and shrews are in a similar proportion to those obtained by Simms (1961 from Kestrel pellets collected in upland districts of Yorkshire during apparently “normal” vole years. In the subsequent analyses for 1971 and 1972, shrews declined absolutely and the percentages of voles were more comparable to those found in Short-eared Owl pellets by Lockie (1955) who was describing the situation after a major vole plague in the Carron Valley, Stirlingshire, when vole numbers were still high but declining. However, in 1972 the average number of voles per Short-eared Owl pellet dropped by two-thirds compared with the previous year (1970—2.2 voles; 1971—2.7 voles; 1972—0.94 voles). Comparable figures were not obtained from the average number of voles per kestrel pellet, but it is worth noting that in 1972 vole remains were found in only 50% of the Kestrel pellets examined.

Table 2.
Proportions of small mammal remains in pellets of Kestrel and Short-eared Owl at Eskdalemuir

	Kestrel		Short-eared Owl	
	Voles	Shrews	Voles	Shrews
1970 (Sept.)	64%	36%	73%	27%
1971 (Aug.)	93%	7%	100%	0%
1972 (May)	100%	0%	100%	0%

The evidence of predator pellet analysis and the rise and fall in vole damage would seem to indicate that the vole population at Eskdalemuir was fairly 'normal' in 1970, increased and reached a peak in 1971, followed by a substantial decline during 1972. Although considerably more limited in extent, the 1971-72 incident of Short-tailed Vole plague at Eskdalemuir appears to have followed a similar pattern to the two severe outbreaks (1875-76 and 1891-92) in the same area, with an abnormal increase in vole numbers followed by a population 'crash' occurring within a period of about two years.

Acknowledgment :

We are indebted to Mr R. Jackson, Economic Forestry Group Area Manager, for providing details of vole damage in Eskdalemuir Forest during 1971-72.

References :

- Adair, P. 1892. The Short-eared Owl and the Kestrel in the Vole Plague districts. *Ann. Scot. Nat. Hist.*, 12 : 219 - 231.
- Adair, P. 1893. Notes on the disappearance of the Short-tailed Field Vole, and on some of the effects of the visitation. *Ann. Scot. Nat. Hist.*, 13 : 193 - 202.
- Elliot, Sir W. 1878. Some account of the plague of Field Mice in the border farms in 1876-77. *Proc. Berw. Nat. Club*, 8 : 447 - 472.
- Elton, C., Davies, D. H. S. & Findlay, G.M. 1935. An epidemic among voles on the Scottish border in the spring of 1934. *J. Anim. Ecol.*, 4 : 277 - 288.
- Elton, C. 1942. *Voies, Mice and Lemmings*. Oxford.
- Harvie-Brown, J. A., Trail, J. W. H. & Eagle Clark, W. (Editors). 1893. Report on the Plague of Field-voles in Scotland. *Ann. Scot. Nat. Hist.*, 13 : 129 - 145.
- Lockie, J. D. 1955. The breeding habits and food of Short-eared Owls after a vole plague. *Bird Study*, 2 : 53 - 69.
- Picozzi, N. & Hewson, R. 1970. Kestrels, Short-eared Owls and Field Voles in Eskdalemuir in 1970. *Scot. Birds*, 6 : 185 - 191.
- Simms, C 1961. Indications of the food of the Kestrel in upland districts of Yorkshire. *Bird Study*, 8 : 148 - 151.

UNPUBLISHED FINDS FROM LUCE SANDS, WIGTOWNSHIRE

by Stephen H. Penney, B.A.

Luce Sands, some four square miles of sandhills, marsh and moor, situated at the head of Luce Bay between Sandhead and Piltanton Burn, has over the years been one of the most prolific sources of prehistoric material in Scotland. Prior to its adoption by the Ministry of Defence the region proved a lucrative hunting ground for collectors, and many finds gathered in this way doubtless remain unpublished. A considerable amount of material was found by Mr Alfred Hemsted of Glasgow and members of his family whilst holidaying in the region at various times between 1925-1934. Part of this collection is now dispersed; the remainder, which is in the possession of Mr John Hemsted of Norwich,¹ includes the following objects.

Socketed Axe (Fig. 1b)

Found alongside a socketed gouge in the region of Torrs Warren. Length: 6.8 cm. Maximum external diameter of socket: 2.7 cm. Maximum internal diameter of socket: 2.1 cm. Width of cutting edge: 3.9 cm. The looped side carries a prominent casting seam which bears evidence of filing. The rounded socket and well developed cutting edge are indicative of Irish influence, and its flat multiple moulding with narrow outer cordons relates it more specifically to the Dungiven type of axe known from northern Ireland, from mainly south-west Scotland² and from North Wales,³ where a small number are recorded. This type of multiple moulding is more typically associated with a squat form of axe rather than the relatively slender form represented here. Dungiven axes comprise one of the local industries active in Scotland in the later part of the Late Bronze Age, a period of regional production which Coles terms the "Ballimore phase" and ascribes to the sixth century B.C.⁴

Socketed Gouge (Fig. 1a)

Length: 6.6 cm. Maximum external diameter of socket: 2.0 cm. Maximum internal diameter of socket: 1.6 cm. Width of cutting edge: 1.5 cm. Slightly splayed. The gouge surface is fairly well preserved, but has sustained some damage to its socket and cutting edge. Below the socket is a 9 mm wide flat tripartite moulding which closely resembles the 10 mm wide moulding on the accompanying axe. This correspondence is in fact so close that it is tempting to suppose that these two objects are the product of the same smith.

Burley classified gouges on the basis of the presence or absence of a mould-

1. To whom I am grateful for permission to publish.

2. Coles, J. "Scottish Late Bronze Age Metalwork: Typology, Distributions and Chronology", *PSAS*, XCIII (1959-60), 44.

3. Savory, H. "The Gullisfield Hoard." *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XXI (1964-66), 190.

4. Coles, J. *op. cit.*, 44.

UNPUBLISHED FINDS FROM LUCE SANDS, WIGTOWNSHIRE

ing or collar beneath the mouth; type 1 without a collar, Type 2 with a collar.⁵ This tool is clearly of Type 2. The most recent list of socketed gouges from Scotland lists thirteen tools; five of these being Type 2.⁶ This gouge, the first of either type to be recorded from Dumfries and Galloway, confirms the westerly distribution of type 2 gouges in Scotland, they being confined to the western maritime counties, whilst type 1 have been found only in the central and eastern counties. There are no grounds through associations to satisfactorily separate the types on a chronological basis,⁷ so presumably the distribution reflects differing preferential styles.

The absence of any Scottish gouge with closely comparable moulding and the striking similarity of the mouldings on this axe and gouge would suggest, as

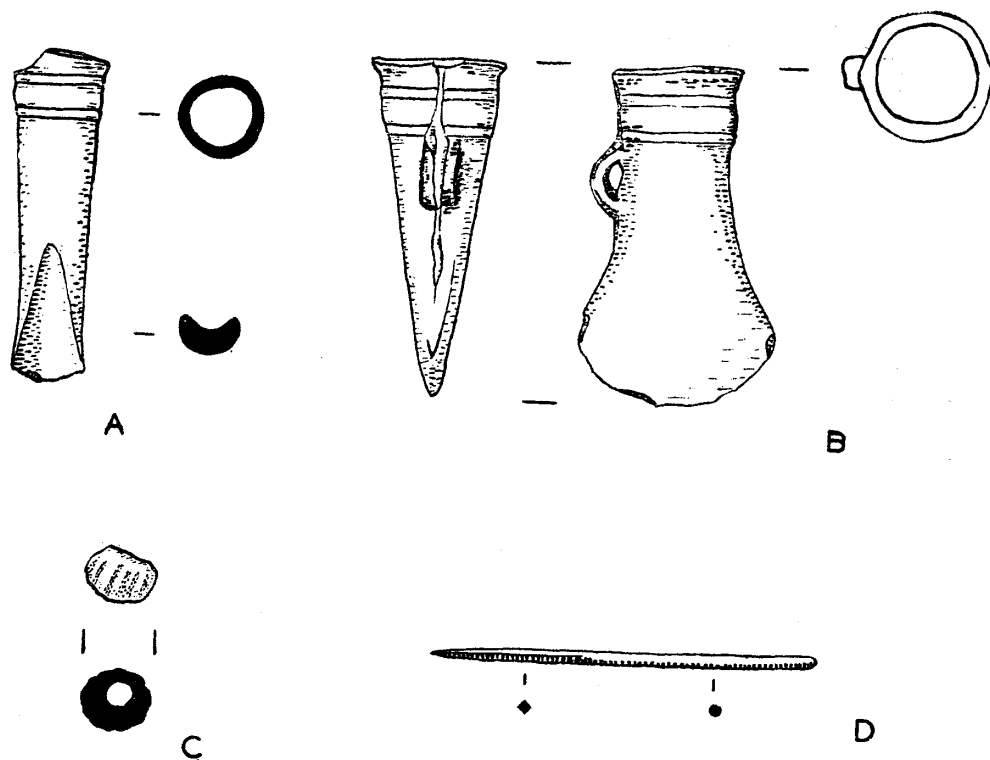


Fig. 1. Finds from Luce Sands. Associated socketed gouge (A) and socketed axe (B) : Melon bead (C) : Awl (D). Scale $\frac{1}{3}$ rds.

indicated above, that these two tools may have been produced by the same smith. It is to be expected that many metal-workers would have been governed by the same stylistic influences when making both gouges and axes. Some support for this is provided by the founder's hoard from the Isle of Harty in Kent where the multiple mouldings on gouges and a gouge mould are closely similar

5. Burley, E. "A Catalogue and Survey of the Metalwork from Traprain Law". *PSAS*, LXXXIX (1955-56), 148.

6. Coles, J. op. cit., 87.

7. Savory, H. "A Find of Bronze Socketed Gouges in Montgomeryshire". *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XXV (1972-74), 98.

in form to the mouldings found on a group of accompanying axes and their moulds.⁸ Any possible correlation of axe and gouge typology based on the form of moulding or collar has perhaps not yet been fully considered.

When found, fragments of textile were adhering to the axe. Some of it, impregnated by the metal oxide,⁹ remains attached to the surface, other fragments have become detached and were examined by Miss Henshall (see Appendix). The patina where the textile is or was in contact with the axe is a lighter shade of green than is to be found elsewhere on the surface. One side of the axe carries obliquely across it a largely unpatinated strip which approximates to the width of the socketed gouge. The back of the gouge also bears this light green patina, although no actual textile adheres to it. It is therefore suggested that these two tools were buried in contact, either wrapped in a piece of cloth or resting at the bottom of a cloth bag. The nature of the find suggests that this pair of woodworking tools were personal possessions, buried perhaps for safe-keeping.

Awl (Fig. 1d)

Copper or bronze. Length: 7.8 cm. Maximum diameter: 2.8 mm. Found towards the western end of Luce Sands in the region of Clayshant.

Melon Bead (Fig. 1c)

Length: 11 mm. Diameter: 14 mm. Diameter of hole: 5 mm. The obloid bead is composed of a blue-green vitreous paste, and is decorated by a series of twelve shallow grooves which run obliquely across its abraded outer surface. This "melon bead" of probably first or second century date is a type known from several parts of Britain, being a particularly common find in several of the Roman forts in Scotland, including Newstead.¹⁰

A few finds of the Roman period have previously been recorded from Luce Sands, including fibulae of provincial Roman types;¹¹ such finds in this remote corner of Wigtownshire, removed as it is from any major centre of Roman activity, probably reflect the contact which undoubtedly occurred, between the native and Roman communities. The fairly wide distribution of melon beads in native contexts in Scotland has led to a suggestion that they may have acted as a medium of exchange.¹² Two similar beads are recorded from the vicinity of Luce Sands; one from Glenluce,¹³ the other from Galdenoch Farm,¹⁴ some three miles N.N.W. of Glenluce.

8. Smith, M. (ed.) *Inventaria Archaeologia*; 3rd Set, GB 18 (1956).

9. Also from Torrs Warren and preserved in a like manner was a fragment of textile adhering to coins from a 15th cent. coin hoard. Joze, E. M. and H. M. "A Hoard of Fifteenth Century Coins". *Med. Arch.*, 3 (1959), 261.

10. Curle, J. *A Frontier Post and its People*, (1911), 336, Pl. XCI.

11. Curle, J. "An Inventory of Objects of Roman and Provincial Roman Origin Found on Sites in Scotland..." *PSAS*, LXVI (1931-32), 376.

12. Robertson, A. "Roman Finds from Non-Roman Sites in Scotland." *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 210.

13. Robertson, A. *Op. cit.*, 224.

14. Curle, J. (1931-32), *op. cit.*, 296.

APPENDIX

REPORT ON CLOTH ASSOCIATED WITH SOCKETED AXE
FROM LUCE SANDS

by Audrey S. Henshall, M.A., F.S.A.

The two fragments measure 2.2 by 0.8 cm with a very narrow strip extending a further 3 cms, and 1.5 by 1.1 cm. The cloth is in a remarkable state of preservation, still pliable, pale grey in colour with green staining. It is a firm and even plain weave. There is no indication which system of threads is the warp and which the weft, and the count of threads per cm is almost the same in each system, 10-11 by 11-12. The yarn appears to be the same in both systems, lightly spun Z 2 plied S. The fabric is made of a vegetable fibre, almost certainly flax.¹⁵

Two other textile fragments from the Scottish Late Bronze Age are known. That from Pyotdykes, Angus,¹⁶ associated with a spearhead, is very similar, being of flax, plain weave, the same type of yarn, and almost the same count. The other, from Nydie Mains, Fife,¹⁷ associated with a socketed knife, is also of flax, plain weave, slightly coarser, the yarn of one system of threads the same as the rest, but that of the other system Z spun and not plied.

These tiny scraps, all roughly contemporary, are very similar, though a firm plain weave linen cloth is a basic commodity for a weaver to produce. The pieces are far too small to retain any technical peculiarities which allow deductions as to the methods of manufacture.

15. Fibre identification by Dr. M. L. Ryder of the Animal Breeding Research Organisation, Roslin, Midlothian.

16. J. M. Coles, H. Coutts, M. Ryder, "A Late Bronze Age find from Pyotdykes, Angus," *PPS XXX* (1964) 197-8.

17. J. Hedges, "A Late Bronze Age Socketed knife and textile from Nydie Mains, Fife," *PSAS* 104 (1971-72) 293-4.

EXCAVATIONS AT DINWOODIEGREEN ANNANDALE

reported by

Miss K. S. Hodgson, F.S.A., assisted by W. F. Cormack, F.S.A. Scot.

Summary

A rescue dig in 1958 on an enclosure in Annandale, which had been observed from the air, established that it was mediaeval in date. By chance however the excavators also found a small Bronze Age cremation cemetery on the same site.

Introduction

While searching from the air along the line of the Roman Road through Annandale, in South-West Scotland, Dr. J. K. St. Joseph observed and photographed a cropmark (Nat. grid. ref. NY107883) on the farm of Dinwoodiegreen in the Parish of Applegarth, Dumfriesshire (Fig. 1). On the photograph (Plate I)

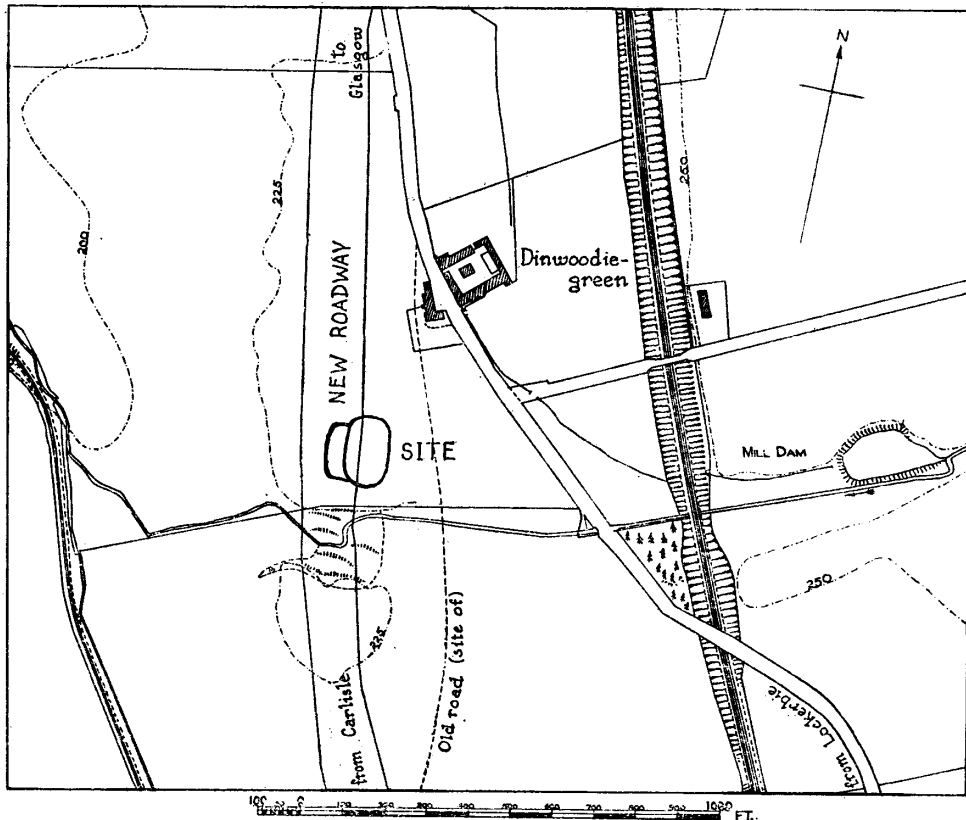


Fig. 1 Dinwoodiegreen: General Location map of site — by A. D. Taylor

was observed an oval enclosure some 180 feet by 110 feet, delineated by a ditch, with a rectangular annexe on the western side of the main enclosure. A drain appeared to run S.W. from the S.W. corner of the annexe ditch and several dark spots on the photograph seemed to indicate pits. Since the Roman Road passes the site some 50 yards to the E., it was considered possible that the enclosure might be Romano-British or Early Iron Age in date.

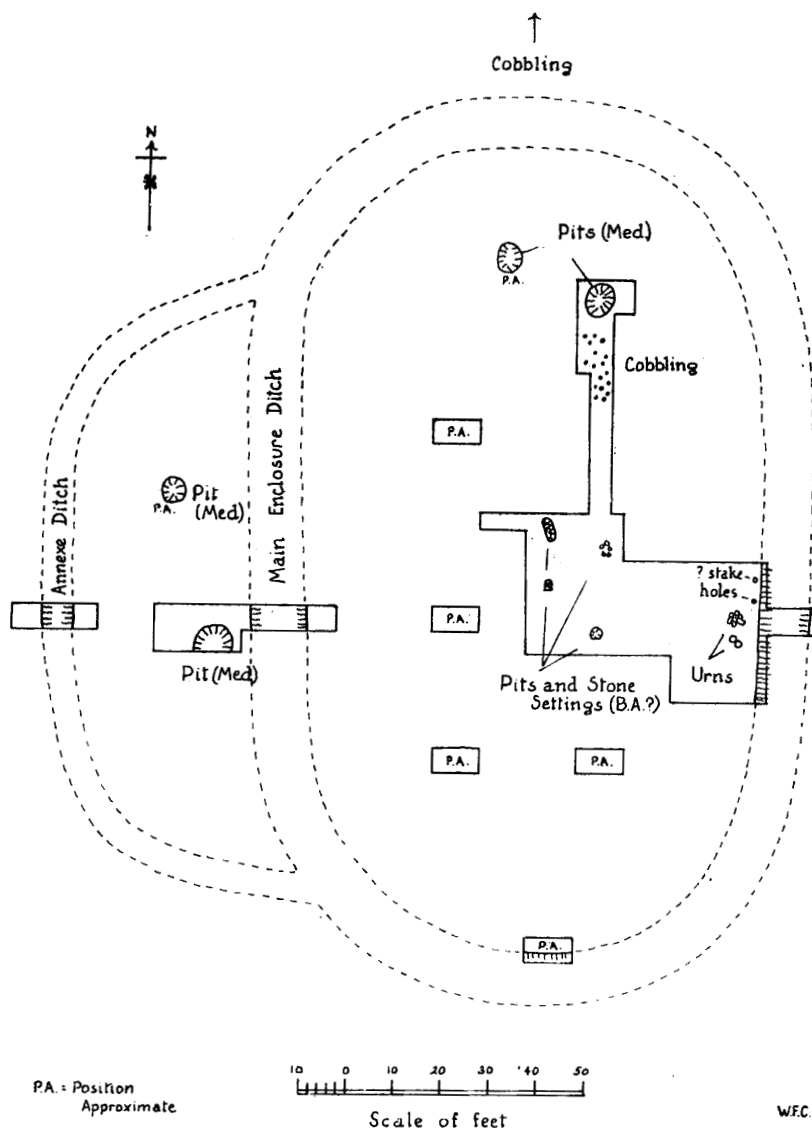


Fig 2 Dinwoodiegreen: Sketch plan of mediaeval enclosures, showing excavated areas — by W. F. Cormack.

At the end of 1957 it was noticed that the new Glasgow-Carlisle trunk road, then under construction, would destroy much of the site, so it was resolved to carry out an excavation to establish the nature of the enclosure. Accordingly this was put in hand for two weeks in June 1958 under the direction of Mr Brian Blake, and the writer of this report, assisted by the members of the extra mural class at Lockerbie of Glasgow University. A grant was received from the Ministry of Works, and much help and co-operation were given by Mr James Robertson, Dumfriesshire Road Engineer and Mr William Robb the tenant of Dinwoodiegreen. When the actual roadworks began several months later, our Society members Mr Robert Little and Mr W. F. Cormack were in attendance almost daily for some weeks collecting mediaeval pottery which was appearing. We are grateful also to Mr Michael Yates and Mr B. J. N. Edwards for the reports on, and illustrations of, the pottery, also to Dr. Hugh W. H. Taylor who examined the cremated bones from two of the urns.

The Site

The site was situated on the crest of a ridge 230 feet above sea level and which falls away on the west to the flood plain of the River Annan some 50 feet lower. The river itself now flows threequarters of a mile away on the west. 50 feet to the south of the enclosure is the Dinwoodie Burn, which has cut a small ravine some 20 feet or so deep. The topsoil on the site was some 7 ins. deep; the subsoil varied but was mainly of coarse gravel. As stated, the Roman Road, and for that matter the pre 19th Century road through Annandale, pass close to the site on the east (Fig. 1). The site therefore is dry, partially defended by the topography on two sides and is situated on one of the main routes in South West Scotland.

The Excavations

Since the original notes other than the ditch sections are not available to the writers of this report, the plan (Fig 2) has had to be sketched from memory and much too of the report must be somewhat generalised in nature. A grid of 10 foot squares was laid out on the site. A series of these, forming in effect a trench, originally 4 feet wide, but in parts later opened to 8 feet was opened across the site from E. to W. to ascertain the dimensions and nature of the main and annexe ditches and to locate possible foundations of stone or timber buildings. Thereafter additional squares were opened or extended elsewhere in the enclosure in an endeavour to trace foundations, all without success.

The Main Ditch

The main ditch at the east side was found to have been 10 feet wide and just over 3 feet deep, and a shallow V in section (Fig 3). At the foot was a deposit of light clayey material, above this a dark fill and in the upper filling a silty material with many stones. Two possible stake holes each 4 in. diam. were observed about 2 feet W. of the inner edge of the ditch at one point at this side. On the west side of the enclosures the ditch was found to have been 12

feet wide and 4 feet 6 ins. deep. There was at this side perhaps a suggestion of a stone facing at the top of the inner edge of the ditch since a squared sandstone block was found there. The fill comprised at the bottom a pile of tough grey clay; superimposed on this was the dark fill and above that the same stoney fill as was observed on the east side. One or two squared sandstone blocks were found in the ditch in the upper levels.

During the roadworks the topsoil was scraped off the whole of the west half of the site, and the ditch showed up a clear dark brown against the reddish subsoil. In parts the filling was very soft. As further scraping was carried out sherds of mediaeval pottery appeared in the filling of the ditch, sometimes on the ditch bottom, (3 and 6) and sometimes in a grey clay which overlay the filling. Other finds were two oyster shells (*ostrea edulis*) found with sherds in the ditch bottom, and two bun shaped iron blooms found in the filling.

Towards the south-west corner of the site the filling of the ditch was as follows: the bottom two thirds was relatively clean gravel, above this was a layer of soft dirty white or yellow claylike substance containing carbon and broken stones. The pottery was generally between these two layers. As stated above, several blocks of worked sandstone, with no mortar adhering, were found in the ditch filling.

The Annexe

The annexe ditch, situated some 40 feet from the main ditch, tended to be U shaped rather than V shaped (Fig. 3). It was 8 feet wide and 3 feet deep. This ditch also showed up clearly when the topsoil was removed by the contractors — also the “drain” running S.W. from the S.W. corner. At the junction of the drain and the annexe ditch was found, in the soft infilling, a small roll 6 ins. long, of thin lead sheet.

Pits

Of the dozen or so pits in the main enclosure and the annexe only one, in the annexe, was carefully investigated — it being 8 feet diameter and 4 feet deep and having a filling of clay and ash over disturbed brash (Fig. 3). Three others observed during the roadworks were 4 to 5 feet deep and filled with soft greasy black material with occasional pieces of carbon and particles of soft decaying bone. One or two sherds of mediaeval pottery also occurred. One pit had several squared blocks of sandstone tumbled into the upper filling. One oval pit 2 feet by 1 foot by 5 feet deep with a clay like filling containing pieces of carbon and fragments of burned bone was revealed.

In the northern part of the main enclosure there was a larger pit about 10 feet in diameter and 5 feet deep and packed throughout with boulders each from 6 in. to 18 in. in diameter. In the upper layers of this pit the interstices between the boulders were filled with a greasy black filling. When the pit was completely cleared it was found that there had been no tilting and many gaps occurred between the lower stones.

Alongside this large pit was an area showing traces of cobbling. Among these cobbles were found several mediaeval sherds and two handles of pottery vessels. Later during the roadworks another spread of cobbles was seen 40 feet north of the site. This spread continued northwards for a further 30 feet.

No entrance was observed to the main enclosure, nor was any communication between the main enclosure and the annexe found. Such pits as were observed tended to be in the northern part of the enclosure or annexe, and although several trial squares were opened in the southern part, no signs of occupation were observed there. Several undated features are described in the following part of the report, since they were felt to be prehistoric in date.

Bronze Age Cemetery

On the east side of the enclosure and close beside the inner edge of the ditch were found three principal cinerary urns. Two of these, Ai and B, were touching each other and situated just below the topsoil (Plate II). Urn B was upright and contained a cremation burial. Urn Ai was inverted on a flat stone ($12 \times 12\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and 1 inch thick) and its base had been ploughed away. Inside Urn Ai was a smaller Urn Aii also inverted over a flat stone. This smaller urn contained a cremation burial. This smaller urn had a lid-stone, sub-rectangular with rounded corners 6 by $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches and up to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. Between the two pots, there was soil and stones, hard packed on top but getting looser lower down, towards the mouth. A few tiny scraps of cremated bone from the smaller urn had filtered past the lid and were found low in the outer filling. It appeared that Aii with the clean bones covered by its lid, resting on the inner bevel of the rim, had been inverted onto the larger stone (see Plates V and VI). Then Ai had been placed over it empty as a cover, not quite concentric but nearly touching at one side. The earth and stones had come in only after the base was broken away, probably by modern ploughing.

