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



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## EDITORIAL

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

A list of Members, as at 1st May 1993, and of the current Rules, dated 8th October 1993, appear in this volume.

The Honorary Secretary, Mrs J. Muir, North Wing, Carzield House, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries DG1 1SY, Tel. 0387-710216, deals with all matters other than membership which is dealt with by the Hon. Membership Secretary, Mrs M. Rochester, Hillcrest, Kirkton, Dumfries DG1 1SL, Tel. 0387-710144.

Exchanges should be sent to the Hon. Assistant Librarian, Mr J. Williams, St Albans, 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries DG2 7LZ. Enquiries regarding back numbers of *Transactions* — see rear cover — should be made to the Hon. Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 4 Lovers' Walk, Dumfries DG1 1LP. As many of the back numbers are out of stock, members can greatly assist the finances of the Society by arranging for any volumes which are not required, whether of their own or those of deceased members, to be handed in. It follows that volumes marked as out of print may nevertheless be available from time to time.

Payments of subscriptions should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr John Neilson, 2 Park Street, Dumfries DG2 7PH, who will be pleased to arrange Bonds of Covenant, which can materially increase the income of the Society without, generally, any additional cost to the member. The attention of members and friends is drawn to the important Inheritance Tax and Capital Gains Tax concessions which are conferred on individuals by the Finance Acts, inasmuch as bequests or transfers of shares or cash to the Society are exempt from these taxes.

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

The Council is indebted to Historic Scotland, Shell UK Ltd, and The Mouswald Trust and Dumfriesshire Museums for grants towards the publication costs of Abbot's Tower Report, Chapel Farm Report and Ornament from Rerrick article respectively.

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

# THE PINE MARTEN

## ITS REINTRODUCTION AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY IN THE GALLOWAY FOREST PARK

by

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Forest Enterprise, 55/57 Moffat Road, Dumfries DG1 1NP

### Introduction

Until 1800 the Pine Marten *Martes martes* was widespread throughout mainland Britain, and would at one time have been an established part of the fauna of Galloway. Deforestation and trapping for the fur trade must have steadily reduced Marten populations, but their sudden collapse during the nineteenth century appears to have been linked to a rise in the popularity of gamebird management with associated destruction of potential predators. Though still present in Kirkcudbrightshire in 1796, it had become extinct in Galloway by 1850, and in Ayrshire by 1882 (Langley and Yalden, 1977). Before 1900, Marten had been exterminated from lowland Scotland and from most of England and Wales, and survived in numbers only in remote parts of north-west Scotland (Harvie-Brown, 1881; Lockie 1964).

A recovery of some of the former range has occurred since the 1930s, coinciding both with a reduced level of persecution, and with an increase in woodland habitat through reafforestation by the Forestry Commission and private land owners. (Lockie, 1964; Corbet and Harris, 1991). However, by 1982 the main population was still located to the north of the Great Glen, with fragmented pockets persisting in Wales, the Lake District and north-east England (Velander, 1983).

### *Recent status in Galloway*

As a breeding species, Pine Martens were effectively banished from Galloway during the last century. The link may never have been entirely broken, however, with occasional anecdotal reports of animals sighted on the Solway saltmarsh in winter — presumably wanderers from the Lake District. Lockie (1964) quoted an authenticated (presumably trapped) record from the Stranraer area in the 1920s. In the 1970s there were sightings from the Hoddom estate by Dumfries, and a well documented report of a field sighting and tracks at Laurieston Forest (by Gatehouse of Fleet) in 1973 and 1974 (E. J. M. Davies, *in litt.*).

At the end of the 1970s the maturing conifer forests of Galloway offered an abundance of apparently suitable habitat for Marten. The possibility of a natural recolonisation seemed remote, since the expanding northern population was still far removed beyond the ultimate barrier of the industrialised central belt of Scotland, and the populations south of the Border showed no sign of similar spread northwards.

Against this background, the then-Conservator of Forests in South Scotland, E. J. M. Davies, sought advice on the possibility of a successful reintroduction programme to re-establish this restricted native animal in its former range in the Galloway Forest Park.

## Methods

### *Source and Timing of Reintroductions*

The Forestry Commission Wildlife & Conservation Research Branch suggested two basic strategies for reintroduction:

- i) saturation release of a considerable number of animals, including juveniles, pregnant females and adult males;
- ii) establishment of a captive breeding nucleus from which the young would be allowed to disperse.

Since FC (South Scotland) had neither the resources nor the expertise for captive-breeding, the former option was selected.

Two release sites were located in the Galloway Forest Park:

- A) Caldots Wood, Glentroot  
(NX4079; 55°04'N 04°29'W; altitude 100m asl):  
valley-floor, with ancient semi-natural oak woodland and some mature pinewood, linking with extensive conifer plantation woodland established from 1950-80.
- B) Backhill of Bush, Clatteringshaws  
(NX4884; 55°07'N 04°22'W; altitude 280m asl):  
upland valley-floor with extensive conifer plantation woodland established from late 1960s to east and south; raised bog and mountain to west and north.

The two sites offered contrasting environments; site A was in a more varied and productive situation, but also had a high level of human activity, and therefore potential disturbance. Site B, only 10 km NE but separated by the Merrick range mountain mass, had the advantage of minimal disturbance, but was in a relatively less productive upland situation.

Arrangements were made for the live-trapping of Pine Marten by FC staff at two forests in North Scotland Conservancy, Ratagan and Inchnacardoch (57°N 5°W) in western Inverness-shire. The trapping method was necessarily unselective, but was aimed at post-mating (July-August; Corbet and Harris, 1991) and pre-parturition (April; *ibid.*) to ensure that any females taken would be pregnant and without dependent young. Trapped animals were collected immediately by FC South Scotland staff, transported south by road, and simply released on arrival at the Galloway sites. The animals were aged and sexed prior to release, but were not marked in any way.

### *Data collected following release*

Subsequent to the reintroductions, occasional sightings and recorded deaths were received by the Forestry Commission, mostly from internal staff. By the mid-1980s there were very few reports forthcoming.

However, from 1988 it became clear that Pine Marten were using large-size nestboxes, mounted on trees in Newton Stewart Forest District and intended for owls, as winter dens. This gave an opportunity to collect faecal deposits for dietary analysis; at the same time there was an increase in reported sightings, and from this time onwards records were sought, both from within the Forestry Commission and from other interested naturalists in the area. There has not, to date, been any widely publicised call for Pine Marten records, and the documentation is necessarily incomplete.

Table 1  
Re-introductions of Pine Marten into the Galloway Forest Park

<i>Date Released</i>	<i>Location of Capture</i>	<i>Location of Release</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>
30.1.80	Inchnacardoch	Backhill of Bush	Male	Adult
30.1.80	Inchnacardoch	Backhill of Bush	Female	Sub-Adult
30.1.80	Inchnacardoch	Backhill of Bush	Male	Adult
21.2.80	Inchnacardoch	Caldons, Glentroot	Female	Adult
1.3.80	Inchnacardoch	Caldons, Glentroot	Female	Adult
31.1.81	Inchnacardoch	Caldons, Glentroot	Male	Adult
31.1.81	Inchnacardoch	Caldons, Glentroot	Female	Adult
28.8.81	Ratagan	Caldons, Glentroot	Male	Sub-Adult
28.8.81	Ratagan	Backhill of Bush	Male	Adult
28.8.81	Ratagan	Backhill of Bush	Female	Adult
5.11.81	Ratagan	Caldons, Glentroot	Female	Adult
6.12.81	Inchnacardoch	Backhill of Bush	Male	Adult

## Results

### Releases

The number of releases was limited by trapping success to a total of 12 animals (Table 1), comprising 5 adults and one sub-adult of either sex. Seven separate releases took place, of 1-3 individuals at one time. Although the number of animals liberated at each site was in equality, there was no control over the number or sex trapped, with the result that Caldons received four females and two males, and Backhill of Bush the reverse ratio. Trapping ceased at the end of 1981, before this imbalance could be adjusted.

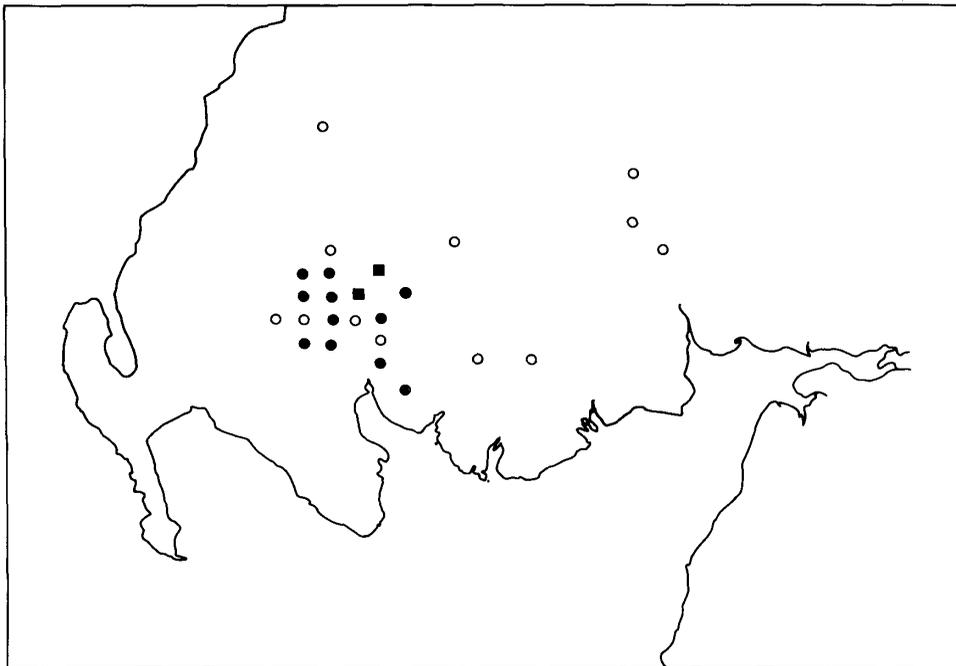


Figure 1 Pine Marten records from south-west Scotland 1980-1992. Records are based on 5km grid squares: some squares had multiple records. (Filled squares : release points; filled circles : records 1991-92; open circles : records prior to 1991.)

### *Subsequent History*

Figure 1 maps the Marten records reported from south-west Scotland since 1980, assigned to 5 x 5km National Grid squares.

The sightings fall into two groups; a concentration of records from the south and west of the Galloway Forest Park, in Glen Trool and the valleys of the River Cree and the Palnure Burn, and a scatter of more distant records up to 50km east of the release sites, across to Ae Forest in Dumfriesshire.

The more easterly records have been isolated occurrences, mainly in the years immediately following the releases, and there is no good evidence that Marten are established in these areas — though this may be due to a lack of reporting. The most recent were single sightings in 1988 and 1989. Wandering males may cover very large distances (Lockie, 1964), and the records possibly refer to males dispersing from the Backhill of Bush release site. Alternatively Dumfriesshire may occasionally receive dispersing animals, perhaps from the north of England. In the west Marten continue to be recorded; records from 1991-92 were sufficiently numerous to map separately (Figure 2).

### *Known Deaths*

Four dead Marten have been reported since the releases; in August 1981 an adult male was killed in a fox snare at Gilchristland, near Ae Forest north of Dumfries, some 50km due east of the nearest release point. Two died within the Galloway Forest Park in the early 1980s, at Clatteringshaws (fox snare) and Kirroughtree (1983, found dead). In November 1991 a Marten was killed on the A75 at Palnure. Since 1988 the Pine Marten has been a fully protected animal under Schedule 5 of the Wildlife & Countryside Act (1981).

### *Successful Breeding*

Most recorded breeding has been inferred from sightings of small groups of animals, assumed to be family parties. The first such sighting, of three individuals following in a line, occurred in Glen Trool (NX3777) in 1981, and presumably originated from a female pregnant at release. Indications that successful wild matings were occurring came from a nearby area (NX3678) in June 1982, when an adult was reluctant to leave an area and ‘‘squeaking’’ was heard, and in 1983 when a den with three young was found in a hollow tree.

No further breeding was reported until 1991, when two young Marten were seen playing in June in Glen Trool (NX3876), and couples were seen together at two other sites later in the year. An adult seen persistently hunting by day in a new area (NX3668) in May and June was probably a female feeding young. In 1992 a litter of one young was found in a nestbox in April (NX3278), and three animals were seen together later in the year, also in Glen Trool.

Pine Marten are territorial (Corbet and Harris, 1991). In north Scotland home ranges varied from 3.6 to 20+ km<sup>2</sup>; the differences were related to the amount of open ground between forest blocks, since the area of forest canopy was similar within each home range (Balharry, 1992). Relatively small home ranges would therefore be predicted in large forest areas. The grouping of sightings from 1991-92 (Figure 2) suggest at least five Marten territories in the Forest Park, with some evidence for breeding obtained in four. To date, all breeding records have occurred within a 12km radius of the Caldons release site.

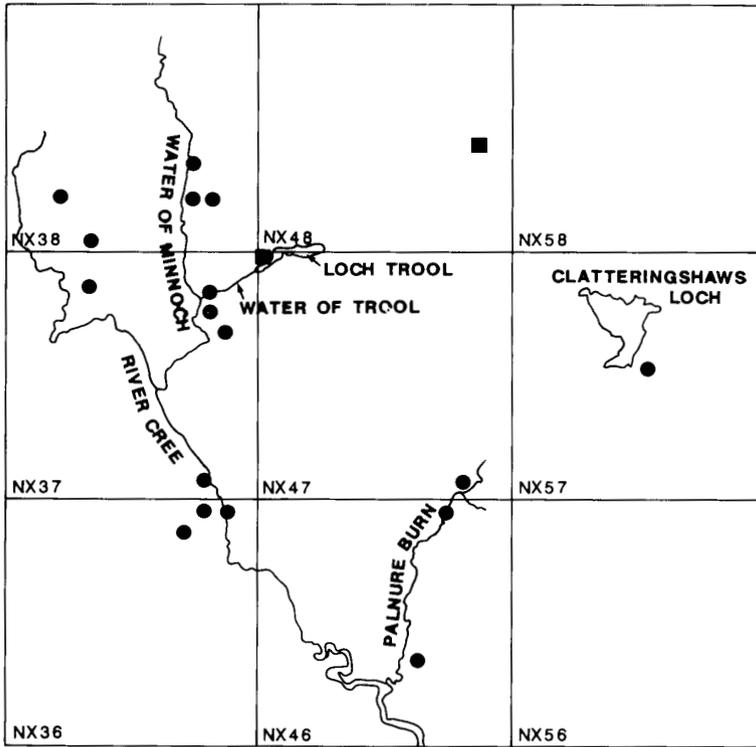


Figure 2  
 Pine Marten records 1991-92 GFP plotted on 1km grid squares  
 (some grid squares have multiple records).  
 Circles: field sightings/den. squares: release points

Table 2  
 Habitat for Pine Marten records from Galloway Forest Park 1991-92

Habitat Type	Galloway	Velander (1983)*
Mixed Conifer Plantation	6 (29%)	81 (82%)
Mixed Conifer Plantation, felled	9 (42%)	0
Pasture	6 (29%)	1 (1%)
Other	—	17 (17%)
Total	21	99

\*Velander (1983) refers to survey plots in main range (North Scotland) where signs of Marten presence were confirmed.

### Habitat

Velander (1983) defined ten habitat types in her survey areas for Marten scats; sightings in the Galloway Forest Park in 1991-92 all fell within just three of these types (Table 2), either because other habitats were entirely absent (eg. coastal; disused railway) or scarce (deciduous woodland). Signs of Marten (scats) were most evident in coniferous woodland, while in Galloway records occurred mainly on open ground, particularly clearfell, bordering coniferous woodland. These results are not necessarily inconsistent, since field sightings would be biased towards open, visible areas, and activity within the woodland would be under-recorded.

Table 3  
Total occurrence of food items in batches of Pine Marten scats (presence/absence per batch)  
from Galloway Forest Park 1988-89

Food item (class)	Glentrool (batches = 8)	Penninghame (batches = 4)
Field vole, <i>Microtus</i>	6	—
Bank Vole, <i>Clethrionomus</i>	1	—
Lagomorph, rabbit/hare	—	4
Galliform, Gamebirds	1	—
Passeriform, songbirds	—	3
Falconiform, raptors	1	—
Anura, lizard	2	—
Insecta	2	—
Fruit, cherry stones	—	2

### Diet

Marten using nestboxes as dens habitually deposit scats in a latrine on top of the box. Several batches, consisting of one or more scats, have been collected, and twelve (1988-89) have been analysed for diet (David Balharry, *pers. comm.*: Table 3). Field voles *Microtus agrestis* clearly formed a major prey item in the large conifer forests of Glentrool, while in the more diverse habitat in Penninghame Forest rabbit/hare and small songbirds were taken. The general picture from this limited analysis suggests an adaptable predator, capable of switching diet across a range of small prey items.

A survey by Forest Rangers on 10 September 1991 found scats thought to be Pine Marten in all forest areas north of Newton Stewart, in Newton Stewart Forest District.

### Discussion

The release of twelve Pine Marten into the Galloway Forest Park between the beginning of 1980 and the end of 1981 appears to have resulted in the re-establishment of a small breeding population. A recent increase in records suggests that this population is at least consolidating, in a radius of 12km south and west from the Glen Trool release site. Successful dispersal has tended to move towards lower, more productive ground, whilst remaining in or close to conifer forest.

There is little sign that the upland release site has successfully re-established, with no breeding records and no recent sightings in a 10km radius. Based on only two females, one a sub-adult, this lack of success may reflect technique rather than habitat. The higher

altitude of this site should not have influenced the outcome, as scats have been found above the 300m contour in the Glentroot area. Early records from eastern Galloway might indicate a dispersal of males away from this site. However, a sighting from Clatteringshaws in 1991 gives optimism that there is still a presence in the area, though its proximity to the Kirroughtree records might suggest a more recent northerly dispersal. There may, of course, be other records which have not been made known to us.

The proposition that the modern forests of Galloway can support the Pine Marten appears to be upheld. The re-establishment was made from a very small nucleus, and therefore has a limited base, both numerically and genetically, from which to expand. In time it may be supplemented by animals from the north or south, but for the immediate future the recolonisation will be restricted by the breeding and dispersal rates of those animals already present. We would be very pleased to receive any further records of Pine Marten in Galloway; past, present or future.

### **Acknowledgements**

We are indebted to K. W. Clark, former Head Ranger for the Forestry Commission South Scotland, for details of released animals; to Steve Petty and David Balharry for arranging and carrying out scat analysis, and to the FC Wildlife Research and Conservation Branch for assistance with references. J. M. Hamilton and C. R. Tracey made constructive comments on early drafts of the text, and FE Drawing Office (South Scotland) provided the text figures. Many people have been lucky enough to see Pine Martens and kind enough to tell us about it; we particularly thank G. & N. Bevan, A. Dowell, J. & R. Green, H. Halliday, B. Holiday, J. & B. Holland, W. Kerr, W. & M. Laurie, R. McCleary, W. McCreadie, F. McGhie, J. Ross, R. Ryman, L. Shaw, G. Todd and J. Wright.

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# A MOUNT WITH HIBERNO-SAXON CHIPCARVED ANIMAL ORNAMENT FROM RERRICK, NEAR DUNDRENNAN, KIRKCUDBRIGHT, SCOTLAND

by

Niamh Whitfield and James Graham-Campbell\*

A fine ornamental mount, decorated in the Hiberno-Saxon style of early medieval Insular art (pl. 1 and fig. 1)<sup>1</sup> was found in 1987 on Upper Rerrick Farm, Dundrennan, Kirkcudbright (NX 760468); it is now housed in Dumfries Museum (inv. no. 87.58). Although it was referred to in *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* (Page 1991, 17)<sup>2</sup> and formed part of the 1991 British Museum exhibition *The Making of England*, when it was catalogued by Susan Youngs (Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 102), this mount is here described and discussed fully for the first time.

## Description

The rectangular mount cast in copper alloy (c. 41.5 mm long, 26 mm wide and 2 mm thick), is decorated on its front face with gilt chipcarved animal ornament; its reverse is plain. The chipcarving is in good condition although slightly worn in places, but the gilding is well preserved only in the recesses.