Situated 6 feet to the north of Urn Ai was a third urn — C. This urn had been placed inverted on a flat stone in a pit some 2 feet deep in the subsoil; round the urn had been packed flat stones so that in effect the urn occupied a small beehive shaped chamber. On top of the pit in which the urn was placed there was a layer of stones (Plate III).

Some 30 feet away to the west of the urns was a small pit, 2 ft. diam. packed with stones and having a dark infilling. There was no soft cavity and it did not have the appearance of a post hole. Near this was a small paved area some 3 feet by 18 ins., rectangular apart from one rounded end. This area was covered with flat, sometimes split, cobble sized stones set immediately on the subsoil. Between the pit and the area of stones were two patches of burned soil, with carbon. About 10 feet to the N. of the stone covered area was a rectangular pit 5 feet long x 2 feet 6 ins. wide with its long axis running N.W. and S.E. and containing a mass of packed smallish rounded stones. Below the

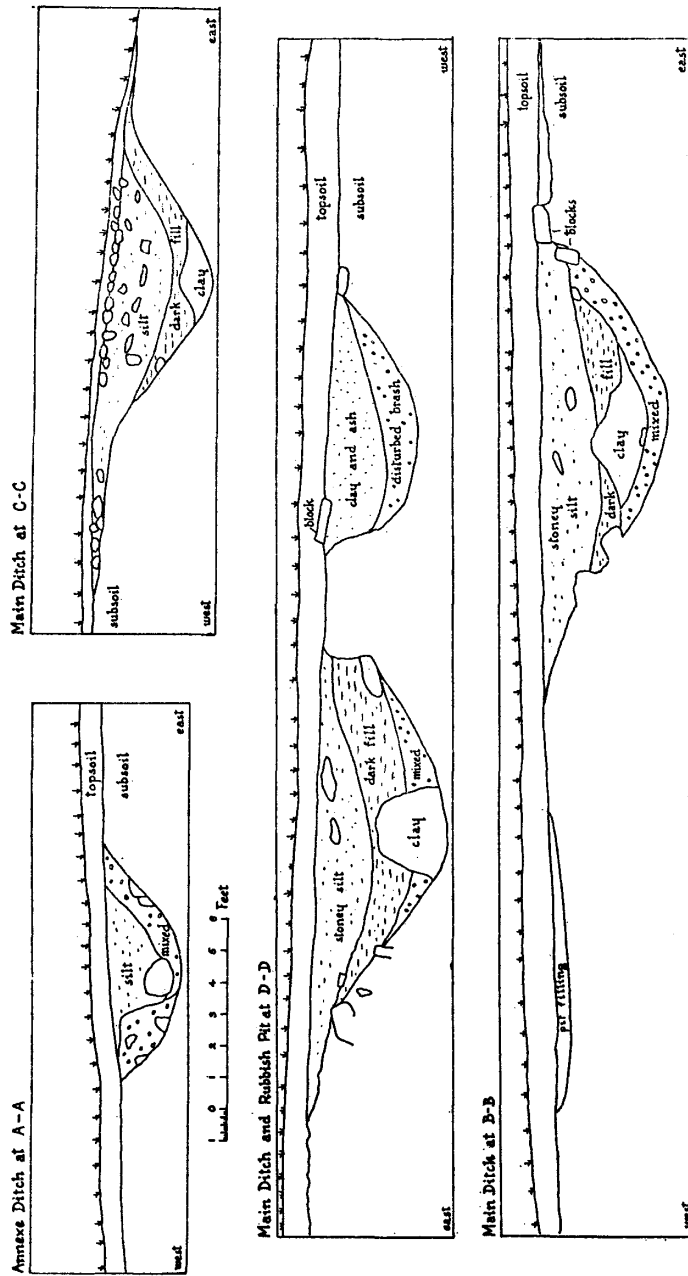


Fig. 3 Dinwoodiegreen: Sections — from drawings by Miss K. S. Hodgson.

stones 18 in. down was a layer of carbonised material, which gave the impression of a decayed plank. This pit may have contained an inhumation burial.*

* As justification for this comment it should perhaps be mentioned here, since it has not otherwise been recorded, that the fragmentary vessel found in Luce Sands by W. F. Cormack and R. J. Little in 1962, considered by McInnes to be a possible example of her class III ware (Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery from Luce Sands, Wigtownshire—P.S.A.S. XCVII p. 40 vessel No. 166) and by Simpson to be a Beaker/Food Vessel (Food Vessels in S.W. Scotland—these Transactions XLII p. 25—vessel No. 65) was found at the end of a similar apparent decayed plank of wood. A flint blade lay beside the fragments of the pot. These seemed to form an inhumation burial group, although the definite association of the wood, the pottery and the flint was not established.

1. THE MEDIAEVAL POTTERY

by B. J. N. Edwards, B.A.

The group of pottery (fig. 4) from the site, though small, is of interest. It has affinities, as might be expected, with the pottery of the north-west of England, but also represented is a type of vessel which so far seems peculiar to

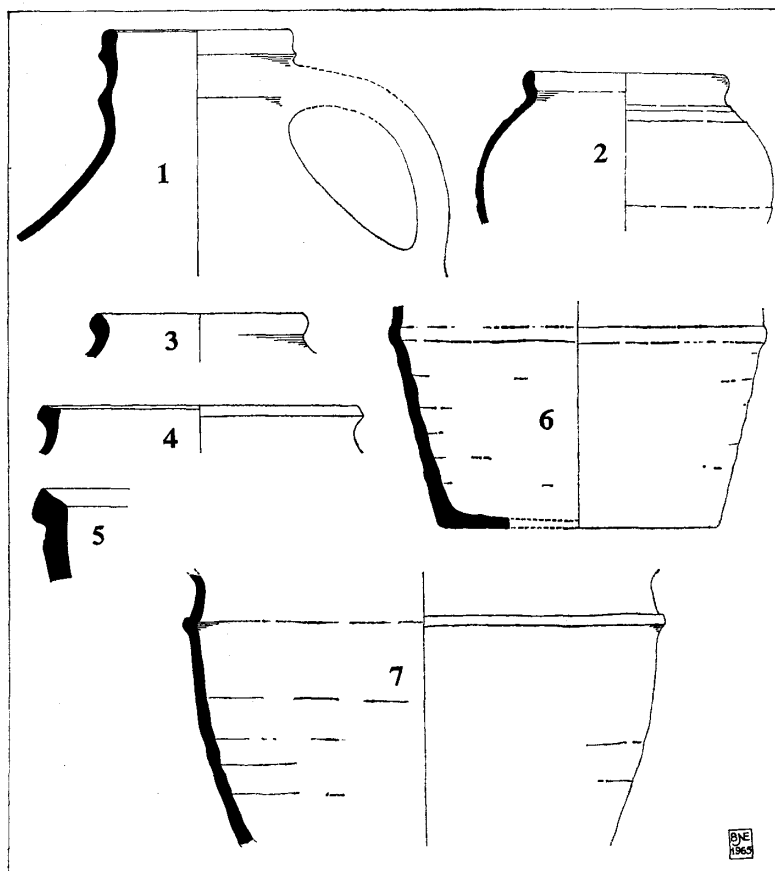


Fig. 4 Dinwoodiegreen: Mediaeval Pottery, one fourth scale — drawn by B. J. N. Edwards.

the site. There is not, unfortunately, sufficient material to suggest a date for the group, if it is indeed a true group. However, it does include a cooking pot rim of the 'Northern twelfth century' type¹, and there are indications of a later date for some of the pieces.

1. Rim, neck and handle of jug in hard smooth grey fabric, fired to orange pink where not protected by sage green external glaze. No spout survives and none is restored. The type, with twin cordons, is well known and widespread e.g. NCC 21, 90; **Downpatrick** fig. 5; SMP 4 (Jedburgh). It is generally dated to the thirteenth century. Aper. diam. 3 3/8 in.

2. Rim and body fragments of a small globular vessel in soft pale orange fabric. Very little trace of glaze survives, but the rim and neck may have been glazed externally. Lower part of surviving fragments soot stained. Cooking pots from southern Scotland in the fourteenth century tended to be globular, and some at least had rims with an internal hollow. Cf. Kirkcudbright 40 and fig. 6B (general shape) and SMP 74 (Eccles, Berwicks.) Aper. diam 4 in.

3. Cooking pot rim fragment in similar fabric to the last. The general rim shape is comparable to **Carlisle** 11 103. Aper. diam. 4 1/4 in.

4. Rim fragment of cooking pot in pink gritty fabric. 'Northern twelfth century' type, but the type continues into the thirteenth century² Aper diam. 6 1/2 in.

5. Rim fragment of a large vessel in smooth orange fabric with traces of brownish glaze. Rim soot stained.

6. Part of the wall and base of a vessel in hard smooth pinkish orange fabric with grey core and some external sage green glaze and soot staining. The fabric is very similar to that of the jug rim, number 1, and this may be the base of a jug, though the moulding, pushed out from within, is unusual. A crack had developed along the surviving portion of this moulding, and the making of it had very nearly destroyed the vessel. It may be, however, that this vessel is another example of the type described below (No. 7).

7. Large parts of the body of a vessel in soft smooth pinkish orange fabric with some external orange green glaze. This glaze is rough-cast. The surviving portions of the vessel do not include rim or base, but the top appears to be turning out towards a rim. It has an applied cordon moulding, the whole vessel would be taken for a 'sport' if it were not for the fact that there are fragments of what seem to be three other similar vessels in the collection. No parallel known.

Nothing can be said about the other fragments from the site, except that one has a hole plugged with a lump of lead (ca. 1 in. diam.) which may be part of a rivet, but in any case suggests a not very high standard of living on the site.

1. Number 4, but see note on date and references under that vessel.

2. E. M. Jope, **The North English style of cooking-pottery** in CW2, lv (1955), pp. 323-325 and **Finchale**, p. 255 and n. 69.

Abbreviations used in the mediaeval pottery report.

Journals

- AA4 Archaeologia Aeliana, fourth series.
 CW2 Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, new series.
 PSAS Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
 UJA Ulster Journal of Archaeology.

Reports and papers, with author of relevant section

- Carlisle II CW2, lxiv (1964) pp. . M. G. Jarrett and B. J. N. Edwards.
 Downpatrick UJA
 Finchale AA4 xxxix (1961) pp. 229-278. M. G. Jarrett and B. J. N. Edwards.
 Kirkcudbright PSAS xci (1957-8) G. C. Dunning, H. W. M. Hodges and E. M. Jope.
 NCC Newcastle Castle, unpublished.
 SMP Scottish Mediaeval Pottery, PSAS lxxxix (1955-6) S. H. Cruden.

2. THE BRONZE AGE POTTERY

by Michael Yates

The four urns discovered during the excavations have now been restored by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland and can be seen in Dumfries Museum (fig 5). They are referred to in Morrison, 1968 as Nos. 104, 103, 101 and 102 respectively.

Urn Ai — was found inverted in a flat stone. Height uncertain. Diam. of rim 32 cm., of base 9 cm. It is of fine pinkish-blue fabric, but filled with large (6 mm.) angular grits. The inner surface is slightly blackened in patches. The decoration consists of two rows of twisted cord impressions on the top of the slightly rounded rim. In places these extend onto the outer surface of the collar. below this there is a filled chevron design of lines of impressed twisted cord extending down to the base of the collar. The rest of the pot bears no decoration.

Urn Aii — was found inverted, also on a flat stone, inside urn Ai. Height 21.2 cm. Diam. of rim and body 18.7 cm., of base 8 cm. It is a well fired pot of fine reddish-buff fabric filled with angular grits (4 mm.). The inner surface is slightly darker in colour than the exterior. It is decorated on the inside of the collar by six horizontal lines of impressed twisted cord in two groups of three. On the upper surface of the rim there is a zig-zag twisted cord impression. On the collar there is a regular pattern of oblique lines between an upper and lower horizontal line, all of impressed twisted cord. The rest of the vessel bears no decoration.

Urn B — was found upright touching urn Ai. Height uncertain. Diam. of rim 36 cm., of neck 40.5 cm., of carination 36.3 cm. The fabric is reddish-buff colour, and filled with fine grit (1-2 mm.). It is blackened on the collar and the interior. The rim and upper part of the collar had been destroyed but has now been restored. The collar is decorated by an open lattice of twisted cord impressions, bordered by two lines, also of twisted cord. The body is decorated, down to the carination, by oblique stab marks forming a chevron pattern which becomes irregular in places.

Urn C — was found inverted on a flat stone, with its base damaged. Height uncertain. Diam. of rim 32.8 cm., of neck 30 cm., of carination 32 cm. The vessel is made of fine pinkish-buff fabric, well fired, and filled with coarse grit (5 mm.). The inner surface of the rim is decorated with two lines of impressed twisted cord, with an additional row on the very top of the rim. The collar decoration consists of a lattice pattern, bordered above by a single row, and below by two rows, all of twisted cord impressions. Below the collar there is a horizontal chevron, also of twisted cord impressions, filled irregularly with horizontal, vertical and oblique incised lines. This is finished at the shoulder by a further line of impressed twisted cord.

These urns are all of the collared urn type, assigned to the Early Bronze Age, and are the most common type of Bronze Age pottery found in S.W. Scotland (Morrison, 1968). Urns Ai and Aii are of particular interest since they must have been deposited at the same time. Urn Aii had internal decoration, a simple flat rim, a slightly convex collar, and an internal moulding, and therefore belongs to Longworth's 'primary series' (Longworth, 1961). On this basis it could be argued that this urn is closer to neolithic pottery traditions, and therefore

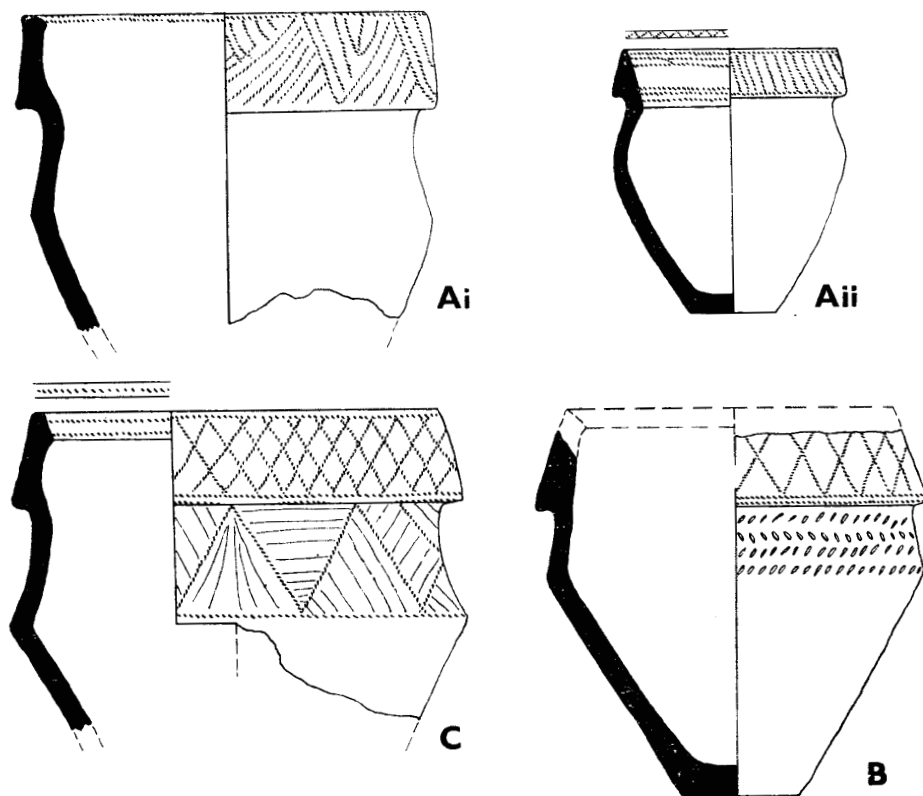


Fig. 5 Dinwoodiegreen: Cinerary Urns, one sixth scale, drawn by Michael Yates.

early. However, urn Ai has no distinctive primary traits so it seems that in S.W. Scotland, at least, neolithic fashions continued alongside developed Early Bronze Age pottery.

The tripartite shape and the predominant twisted cord ornament give urns Ai, B and C many parallels throughout Britain, but it is interesting to note that incised linear decoration, as on urn C is rare in collared urns from Dumfries and Galloway, while in the North of England it is just as common as twisted cord impressions.

References used in the Bronze Age Pottery report

- LONGWORTH, I. H., 1961, 'The Origins and Development of the Primary Series in the Collared Urn tradition in England and Wales' *P.P.S.* 27 263-306.
 MORRISON, A., 1968, 'Cinerary Urns and Pygmy Vessels in South-West Scotland', *T.D.G.N.H.A.S.* 45 80-140.

3. APPENDIX

Dr. Hugh W. Y. Taylor of Edinburgh University has kindly reported on the cremated bones from two urns, Aii and B.

Urn Aii. Remains of an adult human, weight 3 lbs. 5 oz. A considerable quantity of the fragments are too small and shapeless to be distinguished, but there is an adult-sized portion of the condyloid process of the left mandible, nine or ten teeth whole and in fragments, and a piece of maxilla with three empty tooth sockets. Other recognisable bone fragments include parts of occiput, orbit, zygoma, femur, scapula, humerus, ulna and metacarpal and phalangeal bones of the hand.

Urn B. Despite the greater quantity of bone there is not sufficient evidence to infer that there is more than one person represented: weight 4 lbs. 7½ oz., excluding minute fragments not separated from intrusive soil. The 17 teeth, carefully examined and checked by a member of the dental staff, all belonged to one fully grown adult. Ten terminal phalanges of the right and left hands were intact and appeared to belong to one person, who was either finely built and short of stature or juvenile. The intermediate phalanges are well represented, but are not all intact. The proximal phalanges are fewer and not one is intact. The metacarpals are severely fragmented and few in number. One carpal bone, the scaphoid, of the right side is recognisable and is in moderately good condition. One or two small bones, resembling human carpal bones in size, were not definitely human in shape. Comparatively large bone fragments include, for example, the incomplete bodies of thoracic and lumbar vertebrae and several pieces of the head of the femur are immediately obvious. Smaller portions of bone include the head and neck of the condylar process of the right mandible.

One large piece of bone, curled up to form a sort of tube 3 inches long and 1 inch across seemed to be worked and was difficult to identify. However, Dr. F. P. Lisowski of Birmingham University who has specialised in the study of prehistoric cremations kindly reports that "the piece in question is a fairly well calcined part of the outer plate of the parietal of a human skull. There is nothing artificial about this. The outer surface has the usual smoothness whilst the inner surface has the usual spongy appearance of the *diploë*. The narrower curled portion shows serrations which are those found at the sutural margin." The interior of this bone bears greenish stains which Dr. Clarke of the Royal Scottish Museum reports is an iron phosphate, and so not due to any vanished copper object as is sometimes the case in cremations.

Medium sized fragments from Urn B include temporal bone, femur and radius. There is no obvious duplication of bones.



Plate I Dinwoodiegreen — cropmark of Mediaeval Site viewed from south and taken prior to re-alignment of Glasgow to Carlisle road. Photo, J. K. St. Joseph. Crown Copyright reserved.



Plate II Dinwoodiegreen — Urns Ai (nearer camera) and B in situ — scale in inches. Photo, W. F. Cormack.



Plate III Dinwoodiegreen—Stone packing above Urn C. Scale in inches.
Photo, Miss K. S. Hodgson.



Plate IV Dinwoodiegreen — Urn B. Photo, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.



Plate V Dinwoodiegreen — Urn Ai over urn Aii with earth partly removed. Photo, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

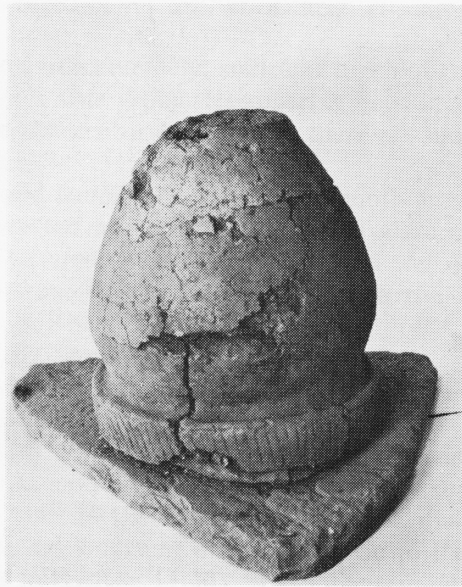


Plate VI Dinwoodiegreen—Urn Aii showing triangular stone and edge of lid stone. Photo, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.



Plate VII the Kirkinner Crosses as illustrated in Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. The cross on the right is that now retained at Knockgray, Carsphairn.

AN ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT FROM RUTHWELL, DUMFRIESSHIRE

by

James Williams, F.S.A.Scot.

When the late W. G. Collingwood made his drawing of the Ruthwell Cross in 1917 he also noted a small sculptured fragment — possibly part of a door-jamb or lintel. Although he used this illustration in his article on "The Ruthwell Cross and its Relation to other Monuments of the Early Christian Age"¹ and in "Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age" (p.119) little or no comment was made apart from suggesting that it might belong to some later (? IXth Century) Anglian church.² The fragment still remains at Ruthwell and the following notes were prepared in order to make right this deficiency in our knowledge of the early church in south-west Scotland. At this point I must extend my thanks to Mr A. E. Truckell of Dumfries Museum, Mr R. B. K. Stevenson of the National Museum of Antiquities and Mr W. Dodds of the University of Durham; all of whom have given much useful information and advice.

At present the fragment bears traces of mortar indicating that at some time in the past it has been incorporated in the fabric of the mediaeval church of Ruthwell. When exactly it was found is not known: It is possible that the fragment described as "a sculptured cross shaft" exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, (1872)³ is that under discussion here.

The fragment measures some 41 cms. in length and is obviously portion of a much longer lintel or door-jamb. In section the stone is rectangular (32.5 cms. wide by 17.5 cms. in thickness) and flat-sided excepting on one side which bears

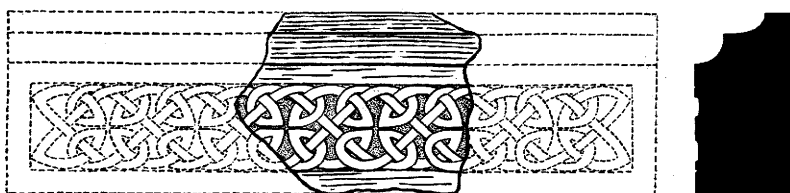


Fig 1 Scale, one twelfth approx.

concave mouldings. It is decorated by a well-executed circular plait within a panel 14.3 cms. in width. In figure 1 the plaitwork has been extended to an arbitrary length and terminations to the plait suggested.

The Plaitwork

The derivation of circular plaitwork is very adequately described in J.

1. T.D.G.N.H.A.S. 111/5/34-8.
2. T.D.G.N.H.A.S. 111/5/44.
3. P.S.A.S. Vol. X., p.721.

Romilly Allen's "Early Christian Art in Scotland."⁴ However, as this volume has for long been out of print, the basic details of plait derivation are now noted.

Circular knotwork may possibly have been suggested by those patterns derived from an eight-cord plait (fig. 2/i) in which some of the cords may make very distinct circular curves (fig. 2/ii). By pointing the ends of the loops and rounding the backs of the curves a very small amount of distortion is sufficient to transform fig. 2/ii into a true circular plait (fig. 2/iii) in which the basic eight-cord plait is almost totally obscured.

The Occurrence of Ring-Plaits

In "The Early Christian Monuments" Allan could only cite Swiss (Grandson and Zürich) and North Italian (Como and Brescia, S. Salvatore) examples.⁵ The simple plait, as at Ruthwell, does however occur rarely in Great Britain. For example it occurs as a door-lintel or string-course decoration at Ripon; a cross-shaft at Sheffield; on the well-known grave-cover at Jedburgh Abbey; and on a late (?) IXth cent. cross at Hexham. Although simple plaits are uncommon multiple ones are not — relatively speaking. Double-plaits occur at Dolton, Devon; Ramsbury, Wiltshire; Tuam, Co. Galway (vertical arrangement) and Nigg (horizontal arrangement). Triple vertical plaits are known from Cossins, Forfar; and Ramsbury, Wiltshire. More complicated ring-plaits may be formed by the addition of a single ring as at Monifieth and Kirkecolm; or by the addition of extra cords at each side as in the examples at St Oswald's, Durham; Durham Cathedral; and Alnmouth, Northumberland.

The Architectural Utilisation of the Fragment

In respect of south-west Scottish ecclesiastical architecture we know that

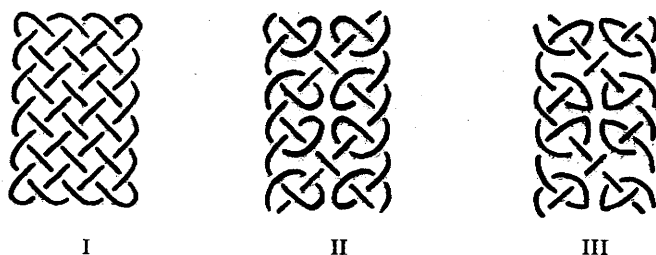


Fig 2 Suggested derivation of circular plait from eight-cord plait.

some stone-built churches certainly existed. For example at Whithorn,⁶ Hoddam,⁷ Ardwall Island,⁸ Chapel Finian⁹ and very probably at St Cuthbert's Kirkcudbright. In these churches our evidence for decoration is minimal and what exists seems to be related to Irish and Anglo-Saxon models; for example roof

4. Early Christian Monuments in Scotland.

5. Illustrated in the Disney Lectures on "The Anglian Sculptures of Pre-Norman Age" for the Lent term. 1889. Cambridge University Press.

6. T.D.G.N.H.A.S. 111/27.

7. T.D.G.N.H.A.S. 111/31. Hoddam, in common with many English Anglo-Saxon churches, is constructed with re-used Roman masonry.

8. T.D.G.N.H.A.S. 111/43/84.

9. T.D.G.N.H.A.S. 111/28/28-40.

finials at Ardwall Island and romanesque cushion-capitals at St Cuthbert's, Kirkcudbright. Although the Ruthwell fragment may be paralleled at Ripon, Hexham, and in the illuminated manuscripts of the period we must look ultimately to the classical churches of Byzantium and more especially to those in Northern Italy and Switzerland. By reference once again to the works of J. Romilly Allan, on this occasion his "Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times,"¹⁰ we may place the Ruthwell knotwork in what Professor Raffaele Cattaneo calls the "Italo-Bizantino" period and dates to the period 800-1000 A.D. We can be assured that the transference of ideas at this period was swift—innovations required only a few years to extend themselves from the heart of the Roman church to the Celtic fringes. This interchange was well established by men like Saint Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop in the 7th century and so it must have continued throughout later centuries.

Unfortunately we cannot derive too much information from a single carved stone but perhaps we can see the (?) IX-Xth century church at Ruthwell as a small building — perhaps a cell of Hoddam as suggested by Collingwood¹¹—decorated by interlacework string-courses, door-surrounds and also possibly pierced screen-work. It is extremely unfortunate that the mediaeval and earlier churches at Ruthwell have been swept away but at least in this remaining fragment we have an indication of their former splendour.

Appendix

A Further Architectural Fragment from Ruthwell

Among the collections at Dumfries Burgh Museum is a second architectural fragment from Ruthwell which is described here in order to provide a little more evidence of the sequence of structures on the site. The fragment is a semi-circular drum-capital 37 cms. in height and 80 cms. in diameter, decorated by arcading 15 cms. in height by 9 cms. in width. Above the arcading there are two simple roll-mouldings, at each end of which a recess has been cut to allow the pillar to be set into a masonry wall or screen. The back and underside of the fragment bear a considerable amount of secondary work in which the capital appears to have been turned over, the socket-hole enlarged, and then used as a rude font or piscina.

We may suggest a date for this fragment using W. G. Collingwood's dating evidence for the very crude late hog-back at Hexham Abbey.¹² Collingwood felt that the hog-back in question was copying the well-known Norman architectural feature of arcading. Arcading is first seen on a capital of about 1078 at Lastingham and is first introduced architecturally at Durham Cathedral in 1093. We may therefore provisionally date the Ruthwell capital to the last quarter of the 11th century.

10. *The Antiquary Books Series* by Methuen, 1904, p.244.

11. *T.D.G.N.H.A.S.* 111/5.

12. *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, London, 1927.

THE RE-DISCOVERY OF A CROSS FROM KIRKINNER

With notes on some other South-West Scottish Archaeological Items

By James Williams F.S.A.Scot., F.R.S.A.I.

In 1867 Dr John Stuart, in his "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" [Spalding Club publication]¹, described two crosses in the churchyard at Kirkinner in Wigtownshire. By the time of R. J. Romilly Allan's monumental work on "The Early Christian Crosses of Scotland" (1903) the second of the crosses had disappeared and nothing was known of its whereabouts. The first cross has recently been cleaned and now stands within the church where it is a most impressive example of a cross of the Whithorn type. (See plate VII).

In October/November 1968 Lt. Col. A. J. C. Kennedy of Knockgray, Carsphairn, contacted Dumfries Museum to say that he had fragments of a stone cross in his garden along with one or two other archaeological items. A visit was made to Knockgray and the cross proved to be the missing No. 2 Cross from Kirkinner Churchyard. This cross, along with certain other archaeological items, had been obtained from a Mr Walter Armstrong of Kirkcowan by a member of the Kennedy family during the 1880's. Fortunately Colonel Kennedy still possesses the original correspondence relating to this transaction and this will now be reproduced, in part, below:

Tarff House, Kirkcowan,
Wigtownshire. 22nd Dec. 1885.

To Capt. Clark Kennedy.

Dear Sir,

When up calling upon Revr. George Wilson of Glenluce the other day he mentioned to me your offer to exchange specimens of antiquities. Of course he has sent all his away to Edinburgh but he said I might write you. My Galloway specimens at present do not amount to many but what I have I will be most willing to exchange, either for specimens in Stone or Bronze of Great Britain.

I give you a list with localities as far as I can, and will dispatch them at once on hearing from you. I am promised some Celts (Wigtownshire) and will communicate with you with a view to exchange. I am a Galloway Man but have no particular regard for local specimens further than to have them a time and study them and exchange for other specimens. Of course, I have a preference for Scotch Antiquities over English or Irish. Your early reply will oblige.

Yours truly,

Walter Armstrong.

I am in want of a Bronze Celt & c.

1. Brackets thus [] are used throughout the text to indicate notes, measurements, and comments by the present writer.

List of Antiquities for Exchange

Shale ring, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick, Corsock, Kirkcudbrightshire.

Small piece twisted wire, Bronze. Mid Torrs.

5 Stone Whorls. Wigtownshire.

1 Oblong pebble $3\frac{1}{2}$ x $2\frac{1}{2}$ with circular Hollow in centre from Sandhead, Wigtownshire.

2 Fragments of Urns from Mid Torrs, Wigtownshire, one is a large fragment with a design.

1 shale Button $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

2 pieces Bronze Spill overs [? slag] from Mid Torrs, Wigtownshire.

Bronze Brooch or Buckle ring $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. diam.— $\frac{1}{4}$ thick, Clayshant, Wigtownshire.

Small cup or Urn perfect. Wigtownshire. Locality unknown.

[There now follows an apparent gap in the proceedings of approximately seventeen months although obviously no progress was made with the exchange. The next letter, dated 6th May, 1887, continues thus:]

On Monday last . . . I was having a field day with Mr Wilson of Glenluce. He was along spending the day with me. We visited the Standing Stones of Torhouse, Holystone of Crouse, Standing Stones of Boreland, cairns at Boreland. Also cairns at Shanington and Glasnic Hut Circles & c. He seems much pleased with the day. I was the same. I will give you here a slight episode of an urn. I have given the same story to Mr Wilson².

"While a man named Mr ——— Alexander was removing a lot of road metal from a cairn in the corner of the field at the plantation behind the present workers Houses. He came upon a slab, with some difficulty he managed to raise it far enough to see a crock. Gold. Gold. Gold. with renewed strength He overturned the slab. but dismay and disappointment filled his heart when he looked upon an empty earthenware crock. He took it home, let his family see it, related the story and put it down. Some neighbours from Kirkcowan looked in to see the treasure. Told him it was the Brownie of Bladnoch punch bowl. This went well enough until the father of the late Capt. Hammilton of Craighlaw called to see it and told him someone had been cremated and this was the burial urn. Alexander resolved within His own mind its days would now be short and that evening amused Himself throwing stones at it until it was in a Thousand pieces."

I have gathered several of these incidents from the people. Several of them I have given notes of to Mr Wilson who is very glad to have

² This tale appears to relate to Shennanton Cairn—see R.C.A.M.'s Inventory of Monuments in Wigtownshire, p. 40

³ This work, as far as can be determined, was never completed, and unfortunately no record of it now exists.

them for his manuscript. In fact this might not be out of place in your forthcoming volume³. My Dear Sir I will do anything I can for your collection or volume. I will procure you rubbings of any stone you want or even a photograph. That is if you are content with amateur work or I could give you a drawing of any particular one.

In making your remarks on the "hole-stone" at Crouse, Kirkinner, the farmer Mr McConchie told us that there was a second stone stood beside the present hole stone. it had a hole on the top of it and not such a large boulder. so he had it removed and it was broken up about 20 years ago.

There is a man 4 miles from here has found a stone mortar-like thing with a handle, out of the solid, and I think it is Salurian Sandstone about 8 inches high. I was trying to buy [it] a week ago but the woman, after I had offered her 10/- for it said "na! na! my cannie chiel, I have had luck since I brought it into the House and I wad not part with it for something, my hens have laid 2 eggs a day since I got it!"

About money I think we will be able to bartar all the specimens: I think I never accepted money in my life; and about Dunraggit from the [?] All Urchins⁴. He knows well the value of arrows and c. I found a very nice complete urn last week; a small one about 3 ins, of the Bronze period, and on my way home I had tea with Mr Wilson [of] Glenluce, and bartered it away for a nice flint celt and a few other things: I intended this for you but I could not well refuse him, as He is at present busy getting up a paper on urns⁵.

yours truly

Walter Armstrong.
Tarff House, Kirkcowan,
15th August, 1887.

Dear Sir,

It is now a long time since I had a letter from you . . . I have been thinking for some time past of exchanging my collection of Antiquities for a (tandem) tricycle. of course I mean a good second hand machine of a good maker. I prefer doing this exchange to taking money so if you thought of going in for them on these terms I could send you a list of them. I have not acquainted Mr Wilson or anyone but yourself of my intention so I trust you will give me a reply as early as you conveniently can on the subject as I should like a machine before the sands of the season has just run out and to any one in the vicinity of London these machines are to be purchased

4. Possibly one of the worthies who gathered archaeological specimens in Luce Sands and sold them to Museums and private collectors.

5. Possibly "Notice of Urns in Wigtownshire. with Notes on Implements." This paper was read at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on Scotland on February 14th, 1887.

second hand at not much money. in fact for three Maori celts I have been offered £8—but I never sold or accepted money and I do not want to do it now: hence I prefer exchange so if you communicate on this subject we may come to an arrangement.

Yours truly,

Walter Armstrong.

P.S. I have got a slab from Kirkinner a few months ago (4 ft. 4 ins. by 1 foot) I bought it from Mr Milligan of Kirkinner village.

19th August, 1887.

My Dear Sir,

I herewith enclose a list of Antiquities as promised. as this is the only list I trust you will not mislay it, you can look it over and if possible per return let me know how much you will give me for them which offer will clear up any little balance of exchange that may be between us.

When looking over my list today I had a call from an American Antiquarian that was anxious to buy the little lot but I told him they were already as good as sold but with even that answer He would scarce be put off the Antiquarian Mania was so high in him.

I have a small complete urn a few inches high, I will include that also but I cannot get it for a few weeks a[s] I gave it to a gentleman to illustrate a lecture and the gentleman is on Hollidays. but it will follow as soon as I get it.

I advertised a day or two ago for a tandem tricycle. I have got a lot to choose from so if convenient you might make me an offer per return so that I might know how to proceed. If we come to terms I will have them carefully packed and placed on rails to any address wou wish. I have one or two little antiquities promised me from people up and down but I have not had time this season to go in for any of them towns but I will not be long untill I am round them, your early reply will oblige.

Yours truly,

Walter Armstrong.

[There then follows a long detailed list, with illustrations of the various items, this will be reproduced, with notes and comments, as an appendix.]

August 20, 1887.

My Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your favour of 20th and thank you very much for offer. at the same time I think you set no great value on them. I could certainly realise more from some collectors, even were I to send them into

Anderson⁶ at Edinburgh I could get considerably over that sum. Shortly after I had got these Maori celts I was offered £8 for the three but I had only newly got them and did not at that time want to part with them.

In fact, had times been good I would not have parted with my specimens at all, and since I have opened up communications with you I would like to make a bargain so that you would become the possessor. I do not like the idea of them going over to America although from a money point of view I could make a few pounds more. In fact I got offered at first from the Yankee £15—that is nothing it would be sadly against my principles to allow them to cross the Atlantic.

But to come to terms I cannot accept less than £10, at least I would not like, but if you could see your way to that, I would like very much, and I would add a few things more that I missed. The reason I am anxious for that sum is the cheapest second hand machine in the Market is £10 (I enclose letter, please return in yours) and I would like to close the bargain with him regarding it in case I miss it. That is my immediate reason or money would never have stood in the way of a bargain between us. I admire an **enthusiast** in anything more particularly in Antiquarianism.

I bought the quern stone up in the Island of Harris from R. Hornby Esq. late of the Tarbet Hotel when he was lessee of that establishment and now resides at 22 Westmoreland St., Glasgow, so you could communicate with him if you think there is not a genuine ring about them but I can vouch for their history and association with that unfortunate prince. They cost me £2:10/-. I enclose you a small list of things I will add and trust you will see your way to let me have cheque or P.O.O. for £10, besides I may throw many more specimens your way from this district.

Trusting to have your early reply.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours truly,

Walter Armstrong.

P.S.—You need not return the MSS if you go in for the collection.

I will supply **boxes & c. Free.**

Supplementary List

- [1]. 1 Single quern stone. Keeper of Torhouse Moor found it on Moor.
- [2]. Very pretty "**under**" stone for "pestel Quern." I got it from Mrs McKeand, Torhouse, Wigtown, found on Torhouse Farm, Wigtownshire [This quern-stone still remains at Knockgray].
- [3]. A small piece of **Tartan Kilt** (belonging to P. Charlie) left in a house or hut; on Island of Tamasay, Hebrides. R. Hornby Esqr.

6. Joseph Anderson. Keeper of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh.

- [4]. Curious old wooden lock or bar: Island of Harris.
- [5]. Wooden Cas-chrom or hand-plough, Island of Skye.
- [6]. 2 small arrowheads, sandhills, Glenluce. Rev. G. Wilson.
- [7]. A collection of fragments of Urns & c. Sandhills, Glenluce.
- [8]. 3 fragments of mediaeval Pottery found while excavating in Carloverock Castle, Dumfriesshire, 18 years ago. Factor Lord Herries.
- [9]. A collection of very ancient clay pipe-heads found while excavating Site of Greyfriars's church [1868] on site of Dumfries Castle. Supposed to have been smoked by soldiers of garrison of that castle about 300 years ago. Some material in the head of one was analysed and found to be a sort of lint, so evidently it had been before Sir W. Raleigh introduced the Weed. R. Gibson, Antiquarian, Dumfries.

You will find this a cheap lot at £10 and I will make it better by and by when I begin to move about the country. Please reply early as I do not want to miss this opportunity of [a] Tricycle.

[Thus ends the final letter of the collection: However, from the presence of the cross and some of the quernstones at Knockgray, we must, I think, presume that the above complicated financial transaction was completed and Mr Armstrong finally became the proud owner of a second-hand tandem tricycle. The present whereabouts of the other items in the collection has not as yet been determined but it is hoped that the present publication may bring them to light].

Appendix

(Transcript of list supplied with letter of 19th August, 1887)

"Scotch Antiquities"

- 1. Maori Celt, 3 lb, polished. [24.3 x 5.1 cms].
- 2. Maori Celt, 1½ lb, polished. [16.7 x 6.5 cms].
- 3. Chisel or gouge shaped celt. [14.2 x 2.8 cms]. Items 1-3 presented by John Mill Esq, late of New Zealand, now residing at Portpatrick.
- 4. White flint celt, Denmark. From Collection of Lord Roschilde per Rev. Geo. Wilson, Glenluce [12.8 x 5.1 cms].
- 5. Small polished celt Mayo Ireland. From Rev. Geo. Wilson collection [7.3 x 4.4 cms].
- 6. [Axe Hammer] Found by David King on Knockibae Farm, New Luce, Wigtownshire, on 12th Oct., 1885. 6¼lb. [24.6 x 9.5 cms].
- 7. [Axe Hammer] Found Inch, Wigtownshire, 1840, by John Thompson [15.5 x 6.3 cms].
- 8. Key [21.8 cms in length]. Found in Cargen Glen, Kirkcudbrightshire by J. Patison [or (?) Paterson], Dumfries, near site of an old ecclesiastical building.

9. [Axe Hammer] Stone Age, 7½ lb., point slightly broken [23.3 x 10.2 cms]. Found by a workman when gathering stones to erect the present Established Church in Kirkcowan about 1834. From Mr Douglas, High Row, Kirkcowan.
10. Stone mould for [a luckenbooth] brotch found by William Marshall, Kirkcowan, 1866 [6.2 x 3.9 cms].
11. Bronze celt [13.5 x 7.3 cms]. Found near Whithorn by Mr (?) Bestrie, 1850. **Good specimen.**⁷
12. Perforated Sink stone from Island of Harris [12.8 x 7.7 cms] with a central perforation [3.8 x 2.5 cms].
13. Sink stone or weight found 1876 by Mr Nevison on Holm of Boreland, Kirkcowan [10.3 cms in diameter with a perforation 3.2 cms in diameter].
14. Stone Adze, Island of Harris. Found 1886, 1½ lb. [14.4 x 7.6 cms].
15. Hammer stone, mid Torrs, Glenluce. Rev. Geo. Wilson, 1879 [8.9 x 7.1 cms].
16. Hammer stone, Rev. Geo. Wilson, Lodnagapple, 1884 [7.3 x 9.2 cms].
17. Weight or sink stone found on Farm of Crouse, Kirkcowan, by R. McLeod, 1887. [Irregular pebble 8.3 x 9.5 cms with a 1.6 cms circular perforation in the centre].
18. Iron spearhead, convenanting period. Rullion Green, Pentland. Found by J. Sharpe Esq., Electric Staff, Post Office, Edinburgh. [29.0 cms in length].
19. Stone whorl, Barskeogh, Kirkcowan, 1879. [plain undecorated whorl 4.1 cms in diameter with a 2.0 cms perforation].
20. Stone whorl found at Bridge of Urr, Kirkcudbrightshire. Belonged to McDowall Family [plain undecorated whorl 4.8 cms in diameter with a 1.2 cms perforation].
21. Small ornamented line whorl found by A. McWilliam, a photographer, on Farm of Airies, Whauphill, Wigtownshire, 1885. [From the drawing it is not possible to make out if the decoration was in fact shown. Diameter 2.5 cms with a 0.8 cm perforation].
22. Ornamental whorl⁸ used by Mrs Griffin (?), Shop, Kirkcowan, Wigtownshire, 1866. [3.3 cms in diameter with a 1.1 cms perforation].
23. Iron whorl found by John Smith, Mason, when clearing out for a fo[u]nd[ation] in Kirkcowan, 1884. Unique. [3.5 cms in diameter with a 0.4 cm perforation].
24. Ornamented whorl. Found on Farm of Nether Corsock, by Castle-Douglas by Mr Armstrong, 1880. [3.3 cms in diameter with a 0.8 cm perforation].
25. Mahal or Withy Hammer, weight 7½ lb. Found by James Murchie, blacksmith, Kirkcowan (in 1886). [16.7 x 11.5 cms].

7. This item was exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on February 14th, 1887. See P.S.A.S., Vol. xxi, p. 194.

8. Items numbered 22 and 23 may be those referred to in P.S.A.S., Vol. xxi, p. 194.

26. Whorl found by G. W. Douglas, Kirkcolm, 1883. [4.7 cms in diameter with a 0.6 cm. perforation].
27. Polished whorl found Burra Moss, Wigtown, beside the ruin of an old cottage, 1879. [3.4 cms in diameter with a 1.5 cm perforation].
28. Whorl found by R. Lawson on farm of Barquhill, Wigtownshire, 1880. [Irregular in shape 7.0 x 3.6 cms with a 0.8 cm perforation].
29. Bronze Roman coin found on Road near Drumbuoy, Wigtownshire, 1870, by J. Watson. [Mr A. E. Truckell has identified the coin, from the poor rubbing which exists, as being of the 2nd century and probably of Antoninus Pius].
30. Brass Roman coin found near Aucheenree, Portpatrick. [Mr A. E. Truckell has tentatively identified this item as being 1st or 2nd century. The coin bears a wreathed head and may be of the "House" of Augustus].
31. Barrel of a Blunderbuss carried by the guard of the P. [ort] Patrick Stage coach. [Barrel of] Bronze or gun-metal. Part of Baynet [sic] attached. [From the poor drawing that Armstrong gives, not reproduced here, it is possible to compare this item with a similar weapon in Dumfries Museum which may have come from one of the Dumfries Banks. The Bank of Scotland [Irish Street Branch, Dumfries] has a pair of pistols with similar spring bayonets. Such items appear to have been issued to Banks and similar establishments during the unsettled times of the Napoleonic Wars].
32. 1. Quartz Boreing [sic] Tool found by Revd. Geo. Wilson, Mid Torrs, 27/7/1874. [Triangular flint 1.6 x 1.3 cms].
33. Flint flake or Scraper. Mid Torrs [7.6 x 2.7 cms].
34. 1 pair Quern stones. Complete, Perfect, 22 in. in diameter. Used to crush grain for Smugglers. R. Hornby Esqr late of Tarbert Hotel, Island of Harris.
35. 1 pair Quern stones, complete, ornamented, 18 in. [in diameter] these [sic] pair were used by Prince Chaily's [sic] own hand on the Island of Tamasay and were kept in the possession of a family of the name of Campbell, from who Mr R. Hornby (late of Tarbert Hotel, Island of Harris, now of 22 Westmoreland St., Glasgow) got them and from whom I bought them.
36. One [cross] slab, 4 foot 4 [ins.] by 1 foot. From Kirkinner, Wigtownshire. Got (bought) from Mr Milligan of that Village.



Plate VII the Kirkinner Crosses as illustrated in Stuart's Sculptured Stones of Scotland. The cross on the right is that now retained at Knockgray, Carsphairn.

BORDER PARISH CLERKSHIPS

by

Denis McKay, M.A., Ph.D.

The history of the parish clerk in the Scottish church can be illustrated from sources dealing with Border parishes. He first appears in Scottish records as the clerk assisting the parish priest at Roxburgh in 1331¹. The later history of the parish clerkship can be traced in the Retours and legal records about clerks like John Vaus (who) "being a papist left the office and past to wigtoun"² in 1560 because of the dismissal of all parish clerks in the kingdom of Scotland in open parliament.³

By the fifteenth century every parish and certain chapels in Scotland could claim by law and custom to have an assistant minister known as the parish clerk. The appointment of the clerk in the parish church followed the procedure approved by the First Lateran Council⁴ for the appointment of the parson of a church namely, presentation to the bishop, admission and institution by the bishop and thirdly induction by the bishop's representative.⁵ In some parishes the bishop or the king donated the clerkship. In others the clerk was presented by a great landowner, an abbey, a town council or by the parishioners themselves after a parish election.

The exact power of the parishioners to choose the parish clerk, a right they did not enjoy in every parish, can be exaggerated. Local magnates dominated the elections. It was the custom to "vote for the laird". It is unlikely that the Sanquhar⁶ election of 1548 went otherwise than was wished by William, lord Crichton of Sanquhar who attended the induction ceremony. Similarly at Mortlach in 1550 John,⁷ earl of Athol, led the voting and at Abernethy in 1548⁸ Archibald, earl of Angus influenced the voters in favour of his man.

The parish election usually confirmed a choice of clerk already made. Disputed elections were few. Public office tended to become the appanage of a family in the medieval period as in the case of the Hepburns, earls of Bothwell, High Admirals of Scotland. In the matter of filling the clerkship a determined conservatism often issued in the succession of father to son as at Sanquhar in 1548 or of brother to brother as at Houston where John Houston resigned the clerkship in favour of his brother.⁹ In 1547 Michael Balfour followed his brother Patrick, who fell at Pinkie, as clerk of Coldingham.¹⁰

Not everyone who was bound to worship in the parish church was entitled

¹ Glas Reg, 1, p. 247.

² Acts and Decrees, 6th May 1583, vc, fos 92, 93r.

³ *ratione exoneracionis omnium clericorum parochialium intra regnum Scocie in plano parlamento* RSS, xlv, fo 89.

⁴ A.D. 1123.

⁵ Addleshaw, *Rectors*, p. 19.

⁶ see appendix below under Sanquhar

⁷ *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, ii, pp. 260-263.

⁸ Prot Bk Gaw, no 12

⁹ Prot Bk Alexander (Dysart Burgh Register) fo 1099.

¹⁰ RSS, 11, no 2473.

to vote at the election, only those able and required to meet the parish dues, *generosi viri, husbandi et tenentes*. Women landowners, often widows, like *Joneta andersoun husbanda in villa de pitcarite*¹¹ were entitled to vote. The custom of conducting the election *viva voce* also limited freedom of choice.

In parishes where the people were patrons of the clerkship the matter was usually decided by an election commonly held in church on Sunday before the principal mass of the day, the vicar's mass, the high mass when "the greater part of the parishioners would perhaps be present".¹² Elections were also held in the tolbooth and, contrary to the recommendation of canon law, in private houses. The whole election at Mertoun in 1550 was conducted at the homes of the parishioners and in the presence of the laird whose younger son was duly elected.¹³ A notary and his witnesses attended the election and recorded the names of the voters, *major et sanior pars parochianorum*, on a deed for submission to the bishop's chancery.

Usually there was only one candidate at a parish election. Disputes arose when rival families could not agree about the choice of clerk as when the Arnots and Kennedys quarrelled at Inch in 1529¹⁴ or when the Muirs and the Cunninghams fought at the parish church of Stewarton in 1508.¹⁵ Sometimes members of the same family disputed the title as at Glencairn in 1511 when John Fergusson and his son Alexander both claimed.¹⁶ Disputed elections were taken before the courts civil and ecclesiastical, sometimes to Rome. When Sir John Duncan resigned from the clerkship of Melrose in 1553 Thomas Reid was provided thereto by Rome.¹⁷ James V regarded Sir John Duncan as *veterator technis*, a worthless old man.¹⁸ He is described elsewhere as "a notorious character of the period and one of the most typical of the band of Scots who at this time were hangers-on at the papal court and agents in the purchase of benefices".¹⁹

In burghs the alderman and council could deal with the succession to the clerkship sometimes on their own authority²⁰ but more regularly "with the advise of pairt of the communitie".²¹ A dispute at Jedburgh in 1537-38 showed the votes of the people divided between Master Nichol Rutherford and Sir Hew Curry. The town council favoured Rutherford and wished to seal his deed of election with the burgh seal and make their man official. The dean of guild refused to give up the seal for this purpose as being unconstitutional for which action he was put in ward. The Lords of Council ruled that such sealing was to be of no advantage to a candidate.²²

11 Liber Sententiarum Officialis S Andree Principalis, fo 236.

12 Glas Rent, 1, no 47.

13 Prot Bk Corbet, no 44.

14 ADC, xl, fos 21 v, 24 v.

15 Dumfriesshire Trans 3rd ser, 14 p. 24. I am indebted to the late Dr. R. C. Reid for many references.

Glas Rent, no 568.

17 See Appendix under Melrose.

18 RSS, ii, p. 416.

19 Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm, D. W. Easson, pp. 196-7.

20 St Nich Cart, ii, p.327.

21 Abdn Recs, p.44.

22 ADCP, p.464.

The practice of electing members of the gentry to the clerkship brought little honour to the office because they were often involved in the quarrels of their class, "the severall factiones of that tyme and the civill broylls that proceeded thereupon". These criminous clerks who were often married men in minor orders serving the cure through a depute clerk feature in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*. By canon law clerks were forbidden to carry arms, *quod clerici arma non portant*,²³ but parish clerks as well as the higher clergy were called to fight in the king's wars. The clerk at Fortingall was exempted in 1546 because he was afflicted with gravel²⁴ but Patrick Balfour, clerk of Coldingham, fell at Fawside²⁵. George Carnis, clerk of Kirkchrist, was summoned for absence from the host at Tantallon in 1528²⁶. Parish clerks were frequently charged with homicide among them being Ninian Makke, clerk of Penninghame, who was before the courts in 1534 for the slaughter of Alex Makke.²⁶ Parish clerks enjoyed *privilegium fori* and were repledged from the civil court to the bishop's court, which could not deal in blood thus escaping the axe or the rope. It was only when a clerk was degraded that he ran the risk of execution for homicide.²⁷

When the notary's protocol certifying the election of the clerk was received at the bishop's chancery a writ of *Inspeximus* was issued ordering induction if the choice of clerk was approved, usually in a matter of days.²⁸ Sometimes the ceremony of induction followed immediately upon election as at Sanquhar in 1548 when "William Lard Creychton and parishioners (names listed) having been well and ripely advised unanimously elected Thomas Clerk son of the said Edward, whom failing the said Edward himself to the said office of clerk of the Church and Parish of Sanquhar and delivered to them the said amphora of holy water with the aspersorium whereupon Sir John Young vicar of the said church admitted the said Thomas so elected. These things were done in the Choir of the aforesaid church at 10 o'clock forenoon on 15th July 1548 the witnesses being the said Sir John, vicar; John Muir and John Menzies chaplains; Finlay Barry and John Robert Clerk laymen".²⁹

The ceremony of induction and the tradition of symbols of the office which might be keys, bell ropes, altar cruets, a handbell, some greenery described as hyssop, a ring or bonnet were essential parts of lawful possession. The importance of symbols and of oral ceremonies in an age of transition to the *ius scriptum* of the title deed can be seen in the complaint of John Innes of Calder, clerk of Urquhart, that he had been deprived of his "littel pot" in 1556.³⁰

In burghs the parish clerk was a person of some importance working to a contract duly "registerit in the regester of the towne." In 1552 the clerk of

23 *Concilia Scotiae*, p. 52.