On three sides the mount is edged by a double border, composed of an outer beaded band (c. 2 mm wide) and an inner plain ridge with sloping edges. A small flange, gilt like the rest of the front surface of the object, extends beyond the border from the two long edges, complete down one, but fragmentary down the other which has a corner broken off. The adjacent short side lacks a flange; it is not clear if one was originally present. Both border and flange are completely lacking from the fourth side, the edge of which seems to have been filed; a small part of the animal pattern was removed in the process. All this appears to be ancient work. The presence of a greyish metal on the reverse, probably solder, which is particularly visible by the borderless edge, suggests that the mount was wrenched from its setting in antiquity.<sup>3</sup>

Another feature which appears to be ancient, but secondary, is a hole c. 2.5 mm in diameter, which pierces and partially destroys the pattern at midpoint by the beaded short edge. Susan LaNiece of the British Museum Research Laboratory, who kindly examined the piece microscopically, observed that there is no gilding on the wall of this hole and that at least one of the burrs splaying from its mouth overlaps the gilding, clearly indicating

1. The term 'Hiberno-Saxon' refers to an art style common to Ireland and parts of Britain, particularly Scotland and Northumbria, from the mid-seventh to the ninth centuries AD, when there was considerable cultural interchange between those areas. The term 'Insular' is here used to refer to the British Isles as a whole.
2. The same mount was also referred to by Brooke (1991, 304), who erroneously believed it was found in Rerrick churchyard.
3. Metallurgical examination of the mount in the British Museum demonstrated that it is made of a normal mercury-gilded bronze and that the grey metal on the reverse is more likely to be solder than not.

\*47 Farnoe Road, London W14 0EL and Institute of Archaeology, 31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PY respectively.



Plate 1 Rerrick mount: front face. Scale c. 2:1.

that the hole was made after the gilding had been applied. On the front face of the object flattened burrs ring the hole, while on the reverse it is surrounded by a raised rim, so that it was probably punched from the front; it may also have been reamed to increase its size.

The pattern, which covers the entire area inside the border, consists of a pair of confronted ribbon animals with coiled hindquarters. They are laid out in axial reversed mirror symmetry — one upright, the other upside down. Each bites the body of its identical partner at a point just above the hip, but the creatures are not otherwise in contact. Just one foreleg is shown, but both hindlegs splay out symmetrically in a V-pattern which extends into the corners.

Each animal is shown in profile with a prominent single-coil spiral ending in a clubbed terminal at the shoulder and hip. It has a small head with a tear-shaped eye, in one case with a dot at the rounded end, and a biting mouth with squared snout and pointed lower jaw. Its cheek is indicated by a small swelling above the back of the mouth. Its ear consists of a long lappet. The elongated neck and body form an almost even, ribbon-like band with a double-contour. The neck is emphasised by a central sub-rectangular field; the inner field on the body is also distinct, although interrupted by interlace. The legs which have well-defined angular hocks, are linked to the shoulder or hip spiral. Each foot has one paw pad and a single long claw. The tail is extended into interlace.

Each animal forms a discrete interlace. The two hindlegs cross the body, one passing over and the other passing under it, while the trailing ear-lappets and tails form more complex patterns. The ear-lappet simply weaves under the head and over the front leg once to terminate above the hip spiral in a pointed loop (not a triquetra, *pace* Youngs: Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 102); its tip flares before contracting to a slanted point. The tail is far longer and follows a tortuous asymmetrical looped path, passing over and under itself and crossing and recrossing the body at various points, before coming to an end just below the snout of the opposed animal. Despite this complexity, the tail forms a balanced pattern.

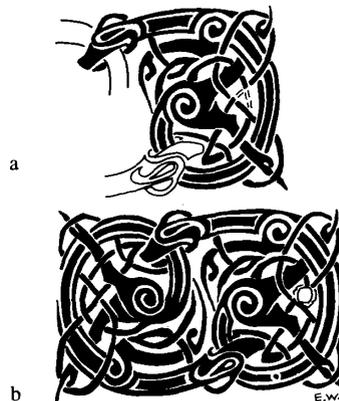


Fig. 1 Animal ornament on the Rerrick mount, scale 1:1: a. extracted detail: b. complete animal motif.

The self-contained nature of the design suggests that the panel is almost intact, having consisted originally of a central area decorated with a pair of confronted beasts surrounded by a double border with a flange on two (or possibly all four) sides. However, it is also possible that the mount was originally longer, with the pattern extended.

## Discussion

While the Rerrick mount lacks exact parallels, the presence on its front face of a pair of stylised ribbon beasts seen in profile, with attenuated interlaced ear-lappets and tails, indicates that it is of Hiberno-Saxon origin and that it was made at some point between the late seventh and ninth centuries. We cannot know why it was forcibly removed from its setting, although the type of damage it has sustained and the proximity of its findspot to the sea are highly suggestive of Viking vandalism and re-use. Whatever, it is clear that the findspot does not constitute proof that it was manufactured in south-western Scotland or indeed in Northumbria, which took control over this region in the late seventh century. Conclusions concerning the function and dating of the mount must depend on its form and ornament rather than its findspot.

## FUNCTION

Although it is impossible to identify the type of object the mount originally decorated, the apparent presence of solder on the back indicates that it was attached to metal, while the survival of flanges on its long sides suggests that it was set in an openwork frame which may have been attached to the front of a larger object.

Superimposed frames are used to secure panels on late sixth- to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon buckles (e.g. Youngs 1989, no. 45), while a more elaborate frame overlies gold and silver *pressblech* foils on the late seventh-century leather satchel from Swallowcliffe Down, Wiltshire (Speake 1989, fig. 57). The tradition can be seen to have continued in eighth- to ninth-century Ireland, also for overlying filigree or *pressblech* foil, as, for example, on the Moylough belt-shrine from Co. Sligo (O'Kelly 1965), the Derrynaflan paten and chalice from Co. Tipperary (Ryan 1983a) and the Ardagh chalice from Co. Limerick (Organ 1973).

Cast copper-alloy panels may also be set in openwork frames. Especially reminiscent in form of the Rerrick mount is a rectangular chipcarved plaque with a beaded border inset behind the gilt copper-alloy frame of a hinged shrine mount from Ireland (Youngs 1989, no. 156). Gilt panels of a different shape are found in frames on the Ardagh chalice (on the girdle around the upper side of the foot-cone where the panels are pierced in openwork and set on a mica backing: Organ 1973, 254) and on the Derrynaflan chalice (on panels 1 and 2 of the bowl girdle: Ryan 1983a, 12). The tradition was long-lived, since gilt cast panels were also set in an openwork frame on the early eleventh-century parts of the *Soiscél Molaise* from Devenish, Co. Fermanagh (Ryan 1983b, no. 75).

The intact flange on the Rerrick mount is very narrow, although there are equally narrow flanges on the filigree panels held under frames on both the Ardagh and Derrynaflan chalices.<sup>4</sup> However, the mount was presumably soldered in place because its frame did not overlap the flange sufficiently to ensure that the panel stayed firmly in place.

Like the pieces of Insular metalwork referred to above, the object it decorated may well have been ecclesiastical, such as a cross, book-shrine or other reliquary. However, a secular function cannot be ruled out altogether (e.g. Insular buckles with openwork rectangular frames are known from Viking-age Scandinavia: Wamers 1985, Kat. 35, taf. 29.1).

## ORNAMENT

Animal ornament is a very important element in Insular art of this period, appearing on work in many media. On metalwork it may be executed in chipcarving, filigree, engraving, *pressblech* or enamel. It is displayed prominently in manuscripts, as well as

4. Photographs of the foils on the Ardagh chalice taken during conservation at the British Museum in the early 1960s show narrow flanges on all four sides. On the Derrynaflan chalice more substantial tapered flanges appear on the short than on the long sides; this would have given the foils greater security (pers. comm. Hazel Newey). It is not clear what form flanges take on the cast insets referred to, as it has not been possible to examine these.

on large-scale sculpture and embroidery. Bone and stone motif-pieces show animal patterns, and no doubt they also decorated objects in materials such as wood which have not survived. The work which remains probably represents just a fraction of that carried out, but even so the existing *corpus* displays wide variety. However, certain conventions can be identified — some, relating to the proportions and pose of the beasts, are common to the style as a whole, whilst others are related to the particular medium used.

Chipcarving is a technique, ultimately derived from woodworking, in which the model from which the mould is made is carved with the figure in false relief, the ground being cut away at sharp angles to produce a recessed faceted background. Certain features are especially characteristic of chipcarved animal ornament, although the Rerrick mount is unusual in two respects. First, its perimeter is decorated with a conspicuous cast beaded border, and secondly, the beasts' bodies lack hatched decoration.

### *The border*

Cast beaded borders are rare on chipcarved panels on late seventh- to ninth-century Insular metalwork. While the ornament is generally laid out in separate panels, often set in recessed compartments or bounded by a frame, the motif is generally enclosed only by the panel edge. However, much of this chipcarving is cast with the main body of the object (as on penannular brooches) or as part of large components of more complex pieces for which the panels were not cast individually (such as the Ardagh chalice). When they were made to be mounted separately, like the Rerrick piece, beaded borders may occur.

Many elements in Hiberno-Saxon art can be traced back to earlier Anglo-Saxon art and the origins of the beaded border on chipcarved panels lie here. This is a standard element on much seventh-century Anglo-Saxon metalwork, where beaded bands may occur singly or in combination with one of two flanking plain ridges. For instance, a single beaded band fringes zoomorphic ornament on two cast copper-alloy dies from Suffolk (Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 40a-b), while a border composed of a beaded band flanked on either side by a plain ridge is found on a gilt, copper-alloy, axe-shaped mount with chipcarved zoomorphic ornament from Barham, Suffolk (*ibid.*, no. 39). Precisely the same combination of a broad outer beaded band juxtaposed with a fine inner plain ridge, as on the Rerrick mount, occurs on some early seventh-century objects from the Sutton Hoo ship-burial, Suffolk, such as the *pressblech* fittings on the maplewood bottles (Evans 1983, fig. 261).

Beaded borders of this precise form are at present not known from later Insular contexts, but the tradition continued in England, as in the ninth-century Trewhiddle style (Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 107b). Beaded borders which are particularly similar to that on the Rerrick mount appear also on a number of insets from Ireland. For example, a beaded band alongside an inner band of oblique hatching occurs on the gilt copper-alloy panel with chipcarved interlace, inset into the hinged strap-end of a house-shaped shrine (Youngs 1989, no. 156). A beaded band flanked on either side by a plain ridge is found on panels on the belt-shrine from Moylough, Co. Sligo (on rectangular *pressblech* silver foils) (O'Kelly 1965, pl. 20a), and on the brooch from Killamery, Co. Kilkenny (on the

chipcarved panels on the reverse) (Cone 1977, no. 47). The Moylough panels, in particular, recall the Rerrick border, since only close scrutiny reveals the presence of the fine outer ridge. Simpler beaded borders also appear on motif-pieces from Lagore, Co. Meath (O' Meadhra 1979, figs. 405 and 409).

The beading on all these panels produces an effect very like that created by beaded wire, and ultimately such borders probably derive from filigree work, where patterns are also laid out on separate panels which have a border which usually incorporates a beaded wire. Two-wire borders consisting of an outer beaded wire and an extremely thin, inner beaded wire, the effect of which is very like that created by the double border on the Rerrick panel, occur in seventh-century Anglo-Saxon contexts on Kentish pendants from Milton (Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 36b) and Faversham (BM, MLA 1137'70). Such filigree borders persisted on eighth- to ninth-century Insular metalwork, as on the Ardagh chalice and Derrynaflan paten.

The Rerrick border is thus unusual but not without parallels on Insular metalwork. Its beaded border is best explained by its having been designed to be mounted in a specially prepared panel on some larger object.

#### *The double-contoured body*

A second unusual feature on the Rerrick mount is the lack of decoration on the beasts' bodies, given that Insular chipcarved animals are most commonly infilled with hatching. However, while much of this animal ornament is conspicuously hatched, a tradition of plain double-contoured beasts related to the Rerrick creatures can also be distinguished. Again the roots of these two conventions are to be found in earlier Anglo-Saxon work. Chipcarved animals with hatched bodies are found, for example, on the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon Barham mount and Suffolk dies referred to above. Plain double-contoured animals occur on seventh-century Anglo-Saxon work in various media, for instance, on a chipcarved gilt-bronze disc from Allington Hill, Cambridgeshire (Bakka 1963, fig. 2), a rectangular antler plaque from Southampton (Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 44), and the foil on the Crundale Down sword pommel (Bruce-Mitford 1978, fig. 441.i). On the last two objects beasts are paired as on the Rerrick mount, though not in reverse mirror symmetry.

Double-contoured profile beasts descended from such prototypes appear on Insular metalwork from the late seventh to the ninth centuries, as shown by the following selection of finds from Scotland, Ireland and Scandinavia. An early example, showing a beast with a back-turned head biting its own body, is found on the copper-alloy *pressblech* foil from Dunadd, Argyll, from a context radio-carbon dated to the seventh century (Campbell and Lane 1993, 55-6, 60, fig. 6.7a). Another instance is the procession of double-contoured beasts on a gilt copper-alloy chipcarved mount from Vatne, Norway (Haseloff 1987, 47, fig. 4; see also Wamers 1985, kat. 45, taf. 16.2). There are also confronted double-contoured beasts, one on each terminal, on a penannular brooch from Bergdøy, Norway (Henry 1965, fig. 11; Wamers 1985, Liste 1, 16, taf. 34.2), which is probably of eighth-century date, though not necessarily of Northumbrian origin as Bruce-Mitford (1960, 253)

and Bakka (1963, 26, fig. 21) believed. A fourth example appears on the Ardagh chalice, made in the eighth or possibly early ninth century, where a cast interlaced pair are posed like those on the Rerrick mount with one upright, the other upside-down (fig. 2b). A fifth variation is found on the ninth-century penannular brooch said to be from Tara, Co. Meath, Ireland, where cast double-contoured animals are shown singly (Youngs 1989, no. 77; Whitfield 1992, fig. 1i).

Furthermore, the tradition of plain double-contoured beasts flourished in Insular manuscript art. Such beasts are particularly in evidence in Northumbrian manuscripts dating to the late seventh or early eighth century, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels (fig. 2c), Durham MS A.II.17, Cambridge Corpus Christi MS 197B and the Durham Cassiodorus (Alexander 1978, nos. 9, 10, 12 and 17). They also appear on later manuscripts such as the Book of Kells (e.g. Wilson 1983, fig. 39).

Beasts of this type, perhaps inspired by manuscript models, also appear on sculpture in many parts of Britain. In Northumbria, for instance, there is one on an incomplete cross-shaft from Lindisfarne dating from the last quarter of the eighth to the mid-ninth century (Cramp 1984, 194, pl. 188, 1039). Other pieces of sculpture with the motif include a late eighth-century cross-shaft fragment from Elstow, Beds., where one pair (on the edge) appear in mirror symmetry (Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 207), and the shaft of a pillar-cross at Penally, Dyfed, Wales (Redknapp 1991, 63). Animals on Pictish sculpture may also be defined by a double contour line, e.g. at Rosemarkie, Ross-shire (Henderson 1991, 18) and at Aberlemno, Angus (Ritchie 1989, 11). The motif continued in a modified form on Northern English sculpture until the late tenth or eleventh century (Cramp 1984, 42, pl. 8, 28; Lang 1991, 33-4, fig. 7h).

The double-contoured body of the Rerrick beast, if rather rare on metalwork, is thus consistent with an Insular background.

#### THE DATE OF THE MOUNT

Dating animal ornament of this type is difficult because the style is a diverse one. Indeed, there are almost as many variations on the theme of the beast in profile as there are objects decorated with the motif. It would be wrong to assume that some evolutionary system was at work across the whole Insular area resulting in coherent growth and decline. Nevertheless, stylistic changes occurred as time passed and some general trends can be identified, their chronology being underpinned by comparison with those manuscripts which can be dated.

While many elements were long-lived and recur on work ranging in date from the seventh to ninth centuries and even later, the anatomy of the creatures and the types of pattern they formed underwent subtle changes as the influence of the prototypes receded and new fashions arose. In the early version of the style, on the Lindisfarne Gospels and related objects produced at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries, interlaced beasts with ribbon-like bodies predominate, often incorporating elements derived from La Tène art, such as spirals. At a later stage, probably towards the middle or end of the eighth century, there is a tendency in both Ireland and Scotland, as well as Anglo-Saxon England, for beasts to become more naturalistic. While interlace may be included

in the design, the creatures' entire bodies are no longer contorted into knotwork and they stand in more realistic poses. However, in the Celtic West at least, the more naturalistic beasts did not immediately banish interlaced ones and, as on the Ardagh chalice, creatures in the two idioms may co-exist (Whitfield 1992, fig. 5a-b; forthcoming, fig. 5a-b). At the same time in Ireland a more mannered creature evolved, on objects such as the Derrynaflan paten (Ryan 1983a, c.pl.12, pl. 44). The spirals of the earlier beasts become very much enlarged, a motif which was to be developed in the ninth century on objects such as the Killamery brooch (Cone 1977, no. 47). In Southern English animal art, by contrast, foliate elements were being incorporated into the design by the late eighth century and by the early ninth century the spiral was diminishing in importance (Budny and Graham-Campbell 1981, 11).

Given the longevity of some elements no single feature can be used to place an object in its chronological context. What is significant is the precise form that each element takes and the particular combination used.

The most notable characteristics of the Rerrick beast's anatomy are its small head, tear-shaped eye, cheek feature, closed biting mouth, large squared-off snout continuous with a thin jaw, elongated ribbon-like neck and body, single-coil joint-spirals, well-defined hocks, ball-and-claw feet and extended ear-lappet and tail. The double-contoured outline and the depiction of only the nearside foreleg but both hindlegs are also distinctive features.

Turning to the lay-out of the design, one of its most striking characteristics is its regular geometry with the beasts reversed on either side of the vertical axis and the longitudinal axis emphasised by the positioning of the hip-spirals from which spring the V-shaped diagonals of the legs. Also noteworthy is the curled pose and coiled hindquarters of each beast and the lack of contact between the two except at the point where one bites the other. The relatively thick line of the main body contrast with the thin lines of the ear-lappet, tail and claws. There is a further contrast between the simple patterns formed by the bodies and ear-lappets and the wandering interlace of the tails which nevertheless themselves form balanced patterns, despite the use of both pointed and rounded loops and the change from closed to open loops.

This analysis indicates that the Rerrick animal ornament fits most happily into a chronological context earlier than the ninth century. The mount's particular combination of features points clearly to Northumbrian, Scottish or Irish manufacture.

#### COMPARISON WITH ANIMAL ORNAMENT OF LATE SEVENTH TO EARLY EIGHTH CENTURIES

There is no exact counterpart for the Rerrick motif in the *corpus* as it stands, but analogues can be found for many of its elements. Some of these were in use over a long period, although those on the mount are best paralleled on objects dating to the late seventh to eighth centuries. For example, a standard device in Insular art with an exceptionally

long life, continuing in a modified form into the tenth and eleventh centuries,<sup>5</sup> is that of coiled hindquarters and splayed rear legs. However, the versions which most closely match that found on the Rerrick mount occur on work of late seventh- to eighth-century date, e.g. in the Lindisfarne Gospels (as on fig. 2c); on the initial page to St Luke in the Lichfield Gospels (Alexander 1978, no. 21, ill. 78); the Steeple Bumpstead boss (fig. 2d); the 'Tara' brooch (fig. 3d); and the Aberlemno churchyard cross-slab (Henderson 1982, pl. IVa).<sup>6</sup>

A feature found more frequently on late seventh- to eighth- rather than ninth-century work is the adherence to axial symmetry, particularly the disposition of the ornament on either side of the vertical axis. A detail suggestive of this early date is the depiction of closed rather than open mouths, which Harbison (1978) has pointed out tends to be characteristic of the work of this phase, although a rigid distinction cannot be drawn on this basis alone.

An important fixed point in any discussion of the chronology of the style is the Northumbrian *Lindisfarne Gospels* which, on the basis of a later colophon, is generally thought to have been written and decorated c. 698, and certainly no later than 721 (Backhouse 1981, 14). Indeed, it is on the basis of comparison with this manuscript that the objects listed above with beasts with coiled hindquarters are attributed to the late seventh or early eighth century.

The beasts on the Rerrick mount are also very like those in the Lindisfarne Gospels, a fact which must influence any assessment of their date — the most obvious differences seemingly reflecting the different techniques of manufacture. Subtle effects are more easily achieved with pen and coloured pigments on vellum than with a sharp instrument in chipcarving a model. Thus the Lindisfarne animals not only have more realistic details such as nostrils and nail-like claws, but they are also more complex than the Rerrick creatures.

In composition, an axial lay-out is as fundamental to the designs in the Lindisfarne Gospels as it is on the mount (cf. fig 2a and c), whereas beasts in reverse mirror symmetry like those on the mount, with one upright and the other upside-down, appear in the strokes of the initials on f. 95 and f. 139 (Alexander 1978, ill. 46 and 33 resp.; Backhouse 1981, 87). As on the mount, symmetrical space-filling subsidiary patterns formed by the ear-lappets and tails appear on the manuscript. It is to be concluded that the same principles of design lie behind the animal ornament on both objects.