24 *RSS*, iii, no 1583.

25 *ibid* no 2473.

26 *Justiciary Records Court Book*, fo 115 v.

27 *Pitcairn, Trials*, i, p. 151.

28 *Hunter and Harvey Writs*, nos 14, 15.

29 *Prot Bk Cuthbert Craig*, fos 16v, 17.

30 *Justiciary Records Court Book*, 1556, 30th April, fo 23 v.

Dumfries made an agreement with the town council concerning his duties.³¹ Richard Barclay, subsequently sacked for "doing contempt" to the bailies, signed his contract as clerk of Dundee on 27th September 1543.³² The clerk and his servants saw to the lighting and cleaning of the church besides serving at the altar and ringing the bells. Sometimes he played the organ and kept a song school. The sacristan parish clerk of St Giles, Edinburgh, was to "tyne his benefice of sacristan in Sanct Gelis Kirk in cais ony dosane of chaplanis of Sanct Gelis Kirk wald prief the kirk wantit fyre and watter in his defalt."³³

In England the medieval parish clerk intoned the responses at the ceremony of the *Asperges* before mass and read the epistle during mass. In Scotland the parish clerk officiated at the *Asperges*, for the first time at his induction, but he did not read the epistle. Yet some degree of literacy was expected for he kept a Clerk Book listing the parishioners to check payments of clerk mail, a money payment, and clerk meal, a tithe of grain at the rate of one firloft per plough.³⁴ The Clerk Book like the parson's Easter-duty book, *rotulus paschalis*,³⁵ was to be brought to the head town of the shire for the census proposed by the Lords of the Articles in 1556 "for the better uplifting of the taxes".³⁶ The following entry in *Edinburgh Burgh Records* details the loyal response of the city.

6th Dec 1556

Item, the sixt day of December, for the cople of ye parochie clerk buik for the mair suir knowlage of all personis abill of bodye & guidis, conforme to ane ordinance set furth be the Secreite Counsale: vj^d

Item, for candill to the clerk in writing theirow viij^d 37

In some parishes the clerk enjoyed an income at least the equal of the parson's. Besides the legally guaranteed payments of clerk mail and clerk meal he could claim a fee at ceremonies requiring holy water e.g. churching of women after childbirth, because he had "the rule and administration of holy water in the parish". Weekly he made a tour of the parish to asperse the people in the homes with *styk and stop*.³⁸ Funerals were particularly remunerative for the clerk for it was the common practice to leave "bell money". At Bothans the clerk received six shillings and eightpence at anniversary masses, the commonest service of the age.³⁹ Among the better-off clerks can be numbered pluralists like Sir John Jarden, parson of Yetholm, who was also clerk of Kelso⁴⁰ and Sir Patrick Waus, royal almoner,⁴¹ who was parson of Wigtown and clerk of Kirkcaldy⁴² and whose official appearances at either parish must have been

31 Dumfries Burgh Court Book.

32 Henderson Collection, no 158, SRO.

33 Lees, St Giles, p. 353.

34 Hutton's Collins, xi, no 55.

35 Liger S Thome de Aberbrothoc ii, p. 84

36 APS, ii, p. 604.

37 Edinburgh Burgh Records, The Burgh Accounts, i.

38 Reg Eviden S Andree, fos 57-59.

39 RMS, vol. 1513-1546, no 1962.

40 see appendix below under Kelso.

41 Waus Correspondence, i, pp. xxviii-xxix.

42 see appendix below under Kirkcaldy.

infrequent. These were principal parish clerks who shared the benefice with their clerks depute.

Appointments of parish clerks disappear from the records in 1560 and with them the spiritualities of the office. Although there are cases like that of John Charteris of Kinfauns who claimed legal immunities in 1563 "because he is ane Paroche-Clerk"⁴³ the name survived in the records chiefly through the administration of the temporalities of the office, "the house, biggins and yeards" which went with the job.⁴⁴ A modern reminder of the ancient office of assistant minister is the Parish Clerk's House at Crieff.⁴⁵

⁴³ P. tcairn, *Trials*, i, p. 424

⁴⁴ *APS*, iii, p. 430.

⁴⁵ "edificium seu domum vocat. ab antiquo LIE PAROCHE-CLERKIS HOUS—cum eius horto in villa de Crieff", *RMS*, vol. 1580-1593, no. 2300.

APPENDIX

LIST OF BORDER PARISH CLERKSHIPS

(Names of parishes are followed by shire and the name of the medieval diocese in capitals)

1 BUITTLE, Kirkcudbright, GALLOWAY

1511 George Carnis

(Justiciary Records Court Book, ii, fo 197)

1532 William Carnis, succeeded by

1532 Hugh Rig (*RSS*, ii, no 1405)

2 COLDINGHAM, Berwick, ST. ANDREWS

1513 Alex Hume

(*Liber Officialis S Andree infra partes Laudoniae*, fo 25)

1547 Michael Balfour, on the death of his brother Michael, slain at Fawside

(*RSS*, ii, no 2473)

3 CROSSMICHAEL, Kirkcudbright, GALLOWAY

1599 John Brown (*Acts and Decrees*, xviii, fo 312)

4 DUMFRIES, Dumfries, GLASGOW

1522 the parish clerk made an agreement with the burgh council regarding performance of duties

(*Dumfriesshire Trans*, 3rd series, 15, p. 103.)

1524 Sir John Lochlinson

(*Dumfries Burgh Court Book*, 1506-1532, fo 67 v)

5 EARLSTON, Berwick, ST. ANDREWS

1549 Sir James Hume, son of Alexander Hume of Carrelsyde

(*Prot Bk Corbet*, no 93)

6 GLENCAIRN, Dumfries, GLASGOW

1511 John Ferguson and his son Alexander in dispute over the clerkship

(*Glass Rent*, no 568)

1547 Sir John Mure, chaplain, succeeded by

1547 Cuthbert Grierson

(*Calendar of Charters*, *SRO*, viii, no 1398)

7 GREENLAW, Berwick, ST. ANDREWS

- 1551 6th October, Triancorus Reidpath
(Justiciary Records Court Book, fo 56 v)

8 HASSENDEAN, Roxburgh, GLASGOW

- 163ⁿ reference to clerk-croft
(*Retours*, i, Berwick no 22; cf *ibid* nos 172, 185, 251)

9 INCH, Wigtown, GALLOWAY

- 1529 Henry Arnot and Walter Kennedy both claiming the clerkship (ADC, xxxx, fos 21 v, 24 v)

10 JEDBURGH, Jedburgh, GLASGOW

- 1538 Sir Hew Curry and Master Nichol Rutherford were candidates for the clerkship
(ADCP, 1501-1554, p. 464)

11 KELSO, Roxburgh, GLASGOW

- 1543 Sir John Jarden, parson of Yetholm
(Acts and Decrees, i, fo 554)

12 KIRKCHRIST, Kirkcudbright, GALLOWAY

- 1528 19th December George Carnis absent from the royal host at Tantallon
(Justiciary Records Court Book, iii, 1524-1531)

13 KIRKCONNEL, Dumfries, GLASGOW

- 1557 John Lokkie in Glenquharry
(Justiciary Records Court Book, vii)

14 KIRKCUDBRIGHT, Kirkcudbright, GALLOWAY

- 1557 William McClellane (Acts and Decrees, xv, fo 36)

15 KIRKCUM, Wigtown, GALLOWAY

- 5125 D. Walter Campbell (Justiciary Records Court Book, iii, 1524-1531)

16 KIRKINNAR, Wigtown, GALLOWAY

- 1554 John Inglis, deceased, succeeded by
1554 Patrick Mure, brother of Mungo Mure of Rowallan (RSS, iii, no 729)
1554 16th September, Sir Patrick Vaus (Barnbarroch Charter)

17 KIRKMADRYNE, Wigtown, GALLOWAY

- 1534 8th June, David Ahaunay (Justiciary Records Court Book, fo 115 v)

18 KIRKMAIDEN, Wigtown, GALLOWAY

- 1531 Henry McCulloch (British Museum, Additional Charters, no 21)

19 LILLIESLEAF, Selkirk, GLASGOW

- 1514 Thomas Riddale, deceased; succeeded by
1514 George Riddale, scholar
(Hunter and Harvey Writs, SRO, no 14)
1522 John Riddale, son of John Riddale of that ilk
(*ibid* no 15)

20 LONGCASTLE, Wigtown, GALLOWAY

- 1556 William Ahaunay, provost of Wigtown, succeeded by
1556 Pat Mure
(*Dumfriesshire Trans*, 3rd series, 14, p. 24)

21 MELROSE, Roxburgh, GLASGOW

- 1537 Sir John Duncan, "at the horn"; succeeded by
 1537 John Lithgow (RSS, ii, no 2288)
 1537 Thomas Reid (Justiciary Records Court Book, 1531-1539, fo 220)
 1538 Thomas Reid and John Baty both claiming clerkship
 (ibid, fo 272)
 1553 Sir John Duncan resigned
 1553 Thomas Reid provided at the court of Rome on the resignation of Sir John Duncan
 (Act Dom Con et Sess, ix, fos 28, 40)
 1557 27th January Thomas Reid granted his clerkship with "all profettis yairof" to
 John Hoppryngill during his absence in other parts
 (Prot Bk Stevin, fo 165; cf SHR, ix, p. 345).

22 MERTOUN, Berwick, ST ANDREWS

- c 1550 Andrew Haliburton, younger son of the laird of Mertoun
 (Prot Bk Corbet, no 44)

23 MINTO, Roxburgh, GLASGOW

- 1559 John Turnbull (Glasgow Protocols, v, no 1350)

24 NENTHORN, Berwick, ST ANDREWS

- 1536 Dominus Richardus Hewison, resigned the clerkship into the hands of the
 administrator and chapter of Kelso in the chapter house and the administrator
 delivered it with the consent of the chapter to
 1536 William Bell (Prot Bk Lawson, Riddell Colln, MS no 8, fo 32)
 1538 John Gladstone (Act Dom Con et Sess, x, fo 8)

25 PENNINGHAME, Wigtown, GALLOWAY

- 1534 8th June, Ninian Makke before the courts for the slaughter of Alex Makke
 (Justiciary Records Court Book, fo 115 c)

26 ROXBURGH, Roxburgh, GLASGOW

- 1331 clerk of the church of St James (Glas Reg, i, p. 247)

27 ST MARY OF THE LOWES, Selkirk, GLASGOW

- 1557 Robert Scott in Bonhill (Pitcairn, Trials, i, p. 400)

28 SANQUHAR, Dumfries, GLASGOW

- 1548 Edward Clerk, resigned, succeeded by his son
 1548 Thomas Clerk (Prot Bk Cuth Craig, fos 16 v, 17)

29 SELKIRK, Selkirk, GLASGOW

- 1489 Robert Scott and John Scott were sued by Alexander Kerr for possession of
 the clerkship (ADA p. 29)

30 SORBIE, Wigtown, GALLOWAY

- 1525 David Ahaunay (Justiciary Records Court Book, iii)

31 TOSKERTON, Galloway, GALLOWAY.

- 1548-1560 John Vaus, burgess of Wigtown
 (Acts and Decrees, 6th May 1583, vc, fos 92, 93 r)

32 TROQUEER, Kirkcudbright, GALLOWAY

- 1603 reference to clerk's tenement
 (Retours, i, Kirkcudbright, no 53)

33 WHITHORN, Galloway, GALLOWAY

- 1481 David Robertson (Roberti) whose tenement is mentioned in the boundaries of property at Whithorn in a Barronbarroch sasine of 21st November, 1481.
(Barronbarroch Charters)

34 WHITSOME, Berwick, GLASGOW

- 1557 John alias Jokelaw Fokert.
Justiciary Records Court Book, vii)

UNPUBLISHED WITCHCRAFT TRIALS

By A. E. TRUCKELL

Two sets of manuscripts relating to witchcraft trials in Dumfries and Galloway have until now escaped printing: copies of both sets were kindly provided by the Scottish Record Office some five years ago. They are well contrasted: the first group has been assembled by the Presbytery of Dumfries for submission to Edinburgh with a view to having commissioners appointed and a Justiciary Court trial held in the area: the comments of the Presbytery on each case are interesting as showing what criteria were followed by Justiciary Courts in witchcraft cases. This group covers seven accused and relates to Dumfries Burgh, giving a vivid picture of domestic life in the town in a rather difficult period of political unrest. It is this first group which will be dealt with in this article.

The second group, to be covered in a later paper, is 20 years later—1671 as against 1649—and covers the lower Urr valley and Rerrick: it is completely rural, giving a good picture of peasant life at the period, and is made up of two sets of evidence: the first is apparently for the local Presbytery and the second for the Justiciary Court which passed sentence: the Court's order to the Burgh for the burning of the two accused has survived and is in the Dumfries Museum. This trial is in the midst of the period of persecution of Covenanters which caused great social stress.

It is the fact of survival which makes the two sets of documents important, for the records of witchcraft are so spotty—casual references to witches being burnt, expenses for trials when there is no other mention of a trial: evidence for trials but no indication of sentence.

The surviving records do suggest that something in the region of 75 people, mostly women, were burnt in Dumfries and Galloway during the century or so of persecution, as against probably over 4,000 in the East and centre of Scotland, the almost complete absence of burnings in the Gaelic-speaking and still partly Catholic Highlands and Islands—and around 100,000 in Germany over the same period.

JUSTICIARY PROCESSES 1650

Dumfries Dittays Against Witches, viz.:

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Elizabeth Maxwell. | 4. Bessie graham. |
| 2. Marione Corsan. | 5. Ellesone Patersone. |
| 3. Thomas Paton. | 6. Janet diksone. |
| 7. Marione Sprott. | |

A true report off the malefices charmes and other presumptions off sorcerie and witchcraft practised be the persones following gevin in against thame be divers deponents off credit and worthie of beleiff.

Elizabeth Maxwell her accusation

1. It is fund be a former dittay against one masie swan helene blaik and jonet Irland

who sufferit for the damnable airt off witchcraft that Elizabeth Maxwell was associat and compairtner with thame in these pointts—that two honest men Looking into the hous of the said Elizabeth Maxwell in the nicht (hir Servant being put out), they saw the foirsaid three witches withe the said Elizabeth having a great fyer on, that was Lyk to burn the hous, practising thair sorceries—whairvpoun adam corsan his hors and nolt died, And he himself eftir that waisted away in his body estait and meins vntill his death for which the said three witches wer with vther points of dittay wer (sic) convict and burnt as is thairin set down at lenth.

2. It is deponed against the said Elizabeth that—coming to one Isset Pain with vpbraiding words cursing and railing for poynding hir dochter for some Lynt, shoe threattned that shoe sould er Lang Loss hir grace whairyon vmquhile harbert edgar hir husband contractit seiknes and with excessive sweating dies of two day seiknes.

3. It is deponit against hir that vpon discentione for taking ane rowme our hir head be one herberte sincklar in the parish of Irngray shoe enquyrit if he had any quick geir whiche being granted, it is fund that Imediatlie thaireftir all his cattell and beist took such a sweiting that they caist the hair and in the coldest day in winter wer still in such a stove of heat as they had bein in a furnace vntill they waisted away nochtheles All their neichbours geir round about thrave weill eneuch not trublit with any such disease and befor this disease ocertook the cattell the said elisabeth sent to the said Robert sincklar and bad the Messenger say that they came not so rich in but they soud goe (written over "went") as poor out and it was fund they waist away with two skabbit ky also who also died.

4. Thair befell a contraversie betwixt hir and one bessie baitie spous to Robert Rennik anent the change of ane halff crown and parting in wraith the said bessie becam frantick and continews so to this day having contractit hir frensie within a day or two eftir this debat.

5. A contention aysing betuixt the lady midlebee, neece to the said Elizabeth and Margaret Richartstone spous to John burges baillie which was in the heiring off the said Elisabeth, the said Margaret contracted a heaveie seiknes, which agnes coipland hir mother suspecting to be the malefice of the said elisabeth came to her as shoe was counselled and plucking thrise at her asked hir douchters health for God his saik, eftir whiche the said margaret convalesit presentlie having Lyin bedfast the space of two moneths.

6. Margaret Kathcairt spous to vmquhile adam Corsan who was also stepsone to the said Elisabeth maxwell coming to hir vpoun his death bed and by intercession off freinds and neichbours (who verily suspected vpoun pregnant presumptions that shoe was instrumental both of his seiknes vnthryving and Losse off goods) did request hir to come to hir said stepsone and he reconsiled with him, which shoe most stubbornlie and obstinatly refusing Mr. Thomas Ramsay then minister off dumfreis desiret Thomas mcbrair baillie to incarcerat hir eftir which the said Adam died in great pain, and what followed to the said bailly will by ane article following be made manifest.

7. Jannat dikson spous to the said Thomas mcbrair bailly depons that vpoun incarcerating of the said Elisabeth, shoe did bitterlie avow that it would be a deir wairding whairyon very soone thaireftir the said Thomas contracted a verie heaveie disease which continuing for the space of two yeirs at Last took away his Lyff In all which tyme he still apprehendit and said it to his said wyff that elisabeth maxwell and kathrin edgar wer still nipping him and vpoun his death bed Laid it vpoun her and Left it with his freinds that the said elisabeth had bein both the instrument of his pain and death.

8. The said Margaret Cathcairt depons that the said elisabeth maxwell hir husbands stepmother came to hir and said shoe could not hinder hir to beir childrine but should Lat hir find shoe sould not have thame to prosper or thryve, whairvpoun three childrine died and the fourt being hir eldest sone misthryving one Agnes bailly was sent to some of the said Elisabeth's complices to desire the chylde his health, the effect whairoff proves that

the said boy convalescit and the said agnes contractit the disease that pursewd him and died thairoff.

9. William Gledstains being in the barne Row in the nicht tyme did see the said Elisabeth as he thocht ryding vpoun a cat and Leiding two in hir hand and calling to hir said mistris I know you weell whairvpoun going home he presentlie contracted a very heave disease and pain sweating continuallie all that night changing fyve shirts and fyve pair off sheitts, vtill his wyff finding out by enquiry whair he had bein and what was the occasion of it shoe went to Elisabeth gladstains hir good sister and told hir who crying out oh my brother, I avow to have thame brunt that hes thus wronged him, in heiring of the said Elisabeth maxwell who said presentlie feir not god blisse my godsonne and Soe his said wyff returning fund him convalescit.

Elisabeth Gledstanis depones the same and that shoe added feir not god dochter your brother will be weell and It was so.

10. The said Wm. gledstanis going throw the toun in vplifting the monethlie maintenance did come in to the said Elisabeth maxwell and demanding hir proportion, shoe said it sould be readdie at his bak coming but so soon as he came out he fund himself as it wer trust throw with pain and coud scarslie come to his sisters hous whair finding Jon Johnston one that was much used in the said imployment desiret him to go and being conveyd to his own hous the said Elisabeth eftir a few days was sent for who coming and bringing hir daughter with her said to the said Wm. his wyff at the entrie befor shoe saw him God help the he is a gone man but we sall do our best, notwithstanding vpon the next day he died and left his death vpon hir this is deponed be his said wyff and the said Jon Johnston.

11. Jannat oustin demanding from the said Elisabeth the payment of ten pound which with other particulars had kept thame often at variance the said Elisabeth said in greit spleine I have put the from nolt and horse and I sall also do the Lyk with thy brewing whairvpon still thaireftir the browsts went wrong and spilt and the woman who had credit befor became and continews poor and in greit debt.

12. helene maxwell spous to Wm. Irving being desiret be the said Elisabeth to drink with her which the young woman refusing shoe avowd it sould be worse with hir whairvpoun the said helene contracted a heave disease tending to a frensie vntill by advice shoe went down to the hous of the said Elisabeth and chairging hir with hir former threattings and the effects thairoff the said Elisabeth replied shoe would be weell and the young woman convalesit presentlie and continews in good health and restored to hir Judgement whairoff for a quarter of a yeir shoe was distracted this is deponet be the said helene maxwell.

Thair is divers other pregnant presumptiones against the said Elisabeth which to avoyd prolixitie ar not set down but sall be made up in a dittae and provin befor the commissioners and assyse chosyn for Judging hir.

The said Elisabeth maxwell being tryit be the man who professes to discover witches by satans mark, befor shoe put off hir shoes and stockings said God help us we have meslet skins we sit neir the fyer, and being blindfolded notwithstanding that shoe was sensible in the chyne and shrinked yet being questioned thairefter whare shoe fand pain, shoe could not point the pairt nor did any blood appeir at all, the pin being thrust in a place full of vains and sinews in her leg upon ——— (illegible).

Our opinion is anent Elizabeth Maxuel that the same ewill report of So long a tyme, with the mark, togidder with the 2—3 and /5/ articles off the dittay are Relevant coniunctim, being all prowen, but allso, that 5/ and .3. wold not be Relevant per se Unto the which also we think that the /7/ article being Joyned and all Prowen coniunctim, may mak up a relevant pont of dittay In Respect of the swift and Suddan falling owt of the events efter the threats and the vnusuall maner of The Samen our opinion also is that in all dittayes founded upon threatres, and malefices following thairupoun that it be Lybelled and prowen BY THE SORCERIE AND WITCHCRAFT of the party Impanelled (our

opinion is that the /8/ and that the /9/ articles, quhairoff the /10/ is bot a part togidder with the /7/ are verie particular Threats and extraordinary events So suddenlie falling thairupon of the death of many with the taking off and Laying on of siknes and bosting of hir Inflicting of malefices are relevant to Inflict the punishment of death being all prowyn coniunctim.

Marioun Corsan her accusation

1. Johne Corsan depones that having Lent to his cussing marioun some money to pay hir debt, and demanding payment which shoe refusing and her offering to caus take hir befor the Commissary shoe in a thretting way promised him ane other thing to think vpoun nor he soud not have twentie pound to his wyff to pay the maltman and within a quarter off ane hour eftir hir outgoing the bottoms and girds brak off two new barrells full off aile which spilt all upoun the ground, and sensyne he hes continewd so poor that as shoe promist he hes not twentie pound to pay the maltman. He farther declairs that his wyff and said Cussing falling at variance and he interposing himself shoe promist him and ill turn the effect whairoff was his body took a swelling downward presentlie and continews so notwithstanding that his stomach for meit and other parts of his body are healthful enuech.

2. It is deponed against hir that having questioned one agnes maxwell off unkyndness having had some former correspondence and the said agnes alledging shoe could not unles the uther wold quite the mothers companie which was deemd to be a witche whairupon that nycht shoe dreamed that the said marion and her mother wer flyting with hir and upon hir awaking two greit cats wer beyond hir and laped of the bed upon which shoe contracted a grait pain with continuall sweiting and weaknes farther It is deponit that the said marion coming ane other tymes to tak away ane chair which being withholdin, within two days the said Agnes being alone in the hous was fund be hir sister and others Lying speechless vpon the ground and being caryed to hir bed fell again to hir sweiting and faintnes fasting for thre days untill that marion coming to hir and being kyndly inter-tanit the said agnes began to recover at that tyme, thaireftir the said agnes sending for a book to the said marion and the messenger not finding hir said to the mother off the said marion send it home for shoe nevir thrive since shoe sent it whairupon the said marion and hir mother coming to the hous quhair the said agnes Lived with her mother and eftir some discourse going to the doore the said agnes holding a candle to the stair heid the said marion gripped hir thryce and saying theiff thou cald my mother a witch, deir sall thou buy it, whairupon that nicht the said agnes fell sick and upon a saturday at nicht being waking shoe apprehendit that a voice spoke to hir bidding seik hir health off us and thy sleep and tell not Mr hew and iff thou doe it not thou sall not be weell which voice shoe thought to be reallie marions, to which shoe replied I sall nevir do it be Gods grace, and upon the sunday at nicht going to hir chalmer to pray having a candl with hir shoe thocht she fand the smell off a deid corps and heard the said marion and hir mother cousning with a thrid person, marioun perswading to cutt out hir tongue Least shoe sould be the reviler off thair good name to the which that thrid person which shoe supposd be satans voice replied that it coud not be gottin doun, whairupon she the said agnes crying out was fund upoun hir knees stupid and speechles for a Long tym and sensyn is strucken with distractioun and madness which still continews with hir.

our opinion is that Marion Corsan be kept in prison till hir mothers proces be maid and she tryed Seing the most pregnant dittay against the said marion Corsan is proven by a woman distracted for the present, Unto whom it may please god to restor health that she may be a witnes and all diligence would be used to try by skilful men whither hir disease be naturall or not, it Looks verie Lyke to be supernaturall if it be well examined. for if this Last poynt of dittay were sufficientlie proven be others then by the woman who is presentlie distracted it would be found to be a consulting with the divell and by dywlish art a Laying on of sicknes.

Thomas Patouns accusatione

1. So soone as the said Thomas and his wyffe wes aprehendit Thair Servant Jonet Ker being examined quhat shoe knew concerning thair Conversatione shoe replied and often repeated that They wer over Lang Livand be Twentie zeir and that the said Thomas Latd on the seiknes with his Ey vpoun any quhom he maliced and thairefter his wyffe did tak of the seiknes And in particular that the said Thomas Ane day coming by Agnes McGowne spous to Johnne Cunynghame and suspecting that show was Laughand at him he went home in ane Rage and returning againe to the said Agnes quhair shoe was winowing wheit Luikit braid vpoun hir and returning To his awin house said to his wyffe I trow that I have laid on that thing that shoe sall not cast in haist quhairat The said Thomas his wyffe was greittlie Displeised And the effect of which malefice was That the said Agnes returning to hir hous shoe fell down deid within ane hour and thairefter contractit ane heavie disease being troublit in bodie and mynd and quhair as yet shoe is not weill convalescit.

2. Kathrein Baitie spous to Jon Cuik declairis that hir said husband and Thomas Patoun Contending about some custome in which stryffe the said Jon haveing bludit the said Thomas Patoun his partiner of the customs sen syne The said Johnnes gudes did evanish and speciallie his gress quhilk so soone as he boght suddenlie schot to deid.

3. Isat Kirkpatrik depones that the said Thomas having fallen In some debait with his nichtbour Robert heslop did say to hir that he sould have no mair geir nor wes vpoun the palme of his Looffe The effect quhairof wes the said Robert did put away his wyffe with quhom he had Livit peaceablie befor and his whole gudis did evanish and he himselff Contractit ane Loathsome Deceis In his thigh In the quhilk miserie he died begging his breid.

4. John Rae Depones That the said Thomas sheip did eit his wheit quha hunted thame through the water and Twa of thame Drowned Quhairvpoun the said Thomas Praying ane curse To him and all that he had The effect quhairof wes That his gudis Did evanish that zeir To the value of Ane thousand pundis altho he sustenit no ordinair Lose mair nor any zeir to his knowlege speciallie, Twa of is horse sweiting In ane extraordinar way to death And thocht befor that tyme he had onlie peace and quyetnes In his familie zitt sen syne it is much disquyeted.

The said Thomas being tryed vpoun the Lefft shoulder by the tryall of the Long pin altho he feanit to feill some paine zitt could not tell the place nor no blood followit.

It is Deponed That ane seik man sekand Counsell at the said Thomas for hos health he advysit him to seik nyne mailles of ane blak cow which being gottin at the nynt tyme The Cow befor being Lustie scho died suddenlie that same day.