5. See, for instance, British Library *Cotton MS Vitellius F. XI*, illuminated in Ireland in the first half of the tenth century (Alexander 1978, no. 73; Henry 1967, pl. 46) and the *Ricemarch Psalter*, illuminated in Wales in the late eleventh century (Alexander 1978, no. 75, ill. 346; Henry 1967, pls. 46-7). See also a motif piece from an eleventh-century context at Christ Church Place, Dublin (O' Meadhra 1979, fig. 81, cat.27).
6. Paired beasts with coiled hindquarters occur not only on the Pictish Aberlemno cross-slab, but also on other pieces of stone sculpture in Scotland and Ireland. They are found, for instance, (in a more developed form) on the Pictish cross-slab at Nigg, in Ross and Cromarty, which Isabel Henderson attributes to the Kells phase of Insular art (Henderson forthcoming, fig. 1). In Ireland variations on the theme occur on stone crosses at Kilkieran, Co. Kilkenny (Henry 1965, fig. 26) and Bealin, Co Westmeath (Henry 1965, fig. 25d; Crawford 1980, pl. xxxiv, 91), both of which are dated by Edwards to the second half of the eighth or to the early ninth century (1990, 164).

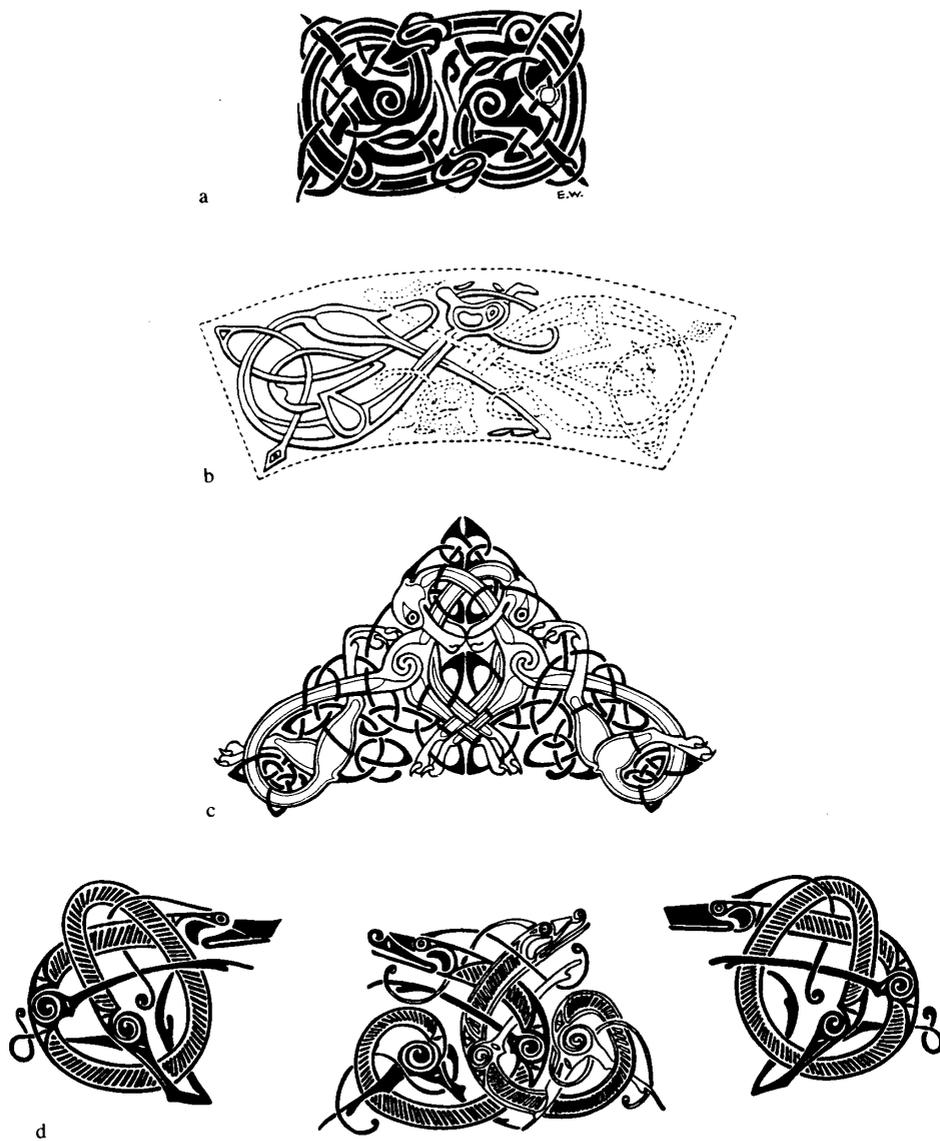


Fig. 2 Paired animals from: a. Rerrick mount, scale 1:1; b. Ardagh chalice, scale c. 2.5:1; c. Lindisfarne Gospels, scale c. 1:1; d. Steeple Bumpstead Boss, scale c. 1.75:1.

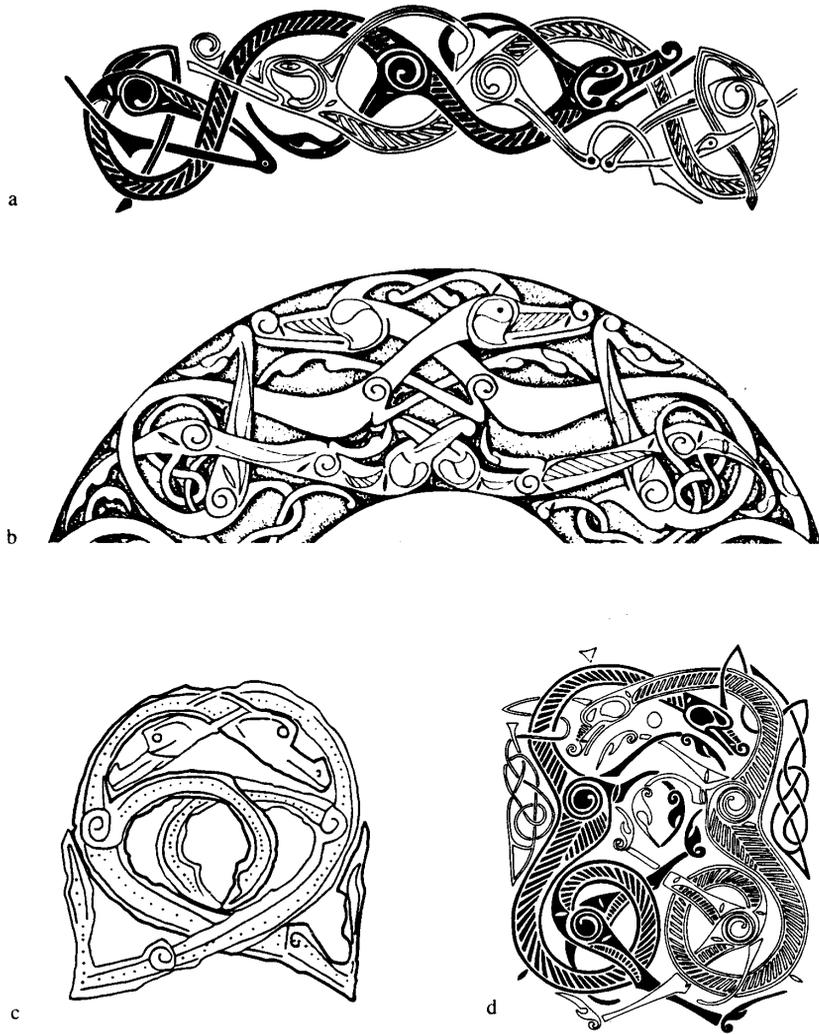


Fig. 3 Animal ornament in the Hunterston/'Tara' style: a. Hunterston brooch, scale c. 2:1; b. Donore disc, scale 7:10; c. Openwork Irish mount, scale c. 1.5:1; d. 'Tara' brooch, scale c. 2:1.

Among the details of the animal ornament it has already been pointed out that double-contoured bodies and coiled hindquarters linked to splayed legs are common to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Rerrick mount, as is the convention of showing just one foreleg but both hindlegs (cf. fig. 1a and Wilson 1973, fig. 35). The general proportions of the beasts in the manuscript are sometimes also like those on the mount, as is the shape of the eyes, the squared-off snouts, slender jaws, even band-like ear-lappets and tails. The limb joints on the manuscript are very varied, but single-coil spirals, like those on the Rerrick beasts, occur on a dotted beast on f. 75 (Alexander 1978, ill. 46; Backhouse 1981, fig. 29).

More remote cousins of the Rerrick beasts, with some of the same distinctive family traits, are found on other Northumbrian manuscripts of the same general phase, e.g. Durham MS A. II.17 (Haseloff 1987, figs. 2 and 3) and Corpus Christi College MS 197B, f. 2 (Alexander 1978, cat. 12, ill. 49; Henry 1965, pl. 100).

Some details are also paralleled on Northumbrian sculpture. For instance, the broad squared-off snout and slender jaw are matched not only on the sculpture from Lindisfarne referred to above but also on an animal-head terminal from Monkwearmouth, dated broadly to the eighth or early ninth century (Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 111).

In metalwork, however, the best parallels have been found not in Northumbria but in other localities. By far the closest occur on five objects which can be grouped together on stylistic grounds despite their widely different findplaces, namely, the *Steeple Bumpstead boss* (fig. 2d) found in Essex far from its place of manufacture (Youngs 1993), the *Hunterston brooch* from Ayrshire (fig. 3a), the 'Tara' brooch from Bettystown, Co. Meath (fig. 3d), the *Donore disc*, from Co. Meath (fig. 3b), and an *unprovenanced Irish mount* (fig. 3c). There is filigree animal ornament on the two brooches, but more relevant to this discussion is the chipcarved animal ornament of the first three objects and the engraved animal ornament of the Donore disc (from a handle assembly) and the unlocalised openwork mount (though on the latter it is very crudely sketched). It is argued elsewhere that their ornament belongs to the same general phase in the history of design as the Lindisfarne Gospels (Whitfield 1990, 1992 and 1993). Thus again, close parallels appear on objects dating from either side of AD 700.

To consider the lay-out first, though reverse mirror symmetry is found only on the Rerrick mount, axially paired beasts are common to all six objects. On the Hunterston brooch (fig. 3a), as on the Rerrick mount, one animal bites the body of its partner. The limited contact between the beasts on the mount is echoed on a panel on the 'Tara' brooch (the paired beasts on the reverse of the pin-head — see Haseloff 1987, fig. 10b). The placing of a dangling forefoot on either side of the vertical axis is common to the Rerrick mount, the unprovenanced Irish mount (fig. 3c) and the 'Tara' brooch (where it appears on the reverse on a panel between the terminals — see fig. 3d). This last panel, like one on the Steeple Bumpstead boss (fig. 2d), also has in common with the Rerrick mount the device of coiled hindquarters and splayed V-shaped legs, one of which lies over and one under the band-like body. There are beasts with similar coiled rears, albeit just one hindleg, on all the objects with which the mount is being compared save the Irish mount.

It is to be stressed that while a consistent style of animal ornament is found on all five objects, each has its own appearance which is not duplicated exactly on any other object in the existing *corpus*. Eyes and heads, feet and other details may be treated in a slightly different way on each.

The Rerrick beasts are also individual. Moreover, they differ in two fundamental ways from most of those in the group. First, as already noted, the bodies lack hatching and are decorated simply with an inner contour line. This feature does not occur on any of the other chipcarved animals in question, whose bodies are hatched. However, the beasts on the Irish mount (fig. 3c) are outlined by a double contour (which is infilled with speckling), while there are plain animals juxtaposed with hatched counterparts on the Donore disc (fig. 3b), so that the lack of hatching on the Rerrick examples is not quite as alien to the group as it might seem at first sight.

A second major difference between the Rerrick beasts and those on the first four objects listed is the absence of Ultimate La Tène trumpet-patterns. On the Rerrick mount the spirals develop straight from the outline without any preliminary expansion and shrinking of the line. It is the lack of this detail together with the absence of hatching that gives its animal ornament its relatively bald appearance. However, there are no trumpet-spirals on the Irish mount either. Other double-contoured animal ornament also lacks this device — there is, for instance, a simple spiral on the *pressblech* foil from Dunadd, and single-coil spirals with clubbed terminals on the beasts on the gilt copper-alloy mount from Vatne and the Bergóy brooch. Moreover, while trumpet-patterns may be absent from the Rerrick mount, Ultimate La Tène influence can be detected in the clubbed terminals of the spirals (cf. fig. 1 and Raftery 1987, pl. 1.2).

As in the case of the Lindisfarne Gospels, comparison shows many common characteristics between the Rerrick creatures and those on the five comparable pieces of metalwork. To take the beasts themselves, on all six pieces they have long necks and elongated ribbon-shaped bodies with more naturalistically proportioned limbs. The proportions of the heads are similar, as is the depiction of closed mouths, with thick muzzles which are continuous with thinner straight jaws. While the trumpet-spirals at the tip of the muzzles of most beasts on the main group are not matched on the Rerrick beasts, there are similar squared-off snouts on flanking beasts on the Steeple Bumpstead boss (fig. 2d). Variants of tear-shaped eyes are found on all objects (save the unprovenanced Irish mount, on which wear has obscured this part of the sketch), while the cheek-like feature at the back of the mouth of the Rerrick beasts finds distinct counterparts on all the chipcarved animals (figs. 2d, 3a and 3d). The limb spirals on all are of the single-coil variety and integrated with the legs, while the sinuous outlines of the front of the legs but angular hocks of the Rerrick beasts are matched by similar hocks on some beasts on the 'Tara' brooch (fig. 3d). The convention of showing just one foreleg but two hindlegs appears not only on the mount but on the Steeple Bumpstead boss (fig. 2d). The Rerrick ball-and-claw feet are also very like those on the Steeple Bumpstead beasts in particular, while the trailing interlace of the Rerrick ear-lappets and tails have parallels on all objects save the Irish mount, especially on one panel on the back of the 'Tara' brooch where the ear-

lappet also terminates in a pointed loop (Haseloff 1987, fig. 10c). Furthermore, slanted points, reminiscent of those at the tips of the Rerrick ear-lappets, occur on ear-lappets on the Hunterston brooch (fig. 3a) and also at one point of the 'Tara' brooch (fig. 3d).

No other chipcarved ornament in the *corpus* has so many shared characteristics with the Rerrick mount as these objects, which suggests that all belong to the same general phase in the history of design, so that again, a date at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century is indicated for the mount.

It is argued elsewhere that the Hunterston brooch is probably a generation earlier than the 'Tara' brooch (Stevenson 1974; Whitfield 1993). The general appearance of the Steeple Bumpstead beasts suggests that this object may fit into the same dating bracket as the Hunterston brooch, while the Donore disc and unprovenanced Irish mount may be roughly contemporary with the 'Tara' brooch, as Ryan and Ó Floinn have respectively suggested (1987b, 63 and Youngs 1989, no. 56 resp.). The character of the Rerrick beasts suggests that they fit better with the earlier variants.

It is also interesting to compare the Rerrick beasts with those on the Pictish cross-slab in *Aberlemno churchyard* (Ritchie 1989, 23), which Isabel Henderson has suggested may not be far removed in date from the Lindisfarne Gospels (1982, 82-4). Attention has already been drawn to the presence of beasts with coiled hindquarters on this slab. To its right are paired interlocking beasts with ball-and-claw feet which have even more in common with the Rerrick motif. In this case the necks, rather than the hindquarters, coil. The creatures also differ in having bird-like bills, no joint-spirals and a body which tapers very gradually towards the hip marked by a single medial line. However, like the Rerrick creatures they form a disciplined geometrical pattern and are paired in reverse axial mirror symmetry. The two motifs may then be roughly contemporary variations on the same theme.

#### CONTRAST WITH ANIMAL ORNAMENT OF THE MID- TO LATE-EIGHTH CENTURY

Contrast of the Rerrick beasts with similar beasts on objects which are probably later than those reviewed above supports an early date for the mount. For instance, the device of the double-contoured reversed paired animals is found on the *Ardagh chalice* (fig. 2b), an object which may date from the mid- to late-eighth century, though an early ninth-century date cannot be excluded. In this case spirals are lacking at the shoulder and hip joints and a more archaic Germanic convention, that of the pear-shaped unit, is used instead. However, the mouths are wide-open in a manner suggestive of a late date and the body of each beast is shown in a far less formalized way than on the mount, since it is not drawn as a ribbon-like band but tapers more naturalistically from the shoulders to the head, and also from the shoulders to the stomach, where the upper and lower contour lines merge.

There is a hint of such naturalism on some panels on the 'Tara' brooch, where beasts' bodies taper more than on the Hunterston brooch, Steeple Bumpstead boss and Rerrick mount. However, the Ardagh chalice in its turn seems to be later than the 'Tara' brooch and its more tapered animal bodies seem to represent a further step in the direction of naturalism.

Turning to metalwork from Scotland which appears to date to the mid/late eighth century, paired beasts with coiled hindquarters appear on some objects from the *St. Ninian's Isle hoard* from Shetland, bowls nos. 2 and 3, for which Wilson suggested a mid to late eighth-century date (1973, 131, figs. 21 and 22 resp.), and three further objects for which he proposed dates in the late eighth century, the truncated spheroid mounts nos. 12 and 13 (1973, 140-43, pls. XXVII a, b, XXVIII b and fig. 32) and the pommel (which may, in fact, be an Anglo-Saxon import, as Leslie Webster has suggested) (Wilson 1973, 137-40, pl. XXVI d, XXVIII a, fig. 31; Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 177).

It is perhaps significant that this ornament is of very different character to that on the Rerrick mount. On the bowls the lines are far looser and the creatures are at once more ungainly and more naturalistic, either careering forward despite the disability of coiled hindquarters (as in the case of some beasts on bowl 2), or combining to form an untidy but exuberant frieze (as on bowl 3). A further important difference from Rerrick is the incorporation on both bowls of foliate elements into the animal patterns.

The pommel beasts, with their very attenuated, knotted, thread-like bodies, also lack the disciplined form of the Rerrick creatures to which they bear only the most general resemblance, as do the loosely curling tapered creatures on the truncated spheroid mount no. 12 with their ill-defined extremities.

Most like the Rerrick creatures are the symmetrically paired upright animals on mount no. 13, which have similar snouts, mouths and eyes as well as coiled hindquarters. Yet there are also important differences. On these beasts, the body tapers and the neck is distinguished from the body by its lack of hatching, while the shoulder joint consists of a three-coil (rather than a single coil) spiral, a feature which in metalwork (though not in manuscripts) appears to indicate a date later than c. 700 (Whitfield forthcoming). Furthermore, the nearside hindleg is distinguished from the farside one by hatching. In contrast to the Rerrick beasts which match in every respect, the thread-like tail on each member of the *St. Ninian's* pair forms a different interlace pattern. Thus while at first sight these beasts appear to be similar to those on the Rerrick mount, closer inspection reveals their very different character.

Axially paired beasts which have much more in common with the Rerrick creatures appear on two manuscripts which date to the second half of the eighth century — an Irish 'pocket book', *British Library Add. MS 40618*, where two pairs of beasts, one upright and one upside down are depicted (Alexander 1978 no. 46, ill. 213; Henry 1965, pl. K) and the *St. Gall Gospels* (Cod. 51) where there are symmetrically paired beasts which are not reversed (Alexander 1978, no. 44, ill. 205; Henry 1965, pl. 109).

As on the mount each beast has a squared-off snout, a slender jaw, a closed mouth, even ribbon-shaped bodies, attenuated ear-lappets and tails. However, they lack the crisp geometrical outline of the Rerrick beasts and are drawn with a fluidity quite unlike the controlled geometry of the Rerrick creatures. Again, the animal ornament on objects which date to the later eighth century do not match the Rerrick design as closely as that on objects which appear to be earlier, although the same tradition is clearly involved.

One final object to be considered is the *Book of Kells*, written at some time between the mid-eighth and early ninth century. Its animal ornament is reviewed in a forthcoming study by Isabel Henderson, whose account of the typical Kells quadruped demonstrates just how closely related these creatures are to the ones in question. These beasts generally have rounded snub-nosed heads, long straight necks, often just one foreleg depicted, ribbon-like bodies of equal thickness (except for the forequarters), pear-shaped hips and frequently coiled rears. Geometry also underpins the patterns in which these beasts engage in the borders, frames and canon tables of this manuscript (e.g. on f. 7v, f. 28v, f. 29r), but in an altogether freer and more flexible form than on the mount. The varied animal ornament in the *Book of Kells* is undoubtedly in the same tradition as that found on the Rerrick mount, but its more life-like appearance and foliate details, together with the element of fantasy, virtuosity and, often, sheer waywardness, indicate that it represents a later stage of development.

### Conclusions

It must be accepted that absolute certainty about the date of manufacture of the Rerrick mount is not possible, since one cannot assess the precise duration of any phase of design in this period and more old-fashioned workshops may have continued production alongside more advanced ones. Furthermore, as Wilson (1973, 131) has pointed out, stylistic judgements unsupported by clearly definable evidence, such as inscriptions, are incapable of proof. However, the balance of probabilities is that the Rerrick mount was made at the end of the seventh or in the first half of the eighth century, rather than in the mid-eighth century as Youngs suggested (Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 102).

It is tempting to conclude with Youngs that it was made in Northumbria. This is certainly possible. Parallels for the type of double-contoured beast with its coiled hindquarters as well as for axial mirror symmetry exist in Northumbrian manuscripts, particularly the Lindisfarne Gospels. Moreover, politically, Rheged came under the control of Bernicia, the northern kingdom of Northumbria, in the late seventh century (Mac Lean 1992). The presence of Anglian-style sculpture on an incomplete cross-shaft from Rascarrel, in the same parish as the find-place of the mount (Craig 1992),<sup>7</sup> demonstrates the close connections that developed between the area where the mount was found and the rest of Northumbria. It could thus well have been made in south-west Scotland.

There had been an established Christian community at Whithorn some twenty miles to the west of Rerrick, from the mid-fifth century, which in the sixth and seventh centuries developed into a fully-fledged monastery, perhaps influenced by contacts with Irish and Columban monastic communities, before passing under Northumbrian domination (Hill 1990-1, 2). Although the current programme of excavations has so far produced very little evidence for fine metalworking (pers. comm. Peter Hill), the importance of the site suggests that Hiberno-Saxon chipcarved ornament would have been known there as probably also

7. It has been suggested that a newly-discovered cross-head from Rerrick churchyard is Northumbrian (Page 1991, 17). However, we are informed by Dr. Derek Craig that in his opinion it is probably tenth century at the earliest, and probably later.

at associated ecclesiastical centres. Certainly, such metalwork was manufactured at the Mote of Mark to the east of Rerrick, even closer by sea to it than Whithorn (Laing 1975, figs.2-3; Graham-Campbell and Close-Brooks 1976).

However, the mount may have been brought to south-west Scotland by the Vikings or others — for, as has been demonstrated, the same tradition of animal ornament is also represented in other parts of Scotland and in Ireland, not only on metalwork and/or manuscripts, but also on stone sculpture. As is so often the case in Insular studies, arguments can be advanced for any one of a number of places of origin. One can but conclude that while the Rerrick mount may have been made in south-west Scotland or elsewhere in Northumbria, it may also have been made in other parts of Scotland or in Ireland.

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# BRUCE, BALLIOL AND THE LORDSHIP OF GALLOWAY: SOUTH-WEST SCOTLAND AND THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE

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The role of south-western Scotland in the Scottish Wars of Independence is one of the forgotten chapters in the history of the region. As an area where the interests of several of the key players in the wars — John Balliol, John Comyn earl of Buchan and John Comyn lord of Badenoch, and Robert Bruce lord of Annandale and his son and grandson of the same name — all collided, Galloway was destined to be one of the major battlegrounds of the wars which followed the deposition of Balliol. The internal divisions within the region which became apparent in the course of the sixty years after that event mirrored in microcosm the political cleavages within Scotland as a whole and the ebb and flow of the fortunes of both sides is chronicled closely by events in Galloway. Overshadowed by the better documented and more closely-studied Bruce campaigns in the north-east, the savage civil war which convulsed the lordship between 1306 and 1314, and again from 1332 to 1356, is a neglected area of potentially great value, as it stemmed from a failure of Bruce policies. When faced with the evidence for the success of Robert I in achieving lasting and stable political settlements in most parts of his kingdom, the failure to establish a sound political structure in what had been the heartland of Balliol's Scottish lands is a phenomenon which cannot be conveniently overlooked. The reasons for the failure were in large part deep-rooted in the politics of the succession to the throne of Scotland after 1286, but the ultimate failure was purely personal, solely the responsibility of the king.

Alexander III died in 1286 without a surviving male heir, leaving as successor his infant grand-daughter, Margaret, the 'Maid of Norway'. There had been signs of disturbance in the kingdom once the king's death became common knowledge, for, despite the existence of an acknowledged heir in the person of Margaret, she was but a child and one of suspect health. Rather than a prospect of future stability under a young queen, and a continuation of the prosperity which most of the kingdom had enjoyed under the government of Alexander III, there seemed a real threat of a break in the royal succession and a period of upheaval as rival claimants jockeyed for position. It was recognised in Scotland that if Margaret died while still a child there were two principal claimants to the throne: the aged Robert Bruce of Annandale, son of David, earl of Huntingdon's second daughter, Isabella, a man who claimed to have been recognised as long ago as the reign of Alexander II as nearest heir to the crown after the king and his sons; and John Balliol, grandson of Earl David's eldest daughter, Margaret, and her husband, Alan, lord of Galloway. Of these two men, Bruce was the one who chose to act on the death of the king and seek to strengthen his political and strategic position at the expense of his Balliol rivals. Thus, whilst elsewhere in the kingdom there had been a quick recognition of the new queen and a form of regency government by 'the Guardians' established, in the south-west, where the Bruce family was established in the earldom of Carrick and the lordship of Annandale, and the Balliols held most of the lordship of Galloway and part of Cunninghame, order broke down as Bruce and his supporters attacked the lands and castles of his rival.

### The Opening of the Conflict 1286-93

Balliol did not come into personal possession of his family's Galloway property until after his mother, Dervorgilla's death in January 1290, but the lordship, along with her subsidiary lordship of Cunninghame, formed the heartlands of his powerbase in Scotland. Within Galloway his principal political supporters — and kinsmen — the Comyns, held a landed position second only to that of his mother, with estates in Wigtownshire and Nithsdale; they held also the justiciarship of Galloway in the person of John Comyn of Badenoch, and the sheriffship of Wigtown in that of the earl of Buchan. Moreover, in Nithsdale the Randolphs, in whose hands was vested the office of sheriff of Dumfries, with a jurisdiction that stretched westwards to the Cree, maintained a close alliance with the Balliols and Comyns, Sir Thomas Randolph serving eventually as one of the executors of Dervorgilla's will. This relationship was maintained despite the fact that Sir Thomas had married a daughter of the countess of Carrick by her first husband i.e. a step-daughter of Robert of Annandale's son, Robert, who had married the widowed countess in 1271.<sup>1</sup> The Randolphs had also by this date acquired the lordship of Garlies in the Cree valley in central Galloway, a possession which reinforced their alignment with their Balliol and Comyn neighbours. As Geoffrey Barrow has pointed out, however, these lands were ringed or 'awkwardly wedged between Bruce-held Carrick and Annandale'.<sup>2</sup> This rendered their concentration into one convenient geographical area less of an asset than a liability that could easily be neutralised by the Bruces in a swift campaign.

Balliol appears to have waited for events to unfold in the aftermath of King Alexander's death, secure in the knowledge that he was one of the closest heirs of the new queen and that his supporters, particularly the Comyns, dominated the political and ecclesiastical establishment of the kingdom. The Bruces, however, were not so reticent in voicing their claims and did not hesitate to assert their interest in the succession issue. Robert of Annandale and his son, Robert, earl of Carrick, collected their vassals and attacked the lands of Balliol and his allies in Galloway and Nithsdale. The castles of Dumfries (held by Randolph) and Wigtown (held by the earl of Buchan) were captured, with some bloodshed at the latter. Balliol's own family stronghold at Buittle was also seized and there, in the courtyard of the castle, Bruce forced Patrick McCuffock, a Balliol tenant, to issue some form of proclamation concerning the reasons for his action. The written account of this event is badly damaged and difficult to read, let alone interpret, but it would appear that Bruce was asserting his claim to the throne and was attempting to have his opponents driven from the country.<sup>3</sup> More realistically, the Bruces sought to deprive their opponents of support from the south-west by wreaking widespread devastation throughout Galloway. The Exchequer accounts of John Comyn, who in 1289 succeeded his father, Alexander, to the earldom of Buchan and the sheriffship of Wigtown, speak of land in the sheriffdom lying uncultivated as late as 1290 'on account of the war waged after the king's death by the earl of Carrick'.<sup>4</sup>

1. For the Randolph relationship see: G.W.S. Barron, *Robert Bruce* (Edinburgh, 1988), 383.

2. G.W.S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity* (London, 1981), 158.

3. *Documents and Records Illustrating the Realm of Scotland*, ed. F. Palgrave, i (London, 1837), i, 42-3; G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (London, 1965), 25-6.

4. *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, edd. J. Stuart and others (Edinburgh, 1878-1908), i, 39.

In view of the peaceful transition to regency rule elsewhere in Scotland, the Bruce attack on Galloway appears as an isolated outbreak of violence in an otherwise ordered transition of power. The motives behind it are unmistakable, but its very isolation suggests that it may have been a serious miscalculation on the part of the Bruces. Certainly it was designed to deprive Balliol of a base for similar operations against Carrick or Annandale should the kingdom have degenerated into a general civil war. Bruce had, indeed, been strengthening his position throughout 1286, his activity quickening in the months after the king's death. An assembly of powerful lords from Ireland and western Scotland at his son's castle of Turnberry in Carrick led to the formation of the pact known as the 'Turnberry Band' in the September of that year, six months after the king had plunged to his death on the shores of the Forth. Ostensibly formed to lend support to the earl of Ulster, some historians have viewed the band in a sinister light and interpreted it as signalling the assembly of a pro-Bruce faction aimed at seizing the throne by military means.<sup>5</sup> The presence of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and Thomas de Clare, however, point in a different direction. Whilst it must be admitted that the support of these men from Ulster would have considerably strengthened the Bruce position and exposed Galloway to further attack, it is more likely that they were looking for Bruce support for their ambitions in north-western Ireland. Both men had plans for campaigns into Connaught, a military venture for which Bruce assistance from Carrick (perhaps in return for a restoration of the estates held in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century in Ulster by Duncan of Carrick) and naval assistance from another member of the band, MacDonalld of Islay, would have been invaluable.<sup>6</sup> Of course, it is probable that the Scots who were present at Turnberry formed the core of the Bruce 'party' in national politics (their principal member, the Steward, leading a family that was to be consistent in its support for Robert throughout the period of the succession dispute) there is nothing in the band to suggest that a coup was being contemplated or that anything other than an affirmation of Robert Bruce's interest in the crown was being made. Formation of such an alliance cannot be interpreted as a forewarning of the factional alignments to come, for these had already largely crystallised before 1286. Certainly there were pre-existing tensions within the political community of Scotland which could have led to civil war, but in general the community held together. The Bruce raid into Galloway, therefore, met with a speedy response from the Guardians, whose number included the two Comyns whose south-western lands had been attacked. By the spring of 1287 order had been restored. Old Robert and his son may have succeeded in neutralising Galloway as a power source in any impending conflict, but at the expense of compromising any future claims to the throne.

The uneasy peace between Bruce and Balliol, however, did hold. When the Maid of Norway died in October 1290 in Orkney *en route* from Scandinavia to her new kingdom, the tranquility of the realm was again thrown into doubt. The succession issue was now wide open and all the candidates swiftly moved to stake their claims. By November Balliol was styling himself 'heir of the kingdom of Scotland',<sup>7</sup> but many more than just Robert

5. *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland 1286-1306*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1870), i, No 12; W. Croft Dickinson, *Scotland From the Earliest Times to 1603* (Oxford, 1977), 141; R. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), 29.

6. F.M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1962), 598 and note; G.W.S. Barrow and A. Royan, 'James, Fifth Stewart of Scotland, 1260(?)–1309', in K.J. Stringer (ed.), *The Nobility of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985), 172-3.

7. Stevenson, *Documents*, i, No 125.

Bruce considered themselves rivals for that dignity. William Fraser, bishop of St. Andrews, a Comyn supporter, wrote urgently from Leuchars to Edward I of England, telling him of the imminent danger of civil war and fearful of what action Robert Bruce might take considering his resort to violence in 1286.<sup>8</sup> The dispute, however, was settled without bloodshed, when after eighteen months of legal proceedings Edward, as appointed arbiter, judged Balliol to have the strongest case. Thus, in November 1292, two years after he had begun to use the title 'heir of the kingdom of Scotland', John Balliol was proclaimed king of Scots.

Dervorgilla had died in January 1290, leaving John as sole heir to her vast array of estates in Scotland and England. The spring of that year was occupied with the legal business of entry into this inheritance, with which there were some difficulties concerning family debts due to the English crown.<sup>9</sup> His succession to the throne in 1292 saw the union of the Balliol lands with the crown estates of the Scottish kings in the person of one man (although the two portions were still treated as distinct entities), so that John possessed a landed interest in England comparable to the former Huntingdon properties of the Scottish crown. Almost immediately, however, this inheritance brought about a demonstration of Edward's intention to exercise the powers of overlordship which he believed to be his by virtue of Balliol's personal submission to him and performance of homage and fealty. A massive relief of over three thousand pounds was assessed as entry fine on Dervorgilla's Scottish lands, demonstrating Edward's intention to remind Balliol of his feudal obligations, but representing an unprecedented development in Anglo-Scottish relations. On no previous occasion had an English king imposed relief on a Scottish nobleman for entry into purely Scottish property, even during such periods of English domination as between 1174 and 1189 or in 1210. It was clear that Edward was treating John as little more than one of his feudal magnates, a vassal who was expected to fulfil his obligations to his feudal overlord. Acceptance of liability to this fine signalled Balliol's acceptance of the English claims. That Edward received a satisfactory response is no doubt indicated by his complacent pardoning of the bulk of the debt,<sup>10</sup> but his new-found powers were to be exercised in future with greater stringency.

The one distinction which Edward preserved on this occasion was between Balliol's personal inheritance and the traditional crown lands. These had been unified in the person of John, but it would have been recognised that his personal inheritance was his to dispose of as he wished, whilst the crown lands were in theory inalienable and pertained to the office rather than to the person of the king. The relief was on the personal estates only. This distinction was maintained by King Edward after his deposition of Balliol, when the latter's estates were appropriated with doubtful legality by the English king. A result of this distinction between crown land and Balliol demesne was the preservation of the fiction of a discrete lordship of Galloway. And John's accession as king did not end his own direct

8. *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland: An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause*, edd. E.L.G. Stones and G.G. Simpson, ii (Oxford, 1978), 3-4.

9. *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1881-8), ii, No 412. Edward I's instruction that Balliol be given entry to his mother's estates is cancelled and endorsed with a note that he was enrolled on the Fine Roll for his outstanding relief.

10. *CDS*, ii, No 670.

involvement in the lordship, for on occasions he still chose to reside on his maternal estates there, spending the Christmases of 1293 and 1294, for example, in his mother's old castle at Buittle.<sup>11</sup>

It was whilst resident at Buittle in the winter of 1293 that John became involved in his final dispute with old Robert Bruce of Annandale. This concerned the election of a successor to Henry, bishop of Whithorn, who died in November of that year. Bruce managed to engineer the election by the chapter of Whithorn of his chaplain, Thomas de Dalton or Kirkcudbright, and had urged swift consecration of his candidate to forestall any opposition. This was not strictly necessary, as the king had already issued the canons of Whithorn with a licence to elect a man of their choosing.<sup>12</sup> King John, however, had no doubt intended that his licence be used to secure the election of one of his clerks rather than a member of the household of his inveterate opponent. As both king and lord of Galloway there was precedent for his involvement in elections to the see, and it would seem that he regarded his rights to have been usurped by Bruce. From Buittle he wrote to Archbishop Romeyn of York, metropolitan of Whithorn, claiming that Thomas's election was tainted with simony and asking that the consecration be delayed until two of his own chaplains could come to York to state his case more fully.<sup>13</sup> The lord of Annandale also wrote to the archbishop and succeeded in having his chaplain's election upheld, although his consecration was delayed for nine months on account of the dispute.<sup>14</sup>

This contest, although settled by recourse to the ecclesiastical courts of the metropolitan of the see rather than a resort to arms, was symbolic of the intense rivalry which had developed in the region between partisans of Balliol and Bruce. Considering the recent invasion of Galloway by Bruce men from Carrick and Annandale and the widespread destruction caused by them, the successful election of a Bruce candidate to the vacant see indicated that Robert of Annandale enjoyed a more significant degree of influence over some elements in the region than the landholding pattern would imply. Certainly, the family was to continue to work towards increasing its influence within the boundaries of the lordship, Alexander Bruce, younger grandson of old Robert, being presented as rector in c.1298, whilst probably still in his late teens to the parish of Kirkinner, one of the richest benefices in Galloway,<sup>15</sup> and located in the heart of what was regarded as Comyn territory around Wigtown. Alexander's appointment, however, stemmed probably from the favour shown to the Bruces by Edward I after his victory over the Scots in 1296.

### The Fall of Balliol

As king, John Balliol ruled with little more success than was displayed in his unsuccessful attempt to intervene in the election dispute of 1293/4. He was not the bumbling mediocrity as he is sometimes portrayed, for his government saw the achievement of much good administrative work, but this tends to be overshadowed by his inglorious failure in

11. *CDS*, ii, No 708, records the twelve-day trip of Walter de Cammo to Balliol in Galloway shortly after Christmas, to present him with the writ of King Edward appointing Cammo Keeper of Fife.
12. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi ad Annum 1638*, ed. D.E.R.Watt (Scottish Record Society, 1968), 129-30; D.E.R.Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to 1410* (Oxford, 1979), 308-10.
13. *Archbishop John le Romeyne's Register*, ed. J.Raine, ii (Surtees Society, 1913), No 1388.
14. *Reg. Romeyne*, ii, 116.
15. Watt, *Dictionary*, 66-7.

most other aspects of kingship. In July 1295 parliament at Stirling took control of government from his hands, twelve councillors being appointed to administer the realm and to open negotiations with the French for an alliance. The identity of these councillors has not been fully established, but it would seem likely that they were led by the Comyns and their political allies. Their first action was to dispatch a deputation to France to settle the treaty. This was to be sealed by the marriage of Balliol's elder son, Edward, to Jeanne de Valois, niece of Philip IV, though the match was eventually never made.<sup>16</sup> Such moves can be seen as deliberately provocative of Edward I, whose over-ambitious interpretation of the dues owed to him by John and the rights which he felt to be his as personal feudal superior of the Scottish king had helped to precipitate relations between the kingdoms into the crisis in which they now found themselves. To the Scots at the time, however, they were simply open demonstrations of their own freedom from English constraints; but the nature of these actions presented a challenge to Edward to prove his superiority, and raised also the prospect of an alliance between his French enemies and his opponents in the north. To Edward, the military threat was intolerable.

War broke out in March 1296 and the Scottish host was summoned. Robert Bruce, son of the competitor of 1286, who in 1295 had resigned Carrick into the hands of his eldest son, the future Robert I, and had succeeded to Annandale, was summoned to give his service as a tenant in chief, but refused the call to arms. As a result, Annandale was taken into royal hands and placed under the administration of John, earl of Buchan, to be used as a base for attacks against the English western march.<sup>17</sup> Part of King Edward's response to the outbreak of hostilities shows his familiarity with the political history of Galloway and the descent of the lordship from the time of Alan, last of the legitimate, direct male line of native lords. On 6th March he had Thomas of Galloway, illegitimate son of Alan, who had tried and failed in 1235 to seize control of the lordship through rebellion against Alexander II, released from custody in Balliol's family stronghold of Barnard Castle and, in an astute but perhaps over-optimistic move, armed with a charter of liberties (contents unknown) and sent towards the lordship with the aim of undermining support for Balliol and Buchan by reviving old loyalties. Thomas had, by this date, been in custody for over sixty years, although in 1286 there appears to have been some move to release him, which was under discussion in council at Edinburgh on the day of Alexander III's death.<sup>18</sup> Edward had the aged man conveyed to Carlisle, where he was once again placed in custody in time to witness the outbreak of hostilities. His fate thereafter is unknown, but instructions had been issued from Berwick to restore to him the lands which his father, Alan, had given to him in the 1220s or early 1230s.<sup>19</sup>

Late in March, Buchan and Badenoch, prominent members of the party hostile to England, with the earls of Menteith, Strathearn, Lennox, Ross, Atholl and Mar, crossed the Solway fords from Annandale and embarked on a devastating raid through Cumberland, culminating in an assault on Carlisle. The attack was unsuccessful and the Scots were driven

16. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, edd. T.Thompson and C.Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75), i, 451-3.

17. *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H.Rothwell (Camden Society, 1957), 270.

18. *Chronicon de Lanercost* (Maitland Club, 1839), 116.