6. It is deponed that vpoun ane Contraversie betwix him and William Makburnie The Wyffe of the said William going to the mercat met the said Thomas efter which returning home being with chyld scho presentlie tuke hir pangs being aucht weekis befor hir tyme Quhair vpoun the said Martin fetching him and with all threiting him with ane Drawin whinger that giff his wyffe ailed any thing that he suld goe to his grave as soone as shoe And the said Thomas coming quhair the seik woman was And vsing some sort of prayers or charmes past out of the hous and the said William went along with him Bot Imediatlie the said William had notice that his wyffe was Lyk to expyre Quhairvpoun The said William threitning againe the said Thomas he said shoe was In the turne of the feaver at which words the said William coming bak to his hous and bringing him with him—presentlie eftir some mae charmes thair wes such ane quaking and shaking fell vpoun the hous and bed that all that was In the hous thocht that hous and all wald overturne efter which the woman recoverit.

7. The said Thomas being discontent at one Kathrein brydan for not selling him some aill he going out of the hous mutering to him selff the said Kathrein Contractit presentlie ane feirfull madnes which posest hir ay vntill hir sister went to the wyffe of the

said Thomas Patoun and avowit that hir husband had wrongit hir sister To the which the vther anssrit go home she hes bot gottin ane drink shoe will be better and vpoun hir return fund hir said sister asleip and thairefter presentlie conualescit.

8. The said Thomas Patoun and William Richardsone contending about the Pasturing of ane horse The said Thomas avowit that he sould not feid thair the next day and the effect provit so for the said William Lichting of his horse on the said ground the said horse was presentlie drowned in ane stank quhairas ane vther horse tyed with him ailed nothing.

9. It is fund that ane certane man Desyryng the said Thomas or his wyffe to Medzan him quhilk he vndertaking the said man fand him presentlie thairefter weill and send him beir for ane reward.

Bessie Grahame spous to Thomas Patoun hir accusatioune

1. vpoune the 12 day of January being apprehendit be the magistrats of Drumfreis being questioned be the provest if sho wer a witch shoe Declairit that shoe had some skill of words charming and did repeat be saying of sex wordis and said the divell a word wes mair in the charme. God teach me to pray to put the ill away, out of the flesh blood and bane into the earth and calld staine and nevir to come again in Gods name.

2. The said Bessie was desyrit to met the belt for ane chyld of Andro Arolls efter shoe had done so hir anssr wes for standing deid thair wes no remeid and the bairne died accordinglie.

3. Jonat haistie spous to Robert Ker Declarit the said bessie grahme did met the belt for hir chyld, and the effect was (blank).

4. Jonet Cunyghame depones that the said bessie grahme Did mett the belt for hir children being seik and they recoverit And in particular The said bessie having given meit to one of his childrein the chyld came home to his mother heavilie diseast and shew hir that he had gotin some meit from the said bessie efter which the said chyld fasted without aither meit or drink for the space of four dayis vntill his said mother went to the charmer and Desyrit hir To send some moir of hir meit to hir chyld And pray for him which sho did and efterward he conualescit.

5. Isobell goldie depones about twentie four zeir syne or thairby hir vmquhill husband servant caryine ane Lead of Corne furth of the port Thomas Patoun tuik his klok for custome which the said Isobell requyryng the fairsaid bessie grahme spous to the said Thomas began to contend In some wordis In which the said bessie vterit those words give hir the klok for shoe is zoung bot shoe may coole To the which the said Isobell anssrit Gudwyffe Ze gett ane evill word Bot I defy the Devill and all his work is eftir which being gat with chyld and haveing thrie monethis to goe shoe tuik hir pangs presentlie and travellit fyftein Dayes befor sho was delyverit eftir which sho contractit a sair seikness and had ane terrible sueiting thair with for thrie monethis at Last sending to the said bessie quha came to his hous shoe satt down over gainst hir bot wald be no meanes Lay hir hand vpoun hir althocht shoe was desyrit bot said the woman is wrongit bott they quha Laid it on can not tak it off.

6. Agnes Johnstoun Depones that having ane seik chyld scho went to the said Bessie and Desyrit hir help to hir chyld giving his some yuheit for hir pains Quhairvpoun shoe Tuik the bellt and mett it mutering some speiches with greit ganting eftir which she told the said agnes that the chyld was seik and wald not Leive and it provit so and the chyld died presentlie.

7. Edward makynnell Depones that havand desyrit the said Bessie to charme his beist and giving hir some quheit for hir Paines which help shoe haveing promisit to him and haveing vsit hir spells and the beist was whole at his returne althocht shoe saw not the said beist and this shoe did To Tua of his horses thairefter althocht sho saw thame not quhilk is hir ordinar course.

8. Andro Willsonsone being seik sent his dochter to the said bessie for helpe which haveing promisit This said dochter at hir Returne fand hir father begin to Convalesce

althocht shoe saw not the said Andro The Lyk sho did to William chairters nochtwith-standing shoe saw him not.

9. Janet thomsone and Margaret wauch hir nurish Depones that the said Margarat going to the said Bessie graham at Jonets Directioun for ane seik chyld The said Bessie graham Desyrit the nurse to hald the bellt quhill shoe metit it and say these words The Divell resaue the chylds grandssrs gudssrs father and mothers soules at which the puir woman being affrayed fled hir way and thairefter Contractit ane heaveie and vehement seiknes and the chyld died also becaus the nurs wod not repeat the charme.

The said Bessie graham being tryed on the Lefft shoulder thair wes no signe of blood nether could shoe tell the place quhair shoe was thrust and at the same tyme being tuitched vpoun the shoulder with the finger of ane that stood by she seamit to be more sensible of that nor of the pin quhairwith shoe was prickit.

As to the accusatiouns of thomas paton and bessie graham his spouse, we think the first article against the said Thomas verie considerable, quhair he bosts himself of Laying on siknes vpoun agnes magowin and the effect followed. The rest of the threats conteaned in the 2. 3. and 4. articles have not So necessarye ane cohesion with thair effects Although they be verie great presumptions. The 5 article is a verie divlish Lyk charme bot the custome of the Justice court is to find charmes relevant, onlie when they proceed from express paction with the divell, or from tacite paction and whither this be so or not the Lords will judge by the circonstances, and if they in thair Judgement think he knew this to be a diabolique crimen non Comittitur zit when he vsed it. Sine dolo et scientia.

The 6. article of one bosting the said Thomas for Laying Eiknes vpoun his wyff quhairoff sho convalessed, all the divynes do not approw of such a remeid, and So it is a presumption against the pannell. The 7 article maks good the first that the said Thomas Layd on Siknes and his wyf took it off.

The (8) and (9) Articles are presumptions to be Joyned with some relevant point. Our opinioun is that the /9/ article is most relevant per se if it be prowien.

The rest of the articles ar all metting of the belt and other charmes quhillk we Inclyn to think can not be presumed bot to proceed from a tacite diabolique Paction efter the vsing of them So long a tyme 24 yeares and of the execrable divlish words vsed in the 9 article, bot we would have the charmes Lybelled and prowen some of them not being altogether relevant per se.

Helesone Patersone hir accusatioune

1. Jean maxwell spous to William faireis Depones that the said Aliesone did questioun hir that shoe did Remember since hir husband was baillie at which tyme shoe alledgit he denyed hir Justice And claping hir hands swore thrie tymes by the Lords name he had repented it bfoir ane zeir came about and Thrie severall tymes cursit hir sellff and the Divell a bitt of her was gud quhen sho was angred and quha ever Did anger hir Did repent it and He in particular and Trew it is that about that tyme The said William his childrein Died and his gudis evanischit and all his affairs miscaried as is notorlle Knawin to all his nichtbours.

2. Alisone Hendersone Declairs that the said Helene patersone having Comit to hir house about ane zeir and ane halff since or thairby sho did Importunatie seik the Loane of ane curschaw aither clein or foull, efter many refusalls Lent hir one quhillk shoe sent bak the day following quhairvpoun the said Alisone henderson Contractit ane Dwyning Disease quhillk continewit for the spce of halff ane zeir vntil be advyce of freinds scho brunt the said Curschaw and Imediatlie thaireftir schoe Convalescit Quhillk the said Alisone patersone finding did earnestlie desyre the Loane of ane apron but was refusit quhairvpoun hir health was confirmed.

3. fllorence Irving Servitrix to Edward Irving Depones that John ffairbairne husband to the said Alesone Patersone Tuik off some cloth from the said Edward Irving and quhen the

said Edward came to seik the pryce of the cloth Alesone replied It could be ane deir craving to him and that same nicht he Contracted ane heavie Disease and Lay bedfast nyne weekis in greit torment crying for the said Alisone all the whyle at Last schoe came and vpoun hir kneis praying at his bedsyd god send him his health, he convalesit.

4. Alisone Hendersone declared that hir husband Thomas Baillie Takand pairt with James Kylie quha scho had violentlie thrust out of hir hous scho menassit and threatned the said Thomas Quhairvpoun he did Contract ane heavie and greit disease and Dwynd moir nor ane zeir In greit torment his sueit being Lyk stiffing vpoun his shirt daylie at Last In his torment he did expyre. (This fourt article is a pairt of the second which could be so placed.)

5. John Williamsone Declaires that Alisone Patersone Lay that nicht with his wyffe befor shoe was married quhairat he was much greived and at nicht efter his marriage Lay down In that same bed with his wyffe quhair the said Alisone and shoe Lay together the nicht befor and Trew It is that the said Johne was not able to Performe the Dewtie of the mariage bed To his wyffe for the space of twentie dayes' and ever since Remaines Debilitat In his bodie continuallie sweiting vntill this day. (Inquiratur vitermio de hoc articulo).

6. The said Jon Declaires that he coming to grind some malt In the mylne Alisone studied to prevent him quhairat the miller was offended the said alisone preceaving that scho was Lyk to be delayed said God nor the mill brek giff shoe grund any quhill I grind myne And Trew it is that or the malt quhilk is In the hopper was grund the mill did Brek The said Helesone being prickit on the gaird of the richt arme scho feanit to be sensible bot no signe of blood followit.

our opinion is that alisone Patersones dittay may be more exactlie examined with evidence, maid more clear, and to travell to gett Notorietate in permanentis facti following the threattis and menaces.

Jonet Dicksones Accusatioune

1. Jonet Andersone Depones that the said Jonet Dicksones having Bocht some Lint from hir husband Did bring back the said Lint pretending the samyn was vnsufficient Quhairvpoun efter some flyting The said Jonet anderson Desyrit the Lord to blisse hir To which the vther replying askit giff shoe thocht hir a witch To the which scho anssrit show callit hir none Bott Imediatlie thairefter the deponent tuik seiknes that same nicht quhairwith scho was verie sore visit vntill the said Jonet Dicksones was apprehendit be the Magistrats as ane witch and thairefter the said Jonet recoverit.

2. Kathrein Greinlies depones that Jonet Dicksones came in to hir house To buy some aquavvte quhairvpoun they fell in contest about a Licht shilling Among vthir speiches the said Jonet said It sall skaith zow moir or ells ze will be verie rich Bott Trew It is or the morrow ane barrel Contening fyftein pynts of aquavvte vnrine was dried up the barrell remayning haill and the place quhair it stuid remaynit dry And ffrom that day hir gudis melltit away and scandalous contentiones rose betwixt the said Kathrein and hir husband and as zit remaynes As also The said Kathrein Depones that sho had ane proper chyld of aucht zeir old of quhom the said Jonet said ze have ane gudlie child heir ze mak over much of him he will not Live Long with zow And on the morrow he Contractit ane extreame Disease and with paine and sweit consumit away in Allevin Dayes space.

3. Janet Roull Deponis that a zeir ago being Desyrit be the said Jonet to work tua dayes to hir which scho performit and Desyring hir wages the vther in steid of payment Did ryle vpoun hir and curse hir feirfullie efter the quhilk cursing and rayling The said Janet Roull did contract a fearful Disease which Did so suppryse hir that scho could hardlie win to hir awin hous In which seiknes scho zitt Continews sueiting exceidinglie In so much that nothing bott death is expected by hir The said Jonet Dicksones being Desyred to come visit the seik persone the Delinquent did altogether refuse this tuellmonth vntill that nicht a lytill befor scho was aprehendit Demanding If scho wald Lay hir deid vpoun

hir To which the said Jonet Roull anssrit that scho had never wrocht a day work since the said Jonet cursit hir and Does reallie suspect the said Jonet To be the Instrument of hir siknes quhairvpoun the woman is now died.

The said Jonet being thrust In the richt shoulder was sensible of the paine bot no blood followit and the Lefft shoulder could not be pearced be the tryar the heid of the pin being setit bak In the tryers thumbe (vide articulum — mo whair the partle conualescis vpoun hir Imprisonement).

It is farder deponed that one haveing a child sick was desyred by Jonet dickson to send with her, her own servant with the child to St. Jergans well who when they came to the well the said Jonet dickson did cast in the clothes in the welle which sank to the bottom and eftir did wash the child in the well and thereafter the said Jonet cam to ane thorne beside the well and rounne thrise about the said thorn withershines and in the morneing the said Jonet with her mother who was suspect of witchcraft also cam to sie the child and performe hir vthir charmes — who Laid the child betwixt tuo dorrs and vsed her charmes and thereafter took the fyre off the hearth and did putt the craddle and the child therin on the hearth and turned their back to the craddle rocking the same and zit the child died.

our opinion is that in the Last article thair is a verie diabolicall charme, and to all appearance procedeis from a tacit paction but the woman not having bein admonished, our opinion is that thair be further enquyrye maid against hir and although thair be bot one charme Libelled against her, it will be fund thair will be more.

Marion sprotis accusationes

1. Jonet Douglas depones that the sair Marioune coming to hir hous seiking ane almes and being denyed scho went to the fyre syd quhair umquhile Jon Turner hir husband vas sitting and griping him thryse namit him William Meartein Repeating the words thryse over and so depearted Quhairvpoun the said Johne Turner Taking ane sweit and groaning askit at his wyffe the womanis name for he feirit he was wrongit The said Jonet sieing his face dropping with sweit presentlie he Contractit ane heaveie seiknes sweating vehementlie Till the said Jonet fetchit Marioun sprot quha came and drank to him and prayed for him thairefter Departit notwithstanding quhairof the said Johne did not Recover bott did mellit and vanquish away untill he died.

2. Elizabeth Gibsone Depones that schoe having areistit one William Maxwell In the Tolbuith for Debt the said William wyffe and Marioun Sprote being In companie Marioun said to the other stay zow a lytill heir vntill I seik ane almes from Elizabeth Gibsone and so coming to the Doore and finding it closit the Dochter of the said Elizabeth with ane other Damasell being at the Doore the vther Damasell saluted hir quhairvpoun demandit quhillk the vthir was It was told hir scho was Elizabeth gibsones dochter vpoun the which the said Mairioun twichit the damessell thryse with the poynt of ane staffe vpoun the breist and Imediatlie the said Damesell Contractit ane heaveie seikness with ane greit paine In hir bowells efter which the said Elizabeth went to the hous of Marloun sproit with ane shoulder of muttoun In hir hand and knockit at hir doore Marion called out I Know your erand and quho sent zow and thairefter opining the Doore scho resaues the Muttoun from hir and prayed for hir chyld and the said Elizabeth returning to hir awin hous fand the bairne conualesit.

3. Johne Mairtein Declaires that Marioun sproit was sent for to Jon Murray being extremleie seik and efter hir conference with him scho came to Jonet Mairtein his Servitrix and tuik hir by the hand pretending sho was hir god dochter and gave hir somequhat Lyk annatseid to eit quhairvpoun Jon murray did Conalesce and the said Jonet Mairtein Did ramish to death within ffourtie aucht hours space Marioun being sent for vpoun the maidis Death bed scho was Desyrit to ask the maid forgiveness quhillk scho refusit and went away In wraith and so the maid died befor the said Marioun went home. Marioun sproit being prickit in the richt arme bled none and the Tryer affermit that the mark was In hir bellie.

The 1 and 2 articles are contrair to others In the event, and hes no necessarye and evident cohesioun. The 3 article hes a great malefice In taking off and Laying on siknes and killing of a woman quhilk doubtles wer sufficient wer it proven to be done by hir witchcraft — Whereas we hear that there is more Informatioun against hir then is conteanet in this peaper, we think it fitt that farther tryall be maid.

At Drumfreis 21 Janie 1650

The which day the Brethren of the presbyterie of drumfreis being conveyned after incalling of the name of God and reading and serious pondering of the particular dittaes given in and deponed against the persones following, viz. Elizabeth Maxwell, Marion Corsane, thomas patoun, Bessie Grahame, Alyson Paterson, Jonet Diksone, and Marion Sprotes, expressed in the eight Leaves of paper abonewritten: Have found weightie and great points of sorcerie and Witchcraft contained therein against every one of the saids persones: Wherevpon they may be justly put to the knowledge of an assise and punished Legallie therfor, if they be found guiltie and convict thereof.

And therefore they humbly entreat the Lords of his Majesties Counsell or estates of Parliament, to grant a commission to James douglas of mouswall Jon Crechtoun of Craufurdstoun, Thomas ferguson of Caitloch, Thomas Mcburnie provest Rot. Richartsone and Johne Burgesse ballies of drumfreis, men of approven fidelitie in relatoun to the publick, and wise and of a good conscience (to whom there Lordships have granted a commission of the like nature) To call before them the saids persones, and in a formall court trie, examine, judge and sentence them according to the Law in case they shall be found guiltie And ordaines the Moderator and clerk to subscribe these presents for them and in their name.

W. MAKIORE Moderator

M. FAREIS, Clericus.

The Burgh Treasurer's Accounts for 1649/50 include a number of items which appear to relate to a witchcraft trial, possibly that arising from the above recommendation, though there are some additional names:—

November 24th 1649:

To the Lockman for dressing Jo. Beattis woylt (vault) ffor to have put the whichis in — 2/- Scots.

Payed ffor Jo: Rea his maintenance in the tow both the tyme he leived being aught dayes — 4/-

Item payed to Robert Glencrose when he went to Edinburgh to seik a comishone ffor the whichis (deleted).

Payed to Ballye burgis ffor his chargis that he was with the Minister att the paying of him his Steipend and chargis he was with the proder.

Payed to Thomas Andersone and John Corsbie ffor mending Adam Sturgins woyt ffor the wichis — 1/6d.

Item Payed to John McMorrie ffor goeing to my Lord Kirkcudbright with a letter concerning the Justice cort — 3/-

Payed to Issabell dikson ffor six pynts of aille to the sythesers that satt upon wallas the wich — 1/-

Payed to the watch the first night the comishioners came to the toune at the Justices Court — 1/-

Payed ffor candells and peits the second night — 1/-

Payed ffor to bye candells and peitts the third night the Prisoners was cassen — 2/6d.

Payed ffor candells to the sythers — 8d.

Payed to Bessie maxwell ffor wyne and aille druken be the Judgis when they came from the touboth — 2/6d.

Payed to Tho: Anderson and Jo: Corsbie ffor putting up the Jebeitt and mending theirow

and a stoup to Janet wallis the witche and mending the seitt att the touboth bourd
 Payed ffor cairing to letters to the Provist of anan and the Master — 6d.

Payed to James Moffitt ffor his chargis when he went to Anandall ffor to gett information
 against Alisone pattersonne be order ffrom the ballies — 5/-.

Payed ffor candells to the watch that was with the wichies the tyme the hair gounes
 was on them — 9/3d.

Payed to Thomas Crauffourd the Prodder be order of the Provist and ballies — £8:06:0.

Payed ffor Candells when the hair sarkes was put upon the wyfes in the Touboth (deleted).

Payed ffor ane horse and a Cairt to Carie Keitt of Kraggielands to the ald gallows—7½-.

Sent to Robert Glencorse to defray his chargis in Edinburgh when he atendit ffor a
 comishion ffor whichis.

Payed to Janit Blackstoke ffor ane laket of ane wayt dore wher the whichis was putt —
 2/3d.

Payed to ane man ffor ffetching the hair sarkes to the wichis from the Langham — 2/6d.

Payed to ballie ferguson which he spent with the Proder at several tymes and ffor other
 severall depursments ffor the wiches.

The loose wine accounts for 1649/50 include one for wine drunk by "those that
 drew up the indictment against those suspect of the horrid crime of witchcraft, as they
 say".

THE SOLWAY SMUGGLERS AND THE CUSTOMS PORT AT DUMFRIES

by W. A. J. Prevost

Dr. Maxwell Wood, one-time editor of the *Gallovidian*, writes that one of the earliest records of smuggling as an established calling in the Solway area dates back to 1670, when a company of adventurers settled at Douglas in the Isle of Man for the purpose of contraband trading.¹ This business became very profitable and grew to such an extent that in 1724 an anonymous writer addressed a letter to Brigadier Stewart of Sorbie, complaining that "our countrie is poverished by sending our money to other countries by that unlawful, rebellious trade of brandie running . . . making the product of our own countrie of no effect."² Indeed it is sad to say that smugglers were inspired to greater efforts when parliament imposed a tax on malt made in Scotland which was much resented by the people.³ The tax came into force after 23 June 1726 when 3d. a bushel was to be paid on malt, 10/- for every barrel of rum, and 4/- per hogshead of cyder and perry; and if these duties were insufficient to raise the sum of £22,000, then a surcharge was to be made upon all makers of malt in Scotland. If malt was exported then the duty was increased to 6d.

From about 1750 onwards the smuggling trade began to assume formidable proportions⁴ and an attempt to make the business more hazardous was made in 1753 when a ship caught smuggling might be burnt or broken up⁵. Seemingly this had little effect, for a customs official in Dumfries reported on 1 June 1761⁴ that "if smuggling is not more frequent the insolence and audacity of smugglers is certainly much increased . . . and now they ride openly thro' the country with their goods in troops consisting of 20, 30, 40 and sometimes upwards of 50 horses, suffering no officer to come near . . ."

The British government were well aware of the loss of revenue due to the smuggling business established in the Isle of Man, and it was as long ago as 1726 when they passed an act prohibiting the importation of all commodities from the island into Great Britain and Ireland which were "not of proper growth, produce or manufacture of that island." This enactment had little or no effect but it empowered the treasury board to treat with the proprietors of the Isle of Man for its purchase to the crown. In the end it was decided that this was the only way by which "the mischiefs arising to the revenue and commerce of Great Britain and Ireland" could be removed, and in May 1765 the royal assent was given to "an act for carrying into execution a contract made pursuant to the Act 12 Geo 1, between the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury and the Duke and Duchess of Atholl, the proprietors . . ." who were

1 J. Maxwell Wood, "Smuggling in the Solway and around the Galloway Sea-Board," *Gallovidian* ix, 33.

2 Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, Scottish Record Office, GD. 18/5246/5/137.

3 Act 12 Geo I, 20 Jan 1725.

4 B. R. Leftwich, "Selections from the Customs Records . . ." TDGAS Third Series, xvii, 101 and 112.

5 Duncan Frazer, *The Smugglers* (1971), 185.

paid £70,000 for the sovereign rights of the island. The landed property, with all rights therein, and the patronage of the bishopric and benefices were reserved to their Graces and their heirs on payment of £101.15.11 per annum.⁶

In February 1784 "the illicit and clandestine trade to and from the Isle of Man" still continued and the Dumfries collector could think of no method of checking the smuggling adventurers from the Isle of Man and coast of Ireland other than by re-establishing the boat at Carsethorn. They had "only one Tydesman on that part of the Coast, But were there more they could not act with Effect, as the Smuggling Boats are always on the Watch and can put to Sea on the least appearance of Danger...."

The customs officers were helpless and had good reason to be afraid of meddling with the smugglers without the support of armed soldiers. However, it is consoling to know that they had some of the landlords on their side, and there is the example of James Murray of Broughton who made the following conditions in the tack of a house to be built alongside "the new great road from the Gatehouse to the Bridge of Fleet."⁷ The lessee was not allowed to sell ale, wine or spiritous liquor. He was not to "smuggle or be directly or indirectly concerned in smuggling, or importing from the Isle of Man any counterband (sic) or smuggled goods or mercandise whatsoever...." Murray made another tack in similar terms with a shoemaker in Kirkcudbright.⁸

That smuggling ever existed at all was due to the fact that it was profitable to avoid paying duties on certain imported or exported goods. It goes without saying that if all duties could have been abolished, then smugglers would have been driven out of business. However, a move in this direction was made by William Pitt soon after his election to Parliament in 1784. His famous Commutation Act⁹ reduced the several duties on tea from 119% to 12½% *ad valorem*. This was a considerable sum "in proportion to the Value of that Commodity, and which had greatly contributed to the fraudulent importation thereof...." Pitt balanced the anticipated loss of revenue by increasing the window tax on all inhabited houses which came into force on 10 October 1784. Another act,¹⁰ which followed soon after the Commutation Act, discontinued for two years certain additional duties imposed on rum and spirits¹¹ which were the produce of the British Sugar Islands, and suspended the payment of duties upon low wines and spirits for home consumption.

Lastly, on 18 May 1784, Parliament passed the Hovering Act "for the more effectual Prevention of Smuggling which of late has been greatly increased and carried on by large armed Vessels at sea, and by numerous Gangs of Smugglers upon Land."¹² *Inter alia*, if any vessel was found at anchor or hovering on the coasts and having on board any wine or foreign spirits, such vessel was to be

⁶ *Scots Magazine*, Feb. 1765, pp. 77-82, 5 March, p 165, 10 May, 267.

⁷ Broughton and Cally Muniments, Tack 25 Oct 1763 to Samuel Ramsay, wright. Scottish Record Office, GD. 10/1253.

⁸ *Ib'd.* GD. 10/1254.

⁹ Commutation Act, 24 Geo III. c. 38. Into effect on 15 Sept 1784.

¹⁰ 24 Geo III c. 46. (18 May 1784). Into effect as from 1 Nov 1784.

¹¹ Act 20 Geo III.

¹² Act 24 Geo III cap 47 (18 May 1784). To come into effect on 1 Oct 1784.

forfeited. Likewise certain ships or vessels belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, if armed for resistance and found within four leagues of the coast, were also to be forfeited.

It is said that by these acts Pitt "dealt a decisive blow at smuggling,"¹³ and McDowall in his *History of Dumfries* writes that the commutation measure "cut it up effectually" so that the lawful dealer was enabled to compete with the smuggler.¹⁴ These two statements may convey a false impression and one can be led to believe that smuggling was no longer profitable. Such was by no means the case and there is ample evidence to show that smuggling on the Galloway coast-line continued to function with some success.

As one might expect, the most fruitful source of information on this subject are the letter books of the Dumfries collector of customs,¹⁵ many of whose letters of the 1780's were addressed to the Scottish Board of Customs in Edinburgh. These important letters were nearly always signed by David Staig who had been appointed collector on 12 December 1780. Other letters were chiefly concerned with the routine affairs of the customs port. The following extracts from the letter books, except when otherwise stated, are from the Dumfries collector to the Scottish Board.

17 February 1784. The collector of Kirkcudbright port had reported to Dumfries that a large smuggling bucker,¹⁶ carrying about 16 guns, had come into Balcary Bay on the 4th instant and had landed part of her cargo, there being still a lot on board. The Dumfries collector referred to Balcary as being a place where a great deal of business was carried on.

14 June 1784. The Dumfries collector confirmed that the hulls of two Manx boats had been broken up and destroyed on 6 April last. The material and rigging were sold in Dumfries for £45.

24 September 1784. It had been reported that a Manx boat or wherry had discharged her cargo at Newbie near Annan about the beginning of the month. "Without a party of Light horse or Dragoons it is our opinion [the adventurers] cannot be checked with any kind of effect."