19. CDS, ii, Nos 728, 729; CDS, v, No 162; *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londiniensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensis Asservati*, edd. D.MacPherson and others (1814-19), i, 22.

back with heavy losses, including 'one of the more noble men of Galloway',<sup>20</sup> which suggests that both Comyns were drawing support from their estates there. Withdrawing to Scotland, most of the army marched to join the rest of the Scottish host in time to share in its humiliating defeat by the earl of Surrey at Dunbar on 27th April. This marked the effective end of Scottish resistance, but Balliol held out until the summer when he surrendered to Edward, abdicating at Brechin on 10th July and being consigned to imprisonment in the Tower. In English eyes Balliol's reign ended with this act, but for most Scots he was still king, at least until the seizure of the throne in 1306 by Robert, earl of Carrick. Edward now took on the direct personal lordship of Scotland and with it the lordship of Galloway, which he liberally interpreted as included among the rights which Balliol had resigned.

### Galloway under Edward I

From July 1296 Edward ruled as lord of Galloway, ignoring the rights of Balliol's son, Edward, a hostage in safe custody in England.<sup>21</sup> Hostages were also taken from the principal families of the lordship and neighbouring districts, and steps were taken to establish English officials in control of key points throughout the territory. In September 1296 Henry Percy was given custody of the royal fortresses of Ayr and Wigtown, Balliol's seat at Buittle and the earl of Buchan's castle at Cruggleton.<sup>22</sup> Described variously as 'our warden of the whole of our land of Galloway and our sherriffdom of Ayr' (i.e. essentially the English lieutenant governing the whole of the south-west), Percy was given full authority within the region, including control over the patronage and advowson of churches,<sup>23</sup> probably by token of his kinship with both Edward I and Balliol, who was his wife's brother-in-law.

Despite the obvious tenuousness of his hold over Galloway, made even more precarious by the rebellion of the Scots in summer 1297 (including on this occasion Robert Bruce of Carrick), it is clear that Edward intended to exploit fully those rights which he felt to be his as successor to Balliol as lord of Galloway. For him the lordship was a valuable source of patronage which would augment the reserves available to him in England. Thus clerks of the royal household are recorded as being presented to the churches of Buittle, Wigtown and Kirkinner,<sup>24</sup> the first being the church serving the caput of Balliol's former estates. Estates were also carved out of this vast windfall for Edward's loyal servants, notably John de St. John, who received Buittle, Glasserton and Preston,<sup>25</sup> which established him as the king's principal tenant in Galloway. As the heartland of Balliol power and the principal centre of Comyn influence south of the Forth, it is unlikely that any of the grants made by Edward initially proved of benefit to their recipients. Certainly, English control over the lordship was achieved by military occupation, there was no simple phasing in of a new administration to replace Balliol's system.

20. *Chron. Guisborough*, 272-4; *William Rishanger, Chronica et Annales*, ed. H.T.Riley (Rolls Series, 1865), 156.

21. *CDS*, ii, No 964.

22. Stevenson, *Documents*, ii, No 389.

23. Stevenson, *Documents*, ii, No 400; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 35.

24. *CDS*, ii, Nos 998, 1023; Stevenson, *Documents*, ii, No 423.

25. *CDS*, ii, Nos 1338, 1630.

Although the Scottish rising of 1297 was quickly suppressed in the south-west, with Percy moving speedily through the region under his wardenship to receive the submission of the principal parties involved, most notably the lord of Douglas and the Steward, the English position did not greatly improve.<sup>26</sup> The young earl of Carrick and John Comyn of Buchan remained in rebellion, which counterbalanced the drift of some of the more prominent members of the south-western nobility to the English camp.<sup>27</sup> In 1300 Galloway became the target of a major campaign designed at securing Edward's control over the whole region and at breaking the influence of the Bruces and Comyns. Control of Caerlaverock on the eastern side of the Nith estuary was one of the first objectives, as possession of it would give the English a bridgehead for operations into Galloway proper, as well as into Annandale and Nithsdale, which could be supplied by sea from the major victualling point at Skinburness across the Solway in Cumberland.

With Caerlaverock taken by mid July, the English host crossed the Nith into Galloway, passing by way of Lochrutton and Bridge of Dee to Kirkcudbright.<sup>28</sup> The Chronicle of Thomas Rishanger mentions that the Scots attempted peace negotiations twice on the course of the campaign. The first attempt was led by Bishop Thomas, the second by Badenoch and Buchan, who sought a restoration of Balliol and the return of all forfeited land as the price for their submission.<sup>29</sup> Both attempts failed. Delayed by problems of supply, Edward pushed on to Twynholm and then to Girthon, but after a series of indecisive skirmishes on the Cree he was forced to withdraw eastwards when faced with dissent among his barons and the desertion of his Welsh levies. On reaching the Nith the king was met by Archbishop Winchelsea of Canterbury, who presented him with a papal letter demanding that aggression against the Scots cease, the pro-Balliol diplomatic initiative at Rome then being at its height.<sup>30</sup>

The 1300 campaign had ended with few tangible successes, but Edward clung to what headway he had made in Galloway. John de St. John, son of the man to whom the main Balliol estates had been granted in 1296, had recently succeeded his father and was determined to gain admission to his 'inheritance' in Galloway. The king appointed him warden in succession to Henry Percy, and armed him with wide discretionary powers to raise troops, conduct raids and admit to the king's peace those men of Galloway who wished to submit, though this last power was not confirmed until 1301.<sup>31</sup> Although there are no indications of a major upsurge of support for Edward in the wake of his expedition, it would be unwise to dismiss the campaign of 1300 as a total failure. Conversely, there was no sign of a general turning to the rebel side.

The following year a small force under the command of the Prince of Wales campaigned in the lordship, presumably to follow up what success had been achieved in the previous

26. *Barrow, Robert Bruce*, 119-20.

27. The question of the alignment of the MacDowalls, McCullochs and MacCans is a matter of debate. The dating of the documents showing them in English service by 1297 (*CDS*, ii, No 1049) is doubtful, probably belonging to as late as 1303, but see also *CDS*, ii, No 894 and letter on p.253.

28. *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulitoris Garederobae Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Primi Vicesimo Octavo*, ed. J.Topham (Society of Antiquaries, 1787), lxviii.

29. *Chron. Rishanger*, 440-6; For the actions of Bishop Thomas, see Watt, *Dictionary*, 208-10.

30. *Barrow, Robert Bruce*, 168.

31. *CDS*, ii, Nos 1170, 1244.

summer and to counteract any threat from rebel forces in the area. His campaign saw no serious fighting and a letter from William de Durham to the king tells of the retreat of a rebel army through the Rhinns of Kells in northern Galloway into Glencairn and Nithsdale.<sup>32</sup> With no opposition, Prince Edward crossed the Cree, which had been reached by the vanguard of his father's army the previous summer, and took the opportunity to make a pilgrimage to Whithorn, where, according to Durham, he found the image of St. Ninian (which the Scots had smuggled away to Sweetheart on word of the prince's approach) miraculously restored to its place in the shrine. The rebellion was by that time beginning to collapse and Bruce, dismayed at the prospect of a restoration of King John, which the Comyn-backed diplomatic offensive was aiming for (so putting an end to his aspirations towards the throne), submitted to St. John and so put an effective end to the rising in Carrick.<sup>33</sup> Opposition from the followers of Buchan in Wigtownshire may have continued until early in 1304, for arrangements were made at that time for the disposition of forces to protect the country east of the Cree;<sup>34</sup> but by May 1304 Buchan had also surrendered,<sup>35</sup> all hopes for French assistance in restoring Balliol having been shattered by the defeat of Philip IV by the Flemings at Courtrai in July 1302 and his subsequent peace settlement with the English.

To the latter part of this rising may be assigned a group of letters to native Galwegian noblemen in Edward's service, rather than to 1297 as they are dated in Bain's Calendar.<sup>36</sup> It would appear that by April 1303 several of the most prominent local chieftains, most notably the heads of the MacDowall, McCulloch and MacCan kindreds, were active in Edward's service, presumably having taken the offer to come into the king's peace afforded by John de St. John. These men were commanded by the king to raise two thousand men for service against the remaining rebels and to join a force provided by the earl of Carrick and other south-western gentlemen, such as Sir Richard Siward of Tibbers in Nithsdale. Particularly for MacDowall and McCulloch, this submission was final, and both men were to greatly profit from their support for the English. When Bruce rebelled once again in 1306 they both remained loyal to Edward and were to suffer especially when Robert directed his energies against Galloway.

The collapse of Scottish resistance in 1304 was followed by a period of intense governmental activity during which arrangements for the good governance of the country were drawn up. These were made official in September 1305 as the Ordinance for the Government of Scotland. Under its terms, Galloway, in common with the reorganised justiciarships in Lothian and north of the Forth, was to receive two justiciars, one English and one Scots,<sup>37</sup> the latter being the Nithsdale knight Sir Roger de Kirkpatrick. He was a man of no great standing or any distinction other than his adherence to the English since 1297. Richard Siward, who likewise had a long history of loyalty to Edward following appointment as warden of the castles of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown during the hearing of the succession dispute in the early 1290s,<sup>38</sup> was made sheriff of Dumfries

32. *CDS*, ii, No 1225.

33. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 172.

34. *CDS*, ii, No 1635.

35. *CDS*, ii, Nos 1535, 1538, 1541, 1594.

36. *CDS*, ii, No 1049; Stevenson, *Documents*, ii, No 438.

37. *CDS*, ii, No 1691.

38. Stevenson, *Documents*, i, Nos 219, 229, 262.

and restored to the wardenship of its castle. The sheriffship of Wigtown was given to Thomas McCulloch, whose family was to remain with the English cause until the 1360s.<sup>39</sup> Thus the administrative posts of the south-west were placed in the hands of reliable men, while supporters of Balliol, Bruce and Comyn were specifically excluded from office. Comment has often been passed on the liberality of the English king in permitting Scots to become sheriffs, or allowing them to share in the offices of justiciar, but it is apparent from the personnel so honoured that all had been his supporters since soon after 1296 and were generally untainted by any whiff of rebellion. The settlement, however, was a dead letter within just months of its issue as a result of the murder on 10th February 1306 at Dumfries of John Comyn of Badenoch by Robert Bruce and the latter's subsequent seizure of the Scottish crown.

### **The Harrying of Galloway**

The seven years which followed Comyn's murder saw the transformation of the lordship into one of the key battle-grounds of the Wars of Independence, with the fusion of the Comyn and English interests in the region against those of the Bruce family. Carrick, although a more secure base for King Robert than the strategically exposed Annandale, was still a dangerously isolated position, ringed by hostile territory. Galloway, on its south-eastern flank, was to form one of the principal centres of the opposition to Bruce, an enmity no doubt based on memories of the actions of Robert's father and grandfather twenty years before. In most accounts of the pre-Bannockburn phase of Robert's career the Galloway campaigns are mentioned briefly in passing, except for a short notice of his victory in Glentworth over a small English raiding party, or details of the more anecdotal type. The 'herschip of Buchan', the bloody campaign and systematic devastation carried out in the centre of Comyn power in the north-east, is generally given much greater coverage, although the ravaging of the south-west appears to have been as savage and to have brought about a profound change in the demographic structure of the lordship.

Bruce's first moves, as suggested by the Chronicle of Lanercost and an anonymous letter written towards the end of March 1306,<sup>40</sup> were to secure control of the important castles of the region. Dumfries, Tibbers and Dalswinton in Nithsdale (i.e. the seat of the sheriff, Siward's own castle and Comyn's stronghold) and Ayr on the northern edge of Carrick were surprised and taken, and the castle of Dunaverty at the south end of Kintyre and Bruce's own family stronghold at Loch Doon, remote in the Galloway uplands, were strengthened and provisioned. It is possible that he moved into the lordship immediately after the murder in a vain attempt to bring the men of Galloway out in rebellion, or to capture the English garrisons based on Buittle and Wigtown, but this may be a confusion with the brief campaign conducted in that area soon after his coronation on 25th March.<sup>41</sup> In June 1306 Robert's army was crushed at Methven Wood near Perth by a force under Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and the recently-crowned king was reduced to the state of a hunted fugitive. In the immediate aftermath of the battle the position of the Bruce party in the south-west deteriorated with great rapidity. Tibbers, the last outpost of his

39. CDS, ii, No 1691.

40. *Chron. Lanercost*, 203-4; E.L.G.Stones (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328* (Oxford, 1970), 261-3, 267.

41. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 214.

cause in Nithsdale, fell by early August, and its constable, John Seton, who had been present at Comyn's murder in February, was hanged and drawn at Newcastle along with a number of other Scottish prisoners.<sup>42</sup> This was followed closely by the fall of Loch Doon Castle and the execution of its commander, Christopher Seton, which marked the elimination of the last Bruce stronghold in the south-west.<sup>43</sup>

In early February 1307, Bruce started the long road back from these defeats, landing in Carrick with a small force. His brothers, Thomas and Alexander (the latter a cleric), along with Sir Reginald Crawford and 'a certain Irish kinglet and the lord of Kintyre', embarked on a separate punitive expedition into Galloway.<sup>44</sup> Their campaign speedily ended in disaster on 9th February at Loch Ryan, with Dougal MacDowall, head of that family, surprising and defeating them in battle. The Irish chieftain and the lord of Kintyre, the latter perhaps the chief of the McQuillans who had held Dunaverty for Robert, were killed in the skirmish and their heads sent to Edward I at Lanercost. The Bruce brothers were captured along with Crawford, taken to the Prince of Wales at Wetheral, and then carried to Carlisle for summary execution. MacDowall, for his part in this success, was knighted by Edward and rewarded with various lands and gifts.<sup>45</sup> For his actions, however, he earned for himself the bitter enmity of the surviving Bruces.

Robert himself moved into the Galloway uplands between Carrick and Wigtownshire, and over the next few months was to wage a highly successful guerrilla war, defeating a force sent to hunt him down in Glentrool and following this up even more spectacularly by the satisfaction of defeating the victor of Methven Wood in May 1307 at Loudon Hill in eastern Ayrshire.<sup>46</sup> From his fastness in the Galloway hills, Bruce conducted a savage war of attrition against his enemies in the lordship and gradually gained the upper hand. Following the death of Edward I at Burgh-by-Sands in July the initiative in the war passed decisively to Robert, who responded by increasing the intensity of his attacks on the lowlands of Galloway. By September 1307 refugees from the lordship, fleeing from Bruce's depredations, were granted protection by Edward II and given permission to graze their stock in Inglewood Forest in Cumbria, which indicates the scale of the dislocation of normal life which his attacks were causing.<sup>47</sup> In a move aimed at curbing his raids before the situation became irrecoverable, John of Brittany, the English Lieutenant in Scotland, was ordered to take an army into Galloway in response to an appeal by MacDowall and St. John, who were unable to prevent his marauding by themselves.<sup>48</sup> The Chronicle of Lanercost records that Robert and his brother Edward moved freely throughout Scotland, 'in despite of the English guardians and chiefly in Galloway, from which district he took tribute under the agreement that it should be left in peace'.<sup>49</sup>

In spite of increasing hardships inflicted on the people of Galloway, the region was still in 1308 one of the major centres of anti-Bruce sentiment. In June of that year Robert sent his younger brother into the lordship with the aim of finally breaking that resistance.

42. *CDS*, ii, No 1811.

43. *CDS*, ii, No 1841.

44. *Chron. Lanercost*, 205.

45. Palgrave, *Docs. Hist. Scot.*, i, 318-9; *CDS*, ii, Nos 1905, 1915; *Chron. Lanercost*, 181-2.

46. John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. W.M. Menzie (London, 1909), Bk.vii.

47. *CDS*, iii, No 14.

48. *CDS*, iii, No 15.

49. *Chron. Lanercost*, 210.

The campaign was not the total success for which the Bruces hoped, but MacDowall was forced to flee to England for safety and a battle at the crossings of the Dee provided victory over Donald MacCan, native leader in eastern Galloway. This gave Edward Bruce almost undisputed control of the country-side.<sup>50</sup> Although MacCan had been captured at the Fords of Dee and MacDowall had been driven to flee, final victory eluded Bruce whilst the English maintained their grip on the local fortresses, particularly Buittle, from which a fiction of government could be maintained; otherwise the lordship was effectively under Bruce control. Robert was obviously determined to break the back of Galwegian particularism, which Edward I had manipulated with such great success, and he set out to bind the province firmly to the Scottish crown. Thus by the beginning of 1309 Edward Bruce is found styled lord of Galloway in official documents,<sup>51</sup> though it was to take several more years of savage campaigning before he could claim to be *de facto* ruler as well as *de jure*. The castles still in English hands, however, prevented a swift conclusion to the war: Loch Doon in the Bruce earldom of Carrick was still held against King Robert as late as the autumn of 1311. Buittle Castle, the key to eastern Galloway, was attacked by Edward Bruce in 1312, but did not fall until February 1313, when the king himself led a campaign into the south-west, capturing and razing the castles of Dumfries, Dalswinton and Buittle,<sup>52</sup> and probably also Caerlaverock. With the main fortresses destroyed, Bruce was at last effective master of Galloway, a situation which was demonstrated by his ability to use the Solway ports as bases for an assault on the Isle of Man in May 1313, when he captured Rushen Castle, which had been held against him by Dougal MacDowall.<sup>53</sup>

### The Bruce Lordship

Edward Bruce's tenure of the lordship was to be of short duration, the title reverting to the crown along with that of earl of Carrick (granted to him by his brother in 1313) following his death without legitimate heirs in battle at Dundalk in Ireland in October 1318. During his ten year tenure, Edward was only for a short time in a position to exploit his possessions, the years up to 1313 being spent largely in devastating the lordship, and from 1316 until his death he was totally committed to the war in Ireland. Despite this, Edward Bruce clearly intended to rule the lordship and appears to have been active there for a short period immediately after Bannockburn. The strongest evidence for his activity is as benefactor of the Church, particularly the influential priory at Whithorn, perhaps with the aim of buying its support through generous grants of lands and privileges in the Machars.<sup>54</sup> The Bruces did not enjoy the general support of the Church in Galloway: Bishop Thomas, although owing his position to Bruce influence, being an outspoken critic of the new regime, found it safer to remain in England for most of the time.<sup>55</sup> As late as 1319 Thomas was regarded as a committed and loyal supporter of the English interest,<sup>56</sup> but by the time of his death in 1326 the English had come to doubt his loyalty. His successor,

50. *Joannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1970-1), i, 345; Barbour, *The Bruce*, Bk. ix; CDS, iii, No 83; Walter Bower, *Scottichronicon*, ed. D.E.R. Watt and others, vi (Aberdeen, 1991), 343, 345 444 note 54.

51. *APS*, i, 459.

52. *Chron. Fordun*, i, 346.

53. *The Chronicle of Man and the Sudreys*, edd. P.A. Munch and the Rev. Dr. Goss (Manx Society, 1874), i, 111.

54. *Registrum Magni Sigili Regum Scotorum*, edd. J.M. Thompson and others (Edinburgh, 1882-1914), i, app. i, No 20.

55. Watt, *Dictionary*, 308-10.

56. *Foedera. Conventiones. Litterae et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica*, ed. T. Rymer (London, 1816-69), ii, 401.

Simon of Wedale, abbot of Holyrood, represented a return to the tried and tested system of electing men of non-Galloway background to the episcopate, he having been abbot of a monastery closely associated with the crown and which possessed substantial landed interests in the south-west. Bruce patronage in the lordship, however, was to extend into more areas than Church politics and diocesan affairs, since the forfeitures of the families descended from Alan of Galloway — the Balliols, Comyns, Ferrars and Zouches — had placed at the king's disposal a vast amount of lands, privileges and titles with which to reward his supporters and establish men loyal to himself in positions of power.

The lordship represented an enormous windfall of property which Robert I was not slow to exploit. Few original charters survive to give anything like a comprehensive overview of the redistribution of estates in Galloway made after 1314, but sufficient remains to show the general extent of the new infestments made by 1329. Edward Bruce, as lord of Galloway, took possession of the former Balliol lands and perhaps a portion of the Comyns' estates. Following his death, his mistress, Isabel of Atholl, and their bastard son, Alexander Bruce, were granted Colvend, Senwick and Kelton in the Stewartry and Mochrum in Wigtownshire (but not the Balliol caput at Buittle which remained in royal hands until its grant to Sir James Douglas in 1325),<sup>57</sup> all of which reverted to the crown on Alexander's death in 1333 at the Scottish defeat in the battle of Halidon Hill. The Bruce family, however, were not the sole beneficiaries from the redistribution of the Galloway estates, for several families prominent in the Bruce cause before 1314 were allocated territory. Foremost amongst this group were the Soulis lords of Liddesdale, who descended from the line of the elder brother of Bruce's old political associate, John Soulis the Guardian. His nephew, Nicholas de Soulis, had married Margaret Comyn, one of the heiresses of John Comyn earl of Buchan, who had died without issue in 1308, and they were allowed to take over a portion of Buchan's Galloway lands. Their elder son, John de Soulis, received the barony and castle of Cruggleton in Wigtownshire, the caput of the former Comyn estates west of the Cree. On his death in Ireland in 1318 in the service of Edward Bruce, Cruggleton and his other estates passed to his younger brother, William.<sup>58</sup> The Soulis' possessions reverted to the crown two years later when William was forfeited for his involvement in the conspiracy to depose and kill King Robert.