7 October 1784. Certificate confirming the burning of 824 lbs. of leaf tobacco.

11 March 1785. On 4 February last the excise officer at Annan weighed and gauged a seizure of 112 lbs. tobacco, 21 lbs. black tea, 6 gallons of rum and 1 gallon of aquavite.

7 November 1785. "We know of no Vessels in this District Employed in Carrying on an illicit Trade.... We have no doubt a good deal of Smuggling business is carried On both by land and Water, and Principally Tobacco, Brandy, Salt etc...." The collector had heard that a few weeks ago "adventurers" from the Isle of Man had landed from their sloop a small cargo of tobacco and brandy, "in open day," in the neighbourhood of the Water of Urr.

¹³ *Dict. of National Biography*, William Pitt (1759-1806), 1256b.

¹⁴ W. McDowall. *History of Dumfries* 512.

¹⁵ Scottish Record Office. CE. 51/1/4, 1779-1788.

¹⁶ Bucker, a boat of a special build used on the Moray Firth coast.

29 November 1785. The Dumfries collector wrote to Mr Craick, Surveyor General, with an enclosure as follows. "You will herewith Receive a Copy of the Act 25 Geo III, Chap 81. An Act for the better securing the Duties upon Tobacco." This act was to come into force on 1 January 1786 when "no tobacco but from America (except of the Growth of Spain or Portugal or of Ireland) to be imported into Great Britain. The act tightened up and added to the numerous regulations of the Commissioners of the Customs concerning the importation and export of tobacco. It explained the documentation and procedure which was to be used in the future; and a clause reminiscent of the Hovering Act made it quite clear that if any ship under the burthen of 70 tons, having on board more than 100 lbs. weight of tobacco, was found at anchor or hovering within 4 leagues of the coast, then all tobacco was to be forfeited and the masters of such vessels to forfeit £100.

22 April 1786. The Dumfries collector informed Edinburgh that the *Ann and Eliza* of Ayr had not been at the custom-house and "we are persuaded She had discharged smuggled Goods of some kind...." Captain Douglas of the *Pigmy* cutter had brought her into Kirkcudbright and "Your Honours will therefore be pleased to give such further orders in the matter, as you shall see proper."

7 and 14 April 1786. In obedience to a letter from Edinburgh, the collector¹⁷ with Mr Douglas, surveyor general,¹⁸ Mr Twaddell, landwaiter, and a party consisting of a sergeant and 12 dragoons from Annan, set off for Gretna and Langholm where they seized about 9000 lbs. weight of tobacco. The collector's account of this affair begins at Gretna where, "having arrived at Ferguson's house, they immediately set about examining his Stock, but having reason to Suspect that from Several circumstances that Notice was Sending to different parts of the Country, they judged proper to leave Mr H. McCornock Junr, the Comptroller's Clerk, who accompanied them, with George Halliday, Tidesman, and two dragoons to take an account of Ferguson's Stock, and to guard it till the Return of the Party from Langholm, to which place they set off immediately. Having got to Langholm, the party We divided and Entered the houses of James Robson and Thomas Hamilton."

"In Robson's house were found 1018 pounds Leaf, 2514 pounds Stalks and 2 Rolls containing 545 pounds, and 134 pounds Snuff, making in all 4211 pounds, and in comparing that quantity with his Certificates, being five in Number and herewith sent, there appeared an excess of 1250 pounds and his whole stock was Consequently Seized." Having summarised the quantities of tobacco found, it seemed that "he must have manufactured a large Quantity of Tobacco for which no Certificates can be produced."

"In Hamilton's houses were found 891 pounds Leaf, 633 pounds Stems, 504 pounds Shag and 483 pounds Roll Tobacco, making together 2511 pounds which

¹⁷ David Stair appointed collector on 12 Dec 1780 in place of Welwood Maxwell. Leftwich, *op. cit.*, 115.
¹⁸ William Craik of Arbigland, 1703-1798, aged 95. There was due to him at his death £20 sterling as the balance of his salary as surveyor general of the Customs at the Port of Dumfries. P. W. L. Adams, *A History of the Douglas Family of Morton*, 283, 764.

was considerably under the Quantity contained in a Certificate which he produced, but said Certificate having little appearance of authenticity, his Stock was Seized under the idea that it was false and fabricated. On examining it, which your Honrs will be pleased to do, You will observe the figure 4 hogsheads has evidently been altered, and the whole written part if it seems to have been executed with the same hand . . ." ¹⁹

While this business was carrying on, although both Hamilton and Robson and the people were behaving decently, it was thought adviseable to send for another party of six dragoons, who were stationed at Ecclefechan, before they attempted to remove the tobacco. "Everything was then conducted without disturbance, But without the Military we are pretty certain very little or none of the Tobacco would have left Langholm . . ."

Ferguson had on hand 2135 lbs leaf, 657 lbs stalks, 251 lbs roll and 8 lbs shag tobacco, making in all 3051 lbs. It appeared from his 4 certificates that he had obtained from Glasgow 3138 lbs. of unmanufactured tobacco, so that the stock appeared to be rather "Short of the Credit," but then it was discovered that 26 rolls weighing about 150 lbs had been abstracted during the time that the rest of the party had been at Langholm. In brief, it was evident that Ferguson had much more tobacco through his hands than certificates could be produced for, "and therefore it was judged proper to make the Seizure."

1 August 1786. The collector, Dumfries, to the collector, Kirkcudbright. "Being at Arbigland yesterday, a vessel appeared at Southernness, the Capt'n of which came ashore there and in conversation with two Tidesmen, said his vessel, which seemed to be about 20 or 25 tons, was the tender belonging to Capt Cook's cutter. Suspensions however arising, I made a more particular enquiry at some people at Carsethorn, from which I learn'd that a Vessel answering her description, with a four Oar'd Boat, had been seen to go down the River early yesterday morning. This confirming my suspicions, I came up immediately and had compleat search made on the shoar and about 4000 pounds weight of Tobacco was found and seized, but as this must be only a small part of her cargo and as she was *hovering* betwixt the Isle of Man and Southernness last night, I give the trouble of this requesting you may communicate the information to Capt Cook so that he may send his tender in quest of her."

The next day the Dumfries collector sent off a lengthy report to Edinburgh. He had been informed that the vessel carried a crew of 15 hands and was armed with as many swivel guns, and he had decided that the captain was a smuggler and that it was too hazardous to go aboard without a considerable force of armed men. He reported that the Land Surveyor and the Landwaiter who had searched the shore, had found 38 packages of tobacco weighing 4359 pounds which had been "seized in the critical time, for before the party had

¹⁹ Omitted about 8 lines of evidence which was produced to prove that Hamilton's certificate was fictitious.

secured the possession about 8 or 9 carts were very near the spot to carry off."

"We have been informed of late that several carrying Boats Such as we have described, have been Observed passing up the frith towards Leehouses (near Annan) and Sarkfoot, and at the latter place We understand a Smuggling Company have Established themselves under the pretence of carrying on a fair Trade. To these and other places on that part of the coast, the Tobacco, Spirits etc. are carried and from thence sent through the Country to the Northern Counties of England. This day we have had an Information of Smuggle about 10 days ago from Guernsey and Jersey directly to the Company. "There had been landed at Sarkfoot 100 packages of tobacco and a good deal of spirit. "We think it most probable that the one off Saturness the other day came from the same part of the world."

5 January 1788. "We have received the following Information, which we believe may be pretty much Relied upon, that about the time the duties were taken off the Tea, the Smuggling of Tobacco Commenced on the Coast, and has since continued to increase considerably, as it served as a Substitute for Tea to make up a Cargo, for it was Seldom that a Cargo consisted entire of Spirits. This Smuggling Business is carried on chiefly betwixt Irvine and the Water of Urr, beginning about the Troon. The Vessels in which these Importations are made, are generally Freightd at Ostend or Guernsey, and some Small ones from Ireland and Isle of Man."

"The usual Freight paid on Such Cargoes is 20 shillings per bale of Tobacco weighing about 120 pounds and 10 shillings per anchor ²⁰ of spirits. The Vessels now used in this Business are in general less than they were a few years ago and two Hundr Bales Tobacco and 400 anchors are thought a pretty large Cargo, and would load a Vessel of 80 and 100, But more Cargoes are of 100 to 150 bales and of 200 and 300 anchors than above 200 bales and 400 anchors. The quantity imported within the Limits mentioned, has some years amounted to 4000 bales, but on an average the quantity may safely be reckoned 3000 per annum, for there has been some Cargoes Consisting mostly of Tobacco, and it is carried for Sale overland to Edinburgh, ²¹ Glasgow, Paisley, Air etc., and a good deal by water to Whitehaven and the Cumberland Coast, from whence it is again carried further into the Country, and a good deal is also carried by water to Sarkfoot and that Neighbourhood, from whence it is Conveyed to Langholm and also towards Northumberland."

"The number of Sailors employed in the Importing Vessels are in proportion to the Burthen, being from 6 to 18 or 28, and their Wages is 24 Shillings a Week each, with two guineas each per safe Trip, and put under no allowance as to meat or Drink, having liberty to break (open a) Cask or anchor when

²⁰ Anker, a liquid measure of about 4 gallons used by smugglers for convenience of carriage on horseback.

²¹ It was recorded in an old diary, now destroyed, that years ago "troops" of horses carrying smuggled goods were seen halting at Burnfoot just outside Moffat where there used to be a smiddy.

another is done; and as a Pilot is always Necessary on these occasions, his trouble is generally rewarded with the Carriage of a Certain quantity of Goods freight free."

"Besides the Smuggling from abroad a good Deal of Rum and Tobacco is brought from Ireland. All the Rum Exported from Scotland to that Country is returned Smuggled in Small quantities, and this is chiefly carried on in the neighbourhood of Kirkcudbright."

"The Insurance when any is made on the adventures from Ostend, Guernsey, etc., is about 2½ per cent, being for the Ordinary Sea Risque, but it is very seldom that any Insurance is made, and with regard to the time of performing one of these adventures it can generally be done in 6 weeks and the Vessels be ready to engage in a New One."

"The Dumfries collector suggests that if the duties on Tobacco and Spirits were only reduced for a year it would disperse the band of smugglers so effectually that they would never be able to get into Credit or form themselves into Companies again."

This informative report of Mr Staig's may have influenced the government to send troops into Dumfriesshire and Galloway. At any rate, in 1792, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* had four separate items of news which told of the military having been used against the smugglers. It was on 29 February that Robert Burns, with a party of revenue officers from Dumfries and assisted by a detachment from the 3rd Regiment of Dragoons, boarded and seized at Sarkfoot the brig *Rossamond*²² which had safely landed her cargo. She was "provided with a number of men, swivel-guns²³ and other arms". The dragoons advanced to the attack through deep water and were fired upon by the smugglers with their swivel-guns loaded with grape shot, but there were no casualties as the guns could not be depressed on to the targets. The smugglers deserted the ship²⁴.

On the next occasion, in August, Captain Cook of the *Prince Edward* cutter, seized at Abbey Burnfoot and carried into Kirkcudbright the *Fly* lugger of Ostend, with 56 bales of tobacco and 73 ankers of spirit. She was armed with 14 guns and had a crew of 28 men but the revenue cutter had fired two broadsides into her and had shot away most of her foremast and rigging. She was afterwards included in the advertisement of a sale of quantities of forfeited spirits totalling 12621 gallons, "the Sloop *Friendship* with her materials and boat, and the materials of the Lugger *Fly*, to be sold entire, the hull of the *Fly* to be broken up". The sale was billed to take place on 21 January at Kirkcudbright.

Finally, on 2 November, Mr Blackie, the port-officer of Excise, with a party of military, seized at Abbey Burnfoot 40 ankers of brandy and gin with 16 bales of tobacco. The goods were found in two cellars beneath a first cellar, far below

²² Gordon Irving, *The Solway Smugglers* (1971), 60.

²³ Swivel-gun, a gun that turns round on a pivot.

²⁴ Robert Burns and the dragoons were lucky. On 30 Nov 1795 16 horses, loaded with foreign spirits and tobacco, were being escorted by 10 smugglers, six of whom dismounted and attacked two excise officers with bludgeons, one of whom was severely wounded. This happened near Strathaven in Lanarkshire, on the route from Luce Bay to Glasgow. £100 reward was offered for information. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*.

ground²⁵. This was the second large seizure which Mr Blackie had taken at that place within the last four months. Less than a week later, on the 6th, 7th and 8th, Captain Gillespie of the *Nancy* Excise cutter, with Mr Blackie and other Excise officers, seized a large quantity of tobacco, tea and spirits which they found in different hiding-places on the shore, once again near Abbey Burnfoot. It seems as if the tide had turned, as indeed it had, though it was in about 1826 that the last smuggling venture took place at Ross Bay in the parish of Borgue²⁶.

Acknowledgement

I am indebted to Dr Athol Murray for his useful suggestions and for reading my manuscript.

²⁵ Dr. J. Maxwell Wood in the *Gallovidian* ix, 149, writes that at Abbey Burnfoot, in about 1857, a deep underground cellar was found under the foundations of an old house, once inhabited by friends of smugglers. Sir Herbert Maxwell in *Dumfries and Galloway* 321-322, relates that on the farm of Clone in Wigtownshire two subterranean chambers were constructed, one under the other. The lower one was approached by a separate subterranean entrance.

²⁶ Dr. J. Maxwell Wood, *op. cit.* 148.

Appendix

Richard Harris Barham (1788-1845), the author of the *Legends*, took orders in 1813 and in 1817 was presented with the living of Snargate in Romney Marsh, a parish with a smuggling past and at that time most certainly peopled with men who had had much to do with the contraband trade.

Barham went to St. Paul's Cathedral as a minor canon in 1821 and it was there that he wrote a series of "Legends" which first appeared in "Bentley's Miscellany" and then in the "New Monthly Magazine", before being published collectively in 1840. From the complete edition of the *Ingoldsby Legends* the following three verses from "The Smugglers Leap" have been extracted.

The fire-flash shines from Reculver cliff,
And the answering light burns blue in the skiff,
And there they stand, That smuggling band,
Some in the water and some on the sand,
Ready those contraband goods to land:
The night is dark, they are silent and still.
At the head of the party is Smuggler Bill!

"Now lower away! come, lower away!
We must be far ere the dawn of the day.
If Exciseman Gill should get scent of the prey,
And should come, and should catch us here, what would he say?
Come, lower away, lads . . . once on the hill,
We'll laugh, hol hol at Exciseman Gill!"

The cargo's lower'd from the dark skiff's side,
And the tow-line drags the tubs* through the tide,
No flick, nor flam†, But your real Schiedam‡.
"Now mount, my merry men, mount and ride!"
Three on the crupper and one before,
And the led horse laden with five tubs more;
But the rich point lace, In the oil-skin case
Of proof to guard its contents from ill,
The "prime of the swag", is with Smuggler Bill.

* *Tubs*. Barham continues to verse five.

And many a Custom-house bullet goes slap
Through many a three-gallon tub like a tap,
And the gin spurts out, And squirts all about . . .

Anker, a liquid measure of about 4 gallons used by smugglers for convenience of carriage on horseback.
the word *anker* can refer to a tub of that capacity.

† *Fiam*, an idle fancy, thus not the genuine article.

‡ *Schiedam*. Holland gin, chiefly made at Schiedam near Rotterdam in Holland.

THE TESTAMENT OF JOHN EWART IN LOCHANHEAD KIRKPATRICK JUXTA

by James Williams, F.S.A.Scot., F.R.S.A.I.

While searching the Dumfries Commissariat Records¹ for Lochrutton references the writer noted a testament of John Ewart in Lochanhead (entry dated 23rd November, 1775). Subsequent research has shown that the Lochanhead in question lies not in Lochrutton parish but in the parish of Kirkpatrick Juxta and some four miles west-south-west of Beattock. John Ewart died at the early age of 29 years on the 11th of February, 1775 and was the only son of "Neell Ewart in Lochanhead" who died on the 18th of April, 1751, aged 65 years. Both father and son were buried in the family grave at Moffat. John Ewart's executor was to be his uncle, Adam Ewart of Sailfoot; Adam, however, was dead by 23rd November, 1775, the date of registration. His place was taken by Thomas Tweedie of Oliver and John Murray of Kinnelhead — both cousins of the deceased. John Murray was the owner of the adjacent property to Lochanhead — there only being a distance of approximately one mile between the two farm-houses.

The importance of the testament is the very extensive inventory of farm and household plenishings it provides. The estate was valued by Peter Halliday in Barntympan and William Welsh in Scleoth (Selcoth). The inventory has been transcribed and is reproduced below :

Imprimis twenty nine score of Ewes and Lambs, one score and thirteen big or Ewes with Lamb, seven scores and seven Gimmers, one score and three tups, being in whole thirty nine scores and three Sheep, at Twelve pounds ten shillings each Twenty one of them, inde Four hundred and sixty six pounds, one shilling and five pence. Item nineteen scores and one Hoggs, at nine pounds each twenty one of them, inde one hundred and sixty three pounds five shillings and eight-pence halfpenny. Item two scores and three yeild Sheep at Ten pounds the score, that is, each Twenty one of them, inde Twenty pounds nine shillings & six-pence & halfpenny. Item seven cows, viz. One uncalved, one having a stirk given for a Calf and five having calves, all at Four pounds ten shillings sterling each, inde Thirty one pounds ten shillings. Item two Forrow-cows with stirks or Followers at Nine pounds ten shillings. Item two Two-year-old Queys at Five pounds ten shillings. Item two Stirks at Two pounds fifteen shillings. Item a brown Mare at Eight pounds. Item an old white Mare at Three pounds ten shillings. Item a black mare at Eight pounds eight shillings. Item two cows and Followers at Eight pounds eight shillings. Item one white Quey at Three pounds ten shillings — which four last mentioned articles are claimed by the widow of the Defunct as being her property.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, Viz. In the East Room a Hung Bed next the north wall at Eighteen shillings, two chairs at two shillings each and an old

1. In the custody of the Scottish Record Office to whom the writer is indebted for permission to publish.

Table at Four shillings, inde one pound six shillings. Item a little Box or Cup-board and a parcel of Deals covering the Room worth Eight shillings and sixpence. Item nine pairs wool scissors at Four shillings; Item a pair of Saddle Bags at Four shillings. In the KITCHEN an old Bed covered with loose Deals at Seven shillings and sixpence; Item a big pot at Twelve shillings. Item a Chair, two Binks a little Table and three stools all at Four shillings and a pot metal oven at Four shillings and sixpence. Item three Timber Dishes at one shilling and sixpence. Item six delft plates and two Trenchers at Two shillings; Item Eleven Timber plates a Lanthorn and two chopping Knives all at one shilling and sixpence. Item a Spit, Rax and Frying-pan at two shillings and sixpence. Item a Water Butt, Stoup and Bowie all at Two shillings. IN THE PANTRY and Transe, a Bed at Ten shillings. Item a Bottle Rack at Three shillings, Item a Bed and old Butt at Ten shillings and sixpence. Item a Kirn and an old Chair, five Butts and two Brewing Butts all at nine shillings. In the West Room a Big chair at Five shillings. Item a Press at One pound one shilling. Item a Closs Bed at Two pounds twelve shillings and sixpence. Item a Chast of Drawers with Desk at Three pounds. Item a small Fir Joist at one shilling. Item some Deals covering the Room and a plank on the Loft all worth One pound seven shillings. In the Barn and Stable. Three Scythes with their Sneads all at Five shillings, two Grapes and a Clat at Three shillings and sixpence and four spades at five shillings. Item two Howes at One shilling. Item a pinch, a Stone Hammer and a pair of Tongs all at four shillings and Three peat Spades at two shillings. Item two Hay Forkes at two shillings and sixpence. Item an old Cart and Rigwoodie worth Ten shillings; Item two axes and a Leister at One shilling and sixpence. Item a Grindstone worth Two shillings. Item two Flaughter Spades at One shilling. Item three Cars with two Iron Rigwoodies at six shillings. Item five pair of Creels at Three shillings and sixpence. Item seven Smearing Stools, two Barrows and Rakes all at Three shillings and sixpence. Item a Muckhack and an old wine-pipe at Four shillings and eightpence. Item two Saws, four wimbles, two axes, a Grape, a Plough-band, a Spade a Coulter and a Sock all at Eight shillings. Item an Old Bed-plough, muzle and a Chizel all at Five shillings.

— — The following articles by the widow of the said John Ewart as her property, Viz. In the East Room, Two presses at One pound seven shillings and sixpence. Item a Hung Bed next the door at Eighteen shillings; Item five chairs at seven shillings and sixpence. Item a Folding Table at four shillings and sixpence. Item a Chist at Three shillings; Item a pint Stoup and a Cheese-pan at One shilling and threepence. In the Kitchen, a Closs Bed at Eighteen shillings; Item a large chist at Fifteen shillings. Item a Resting-chair at Five shillings. Item a Dresser at One pound; Item a large Table at Seven shillings and sixpence. Item a Saltboat and Salt Box at One shilling and sixpence. Item four pots at Eight shillings and sixpence. Item Eleven Timber dishes, plates, & c. at Five shillings and sixpence. Item a Kettle pan at One shilling and sixpence; Item Crook Clepse and Tongs at Five shillings; Item a Gridiron and Bakeboard at Four shillings and sixpence. In the Pantry Four Chists at One pound ten

shillings and sixpence; Item three cogs and two Chesserts at Three shillings and fourpence. Item Eight Boats and Bowies at Eight shillings; Item a Kirn, two Kits and a Chessert at Four shillings; Item two pails, three Bowies and a Kirn all at Twelve shillings. In the West Room Four Chairs at Ten shillings. The whole sums of money above mentioned being all Sterling amount to Seven hundred & fifty nine pounds six shillings and fivepence.

A Short Glossary of words appearing in the Inventory. Gimmer — a ewe of two years; Tup — a common term for a ram; Hogg — a young sheep before it has lost its first fleece; Yeild — barren; Forrow-cow — one that is NOT with calf; Quey — a cow of two years of age; a hung-bed — a cradle bed hung on cables; Deals — planks (usually pine); Bink — a bench or seat, but sometimes a wooden frame fixed to the wall to hold plates, bowls, spoons, etc.; Pot metal oven — an oven made of cast iron; Trencher — a wooden dish or platter for use on the table; Rax — an andiron (in the plural an iron instrument consisting of links or hooks on which the spit was turned before the fire); Transe — a passageway; Kirn — a churn; Closs-bed — a "box-bed"; Snead — the shaft of a scythe; Clat — an instrument for raking together dirt or mire, commonly used in a byre; Rigwoodie — the rope or chain which crosses the back of a horse when harnessed in a cart or sledge; Leister — a fish-spear; Flaughter-spade — a large two-handled spade for cutting or parting turf; Car — a sledge; Smearing-stool — a stool with a spoked bottom to admit the legs of a sheep and keep it steady during smearing. Sheep were "rubbed," "smeared," or "laid" with a mixture of tar and train-oil or butter to enhance the quality of the wool. A brief description of this practice will be found in the Revd. Andrew Symson's "Large Description of Galloway" (1684), p. 72; Muckhack — a muck-fork; Wimbles — an auger or drill; Coulter — an iron blade fixed on the front of the share of a plough; Sock — a plough-share; Stoup — a pitcher or bucket used for carrying water (usually narrower at the top than the bottom); Saltboat — a salt barrel; Salt-box — a box for holding salt (usually kept near the fire to keep the salt dry); Crook and Clepse — the crook is the iron chain on which pots were suspended over the fire. The clepse was the hook by which the pot was attached to the chain, although the term "crook" often means "hook plus chain"; Cog — a small wooden bowl; Chessert — a cheese vat; Boat — a barrel or tub; Bowie — a small barrel or cask open at one end (sometimes a milk-pail); Kit — a wooden vessel or pail in which dishes are washed.

MINUTES OF THE PRESBYTERY OF LOCHMABEN 1701-1822

by J. B. Wilson, M.D.

Though Commissioners were appointed to the General Assembly by the Presbytery of Lochmaben in September 1638, the Minutes of that body do not commence until 1701, the first volume, whose first entry was 17th March, 1700, having been recovered from a snuff shop with the first few pages missing. Thereafter the record is practically complete in 21 volumes until 1929.

My own interest in these volumes was mainly in those parts concerned with the Church in Lochmaben, for the Lochmaben Heritors' Minutes, dealing with the temporal affairs of the Church, extend back only to 1832 and the Session Minutes dealing more with spiritual matters only begin in 1765.¹ All three sources have provided useful material for the piecing together of the story of the Lochmaben Churches, especially of the Church in Lochmaben Old Kirk-yard.² In addition the Presbytery Minutes provided the material for "A Lochmaben Perambulation 1768"³ and for an account of the many disputes in which the Rev. Richard Broun was involved whilst he held the Lochmaben charge.⁴

Though these minutes contain so much of interest to the Lochmaben historian, this article is written to acquaint a wider audience of their existence and to give a short account of some matters of local and national interest recorded in them.

The Presbytery of Lochmaben consisted of the parishes of:

Applegarth and Sibbaldie.	Kirkpatrick Juxta and Dumgree
Dalton and Little Dalton.	Lochmaben.
Dryfesdale.	Moffat.
Hutton on Dryfe and Corrie.	St Mungo (Abermilk or
Johnstone in Annandale.	Castlemilk).
Kirkmichael and Garrel.	Tundergarth.
	Wamphray.

The parishes of Cummertrees, Trailtrow and Ruthwell were, in 1743, transferred from the Presbytery of Lochmaben to that of Annan. The stipends of the Ministers of Lochmaben and Moffat were the highest in the Presbytery.

The meetings of the Presbytery were usually held in Lochmaben Church, at first in the Church in the old Churchyard and, after 1822, in the present Parish Church. In 1855, much to the indignation of the inhabitants of the Royal Burgh, the headquarters of the Presbytery were removed to a more convenient meeting place in Lockerbie. When the Lochmaben meetings continued through the late afternoon or the weather was inclement they were often adjourned to

1. "The Churches of Lochmaben"; J. B. Wilson, Vol. II, 1971. 1st Edition, Grieve, Dumfries.

2. "The Churches of Lochmaben"; J. B. Wilson. To be published.

3. "A Lochmaben Perambulation, 1768"; J. B. Wilson, Transactions, 3rd Ser. Vol. XLIX (1972).

4. "Rev. Richard Broun"; J. B. Wilson, Transactions, 3rd Ser. Vol. XLX (1973).

Provost Hoggan's hospitable house—now the Kings Arms Hotel. Should the business to be discussed involve specific churches or manses the meetings were usually held locally so that the fathers and brethren could see for themselves the conditions and the problems.

Church Property

A large proportion of the Presbytery Minutes deals with matters which concerned the Heritors whose duty it was to provide for the upkeep and repair of the churches, the manses and the glebes.

One of the most interesting sections concerns the Parish Church of Dryfesdale which stood beside the Water of Dryfe. Part of the Churchyard may still be seen to the East of the A74, and not far from where was fought, in 1593, the Battle of Dryfesands. In 1703 Mungo Johnstone of Netherplace had protested against the damage caused to his property by the diversion of the Dryfe to preserve the remainder of the Churchyard, for the river in flood had swept across the Churchyard carrying away many coffins. Subsequently in 1755 the estimate for removing the church to Lockerbie, to a site gifted by William Johnstone of Lockerby, was £195.9.10. The old church was demolished, some of the materials re-used and the new church opened in 1758. In 1786 a new well was required because the manse had to be removed further from the water.