While the Soulis family represented members of the top rank of the baronage, the majority of the beneficiaries were men of middling status, but who as recipients of royal patronage were established as men of influence in the localities. One such knight was Robert Boyd, who had been with the king since 1306. His principal gains were in Ayrshire, but he also received the lordship of the Glenkens in northern Galloway, formerly in the possession of a native nobleman, 'Gylbycht McMalene'.<sup>59</sup> The Fleming family, later to rise to dominance in Wigtownshire for a short time in the following reign, made their first appearance in the region on a modest scale with the grant to Malcolm Fleming of the lands of Polton in the parish of Sorbie.<sup>60</sup> Grants on a similar scale were made to men drawn from Carrick and Nithsdale, e.g. Thomas Edgar from upper Nithsdale received

57. *RMS*, i, app. i, No 37; app. ii, Nos 319, 320, 623.

58. *RMS*, i, Nos 28, 29, 33, 91; app. i, Nos 20, 142, 143, 147.

59. *RMS*, i, app. i, No 306.

60. *RMS*, i, app. ii, No 325.

the lands of Kildonan in the Rhinns and John McNeil of Carrick those of Craiggaffie in the parish of Inch.<sup>61</sup> The implantation of outsiders occurred right across Galloway from the Rhinns to Nithsdale, so that families of proven loyalty were brought into the region and helped to break down further the barriers of provincial particularism.

Robert I was not deliberately vindictive towards his defeated opponents and it would seem that many of his former enemies within the lordship were confirmed in possession of, or restored to, their ancient lands and positions. The MacDowall family, however, had never made their peace with the king for their part in the capture and execution of his brothers and were accordingly forfeited. Sir Dougal MacDowall, somehow at liberty after the fall of Rushen Castle in Man, remained in exile in England, dying there in 1327 or 1328 without having made any settlement with the Scots.<sup>62</sup> His son was not so firm in his opposition and had made his submission to David II before the invasion of the Disinherited in 1332, but soon deserted to the Balliol camp once more. The MacCan's, supporters of Edward I from 1296, probably submitted soon after the capture of their leader, Sir Donald in 1308. Their rehabilitation was completed by 1322 when they were granted Southwick,<sup>63</sup> a barony formerly in possession of the cadet branch of the lords of the neighbouring barony of Colvend, who had found it easier to abandon their Scottish lands and return to their Cumbrian homeland rather than come to terms with the new regime.

The new settlement in Galloway, effectively completed before the death of Robert I in 1329, could have been expected to have converted the lordship into a major centre of support for the Bruce dynasty. On this score, however, it must be regarded as one of that king's great failures, for the true situation was to prove more fragile than outward appearances of solidarity suggested, and the majority of the native lords seem to have paid little more than lip service to their new rulers. The chief flaw in the structure was the absence of a single, powerful lord as intermediary between the king and the lesser chieftains of Galloway, as replacement for the Balliols or Comyns. In his political settlements elsewhere in the kingdom (for example in Moray where he established Thomas Randolph as earl with regalian powers), he had been careful to ensure that the local power structures were headed by men with the prestige, status and resources to establish the authority of the new regime without question. Galloway had no such recognised head after the death of Edward Bruce. In 1325 King Robert gave the lordship of Buittle, the symbolic centre of lordship power in the later thirteenth century, to Sir James Douglas, one of his chief supporters, perhaps intending that he should become the focus of royal power in the area. Significantly, however, there was no grant of the title of 'lord of Galloway' to any individual following the death of Edward Bruce. But the Douglases were too preoccupied with their interests elsewhere in the kingdom to be able to take on the role of royal strong men, and it was left to others to fill this vacuum with or without the connivance of the king. As a result, the lesser baronage, who had formed the chief vassals of John Balliol as lord of Galloway, were able to assert political control in a manner unthinkable to their counterparts elsewhere in the kingdom. Memories of the devastation wrought by Bruce and his supporters would take many years to heal and it is unlikely

61. *RMS*, i, app. ii, Nos 616, 683.

62. *CDS*, iii, No 944.

63. *RMS*, i, app. ii, No 614.

that the king could have relied on the bulk of the populace to aid him in the future, with the result that the Bruce establishment rested on the doubtful loyalties of a handful of native lords. The anti-Bruce reaction made itself manifest on the appearance for a rival for the crown in the 1330s in the person of Edward Balliol, son of King John, when much of Galloway rose in support of the pretender and brought the whole edifice of the Bruce establishment crashing in ruins.

### **Bruce against Balliol: the final phase 1332-56**

Edward Balliol's invasion of Scotland, lasting from 1332 until his final resignation of his lands and rights to Edward III of England in 1356, formed the stormy coda to the association of his family with the lordship of Galloway, and saw the last rising of the native peoples against the encroaching authority of the kings of Scots.<sup>64</sup> Balliol's involvement with Galloway was characterised by sharp divisions of loyalty within the province and successive changes of side by several of the leading men of the lordship. The Bruce settlement of the region in the 1320s had not destroyed support for the Balliol family or the pro-English sympathies of some of the nobles. This was demonstrated clearly in 1332 when Eustace Maxwell of Caerlaverock, who appears to have exercised considerable support in eastern Galloway and Nithsdale, and Duncan MacDowall in Wigtownshire threw in their weight behind the Balliol cause.

Maxwell was a somewhat controversial character, having been tried in 1320 for his part in the Soulis conspiracy, but acquitted for want of evidence. Despite the suspicions surrounding him, Maxwell had been established in a strong position in lower Nithsdale, and appears to have enjoyed considerable authority east of the Cree. Following Balliol's coronation at Scone in 1332, it was Maxwell who had caused the siege of Perth by Bruce loyalists to be raised by attacking the besiegers' lands in the rear, having raised an army from Galloway.<sup>65</sup> His defection to Balliol at this critical time prompted a savage reaction by the Bruce loyalists and a force led by John Randolph earl of Moray, Sir Andrew Moray and Sir Archibald Douglas raided through Galloway and re-started the pattern of warfare as it had been under King Robert in the pre-Bannockburn days. MacDowall, like Maxwell a man of doubtful loyalty, and chief of a family entrenched in the political framework of the country west of the Cree, likewise raised rebellion in that region against David II. In 1334, however, Balliol succeeded in alienating much of the support he had won in the south-west by granting Dumfriesshire, along with all of south-eastern Scotland, to Edward III as payment for English aid.<sup>66</sup> Foremost amongst the defectors from his cause at this stage was MacDowall, who made his peace with King David's supporters and brought Wigtownshire back into the Bruce camp, so causing a state of civil war to develop in Galloway.<sup>67</sup> Although the Lanercost chronicler attributes MacDowall's change of heart to the influence of his wife, his submission coincided with a major raid conducted by the earl of Moray, the Steward, Sir Laurence Abernethy and Sir William Douglas: discretion was very much the better part of valour.

64. For discussions of Edward Balliol's 'reign', see: Nicholson, *The Later Middle Ages*, Chapter 6; A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood. Scotland 1306-1469* (London, 1984), 19-24; R.C.Reid, 'Edward Balliol', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd Series, xxxv (1956-7), 38-63.

65. *Chron. Lanercost*, 269.

66. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 273, 391.

67. *Chron. Lanercost*, 277-8.

Maxwell maintained his allegiance to Balliol and the English cause, but at a price. From 1335 he appears as English sheriff of Dumfries, clearly in recognition of his dominant position in Nithsdale and as a reward for his service since 1332.<sup>68</sup> Within Galloway Edward Balliol was making clear moves to curry favour, particularly with the Church which was recognised by both sides as having great influence in the region. He petitioned Edward III for restoration of the lands and privileges in Ireland of Dundrennan Abbey<sup>69</sup> and it was perhaps as a token of gratitude for his successful intervention in their plea that part of the monastic estates, the island of Hestan in the Urr estuary, passed into Balliol's hands, to be developed later as his base for operations. Despite such efforts, however, his position in the lordship continued to deteriorate, and in 1337 Maxwell also deserted to the Bruce party.<sup>70</sup> The moral outrage of the Lanercost chronicler at this cynical breach of faith (Maxwell had waited until Edward III had provided him with money and supplies for the defence of Caerlaverock before deserting to the Scots) was tempered with the satisfaction that Maxwell had immediately been declared forfeit, his lands and castle given to the lord of Gilsland, and a devastating raid conducted by the new owner launched against the traitor and his supporters.

The desertion of Maxwell marked the nadir of Balliol's fortunes in Galloway at this time, for by the summer of 1339 support for him in the lordship was on the resurgence. In August of that year MacDowall, Maxwell and a third local chieftain, Michael M'Ghie, reverted to their original allegiances and threw the south-west into turmoil yet again.<sup>71</sup> The situation continued to improve for Balliol and in 1341 Patrick McCulloch and John Marshall, prominent landholders in Wigtownshire, entered the service of Edward III.<sup>72</sup> It was probably at this time that Balliol began the fortification of his base on Hestan Island, Duncan MacDowall being placed in charge of its defence.<sup>73</sup> In June 1341, however, David II returned from his exile in France and by November had set in motion a number of moves designed to undermine his opponent's position in Galloway, mainly through the establishment of a new group of men within the region on whom he could depend.

David's principal move was to set up the Fleming family in a position of titular supremacy over the lands west of the Cree and replace Duncan MacDowall as natural and social leader of this region with Malcolm Fleming, one of his principal supporters since the dark days of 1332. To this end Fleming, who had previously received only some small estates in the Machars from Robert I, was rewarded for his good faith to the Bruces by his creation as earl of Wigtown in November 1341.<sup>74</sup> This placed in the region a new power of proven loyalty to the crown, which would exercise at least in theory feudal superiority over the lesser landholders and provided the strong local leadership which King Robert had failed to establish. Fleming's earldom was just the most prominent part of a concerted effort to regain the political initiative in Galloway and, following the example set by his father, King David pursued a policy of introducing some of his more loyal

68. CDS, iii, app. i, 317-9.

69. CDS, iii, No 1157.

70. *Chron. Lanercost*, 290-1.

71. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 571.

72. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 612.

73. C.A. Raleigh Radford, 'Balliol's Manor House on Hestan Island', *TDGAS*, 3rd Series, xxxv (1956-7) vi, No 33-7.

74. *Regesta Regum Scotorum*, edd. G.W.S. Barrow, B. Webster and others (Edinburgh, 1960- ), vi, No 39.

supporters into the region and at the same time of winning the support of the Church locally.<sup>75</sup> The lands of the Mowbray family, centred on Borgue, which had been in royal hands since their forfeiture in 1332, were partitioned amongst Bruce loyalists, of whom William, lord Douglas, was the chief beneficiary.<sup>76</sup> Another recipient of former Mowbray land was Fergus MacDowall, whose relationship to Duncan is not known, a move which seems to have been designed to split the family and to undermine Duncan's personal standing. Fergus received the barony of Borgue itself<sup>77</sup> and was to give valuable military service to David II against the English, one such occasion being recorded in the Legend of St. Ninian.<sup>78</sup>

Duncan MacDowall at this time was in command of the garrison of Balliol's recently-established headquarters on Hestan Island, but was coming under increasing pressure to submit to King David. A mainland blockade of the island brought submission closer, but a naval expedition from England brought much-needed supplies; fully-provisioned, the island became the principal stronghold of Balliol power in Galloway.<sup>79</sup> Despite the lifting of the immediate pressure on him, there are indications that MacDowall's loyalty continued to waver, particularly since the bulk of his lands in Wigtownshire seemed destined to pass from his personal control. It was probably anxiety to preserve what he could of his family lands that prompted him to defect to the Bruce interest in 1345, his loyalty to his new master being reinforced by the grant of estates in Senwick, Twynholm and Kelton.<sup>80</sup> His defection brought a swift reaction from the English authorities, for in the same year William de Dyfford and Thomas de Lucy attacked and captured Hestan by sea, slighted its defences and carried off MacDowall and his family to captivity in England.<sup>81</sup> A two-year spell in the Tower cured Duncan of his pro-Bruce leanings and, returned to King Edward's peace, he was restored to his position in Galloway. His family, however, remained in England as hostages for his future good behaviour.<sup>82</sup>

Balliol himself appears to have continued the struggle in Galloway, despite the setback of the loss of one of his most influential supporters and the destruction of the peel at Hestan. Throughout 1346 he based himself on the ancient stronghold of *Insula Arsa* or Burned Isle in Loch Ken, but he seems to have made little headway. The castle, despite its island site, was dangerously exposed to attack from the Bruce strongholds in Carrick. This danger was increased throughout the summer when John Kennedy and Alan Stewart, raiding southwards from Carrick, wreaked widespread devastation in the lordship.<sup>83</sup>

In 1347, in the aftermath of the defeat and capture of David II at the battle of Neville's Cross in the previous autumn, an English expeditionary force made up of the retinues of a number of nobles from Cumberland and Northumberland entered Scotland, and after following a circuitous route via Roxburgh brought Edward Balliol to Hestan, which they

75. *RMS*, i, app. ii, Nos 836, 837, 1148, 1153, 1170, 1208.

76. *Registrum Honoris de Morton* (Bannatyne Club, 1853), ii, 45; R.C.Reid, 'A Mowbray Service c.1365', *TDGAS*, 3rd Series, xxxiii (1954-5), 197-9.

77. *RMS*, i, app. ii, No 835.

78. *The Legends of Saint Ninian and Saint Machor*, ed. W.M.Metcalf (Edinburgh, 1904), 65-8; For Jack Trumppure see *RMS*, i, No 206.

79. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 625-6, 629, 654.

80. *RMS*, i, app. ii, No 1006.81. *CDS*, iii, Nos 1402, 1471; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 703.

82. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 722.

83. *Androw of Wynthoun's Orygynal Cronykil of Scotland*, ed. D.Laing (Edinburgh, 1872-9), ii, 477.

proceeded to refurbish and repair.<sup>84</sup> In advance of this, Edward III, still acting in accordance with the 1334 cession of territory which had given him nominal control of Dumfriesshire and the Border Counties, had confirmed Balliol's possession of his hereditary lands in Galloway east of the Cree (which lay within the 'English' sphere) and, at the time of Balliol's re-establishment at Hestan, gave him full regalian rights over them.<sup>85</sup> Balliol's installation at Hestan, however, rather than at Buittle or one of the other mainland castles of the lordship, is ample indication of the shallow grip of the English by that date, despite their victories over David II and his supporters. For Balliol true exercise of the powers of king remained effectively beyond his reach, though within Galloway he could still exercise some influence. The temporary revival of his fortunes after Neville's Cross may have afforded the opportunity to extend this control, and for a short while he seems to have enjoyed rule over a considerable area of the old lordship. His new confidence was marked by the issue of a series of charters from his stronghold in favour of his small circle of followers, which granted away portions of his paternal inheritance. The chief beneficiary was Sir William de Aldeburgh, an English knight who had been his most staunch adherent, who was to receive the lordships of Kells and Crossmichael together with the castle of Burned Isle in Loch Ken in northern Kirkcudbrightshire, plus the lands of Kidsdale in the Machars.<sup>86</sup> But the apparent strength of his position was illusory, for it was now clear that Galloway represented the last outpost of his party in Scotland, and he had but gained a respite from attack whilst the Scots negotiated with Edward III for the release of King David. Despite assurances from the English king that his support was unwavering, it became clear by 1351 that Balliol was being abandoned as an expensive liability.

The years 1351 and 1352 marked the final watershed in Balliol's twenty-year association with Galloway for, despite attempts to establish him more firmly in the lordship, his position had become precarious and exposed, crumbling swiftly once Scottish pressure was resumed. The respite, however, had been put to good use and Hestan, an isolated and inconvenient spot, though safe, was abandoned in favour of the old family fortress of Buittle, which had been provided with a new gatehouse and a strengthened curtain wall. Rather than marking an upturn in his fortunes, however, the move to Buittle was followed by a further deterioration in his support locally. The list of witnesses appended to charters granted to William de Aldeburgh in 1352 shows how restricted the group had become: the local knights Patrick McCulloch and Matthew Maclellan and their sons, John de Rerrick and Dougal MacDowall, the last perhaps a son of Sir Duncan.<sup>87</sup> The small group was to dwindle still further with the defection again of MacDowall in August 1355, a move which dealt a fatal blow to Balliol's position in Galloway when it was followed by Sir Hugh Kirkpatrick's capture and destruction of the English-held castles of Dalswinton and Caerlaverock.<sup>88</sup> Sir Duncan's defection was made just in time for, admitted to King David's peace, he was permitted to retain his lands and was confirmed in possession of those granted to him by David in 1345.<sup>89</sup> Spurred into half-hearted action by this desertion, Edward III made

84. *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1338-81*, ed. V.H.Galbraith (Manchester, 1927), 19, 28-9.

85. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 710, 715, 720.

86. *CDS*, iii, No 1578: SRO RH 1/1/2 1st December 1352.

87. *CDS*, iii, No 1578.

88. *Chron. Wyntoun*, ii, 487.

89. *RMS*, i, app. ii, No 1147; *Rot. Scot.*, i, 761.

some feeble and belated attempts to send Balliol succour, ordering William de la Vale to assist him in the defence of Buittle,<sup>90</sup> but the situation was clearly beyond redemption. With most of Galloway either in Scottish hands or devastated by raids, Aldeburgh was sent to England in May 1335 to make a last appeal for aid, but no help was forthcoming. On 20th January 1356 the whole sorry episode was brought to a conclusion at Roxburgh, when Edward resigned his crown, realm and personal lands in Galloway into the hands of the English king, going thereafter to live in England as a pensionary of the crown until his death eight years later.<sup>91</sup>

The passing of Edward Balliol in 1364 marked the end of the Balliol dynasty, there being no indication that he ever married after his abortive betrothal to Jeanne de Valois in the 1290s. Certainly he had no children and his only brother, Henry, had been killed at Annan in 1332.<sup>92</sup> The removal of the alternative to Scottish rule was a situation which some in Galloway could not endure. Faced with a final choice between exile or life under David II's regime some families, like the McCullochs, chose to follow the example of their erstwhile leader and moved to England in the vain hope that he would eventually be restored to power with English aid. Balliol's death forced a recognition of the inevitable: the Bruce establishment in Galloway was not going to be over-turned by a Balliol candidate. Only with the removal of this last forlorn hope did die-hards like the McCullochs seek a belated reconciliation with David II:<sup>93</sup> the long struggle between Bruce and Balliol was finally lost.

The sixty years of conflict with England since 1296 had seen the breakdown of the last remnants of provincial particularism in Galloway and the consolidation through military conquest and successive waves of colonisation of the grip of the Scottish crown on the region. The traditional links with Cumbria, which had been fostered in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had been severed and a large number of the old landholding families associated with the ancient lordly house, such as the Colvends and Southwicks, had been eliminated or expelled. Severed, too, were the ecclesiastical ties with York which the diocese of Galloway had maintained since the twelfth century, although the bishops of Whithorn remained for some time the nominal suffragans of the archbishop. In place of the old families new men were introduced from other parts of Scotland and men of non-Galwegian origin established in positions of authority in the government of the lordship. Native lords did survive and thrived under the new regime, but the line of lords of Galloway of the House of Fergus had been brought finally to an end. The lordship of Galloway itself, however, did not disappear with them, for new powers were established by King David in moves aimed at avoiding the chronic weakness in the political establishment in Galloway which King Robert's settlement had engendered.

90. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 763.

91. *Rot. Scot.*, i, 787-9; E.W.M. Balfour-Neville, 'The Death of Edward Balliol', *SHR*, xxxv (1956), 82-3.

92. Balfour-Melville, 'Death of Edward Balliol', 82-3; Reid, 'Edward Balliol', 38-63.

93. *CDS*, iv, No 92. The MacCullochs were to be reconciled with the king as part of the peace proposals of 1363.