People

From these carefully documented pages some picture of the clergymen of the period and their parishioners emerges. The three clergymen about whom most information is available are the Rev. Richard Broun, the Rev. Thomas Henderson and the Rev. Dr. William Bryden. A comment in 1711 on Dr Bryden's predecessor at Dalton is illuminating "The preaching of Mr Carlyle of Dalton was considered very unsatisfactory considering his pronounciation was so extraordinarily stumbling and cannot be edifying to the people."

Mr Broun's character and the disputes in which he was involved have already been fully documented and his connection with the Rev. Thomas Henderson described. Mr Henderson had been for many years schoolmaster in Lochmaben before being ordained to the charge of Dryfesdale. In spite of Mr Broun's protest in December 1776 a committee from the Presbytery had been appointed to converse with him and in July the next year Mr Henderson delivered his homily, then in October his popular sermon; thereafter his thesis was approved, he signed the Confession of Faith and formula and was licensed.

A Lybel brought in 1797 against Mr Henderson proclaimed "he was habitually given to excess in drinking and other acts of criminal behaviour thereby setting an evil example to his parishioners and exciting their distrust and abhorance." The Lybel was brought by the residing Heritors and occupied eight

closely written pages of the Minutes. In his Answer Mr Henderson solemnly declared that "any unfavourable appearances exhibited by him upon the Saturday or Sabbath originated not from intoxication or from excessive drinking but from bodily indisposition and distress of mind."

His elders supported him, stating that their minister had been in bad health for four months past partly owing, as they think, to the death of his only son and child, his mother, his aunt and his cousin all about the same time.

Details of the Lybel extended over a further sixteen pages including three pages containing the names of witnesses. Eventually after hearing all the witnesses Mr Henderson was found guilty of the sins of cursing, swearing and indecent conversation and of habitual drunkenness and disqualified from the duties of his office. He was also found guilty of uncleanness, fornication and adultery or of attempts to commit the same and the Kirk declared vacant that the same may be filled with a more worthy pastor. This unfortunate affair besides being referred to the Synod reached the General Assembly.

A few years before this an equally detailed case, involving Dr William Bryden of Dalton had engaged the attention of the Presbytery. Dr Bryden had in October 1782 been lybelled as father of Ann Rae's child though he affirmed that James Douglas in General Stewart's Regiment in the Dutch Service was the father. At the hearing in August the next year, local personalities entered into the drama with Mr Murray of Murraythwaite being referred to by Dr Bryden as "an impertinent puppy. Upon which Mr Murray with a cane or a staff which he had in his hand struck Dr Bryden upon the forehead which Dr Bryden bore with patience!!"

So lengthy were the deliberations of the Presbytery that each of the next two meetings were adjourned at 7 o'clock for dinner. The case was eventually referred to the General Assembly but so ably did Dr Bryden defend himself that the Assembly only found that he had on several occasions and in the heat of passion uttered expressions irreverent towards Almighty God and unbecoming of the character of a clergyman. For this the Moderator himself rebuked him sharply!

Disciplinary cases occupy nearly half the space in these volumes and throughout them occur many names well known in the district as well as the names of many ordinary folk—from Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, a suspected Papist in 1704 to poor Mr Wightman the Lochmaben schoolmaster who was in 1811 deposed because of drunkenness. A notable long case involved Edward Johnstone, probationer at Moffat.

National Events

As might be expected the main national events noted in these Minutes were the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. The Minutes record that on 23rd January 1715 at Wamphray "guns, swords and bayonets had been found and the

guns were lodged in Mr Taylor's (the minister) who would not open the church door while some men, particularly Thomas Portcans of Closeburn, were watching."

In September the same year the Presbytery,

"considering the Circumstances we are in by reason of people appearing for and supporting the interest of a Popish Pretender and it by force of arms thought it their duty to appoint the Presbytery to meet this day eight days for prayer."

The 1745 Rebellion brought the Jacobite Armies to Dumfriesshire and the danger nearer home. At their meeting of 12th October the Presbytery was called—

"to join in fervent prayer to God for His assistance at this critical juncture when our land is invaded by the Enemies of our Religion and Liberties."

These earnest prayers continued for a further four pages then on the 31st October the approach of the King's Forces to the Rebels prompted the Presbytery to set a day apart for Fasting and Prayer within the Bounds of the Synod.

In November 1756 is found another order for Prayers, this time because the nation was engaged in a dangerous war with France, while perhaps one of the most interesting entries in the Minutes occurs on 1st August 1815 when the Presbytery ordained that a collection for the benefit of the families of the sufferers at the Battle of Waterloo was to be made in every parish; the collection to be transmitted to Edinburgh.

To the sociologist of today two Minutes are of special interest—one in 1731 when the Synod recommended Mr Cumming to make a collection in his parish towards the payments of Surgeons that cut off John Farish's leg, and the other in 1734 when a collection was to be taken for James Marshall who lately had his leg cut off and whose family were in great distress and had nothing to pay the Surgeon.

About the same time a report was submitted "On getting the country free of strangers and Sturdy Beggars," then in 1803 was reported the Presbytery's opinion on Clandestine Marriages which are, so the Presbytery affirms, "attended with many unhappy effects as they are founded very commonly in rashness, intoxication or bad council and promotion of remose and wretchedness."

Matters connected with places far from these shores also flit across the pages of these minutes. At Lochmaben in 1780 Mr Alexander Scott was appointed minister to the Scots Church at Rotterdam, while in 1731 reference is made to the sad plight of the Presbyterian Churches in the Dutchie of Manogalla in Poland. Nearer home, in 1703, a Collection for the Harbour of Eyemouth and the distressed inhabitants of Leith was called for.

James Richardson's Mortification

The volumes for 1777 and 1822 contain lengthy extracts from the last will

and testament of James Richardson merchant in Reading who died in 1726 and who bequeathed to the Rev. Patrick Cumming and John Richardson of Heck as his Trustees £200 for the school and schoolmaster of Lochmaben together with £20 for the schoolhouse and £100 for the school of Hightae. Ten poor scholars born in the parish were to be taught English, Latin, Writing and Arithmetic gratis at Lochmaben School.

A housestead was bought from John Kennedy of Halleaths on which to build a brick schoolhouse. This house was to be two storeys high with garrets. the front room in the north end of the second storey to be a library

“with presses and repositories for books purchased with the Guidance of the Rev. Patrick Cumming. Two or more boards to be made and conveniently placed in the said Library one of which is to be an inscription giving the amount of the funds and donations given by me and upon the other the donations and benefactors that shall happen to be made to the said library by any other persons.”

This schoolhouse seems to have stood on the site of the present church and school for in 1818 the architect estimated for its demolition before the building of the church. The history of the present schoolhouse known as Annandale House is not known though a schoolhouse and yard appears on its site on James Tait's map of 1786.

This then is an account of a few of the many interesting incidents, disputes and personalities to be found within the covers of the volumes of the Presbytery Minutes. Though these volumes were read with a view to extracting items of interest connected with Lochmaben they could be read with equal profit by anyone interested in other parishes in the Presbytery.

They may be consulted in Register House in Edinburgh.

MOFFAT AND BEATTOCK INN, TWO MAIL-COACH STAGES

By W. A. J. PREVOST

John Palmer was the son of the proprietor of two Bath theatres for whom he acted as agent in London, and it was Palmer who prevailed on William Pitt, the prime minister of the day, to order a trial of the possibility of conveying the posts by stage-coach¹. On 2nd August 1784 the first mail-coach left Bristol for London, the trial was a success, and by 1785 Palmer's innovation was established in England. In Scotland the 140 post towns were still being served by diligence² and by post boys who were frequently attacked and robbed of the bags containing the mails³. This arrangement continued until 1786 when a notice appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 25th November announcing that Mr Palmer had "now extended his plan for a more regular, safe and expeditious conveyance of His Majesty's Mails to and from Edinburgh by Mail Coaches" and that the mails for London and all places short thereof would leave the G.P.O. every day in the week except Thursday.

On 27th November the Edinburgh Royal Mail Coach departed at 3.45 in the afternoon when "a great crowd assembled at the post office to see the coach set off; which was neat and light, with four fine horses, and every way fitted for expedition". Passengers were allowed 14 lbs. luggage and William Drysdale, the contractor, announced that "for the safety of the passengers in dark nights a postilion will ride one of the leaders". The passengers were also to be well protected, for another notice in the paper stated that the York Mail Coach would be guarded all the way by His Majesty's servants⁴. This Edinburgh-London coach was unofficially named the "Sixty-Hour Coach"⁵.

The West of Scotland and Glasgow mails continued to run as before though the times of departure of the Dumfries mails were altered, for the Postmaster General announced that as from 5th July, 1786, it was "found expedient to alter the departure of the Post to Dumfries, by the way of Peebles, Bield, Moffat and Lochmaben from Monday Morning to Monday Night, departures to those parts to be Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at night". Maxwell Wood writes that this service was well established, a two coach system being regularly maintained, a diligence or a light form of stage coach being used to carry the mails⁶. Later, the Edinburgh-Dumfries mail went by the present Beattock-Dumfries route, crossing St. Ann's Bridge which was built in 1782. It was rebuilt in 1795, considerably widened and improved for the turnpike road in 1817, and its battered parapet repaired many times in the last 25 years⁷.

1. *Concise Dictionary of National Biography* (to 1900).

2. Cassell's *Old and New Edinburgh*, 356. In 1791 there were 140 post towns.

3. Joyce, *History of the Post Office*, 290. Before 1784 scarcely a week passed without the mails on one road or another being robbed.

4. *Edinburgh Evening Courant (Courant)* 25 and 28 Nov. 1786.

5. Stella Margetson, *Journey by Stages* (1967), 140.

6. J. Maxwell Wood, *Gallovidian* (1912), 159.

7. *New Statistical Account*, 'Johnstone'.

In 1788 there were two opposition services from Edinburgh to Carlisle by different routes. They were not advertised as carrying mail. Patrick Heron's Diligence set off from Edinburgh at 5 p.m. three nights a week to go by Selkirk, Hawick and Langholm, arriving next day at Carlisle in time to catch the Royal Mail Coach which set out every night for London by way of Manchester⁸. Edward Atkinson of the *George Inn*, Bristo Street, advertised his "neat" diligence, with good horses and careful drivers, which set out for Carlisle every Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday by way of Moffat, the proprietors having satisfied themselves that that road was better than the road by Hawick. It passed through Linton, Bield, Moffat, Wamphray, Lockerby and Longtown, and it performed "the whole journey in eighteen hours, which is less by five hours than any carriage between Edinburgh and Carlisle has hitherto done", and passengers could catch the "Genteel light coach, with only four inside seats, and one outside ditto, in two days to London . . ."⁹

These two coaches in no way interfered with the mail coaches, and on 5th July 1788 the Edinburgh G.P.O. announced that Mr Palmer had "now extended his plan for a more regular, safe and expeditious conveyance of His Majesty's Mails between London and Glasgow, by the way of Carlisle, by Mail Coaches . . ."¹⁰ This meant that correspondence between London and Glasgow had no longer to pass through Edinburgh, and the first London-direct-to-Glasgow mail coach ran two days later. Three times a week it passed through Longtown, Gretna, Ecclefechan, Lockerby, Newton, Wamphray, Moffat, Elvanfoot, Douglas Mill, Lesmahagow, Hamilton to Glasgow¹¹. That section of road from Moffat to the south is now known as the Old Carlisle Road and was made up about 1774 or 1778¹². The road north out of Moffat crossed the Annan at Bridge-end and "four miles north of that village, on the hill, known by the name of Erickstane-brae"¹³, the Edinburgh road branched northwards, and the Glasgow road continued on towards Little Clyde, following the line of the Roman road as shown on 1 in. to the mile O.S. map. The Minister of Crawford, writing in the Statistical Account for 1792, noted that the public road from Moffat to Douglas Mill had "been completed within these 10 years . . . and for 3 years past one mail-coach comes down and another goes up every day". T. Hasker, Superintendent of the Mail Coaches, in a report written about three years later, said that "the Glasgow Mail Coach is very fast . . . 9 miles an hour part of the road, as the road is farthest, in order to be at Ferrybridge before the York, which it generally is. This coach is pretty fast all the way to Carlisle, full 8 miles and hour"¹⁴.

According to regulation each mail-coach was limited to four inside and four or perhaps five outside passengers¹⁵. They were built upon an approved

8. *Courant*, 24 May 1788.

9. *Ibid.*, 29 Ap 1788 and 5, 12, 29 May 1788.

10. *Ibid.*, 5 July 1788.

11. Maxwell Wood, *op. cit.* 137.

12. *Old Statistical Account*, 'Wamphray' and 'Applegarth.'

13. *Ibid.*, 'Moffat.'

14. Edmund Vale, *The Mail-Coach Men* (1967), 242, 243.

15. Maxwell Wood, *op. cit.* 21.

construction, and trunks, called "Imperials", were now "added to the tops, for the purpose of inclosing small parcels, deeds, or writings, that will not bear the friction of the carriage"¹⁶. That they were not only functional but also superior to anything else then on the roads, is confirmed by a gentleman who had travelled up from London to Edinburgh "in one of Mr Palmer's patent royal mail coaches", and who said that they were the easiest and speediest conveyances ever he met with¹⁷. Indeed, in order to show their appreciation, the citizens of Glasgow sent up to London a handsome piece of plate inscribed: "To John Palmer, Esq., Surveyor and Comptroller General of the Posts of Great Britain . . . as an acknowledgment of Benefits resulting from his Plan to the Trade and Commerce of this Country 1789."¹⁸

In August and October 1790 two notices appeared in the *Courant* which together give a very clear picture of the mail-coach system then operating in the West of Scotland. The October notice refers to "The shortest passage to and from Ireland", and is as follows¹⁹:

"CARLISLE & PORTPATRICK MAIL COACH, daily to meet and return from those elegant PACKETS which are established by Government, and sail between DONAGHADEE and PORT-PATRICK, to carry the Mail, Passengers, Luggage, and Equipage of the Nobility and Gentry. The passage is Twenty Miles."

"This Coach starts from Mrs Alkin's Coffeehouse, Carlisle, at Three o'clock every afternoon, and arrives in twenty-one hours at the Port; passing through Langtown, Gretna Green, Annan, Dumfries, Carlinwark, Gatehouse, Newton Stewart, Glenluce, and Stranraer." It carried four inside passengers at £1.15.0 each and one outside at 20/-²⁰.

"The EDINBURGH MAIL COACH meets the coach at Dumfries, and returns directly for Edinburgh²¹, as this does from Dumfries, immediately after the Edinburgh Mail Coach arrives there, both for Carlisle and Port-Patrick. From Carlisle there is a direct communication, by public carriages, for all the great roads . . ."

"The DUBLIN and BELFAST MAIL COACH meets the Packets every day at Donaghadee . . ."

"The Edinburgh, Carlisle and Port-Patrick Mail Coaches meet so completely at Dumfries, that a passenger leaving Port-Patrick on Monday morning reaches Edinburgh on Tuesday morning; leaving Edinburgh on Tuesday morning reaches Port-Patrick Wednesday noon . . ."

The other coach referred to was advertised in the *Courant* on several occasions between 21st August and 18th September inclusive.

"Dumfries, Carlisle, and Portpatrick Royal Mail Coaches, start from Mr

16. *Courant*, 7 Dec. 1786. Drysdale's advertisement for the Edinburgh-London Mail.

17. *Ibid.*, 13 April 1789.

18. *Ibid.*, 4 March, 1790.

19. *Ibid.*, 28 Oct., 1790.

20. Here followed the names of the contractors which have been omitted. They were at Carlisle, Longtown, Gretna Green, Annan, Dumfries, Newton Stewart and Portpatrick.

21. Maxwell Wood writes that the Edinburgh-Dumfries mail was carried by 'Diligence' until 1805 when the mail-coach was put in operation.

Drysdale's *Turf Coffee-house*, and from Mr Cameron's Hotel, Prince's Street, day about, on the 1st of September, at ten o'clock in the morning; and from Mr Clint's and Mrs McVities, Dumfries, day about, at nine o'clock at night."

"The above conveyances join the Glasgow and Carlisle mail coaches at Moffat, and the Portpatrick mail coach at Dumfries. The proprietors . . . bind themselves to forward passengers in post chaises, either to Carlisle or Portpatrick, in case any of the mail coaches should be full when they meet, without any extra expence . . ."

A time-bill of the London-Glasgow Mail for 1797 shows a wait of 25 minutes at Moffat for refreshment which would then have been supplied by James Baldchild, the proprietor of the *Spur Inn*, who had taken over the management of the *King's Arms* from James Rae in 1795/96²². The Raes were an old Moffat family and it was before his retirement that James Rae received the following request from the laird of Raehills.²³

"Mr Rae, please take the trouble of securing for Mr Johnstone two inside seats in the Wellington Coach for Saturday first the 14th Currt, to pay all the way from Carlisle to Glasgow in the event of passengers offering for the 3 and 4th seat, if not, to pay only from Lockerbie where Mr and Mrs Johnstone takes the coach."

To hark back to the Glasgow Mail, in 1795, owing to the bad state of the road, apparently in the southern end of Lanarkshire to the north end of Dumfriesshire, it was suggested to discontinue the mail-coach, but £4000 was spent by Lord Douglas between Lesmahagow and the Hassockwell Burn on the county march north of the Beef Tub. Then again by an Act of 1798²⁴ the Evan Water Road Trustees were empowered to make and maintain as best they could a new and better road over the Watershed down Evan Water to Beattock, there to join the Edinburgh, Moffat, and Dumfries Turnpike. Government could not help and a sum of £5000 to £6000 was subscribed, mainly by Glasgow merchants and public bodies, and this enabled the trustees to make the road from Elvanfoot to Beattock which was completed in 1808. However, another section of the plan was a continuation of this road to the south which was a new road across the level Dale of Annan to Dinwiddie Green, 11 miles south of Moffat, but funds were then exhausted and the further improvements contemplated had to be held in abeyance. Coaches from the north branched off the improved road at Longbedholm and followed the "Chapel Hill Road"²⁵, over the hill and down the brae to Langshawbush, and thence on through Moffat southwards as before. The Greenhill Stairs road which now links the Edinburgh and Glasgow roads was not completed until 1822²⁶.

It was 20 years since Mr Palmer's plan had been extended to the West of Scotland but it must not be assumed that his patent coaches were now gallop-

22. Edmund Vale, op. cit., 242, 243.

23. Moffat of Craigbeck MSS. In 1795/96 James Rae handed the *Kings Arms* over to a man of the name of Baldchild. *Moffat News*, 6 Feb. 58.

24. 28 Geo. III. c. 21. Passed 7 May, 1798.

25. Fairbairn's Guide to Moffat. (1879). 47.

26. J. Oswald Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, 230, 256.

ing throughout the length and breadth of the land. They were not. There were still many roads which could by no means be called first class and there were more new roads to be built. In many districts the mails were still being carried by post boys. Some of the difficulties with which the G.P.O. had to contend were reported from time to time in the contemporary newspapers, and *inter alia* a fruitful source of information is found in Francis Ronaldson's Journal Book^{27a} Ronaldson was surveyor to the western area of the G.P.O. in Scotland for 40 years, during which time he kept a record of all his journeys and a meticulous account of his expenses. Some extracts from his journal give some idea of the administrative problems involved.

1794. July 3 & 5 incl. "It appearing by Letters received from Carlisle etc. that there was still little prospect of the Portpatrick Mail Dilligence being continued—went out again to Dumfries & Gatehouse to meet Mr Woolmer^{27b} & to make the last effort to continue it or resume the Riding work . . . The Mail Dilligence was continued on for 3 months longer."

1794. July 6 & 11 incl. "Proceeded in continuance from former Journal to Gatehouse [of] Fleet, Newton-Douglas²⁸, Glenluce and Stranraer, endeavouring to keep on the Mail Dilligence betwixt Dumfries & Portpatrick which was accomplished."

1797. "Account of Monies expended in Coach & Horse hyre in the Service of the Postmaster General in the Quarter ending the 5th of January 1798."

"Nov. 25. From Edinburgh to Carlisle (96 ms)	£2 8 0 ²⁹
Dec. 4. From Carlisle to Dumfries (37 ms)	18 6
Dec. 7. From Dumfries by Moffatt to Edinr (71 ms) ...	1 15 6

204 ms £5 2 0"

Note.—In 1795 postmasters had tried to get their travel allowance increased to 1/- per mile. Ronaldson's claim was for the 6d per mile allowed.

1799. Sept. 7 & 14 incl. "Information having been received from London and Carlisle that in consequence of the Carlisle & Dumfries Mail Dilligence not paying, it was likely to give up at the end of the current quarter. Proceeded to Dumfries to make the necessary enquiries and exertions to keep it on, or if not to prepare for the consequent alterations of the bags to Annan and Dumfries upon Horsback etc., and returning by Moffat, Douglas Mill & Lanark & examining the Offices upon that road to Edinbr."

1799. Oct. 5 & 10 incl. "Positive Intimation being made that the Carlisle and Dumfries Mail Coach would give up upon the 10th instant, Proceeded to Moffat, Dumfries and Carlisle to Establish and arrange the Conveyance of the

27a. "Journal Book of Francis Ronaldson, Surveyor G.P. Office Edin . . . commencing 6 April 1786, ending 5 July 1814." National Library of Scotland MS. Ronaldson died in 1818 in a house at the Carlton Hill in Edinburgh. See *Kay's Portraits* (1877), Vol. I, cxxxviii, 343.

27b. W. Woolmer, Deputy Superintendent of Mail-Coaches.

28. Now Newton-Stewart. See *Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland* (1854) under Newton-Stewart.

29. A chaise hire from Moffat to Edinburgh in 1770 amounted to £2 3s 6d. Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, S.R.O. 2607/2.

MOFFAT AND BEATTOCK INN, TWO MAIL-COACH STAGES

London and English letters for Annan and Dumfries by Horse and foot Posts from Ecclefechan, and arranging the English and Scotch Bye letters."

Ronaldson made the necessary arrangements at Ecclefechan, Lockerbie and Moffat on his way back to Edinburgh.

1803. May 26 and June 4 incl. "Information having been transmitted from London of the London Irish bags being frequently cut and mutilated on their return from Portpatrick to Carlisle, went to Moffat & Dumfries investigating this shameful conduct and to discover where it might have been committed. Instructing a New Clerk for Miss Gilchrist at Dumfries and examining the Mails and bags there and taking Declarations of the Riders etc."

June 5-20. "Into Galloway as far as Portpatrick prosecuting the enquiries etc. regarding the Cutt bags which had been done betwixt Newton-Douglas and Dumfries."

1804. May 18 and 24 incl. 'Complaints of Post boys cutting bags in Galloway.'

May 25 and 30. 'Proceeded from Portpatrick to Donaghadee to examine the Packet Masters and Postmaster there in regard to the Alledged cuttings of the bags when it appeared that the complaints last made had been occasioned by Rats having eat out parts of them at the Donaghadee office....'

In May 1805 Ronaldson had a meeting at Moffat with local coachmasters and Mr Hasker,³⁰ Superintendent of Mail Coaches, to offer for a Mail Coach between Edinburgh and Dumfries. The contract was declined on either of the lines by the two coachmasters at Dumfries. Ronaldson does not record the out-come of the meeting but the mails continued to be carried by Diligence for a month or two when the Edinburgh, Dumfries and Portpatrick mail-coach was established, due to the efforts of David Staig, Provost of Dumfries.³¹

Ronaldson's role was administrative³² and there were many accidents and delays to mail-coaches with which he could not be expected to deal. Most of the delays were caused by bad weather and there were many occasions when the time-table was put out of gear. For example, according to the Edinburgh newspapers, about 5.0 o'clock on Friday, 24th January, 1794, snow began to fall heavily and it continued to fall all night. There was a severe gale from the N.E. and next day the snow lay 'many feet deep on the ground' and the frost was very intense. The mail coach from the south could not proceed and the mail was brought on by the guard on horseback, arriving in Edinburgh very late.³³ On the following Monday the *Courant* reported that the snow continued to lie deep on the ground; and that the roads were in such a state as greatly to retard the mails, and travelling was impracticable. The Monday mail from

30. Thomas Hasker. Superintendent of the Mail-Coaches in 1792. He retired in 1817.

31 (a) Maxwell Wood, *Gallovidian*, Spring 1912, 78.

(b) John M. Corrie. *The Dumfries Post Office 1642-1910*, 25.

32. Ronaldson's tours were made for the purpose of investigating complaints, observing and arranging duties, instructing contractors, appointing postmasters, explaining new rates, the timings of the coaches "to fall properly in with each other," enquiring into irregularities, etc.

33. *Courant and Caledonian Mercury*. 25 Jan. 1794.

London had not arrived, nor had the Saturday, Sunday or Monday mails from Dumfries³⁴

This was all the Edinburgh papers had to say about the dreadful 'Gonial Blast', with the exception of a short paragraph in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 6 February which reported that 'the bodies of four shepherds, who perished in the snow near Moffat, have been found; eleven others are still missing....' Actually, as related by the Ettrick Shepherd in 'Storms', 17 shepherds perished between Crawford-muir and the Border, and according to Dr. Brown, the minister of Eskdalemuir, no snow fell on the 30th³⁵ and traffic must have begun to move again

As previously noted, the Elvanfoot-Beattock road down Evan Water was completed in 1808. This was a satisfactory achievement but there was no provision made for its maintenance, and the sad story of the road's decline begins on 25 October that same year. That night, in torrential rain, half of the bridge which spanned the Evan a mile below Upper Howcleuch, was washed away and the mail from Glasgow galloped into the bed of the river. It was a disaster about which much has been written.³⁶ It is referred to in a report 28 June 1815 of a select committee who were investigating the state of the Carlisle-Glasgow road,³⁷ when they found "That the present Road is in a most defective and ruinous State, so much so, as frequently to retard the mail and endanger the lives of passengers...." They cited as an example the Broken Bridge disaster when "the Mail Coach and horses fell into the river, one passenger was killed on the spot, the coachman only survived a few days, and several other persons were dreadfully maimed; two of the horses also killed, and although this accident happened many years ago, the Bridge remains at this day in the same situation, except that the immense gulph made by one-half of the Bridge falling, is fenced off by a slight railing, and the Mail and other carriages are now under the necessity of passing over the remaining half, which is just wide enough to admit a single carriage."

Mr Hasker confirmed this report and added "that five minutes are lost every journey, by the broken Bridge over Evan being so much damaged, that there is hardly the breadth of the coach left standing." The committee referred to the 'Act for a Grant of £50,000 for the Road from the City of Glasgow to the City of Carlisle' which was passed on 1 July 1816,³⁸ and with reference to the road, stated that 'the Survey and Plan of Mr Telford, referred to them, appears entitled to their warmest approbation.' They concluded by saying that if nothing was done the Road would continue to go from bad to worse 'till it shall fall into total decay.'

34. *Caledonian Mercury*, 27 Jan. 1794.

35. Dr Brydon, 'Records of Eskdalemuir,' Trans. Hawick Archaeological Society, 1873. May meeting, 185.

36. J. Oswald Miller op. cit., 230, 233. 'The Broken Bridge,' J. Wilson Hyde, *The Royal Mail* (1885), 61-64.

37. 'Ninth Report of the Commissioners for Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland,' 19th April 1821. Appendix (P) dated 28 June 1815, 97.