# A POST-MEDIEVAL FARMSTEAD COMPLEX AT CHAPEL FARM, NEAR MOFFAT, DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY REGION

by

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## Abstract

*Excavations and survey were carried out in 1991 at Chapel Farm, near Moffat, as part of the North-West Ethylene Pipeline Project, funded by Shell Chemicals UK, Ltd. The site comprises a settlement complex with three rectilinear domestic structures and associated enclosures. Excavations on the periphery of the site showed that at least one of the enclosures was of multi-phase construction. Further external features were also exposed, including wall fragments and cobbled surfaces. No definitive dating information was recovered, but the site appears to have been abandoned by the end of the 18th century.*

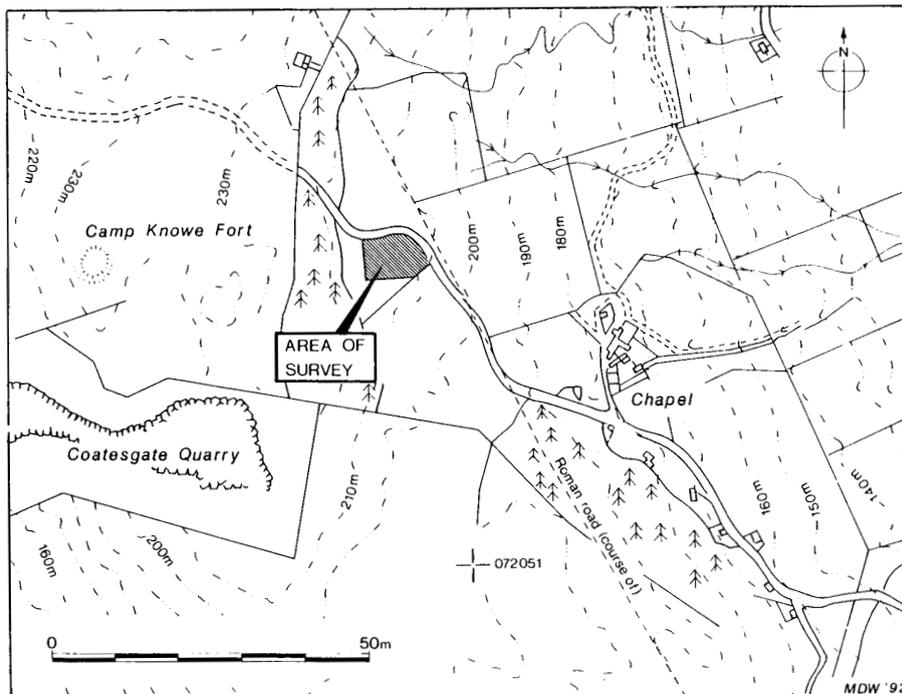


Fig. 1. Location plan

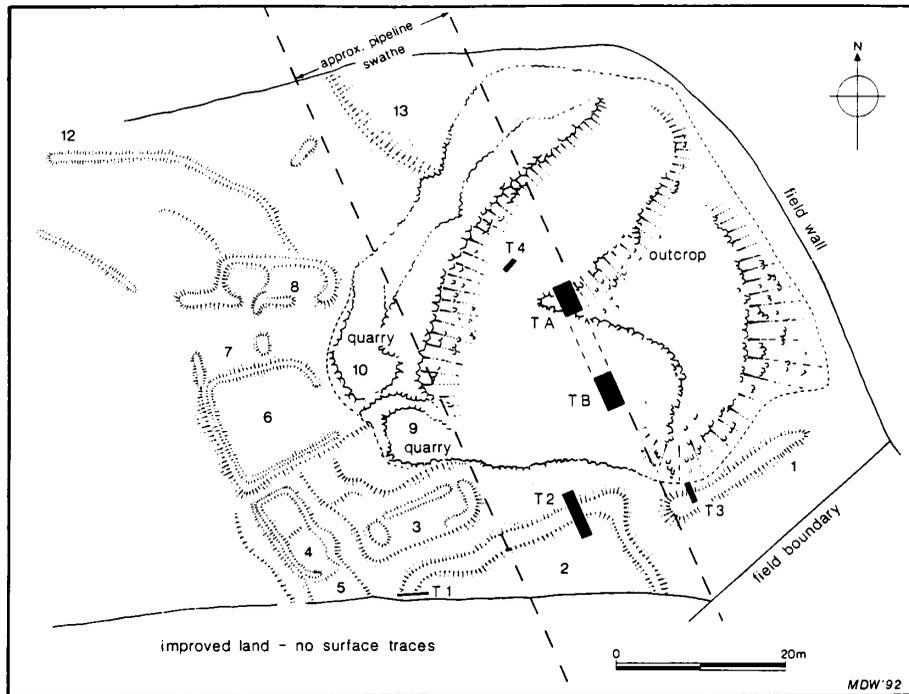


Fig. 2. Site plan

### Introduction

This report describes the results of excavations and survey on a post-medieval or earlier settlement complex near Chapel Farm on the outskirts of Moffat, Dumfries and Galloway Region (NT 0708 0559, Fig. 1). The project formed part of the archaeological studies commissioned by Shell Chemicals UK Limited (SCUK) associated with the construction in 1991 of an ethylene pipeline from Grangemouth, in Central Region, to Stanlow, in Cheshire.

The site was initially identified from surface traces during field survey by CFA in advance of pipeline construction (Ralston and Armit 1990, 139-42). It is visible on the ground as a series of rectilinear platforms and associated enclosure banks (Fig. 2). These appear to represent the remains of a farmstead dating to the post-medieval or possibly medieval period.

A routing of the pipeline was agreed with SCUK which diverted its course away from the principal structures and affected only one enclosure and possible field banks visible from surface traces. A number of small trenches was excavated to investigate these peripheral features (T1-T4, Fig.2). A subsequent series of excavations was carried out on features exposed during pipeline construction, which had not been visible on the surface (TA-TB, Fig.2).

## The site

The site lies to the west of Moffat between the 210m and 220m contours, 350m north-west of Chapel Farm. It occupies a level area of c. 60m by 60m, in the vicinity of a quarried outcrop of red sandstone which protrudes through the boulder clay subsoil (Fig. 2). The proximity of the site to the outcrop appears to have saved it from obliteration by post-Improvement ploughing.

Three rectilinear, raised turf-covered platforms represent the domestic structures on the site (Fig. 2: 3, 4 and 8). These are all between 14 - 16m long by 5 - 6m wide and cluster around the south and west of the outcrop. The structures survive to c. 1m in maximum relief. The width of the walls is not distinguishable with any clarity. All three structures appear to have field and enclosure banks adjoining their walls.

Few specific architectural features can be discerned from the surviving surface traces of the structures. The materials used in their construction are not known, although the lack of obvious collapsed stonework suggests that they may be principally of turf. Structures 4 and 8 have residual internal partitions dividing them approximately in half. Structure 8 has separate entrances to each chamber while the entrances of Structure 4 are not discernible. Only Structure 3 appears to have a possible gable, represented by a distinct mound at its western end.

Although each of the rectilinear structures lies on a different alignment, the overall impression is of an ordered layout; the enclosures and structures lie generally parallel or perpendicular to each other as the settlement as a whole curves round the outcrop.

The three rectilinear structures are associated with two substantial enclosures (2 and 6) and numerous smaller enclosures and field banks. The settlement has been truncated to the south and west by recent drainage and ploughing (Fig. 2) and any more extensive settlement or agricultural traces which may formerly have been present, have been removed.

## Early map evidence

The site was not recorded on the O.S. 1st edition 6'' Ordnance Survey coverage (Dumfriesshire, sheet XVI), surveyed in 1857. More significant was its omission from the late 18th - early 19th century map of Kirkpatrick Juxta (RHP 10159). This map shows the field pattern associated with nearby Chapel Farm but shows no trace of the settlement. The documentary evidence indicates, therefore, that the site was out of use as a settlement by the end of the 18th century, and it is possible that the settlement was replaced at that time by the present Chapel Farm (Ralston, Armit and McKeague 1990, 14).

## Excavation results

### *Excavation of surface features*

The principal focus of excavation was the southern enclosure (2) which, on the basis of surface traces, was the sole clearly anthropogenic element of the site to be disturbed during construction. This enclosure was investigated by cleaning and recording an existing drainage ditch section (Trench 1) and by excavating a small trial trench (Trench 2). The

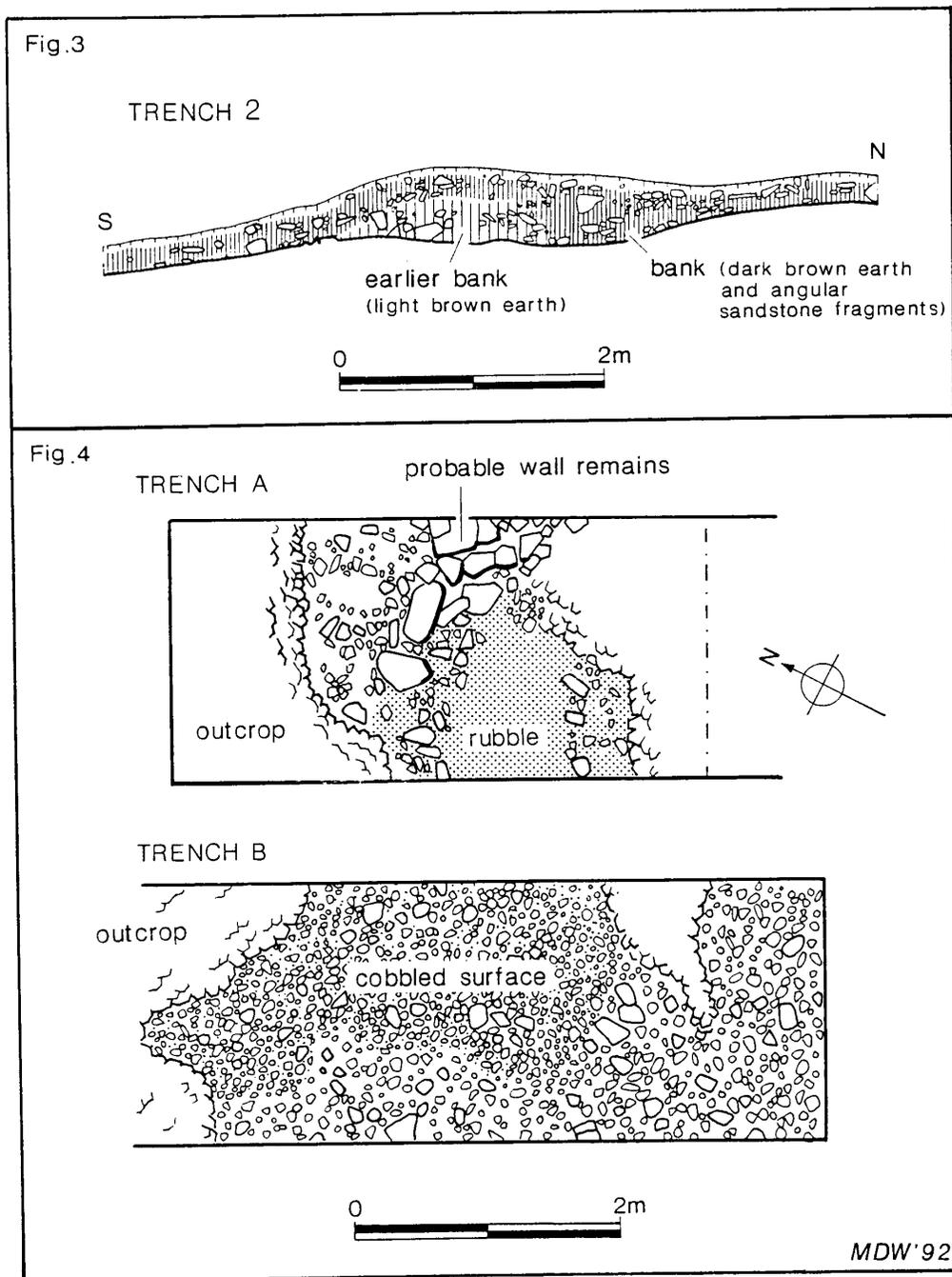


Fig. 3. Trench 2 section

Fig. 4. Features found during construction; trenches A and B

enclosure bank was found to have at least two phases of construction (Fig. 3). The earlier feature was a small earthen bank, although there were indications in Trench 2 that an even earlier stone wall might have been present. The early bank was surmounted by a later, larger bank. The absence of angular red sandstone fragments in the early bank, and their presence above it, argues for the earlier bank's construction prior to the commencement of substantial quarrying of the neighbouring outcrop.

Two other trenches, 3 and 4, were excavated. Trench 3 was positioned to investigate a possible bank (1) visible from surface traces. On excavation, this feature was shown to be natural. Trench 4 was set out over slight surface irregularities on the quarried outcrop and, again, was found to contain no evidence for anthropogenic activity.

#### *Sub-surface features found during construction*

Following topsoil stripping during construction, an area of cobbling and the remains of a probable wall were exposed. These features were identified by the CFA archaeological line inspector monitoring ground disturbance associated with pipeline construction. Two trenches, A and B, were excavated by the rapid response team conducting excavation on sites found in such circumstances (Fig. 4).

The wall in Trench A was set at the rear of a small, probably man-made terrace cut into the outcrop. This may represent very residual traces of a domestic structure or, more probably, a somewhat slighter structure associated with agricultural activity around the settlement. The cobbled area in Trench B appears to represent part of a yard or external floor.

#### **Finds**

With the exception of one sherd of pottery from Trench 1 and glass from the topsoil moved during construction, all of the finds from the excavation derived from the latest enclosure bank in Trench 2. There are no finds associated with the early phase of the enclosure.

The finds comprise two sherds of glazed pottery, thirteen pieces of bottle glass, a ferrous object and a fragment of slate. The pottery sherds have been examined by George Haggarty who has concluded that they are probably Victorian. Given that the site was abandoned prior to the surveying of the late-eighteenth / early-nineteenth century map, mentioned above, these sherds may have arrived on the site in later episodes of manuring or midden dumping. A similar derivation is proposed for the glass which was identified by Phil Simpson. This is generally undiagnostic but includes one shard from a crown bottle base, definitely post-AD 1800 in date.

#### **Discussion**

The site represents a farmstead of three main houses with two principal enclosures and a series of field banks. Any further traces of associated enclosures or fields, which may have been present, have been obliterated by subsequent agricultural activity. The discovery during pipeline construction, of a cobbled yard or floor and of a residual wall

foundation suggests that there might be considerably more archaeological survival than is immediately apparent from surface traces. This has implications for other, similar sites in the Southern Uplands.

The dating of the settlement remains unclear. The map evidence suggests an abandonment prior to the late eighteenth century, but there is no evidence for the commencement or duration of occupation. The limited excavations have demonstrated that the site is multi-phase, and there is considerable potential for establishing its chronology and development in future excavations.

### **Location of the archive**

The complete site archive for Chapel Farm is deposited in the National Monuments Record of Scotland. An archive report, detailing the stratigraphy etc. in full, is also lodged with NMRS and with Strathclyde Region (Alexander and Armit 1992). This includes a complete catalogue of the finds assemblage from the site, and a detailed record of the surface morphology of each numbered element of the site (Fig. 2). Copies can be obtained by arrangement with CFA. Finds from the site are with the Department of Archaeology, National Museums of Scotland.

### **Acknowledgements**

The project was wholly funded by Shell Chemicals UK Limited. Environmental co-ordination for the company was undertaken by Dr Alan Ryder, assisted by David Maynard. The authors are grateful to George Haggarty for his identifications of the ceramic assemblage and to Phil Simpson for examining the glass.

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# AN EXCAVATION AT ABBOT'S TOWER, NEAR NEW ABBEY, DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY, 1991

by Allyson Bailey\*

## Abstract

*The Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust Ltd carried out an excavation in August 1991 at the Abbot's Tower, near New Abbey, Dumfries and Galloway, to determine the nature and extent of structures and deposits around the tower. The outline of the barmkin and traces of some ancillary structures were revealed. Activity continued on the site after the tower had gone out of use. The project was funded by Historic Scotland.*

## Introduction

Abbot's Tower is a small, ruinous, 16th century L-plan tower house, standing at the foot of a slope directly east of Landis Farm, near New Abbey. Despite its name (which is first recorded in the late 18th century), it does not appear ever to have belonged to an abbot. It stands on the lands of Landis or Lawne, which were leased and later feued to the Brown family, several members of which were abbots of Sweetheart Abbey (in which capacity they feued quite a lot of abbey land to relatives throughout the 16th century).

There are almost no historical records of the tower, but it does appear on Pont's map of the area of c 1595, there called the 'tower of Lawnn'. The lands changed hands several times in the next 200 years. The tower belonged to the Maxwells of Kirkconnell when Grose drew it in 1790 (1791, 182; Pl 2), by which time it was a ruin. It remained so until 1989 when it was bought for restoration as a residence.

A trial excavation, funded by Historic Scotland, was undertaken by the Trust in August 1991 in advance of restoration works to the tower. The objectives were to determine the nature and extent of structures and deposits around the tower. Several structures had been previously identified by the RCAHMS in their survey (1990) prior to restoration work commencing (fig. 2).

The RCAHMS recorded one structure immediately to the north of the tower, a linear feature to the south and a rectangular building, still partially visible, further south. There was an indication of a barmkin wall to the west of the tower, but the area was heavily overgrown and obscured by rubbish dumped from the farm. In fact the entire site was quite overgrown and scattered with enormous granite boulders which are a common feature of the local geology. The area to the north of the tower was obscured by modern sheds and building materials.

## Excavation (Fig. 3)

Following restoration, most of the area around the tower will be used as a garden and therefore will not be heavily disturbed. However, service trenches will run in from the south-west, cutting across both the southern building and the linear feature. Consequently, two trenches (A and B) were placed along the proposed service line to investigate these features.

\*All contributors are employed by: Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust Ltd, 55 South Methven Street, PERTH PH1 5NX.

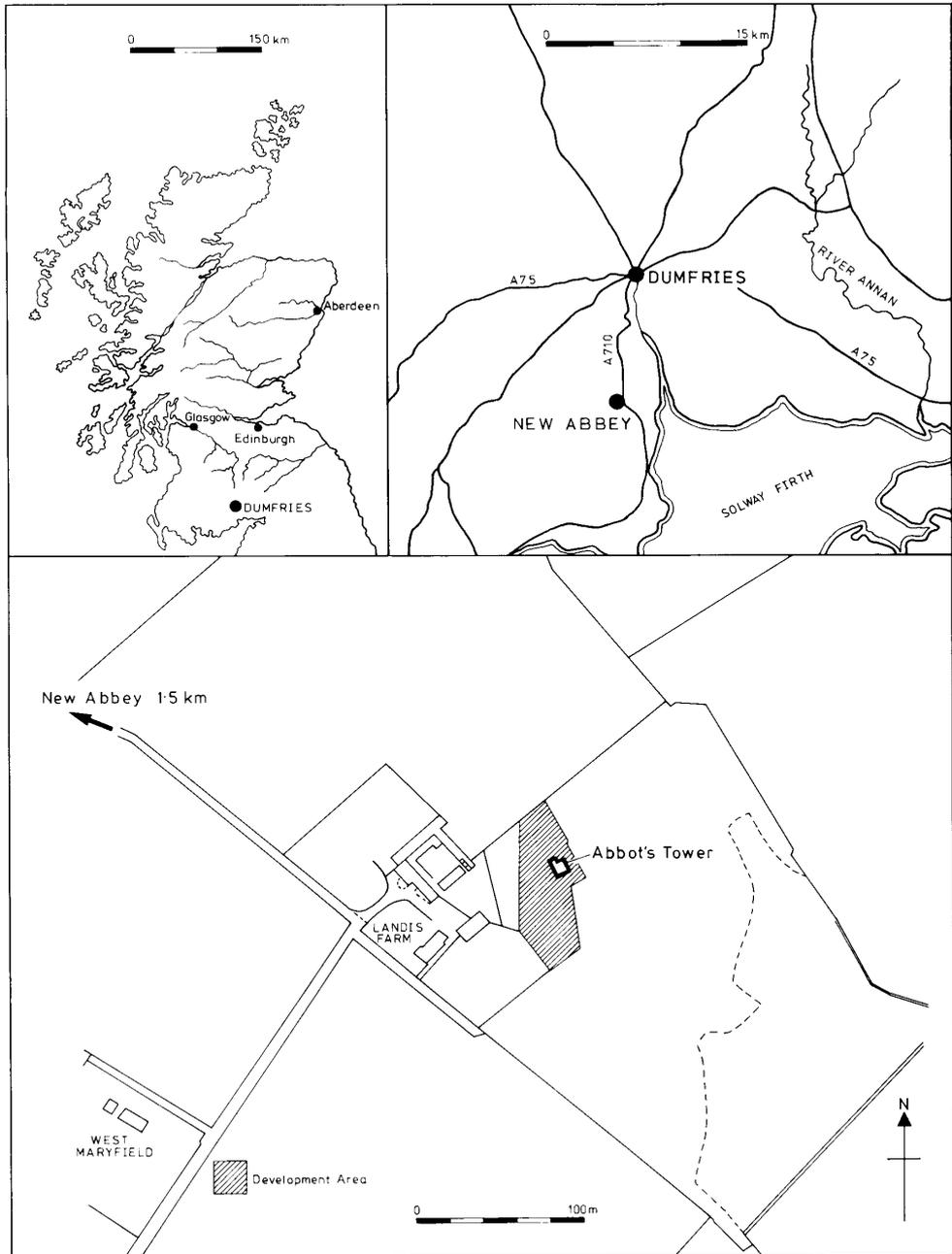


Fig. 1 Site Location

Trench A revealed the north and south walls of a small building, possibly a byre or stable, of dry stone construction. There was originally an entrance in the south wall. The doorway and the area to the south were paved with granite flags. Later, the doorway was blocked up, and within this blocking masonry was the heavily worn base of a green glass bottle, which probably dates to between 1720 and 1760. The doorway would, therefore, seem to have been sealed in the late 18th or early 19th century, at a time when the tower was already in ruins. No floor levels or other features were found in the trench.