38. 56 Geo III. cap 83.

Two years later, on 28 May 1818, another Act³⁹ was passed which ordained that the sum of £50,000 was to be issued and paid by the Scottish Exchequer to cover the expense of improving and completing the road from Glasgow to Carlisle. Out of this sum £22,000 was to be applied for the purpose of making the road between Carlisle and Alisonbank, including bridges over the Esk and Sark.⁴⁰ The rest was to be spent on roads and bridges in Scotland, and this included the new road from Beattock to Dinwiddie Green and a bridge over the Annan at Johnstone Mills. This bridge was built from a plan by Thomas Telford and completed within the year, so that no time was wasted in implementing the Act,⁴¹ and according to an inscription on the parapet of the bridge over the Evan at Beattock "This Bridge Was Bult By JOHN MACDONALD From a Plan By THOMAS TELFORD In the Year 1819." This also applied to the roads, for in 1820 the new section of the Carlisle-Glasgow road which passed through Johnstone parish to Beattock was opened,⁴² and by the end of 1821 the new Edinburgh road from Moffat to the Beef Tub and across to Tweedshaws was carrying traffic.⁴³ This did away with the dreadful section of road from the Annan at Bridge End to Tweed's Cross which delayed the posts from Dublin to Edinburgh. This was because all Irish letters for Scotland reached Dumfries about 11.0 o'clock at night, and remained there till six the following morning when they were forwarded to Edinburgh where they did not arrive till about five in the afternoon, too late for business. 'The danger of travelling over Erickstane Brae at Night has been the reason assigned for this great delay; but as a new line of road, by which the impediment is avoided, has been recently opened,' it was suggested in December that the Irish mail should reach Dumfries at 8.0 p.m., and immediately be sent on to Edinburgh where it should arrive at 5.0 a.m., and this was arranged.⁴⁴

The opening of the Carlisle-Glasgow road had the effect of diverting the mail-coach and carrier traffic from passing through Moffat. It also meant that there was no inn or posting house between Lockerby and Elvanfoot on that route. The distance separating these two places was 28 miles, and as Beattock was conveniently placed for a halfway stage and was at the point of intersection of that road with the Dumfries and Edinburgh road, that site seemed most suitable for the purpose for which it was required.⁴⁵

The Commissioners who were responsible for the road planned to get someone to build an inn at Beattock but were unable to prevail upon any proprietor of the land through which the road passed, or any innkeeper in the neighbourhood, to erect a suitable building. However, the Commissioners were

39. 56 Geo III. cap xlv.

40. See *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society* LXXIII, New Series (1973), 286.

41. *New Statistical Account* (1834). 'Johnstone Parish,' 165. Telford's bridge was taken down in 1939 and a new one erected to conform to the dual carriage way. Telford was also responsible for the bridge over the Clyde at Elvanfoot.

42. *Ibid.* and John Brown. *Moffat Past and Present*, 93.

43. Fairfoul's *Guide to Moffat*, 67, states that 'the formation of the New Carlisle road was about 1820.' Oswald Miller, *op. cit.*, 219 writes about 1820 and on another page 1822.

44. *Courant*, 8 Dec 1821.

45. See *New Statistical Account*, 'Johnstone' and 'Kirkpatrick Juxta,' 164 and 131 respectively.

authorised by Act of Parliament to make application to the Court of Exchequer for a sum of money towards defraying the expence of such a project, which they did on 1 Nov 1821.⁴⁶ They therefore 'proceeded to ascertain through Mr Telford, Civil Engineer, the Expence of erecting the Building necessary for the said Inn.' Telford's estimate amounted to £4688.5.1, and as the sum of £5000 had been applied for, the estimate was well covered. The Commissioners made it quite clear that 'the Right and Title to the said Inn when completed [was] to be vested from time to time in such persons as the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury shall be pleased to appoint.' The money was soon forthcoming,⁴⁷ building began, and Beattock Inn was opened in 1822. It was managed by a couple from England, a man named Wilson and his family,⁴⁸ the proprietors being the Road Trustees.

The inn, which has remained unaltered until recently, is a solid building with walls of ashlar, and ribbits and window surrounds of freestone. Some of the interior walls are of great thickness and a small coach booking office in the entrance hall is a relic of the coaching days. A spacious room on the ground floor was the dining room used by the mail-coach passengers. The place has several interesting features.

The opening of this inn at Beattock caused the closing down of the Kings Arms in Moffat.⁴⁹ It was therefore '*at Bittick's Inn*' as recorded in his journal that Sir Walter Scott stayed for the night on the occasion of his visit to Drumlanrig in 1826.⁵⁰ Sir Walter's spelling of Beattock was of course quite wrong as the old pronunciation and spelling of the name was Batok (1592) or Baitock (1625). He may well have been confused, by studying Crawford's early map of Dumfriesshire where it is spelt '*Beatick*.' This is a small matter, and in due course '*Beattock Inn*' or '*Beattock Bridge Inn*' became known as "a splendid inn."⁵¹ Mr Wilson, the tenant, had the contract for both the Edinburgh-Dumfries Mail and the Glasgow-Carlisle Mail.⁵² It appears that he made a success of both these undertakings⁵³ and indeed it was essential that he should, for an order from the Postmaster General stipulated that 'Innholders must not expect to continue in the Mail Coach Concern' should they quit their inn, however much they should wish to do so.⁵⁴

Wilson was responsible for the Edinburgh-Dumfries Mail in 1831 when on 1 February the down mail had James MacGeorge as guard and John Goodfellow as coachman. The story is well known how, on that day of wild weather

46. 'Petition of the Agent for the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges 1 Nov 1821, unto the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland.' Exchequer Orders Jan. 22. 1822 to Feb 5, 1823. Scottish Record Office E306/19/ 5-18.

47. This amount was paid by the Bank of Scotland to the credit of the Commissioners, apparently on 1 Nov. 1821.

48. *New Stat. Account. Kirkpatrick-Juxta* (1834), 131.

49. When the Caledonian Railway was opened in 1847 '*Beattock Hotel* had, a quarter of a century before, superseded Moffat as a stage on the Glasgow Carlisle road.' John Brown. *op. cit.*, 86.

50. Lockhart, *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott*, v. 27 and *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott* 1825-1832 (Douglas and Foulis), 242-246.

51. *A Guide to Moffat*, by a visitor (1833).

52. J. Oswald Mitchell *op. cit.*, 226.

53. '*Beattock Bridge Hotel*, a house of note in posting and mail coach times.' Fairfoul's *Guide to Moffat*, 29.

54. Circular letter from the G.P.O., 10 Feb. 1798. Edmund Vale, *op. cit.*, 277.

and falling snow, the Mail arrived late at the *Spur Inn* at Moffat, and how, against all advice, MacGeorge insisted on going on and how Goodfellow drove out into a wild snow storm. The two men were forced to abandon the coach some three miles from Moffat and attempted to carry the mail bags on to the next stage at Tweedshaws. This they could not do and next day the bags were found fastened to a post near the Highlandman's Cut beyond the Tub. Four days later their bodies were found near the old road not far from Tweed's Cross. J. Oswald Mitchell, who had done a great deal of research on Moffat coaching days, tells the story with much detail,⁵⁵ and *inter alia* he mentions that 'though the Edinburgh and Dumfries mail changed horse at the *Spur* in 1831, the horses were actually from the *Beattock Inn*.' At that time the inn had stabling for 50 horses,⁵⁶ and indeed Wilson must have kept at least 40 horses in order to carry on his mail-coach contracts, and also to have on hand a number of spare horses for a posting business. That there was once a posting business at *Beattock Inn* is confirmed by the fact that there is still an inscription over the great archway into the yard which reads "Licensed to let Post Horses."

The *Kings Arms*, now the *Annandale*, had stables for 50 horses, besides a byre for a cow which supplied the hotel with milk. James Rae, the contractor, had the 'ground' from Moffat to Abington and he must also have had the contract for the Edinburgh mail. He was in the *Kings Arms* until 1795/6 when a man named Baldchild took over. The two words "Post Horses" were painted on the pillars of the main entrance to the *Annandale*, and were never obliterated by the MacDonalds who were proprietors of the *Annandale* for many years.

On that fatal 1st February the 'mail, which had left the Dumfries Post Office at 7.0 a.m., was late when she pulled up at the *Spur Inn*.' Six years later the Royal Mail from Dumfries was timed to call at the *Spur* every morning at nine, and returned for Dumfries at four in the morning. The Royal Mail to Glasgow called at 'the *Beattock Bridge Inn*' every morning at a quarter before nine and returned for Carlisle at a quarter past one.⁵⁷ These timings may not have altered when Oswald Mitchell had the good fortune to travel from Glasgow to London in the mail in April 1846. Here is part of his story.⁵⁸

'Punctually at 1.15 a.m. we started from Glassford Street; we pulled up at the Tontine for the way bill, and then the guard, as he sprang into his dicky behind, gave the word to the coachman, and at last, at last, we were off! Oh, the delights of it! The toot-toot of the horn and the crack of the whip, as we

55. J. Oswald Mitchell, op. cit., 'Lost in the Snow,' 216-229.

56. This figure is approximately correct. (a) The unreliable Thomas Henderson, in *Moffat early roads and coaching days* (1960), 141, writes that Moffat and Beattock inns were each keeping 50-60 horses. (b) John Brown, *Moffat Past and Present*, 78, writes that the *King's Arms* in Moffat had struck business after *Beattock Inn* was opened. The *King's Arms* was let out as ordinary household accommodation to some eight or ten families of tradesmen and the like. The premises behind had also been transformed to similar uses. (c) Circa 1947 Mr Kirkpatrick senior stated that there was still stabling for 50 horses behind the house.

57. Pigot's *National Commercial Directory*, 1837. Moffat, 368.

58. Oswald Mitchell, op. cit., 209. The Tontine was the mail-coach terminus.

trotted down the silent Gallowgate, the flare of our five great lamps on the hedges and the cottages and the carriers' carts, as we galloped out into the dark, the clanking and the shouting as we changed horses, and London! London! nearer with every change. I woke—but had I ever slept?—to find the sun lighting up the green Lowthers as we galloped up Clydeside, then the Summit Level, then the plunge down Evan Water, the pull up at *Beattock Inn! Beattock Inn!* I see it now, the blazing fire, the smoking breakfast, the finnans and the chops and the ham and eggs, the baps and the buttered toast; how the piles kept on coming in and melting away! Surely there were never such breakfasts as the breakfasts at *Beattock Inn*, and there never was such picturesque travel as travel by the old mail coach.'

Mitchell's journey was made when the new railway was wending its relentless way north. By then it had reached Lancaster. Next year the Carlisle-Beattock section was opened and the first public train left Beattock for Carlisle on Friday 10 September 1847 at 6.30 a.m. *Beattock Inn* still continued to function as a mail coach stage, for passengers from Glasgow to Carlisle changed from the mail-coach at Beattock, and embarked at the new Caledonian main line station onto the train for the south. The reverse procedure applied to passengers going north and it was on 14 February 1848 that the last mail-coach pulled up at the Glasgow Post Office, and next day the railway was opened throughout.⁵⁹

Beattock Inn lost a great deal of trade but it remained in business, and in the early fifties was referred to as "an excellent large inn"⁶⁰ and again as "a large, handsome building, the favourite quarters of sportsmen and others."⁶¹ Other coaches, particularly those north of Edinburgh and Glasgow, continued to run, while in the west the Edinburgh HERO was advertised in August 1847 to leave for Dumfries every morning at 9 o'clock and from Dumfries daily at 11.0 o'clock by Noblehouse, Crook and Moffat.⁶² At the same time Croall's "splendid fast Four-Inside Post-Coach ENTERPRISE" left Dumfries three times a week for Edinburgh, returning on the Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays by way of West Linton, Biggar, Abington, Crawford and Thornhill.⁶³ These cross-country services survived for some time. For example, twenty years later, mails were still being carried from Edinburgh to Dumfries by Moffat, and also by Biggar and Thornhill through Abington and Elvanfoot.⁶⁴ (See Appendix).

The fate of Mr Wilson, tenant and mail-coach contractor, is not known. The proprietor of the inn was still the Road Trustees who let it, but in 1876, though the inn was showing a return from the rental, it was thought best to sell it and it reverted to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.⁶⁵ John

59. *Ibid* 264-265.

60. *Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland* (1854), Vol. 1, Beattock, 142.

61. *Black's Shilling Guide to Moffat and Vicinity* (1853), 2.

62. *Scotsman*, 14 Aug 1847. In 1862/3 Croall had a stable in Moffat.

63. *Ibid* 22 May 1847.

64. *New Edinburgh Almanac* 1862, 116; 1865, 122; 1866, 124; 1867, 124.

65. *Valuation Roll for Dumfriesshire*. Disposed 19 June 1885 by Duke of Buccleuch to William Younger of Corehead and Auchencastle. Reg of Sasines.

Marshall, whose tenancy dated from 1866, carried on the business until 1878⁶⁶ when he was succeeded by Mrs Jessie Marshall. Shown in the Valuation Roll as 'hotelkeeper,' she retired in 1889 from her '*Beattock Hotel*,' which was then owned by William Younger of Auchencastle.⁶⁷

It was during the tenancies of John Marshall and of at least two of his predecessors,⁶⁸ that each year from 1851 to 1876 *Beattock Inn* was the place chosen to hold the important Beattock sales. There, it is said, about 1000 rams of different breeds were sold, three fourths of which were Cheviots. The best known of this breed, which was in great demand, came from James Brydon's farms of Moodlaw in Eskdalemuir and from Kinnelhead which is three miles up the "Crooked Road" above Beattock. In fact the sale was known as "Moodlaw's" but it is sad to relate that in course of time buyers found Brydon's so-called 'improved Cheviot' lacked the necessary constitution for a hill sheep, and there was no demand for his stock. He had ruined his own sheep stock, things went from bad to worse and eventually Brydon was declared bankrupt.⁶⁹ One of these sales, which was held in the early sixties, has been described by Dixon in his *Field and Fern*.⁷⁰

'The old inn hard by the bridge which spans the Evan Water looked quite bright that day, with tables spread in the coach-house, and union-jacks floating from the hay-loft. "Ericstane"⁷¹ was in the chair; and as visitors dropped in, table after table was added, till at last the coach-house "threw out skirmishers" with knife and fork, half way across the yard. There was no music save the drone of a bagpipe in the distance, and no blackface on the field save a negro who sold sweetmeats, and treated each Cheviot breeding sahib to a most reverent salaam. Fully a hundred shepherd-dogs lay about or under the platform, and amid the plaided crowd there walked an Edinburgh horse-dealer with his hands in his pockets, and trying hard to appreciate that cock of the lug and glint of the eye for which the Moodlaw flock is so famed. All the tups had been collected two or three days before at Mr Brydon's farm, Kinnel Head, and therefore most of the breeders knew them by heart...'

The subsequent story of *Beattock Inn* after Mrs Marshall's retirement in 1889 is short. The house ceased to be an hotel and it was then incorporated into the farm of Lochhouse. It was occupied by successive Lochhouse farmers and latterly, for about 57 years, by the Kirkpatrick family who leased and eventually, in 1947, bought the house and farm from the trustees of the late Sir William Younger, the first baronet.⁷² The last Kirkpatrick to occupy the place

66. '*The Beattock Hotel*, so important in turnpike times, is now chiefly attractive as pleasant country quarters for visitors.' John Brown, op. cit., 109. Published in 1873.

67. Valuation Roll. 1876-1887/89.

68. 1851-62, Not known. 1862-66, Janet Ramsay. 1866-71, John Sinclair. 1871-78, John Marshall.

69. W. J. Lynn, 'The Story of the Sheep Dog.' *Moffat News*, 7 Jan. 1974.

70. H. H. Dixon. *Field and Fern* South (1865). The sale was held on a Thursday, the day preceding the Moffat Tup Fair and Show.

71. Tom Welsh of Ericstane.

72. 18 April 1947. Disposed by the Trustees of Sir William Younger, 1st Bart (d. 1937) with the consent of Sir William Robert Younger of Auchen Castle, 2nd Bart. (1888-1973) to John Mitchell Kirkpatrick, Loch House, Beattock, of the Lands and Farm of Loch House and Skellywell which included *Beattock Inn*. Register of Sasines.

was John, and in 1973 the house was sold to Roger S. Worthy, who, with his wife, has since been hard at work modernising the old building. They have every intention of restoring *Beattock Inn* to its pristine glory and putting it to its original use.

Appendix

Croall's coaching business dated back to 1820 and it is possible that in 1823 Croall was the contractor for the Dumfries mail which went by Biggar, Elvanfoot and Thornhill on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. It left Edinburgh at 6.0 a.m. and pulled up at the *King's Arms Inn* in Dumfries where it met the Portpatrick Mail.⁷³ A coach named the "Red Rover" was on this run, and Croall's "Red Rover," in colour, was the jacket and frontispiece illustration of Leslie Gardiner's book, *Stage-coach to John o' Groats*. This illustration was from a photograph of a painting on wood which was owned by a member of the Croall family, and Leslie Gardiner writes that it is a very amateurish painting of what was not a true stage coach.⁷⁴ It shows a coach being drawn by two horses, with two outside passengers and two insides. On the near side door panel is painted 'J. Croall. Edinburgh and Dumfries.' There is obviously plenty of room for four inside passengers. It is dated about 1863.

The Portpatrick Mail Coach, after running for nearly 51 years, made its last trip in March, 1861. The railway had taken over, for a branch line between Dumfries and Castle-Douglas was opened on 7 Nov 1859, and on 11 March 1861 it was continued on to Stranraer and Portpatrick. A photograph of this coach at Nine Mile Bar, Crockettford, which is an illustration in Corrie's book on the Dumfries post office, is said to have been taken in about 1856. A curious account of a journey in the Irish mail by a passenger from Dumfries to Edinburgh is recorded in Will Caesar's 'A Jaunt to Edinburgh,' from which verses 2, 3 and 4 have been taken. They were first published in 1826.⁷⁵

I took the mail on Tuesday's morn,
A blyther man was never born;
The horse were fleet — weel fed wi' corn —
We scoured away;
The guard employed his bugle horn
Right oft that day.

We got fresh horse at Bourance Rig,
Were soon in view o' Saint Ann's brig,
And saw Raehills, sae braw and trig,
Stand up the glen;
And mony a tree and bonny twig
Adorn the fen.

73. Edinburgh Post-Office (Annual) Directory 1823/24, 50, 51.

74. Letter 18 Jan 1973. Leslie Gardiner, Bolton Muir Lodge, Gifford, to W.A.J.P. See *Countryman* of winter 1972/73 with this illustration on page 101 and an article by Leslie Gardiner.

75. John M. Corrie. *The Dumfries Post Office 1642-1910* (1912), 25, 42, 43.

The Craiglands next came in our sight —
The Beattock inn is on the right,
Where mony a weary travelling wight
Has gotten rest
And entertainment, day and night,
O' Wilsons best.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I acknowledge the generous help given me by Mr Donaldson and his staff of the Ewart Library, Dumfries.

PROCEEDINGS 1973-74

- 12th October**—The Annual General Meeting was held at 7.45 p.m. in the Ewart Library. The President, Mr James Banks, was in the chair. The Hon. Treasurer's accounts were adopted. The Council's nominations for office bearers were accepted. Sixteen new members were elected. Mr A. E. Truckell gave a talk on 'Solway Shipping.'
- 26 October**—Mr Truckell presented a series of slides of old Dumfries. Three new members were elected.
- 9th November**—Mr John Dunbar gave a talk about 'James Smith, Architect'—including an account of the building of Drumlanrig Castle. Six new members were elected.
- 23rd November**—Miss M. Milroy spoke about her travels in Ethiopia and showed an interesting collection of slides.
- 7th December**—Mr Donald Watson talked about 'Birds of the Galloway Moors and Forests.'
- 25th January**—Mr Innes McLeod gave a talk on 'The Borge Debate Society, 1805.' This meeting and the next three were held in St Joseph's College because of nationwide power cuts affecting the library.
- 8th February**—Dr John Coles lectured on the subject of 'Prehistoric Musical Instruments.'
- 22nd February**—Mr Wilfrid Dodds of Durham University gave a talk on 'Animal Archaeology.' Two new members were elected.
- 8th March**—Mr William Austin gave a talk entitled 'Birds of Sutherland and Shetland.'

PROCEEDINGS 1974-75

- 11th October**—The Annual General Meeting was held in the Ewart Library. The retiring President, Mr J. Banks, was in the chair. The Hon. Treasurer's Accounts were adopted. The Council's nominations for new office bearers were accepted. Mr Alfred Truckell, on accepting the presidency, thanked Mr Banks for his valuable services to the society, and expressed appreciation of the work done by Mrs Pauline Williams as Hon. Secretary. Twelve new members were elected. Mr Banks gave his Presidential address on the subject of Paleo-ethnobotany.
- 25th October**—Professor Leslie Alcock of Glasgow University gave an illustrated lecture on 'Cadbury Castle and the Legend of Camelot' to a large audience of over ninety members and friends. Three new members were elected.
- 8th November**—Mr W. Ashford Kelly, of the National Library of Scotland, gave a talk on 'The Library of Lord George Douglas.' Two new members were elected.
- 22nd November**—Mr George Jobey gave an account of his excavations at Boonies in Eskdale. Three new members were elected.
- 6th December**—Mr K. Dobie gave a lecture on Scottish silver and exhibited many fine examples of it. Three new members were elected.
- 10th January**—Mr Truckell gave a talk on old Dumfries based on a series of old photographs which had recently been given to the museum—the collections of Jean Maxwell and Alex Hanby. One new member was elected.
- 24th January**—Mr W. Holland, minister of New Abbey, showed a collection of old photographs of New Abbey and district. Two new members were elected.
- 7th February**—Dr Lloyd Laing gave a talk on his excavation at the Mote of Mark near Rockcliffe. One new member was elected.
- 21st February**—Mr J. D. S. Martin, a past President of the society, showed a large number of beautiful slides and spoke about 'Plants of the Solway Shore.'
- 7th March**—Mr Lionel Masters, one of our Vice-Presidents, gave an account of his excavations at Slew Cairn. Four new members were elected.

Publications of the Society

Transactions and Journal of Proceedings: 1st Series—(a) 1862-3, (b) 1863-4*, (c) 1864-5*, (d) 1865-6*, (e) 1867-8*. New or 2nd Series—(1) 1876-8*, (2) 1878-80*, (3) 1880-3*, (4) 1883-6, (5) 1886-7, (6) 1887-90*, (7) 1890-1, (8) 1891-2*, (9) 1892-3*, (10) 1893-4*, (11) 1894-5*, (12) 1895-6*, (13) 1896-7, (14) 1897-8*, (15) 1898-9*, (16) 1899-1900, (17) 1900-5 (in 4 parts)*, (18) 1905-6*, (19) 1906-7, (20) 1907-8*, (21) 1908-9, (22) 1909-10, (23) 1910-11*, (24) 1911-12. 3rd Series—(1) 1912-3*, (ii) 1913-4*, (iii) 1914-5*, (iv) 1915-6*, (v) 1916-8, (vi) 1918-9, (vii) 1919-20*, (viii) 1920-1, (ix) 1921-2, (x) 1922-3*, (xi) 1923-4, (xii) 1924-5, (xiii) 1925-6*, (xiv) 1926-8*, (xv) 1928-9, (xvi) 1929-30*, (xvii) 1930-1*, (xviii) 1931-3, (xix) 1933-5*, (xx) 1935-6*, (xxi) 1936-8*, (xxii) 1938-40*, (xxiii) 1940-5*, (xxiv) 1945-6*, (xxv) 1946-7, (xxvi) 1947-8, (xxvii) 1948-9 (Whithorn Vol. 1)*, (xxviii) 1949-50*, (xxix) 1950-1 (with Index of Vols. i to xxvi)*, (xxx) 1951-2*, (xxxi) 1952-3* (Hoddam Vol.), (xxxii) 1953-4, (xxxiii) 1954-5, (xxxiv) 1955-6 (Whithorn Vol. 2)*, (xxxv) 1956-7, (xxxvi) 1957-8, (xxxvii) 1958-9, (xxxviii) 1959-60, (xxxix) 1960-61 (with Index of Vols. xxvii to xxxviii), (xl) 1961-62* (Centenary Vol.), (xli) 1962-3, (xlii) 1965 (new format), (xliii) 1966, (xliv) 1967, (xlv) 1968, (xlvi) 1969, (xlvii) 1970, (xlviii) 1971, (xlix) 1972, (l) 1973, (li) 1975

Prices: Single Volumes—£2 (plus postage)

Runs of Volumes—On application to Hon. Librarian.

- A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumf. and Kirkcud.** by James M'Andrew, 1882*.
Birrens and its Antiquities, by Dr J. Macdonald and James Barbour, 1897. 40p post free.
Communion Tokens, with a Catalogue of those of Dumfriesshire, by Rev. H. A. Whitelaw, 1911*.
History of Dumfries Post Office, by J. M. Corrie, 1912*.
History of the Society, by H. S. Gladstone, 1913*.
The Ruthwell Cross, by W. G. Collingwood, 1917*.
Records of the Western Marches, Vol. I, "Edgar's History of Dumfries, 1746," with illustrations and ten pedigree charts, edited by R. C. Reid, 1916*.
Records of the Western Marches, Vol. II, "The Bell Family in Dumfriesshire," by James Steuart, W.S., 1932*.
Records of the Western Marches, Vol. III, The Upper Nithsdale Coalworks from Pictish Times to 1925, by J. C. I. M'Connell, 1962. 75p.
Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire, by Hugh S. Gladstone, 1923*.
A Bibliography of the Parish of Annan, by Frank Miller, F.S.A.Scot.*.
Index to Transactions. Series 1 and 2. £1 post free.
The Marine Fauna and Flora of the Solway Firth Area by Dr E. J. Perkins, 1972. 112pp. £1 post free.
Birrens (Blatobulgium) by Prof. A. S. Robertson (1975) 292 pp. 88 figs., 12 pls. £5.50 post free to members, £7.50 to non-members. Obtainable from Hunterian Museum, The University, Glasgow G12 8QQ.

*Indicates out of print

REPRINTS (Selection)

- Bronze Age Metalwork in Dumfries and Galloway**, by Dr John M. Coles (1965), 38 pp. with 11 figs., 1 pl., and inventory of 233 finds. 20p post free.
Food Vessels in S.-W. Scotland, by D. D. A. Simpson (1965), 26 pp., 76 vessels illustrated, described and fully discussed. 20p post free.
The Battle-Axes, Mace Heads and Axe-Hammers from S.-W. Scotland, by Fiona E. S. Roe (1967), 23 pp., 8 figs., 2 pls., 206 implements inventoried and fully discussed. 35p post free.
A Mesolithic Site at Low Clone, Wigtownshire, by W. F. Cormack and J. M. Coles (1968), 29 pp., 10 figs., 1 pl. 25p post free.
Excavation of Two Chambered Cairns (and two burial cairns) at Mid Gleniron Farm, Glenluce, Wigtownshire, by J. X. W. P. Corcoran, Ph.D., F.S.A. (1969), 71 pp., with 16 figs., 9 pl. 75p post free.
Early Settlements in Eastern Dumfriesshire by George Jobey, 1972. 26pp., 43 figs., 1 pl. 55p post free.
Beaker Pottery in South-West Scotland by J. N. Graham Ritchie, 1970. 45p post free.