A second trench (B) was excavated to investigate the linear feature. It proved to be a mound of earth and stones containing a few 19th or early 20th century finds. It was probably a relatively modern hedgebank or other boundary.

Trench F was excavated to investigate a building, noted by the RCAHMS, to the north of the tower. Unfortunately, the whole area was so covered with debris that there were serious constraints on the siting of the trench. The north to south wall was located but it was not possible to investigate the interior of the building or even to determine the full width of the wall.

The wall was built of granite boulders bound with clay (Context 16; the original face of the wall is indicated by a thicker line). Near the south end was a doorway with a slab threshold. It still retained a pink sandstone rybat (rebate) with a chamfered arris, which is probably of late 16th or early 17th century date (Stell, *pers. comm.*). South of the building was an area paved with large granite flagstones (Context 17). These may have extended from this building to the tower as similar stones were found outside the tower by the present owner, Mr Kormylo. At some time the western side of the wall was widened and an oven or chimney (Context 20) built into it, and the doorway was blocked up (Contexts 25).

Several trenches were located to investigate other features identified by RCAHMS. A small area of wall foundation was revealed in Trench C, running west from the south-west corner of the tower. This is assumed to be part of the barmkin wall. It was constructed of granite boulders bonded with a white mortar containing a great many shells, which was very similar to the original mortar used in the tower.

Running parallel to this wall foundation was a further large wall (Trench G) which was constructed of large facing stones and a rubble core. Unfortunately it was impossible to reveal what, if any, connection it had with the barmkin wall further south because of the large boulders and tree roots which covered the area.

At the north-eastern end of the site, Trench D revealed a corner of a substantial wall. It seems likely that this was part of the barmkin. However, it was not mortared like the wall in Trench C, but rather resembled that in Trench G, with large facing stones and a rubble core.

Trench E was located inside the tower to investigate floor levels and construction details which would be destroyed by the laying of a damp proof membrane in the course of restoration. It was restricted in its size and location by scaffolding and a large pile of rubble. It revealed, below a layer of debris, a well compacted layer which was presumably either a floor surface or the base for a flag stone floor. Below this was a thick, patchy deposit of mortar and soil, which appeared to be construction debris. The trench butted the

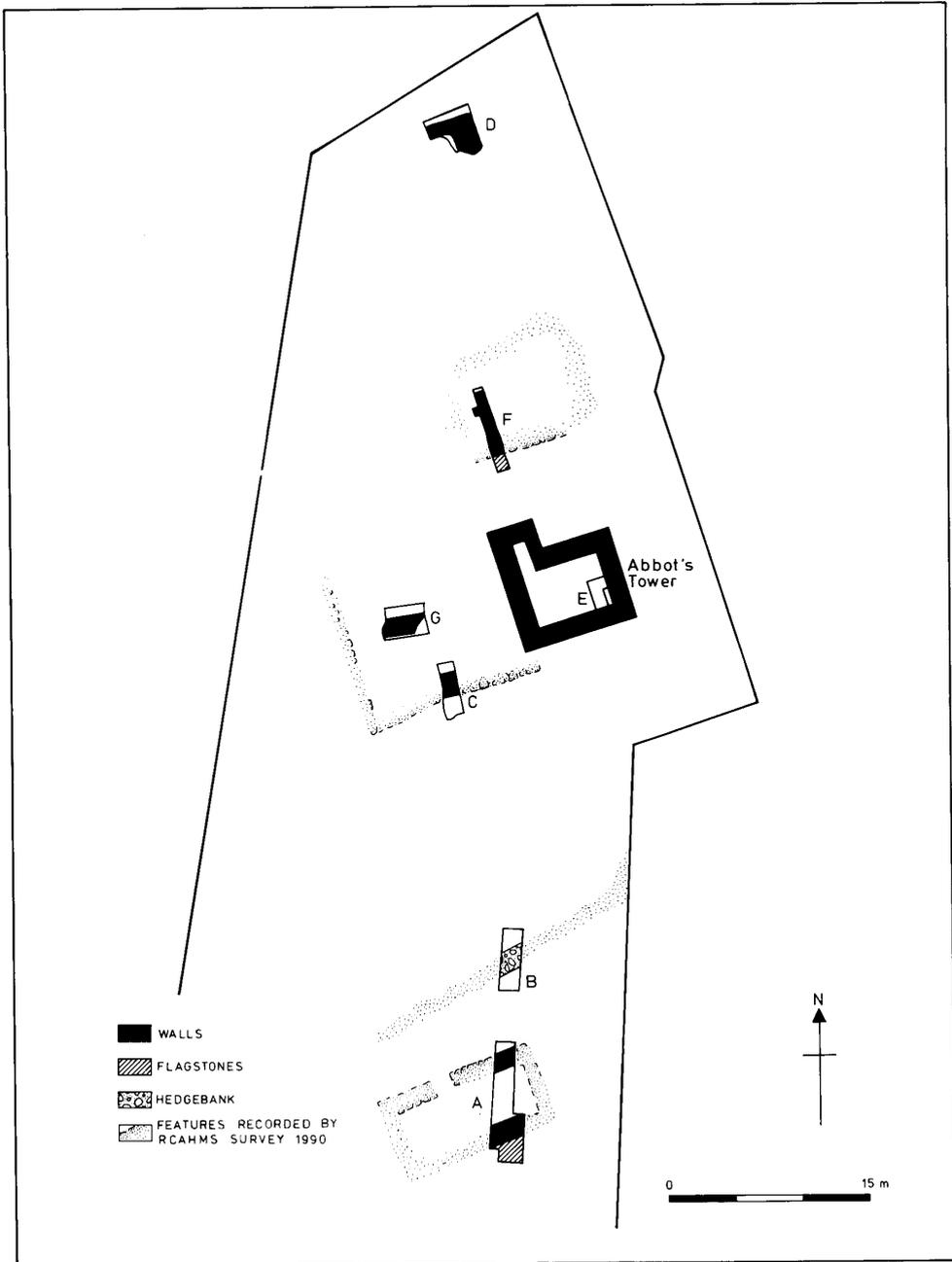


Fig. 2 Trench Location

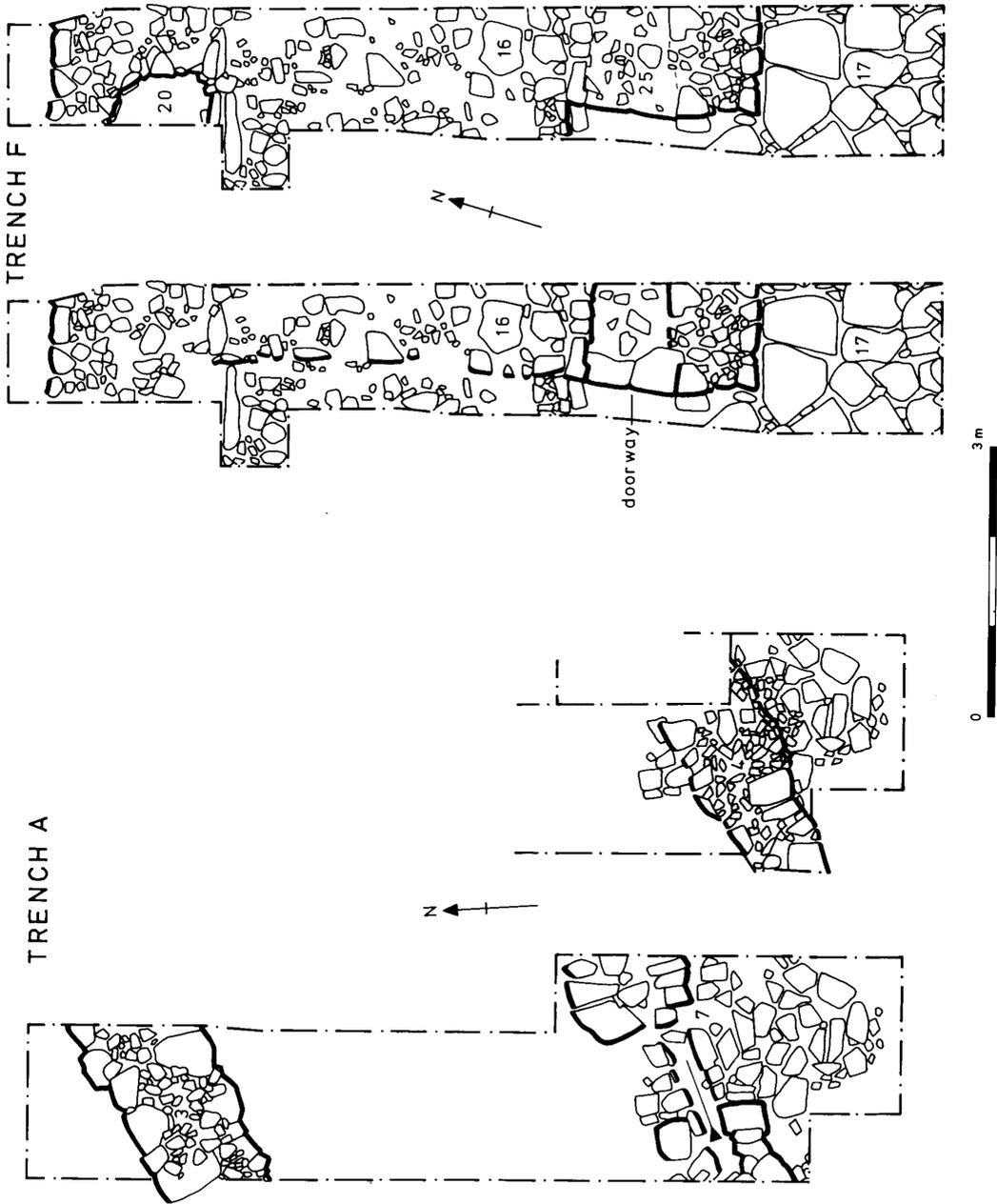


Fig. 3 Trenches A and F

south and east walls of the tower but no evidence of foundation trenches or other constructional details was found. However, several small fragments of window glass, of 16th to 18th century date, were found within the construction debris.

### **Finds (A Cox and C Smith)**

The majority of the artefactual material recovered from the excavation is of 19th or early 20th century date and includes pottery, bottle glass and iron nails. This material would have been deposited when the tower was already in ruins.

Small quantities of earlier material were also found. Several pieces of green bottle glass, including a base, were recovered from masonry associated with the south wall of the possible stable or byre (Context 4). The base was examined by K R Murdoch and assigned a date of c 1720-60. Debris within the tower contained several pieces of possible window glass, which may date from the time of its occupation.

Twenty-eight fragments of animal bone were recovered during the excavation. The animals represented were cattle, sheep/goat, cat, small mammal, amphibian, domestic fowl, probable jackdaw, large ungulate, small ungulate, indeterminate mammal and indeterminate bird. The very small size and doubtful origins of the sample precluded further analysis with regard to site economy.

### **Conclusions**

This work has revealed at least part of the outline of the barmkin, and the presence, though not the function, of some fairly substantial ancillary structures within it. It has also revealed that activity continued on the southern part of the site after the tower went out of use. Once the area to the north and west of the tower has been cleared of debris, further investigation should provide much more information about activities and ancillary buildings around the tower during its period of occupation.

### **Sources**

Grose, F 1791 *The Antiquities of Scotland* Vol. II.

MacGibbon, D and Ross, T 1892 *The Castellated Architecture of Scotland* Vol. V (Edinburgh).

Pont, R 1596 'The Steurartrie of Kirkcudbright. The most earliest part of Galloway' *Blaeu's Atlas*.

RCAHMS:

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland.

RCAHMS 1990. Field Survey of Abbot's Tower, Nr New Abbey

### **Acknowledgements**

The project was funded and commissioned by Historic Scotland. The Trust would like to thank Mr Kormylo the owner of Abbot's Tower, and the Carruthers family of Landis Farm, for their help and co-operation. A Bailey would like to thank G Stell for his comments on the masonry. A Cox is grateful to K R Murdoch for his examination of the bottle glass. The illustrator is F W Moran.

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# LOCKERBIE TOWER

(Lockerbie NY136814)

by

A. M. T. Maxwell-Irving

The lands of Lockerbie — of old ‘Locardebi’, meaning ‘the farm of Locard’ — take their name from the Norman family of Locard, who were supporters of the Bruces. In 1166 Simon Locard witnessed a charter of King William confirming to Robert de Brus his lands in Annandale,<sup>1</sup> and c.1200 Malcolm Locard witnessed a resignation of lands in Warmanbie and Annan in favour of William de Brus.<sup>2</sup> The family’s connection with Lockerbie, however, is somewhat obscure, for the lands of Lockerbie were included in David I’s original grant of Annandale to Robert de Brus c.1124,<sup>3</sup> and subsequently granted by Bruce’s son to Robert de Karleol (Carlyle) probably around the middle of the century.<sup>4</sup> This is recorded in a later charter, c.1198, when, following a dispute over possession between Adam Carlyle, Robert’s son, and William de Brus, the granter’s son, an agreement was reached in the King’s Court at Westminster whereby Adam de Karleolo quitclaimed his whole right to the 8 carucates of land in ‘Locardebi’ to William in exchange for 7 carucates of land in and around Kinemunt (Kinmount) and a mill.<sup>5</sup>

The Bruces continued to hold the lands of Lockerbie as part of the Lordship of Annandale until 1306, when, following the murder of the ‘Red Comyn’, Edward I escheated Annandale from Bruce and granted it to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.<sup>6</sup> Bohun then granted 40 merks worth of his newly acquired lands, comprising the lands of ‘Hotone’ (Hutton) and Lokardebi’, to Sir Bartholomew Dene feud for life in return for his services.<sup>7</sup> How long Sir Bartholomew held the lands is not known, but it was not until 1384 that the English were finally compelled to relinquish Lochmaben, the principal stronghold in the area.

Meanwhile, with the coronation of Bruce in 1306 — challenging King Edward’s claims to the kingdom —, the Lordship of Annandale became vested in the Scots Crown, and in 1316 Bruce granted it to his nephew Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray.<sup>8</sup> It subsequently passed by marriage to the Earls of March, who held it until 1409, when the 9th Earl was compelled to resign it in favour of the Earl of Douglas.<sup>9</sup> On the forfeiture of the 6th Earl of Douglas in 1440, Annandale reverted to the Crown,<sup>10</sup> and in 1455 James II granted it to his infant son the Duke of Albany; but when, in 1483, Albany too was found guilty of high treason, it was once again annexed by the Crown.<sup>11</sup>

1. Bain I. No. 635.

2. Fraser 1894. I. 3.

3. Black 1946. 109.

4. If the Locards originally held the lands of the Bruces, it must have been for a brief period only, before they were granted to the Carlyles.

5. Bain I. No. 2666; Fraser 1894. I. 1 (the charter is reproduced facing page XXXI).

6. *Complete Peerage* VI. 468.

7. Bain II. No. 1899.

8. *Complete Peerage* IX. 168.

9. *Ibid* IV. 508-9.

10. *Ibid*. 435.

11. *Ibid* I. 80.

At some stage during this chronicle of events the lands of Lockerie had evidently come into the possession of the Herries of Terregles, for in 1486 Andrew Herries, son and heir of Herbert Herries of Terregles received a crown charter of many lands, including 'Lokartby' and other lands in Annandale, on the resignation of his father.<sup>12</sup> The lands continued in the family until the death of the 3rd Lord Herries, when they were divided between his three daughters. Two portions were later granted by the crown to John Hamilton, son of the Duke of Chatelherault,<sup>13</sup> while the third portion was retained by the eldest daughter, Agnes, and her husband, John, Master of Maxwell.<sup>14</sup> Then, in 1561, Hamilton sold his share in the £20 lands of Lockerbie to John Maxwell, now of Terregles (later 4th Lord Herries of Terregles).<sup>15</sup> Half a century later, in 1613, the lands were apprized from the 6th Lord Herries for debt and granted with other lands in Annandale to Thomas Johnston of Castlemilk as security;<sup>16</sup> and in 1629 the granted these lands *in special warrant*, under reversion, to James Johnston of that Ilk.<sup>17</sup> Four years later, on the resignation of Lord Herries, the lands were incorporated into the barony of Hutton and granted to Sir Richard Murray of Cockpool.<sup>18</sup> After the Restoration, the lands of Lockerbie were included in the vast estates that were erected into the Earldom of Annandale and Hartfell and granted to James, Earl of Annandale, in 1662.<sup>19</sup>

In the meantime, a cadet branch of the Johnstons of that Ilk had become feuars of the lands, and it was evidently they who built Lockerbie Tower — later known as 'The Mains' or 'Mains Tower' —, probably around the middle of the 16th century. There is a reference to the Johnstons of Lockerbie in 1534.<sup>20</sup> and in 1548 Cuthbert Johnston of Lockerbie was cited to be tried for treason.<sup>21</sup> The site chosen for their stronghold was a narrow ridge of land between, and almost surrounded by, two lochs that have since been drained. On the east side was the Flosch Loch and to the west the Quaas Loch. A close kinsman of Cuthbert Johnston built another tower just a quarter of a mile further south, at Nether Place, and several other Johnston towers are later recorded in the same vicinity.<sup>22</sup>

The Tower was oblong in plan, and measured 25ft from E to W by 20ft from N to S over walls which, at the W entrance, measured 3ft 9in in thickness.<sup>23</sup> The masonry was local whinstone rubble, with rounded corners, similar to those at Lochhouse. But by the time the tower was finally demolished in 1967, it had been so altered that little original work survived, apart from the lowest two storeys of the outer walls and two vaulted chambers in the basement. Nothing was left of the stair, and the dressings of the doorways and windows, the crow-stepped gables and the roof were all modern. It is not clear which of the S and W entrances had been the original, but in either case it would have admitted to the stair in the SW corner and the small vaulted chamber in the NW corner, while the whole of the E end was occupied by a larger vaulted chamber. The two vaults ran in

12. RMS II, No. 1654.

13. RMS, IV, Nos. 562, 695.

14. *Ibid.*, No. 405.

15. *Ibid.*, No. 1393.

16. RMS VII, No. 827.

17. RMS, VIII, No. 1459.

18. *Ibid.*, No. 2121.

19. RMS XI, No. 230.

20. Henderson, T. 'Lockerbie Tower,' TDGAS, 3rd Ser., XIV, 180.

21. APS, XI, 480.

22. Stat. Acct. IX, 424.

23. The details are largely taken from RCAHMS 1920, No. 111, and photographs in the National Monuments Record.

opposite directions. Immediately above the W entrance, at first floor level, there were four, large- 3-stage corbels, which appeared to have been later insertions. Their purpose is not known.



Fig. 1 Lockerbie Tower from south west, 1964. RCAHMS ref. DF/1402/15. Crown Copyright reserved

During the closing decades of the 16th century, the Johnstons of Lockerbie were very much involved in the clan's increasing feud with the Maxwells, and twice this led to their towers being besieged or threatened. Following a raid by the Johnstons on Nithsdale early in May 1585, John Lord Maxwell, Earl of Morton, marched against the lands of the Johnstons and their allies. After a sortie in Lower Annandale, he moved north to Lockerbie. Lord Scrope, the English warden, recorded the proceedings as they unfolded: 'the said Erle . . . and his said forcies have comme to Lockerbye and besieged two stone houses of

two of the principalles of the Johnstons, wherein were certein persons which kept the same, and stooed at their defence and killed one of thErles gooniers; but in thend therle having woonne the said howses by force, dyd furthwith hang foure of them being Johnstons, over the walles of the said howses'.<sup>24</sup> Eight years later, in 1593, following further depredations by the Johnstons, Lord Maxwell, now Warden of the West March, was ordered to force obedience upon them.<sup>25</sup> Lord Scrope reported that 'the Lorde Maxwell with a great force of his frendes, did assemble them selves together, and assaye the dimolishing and casting downe of one Mongo Johnston his howse at Lockerbye'.<sup>26</sup> But before Maxwell could

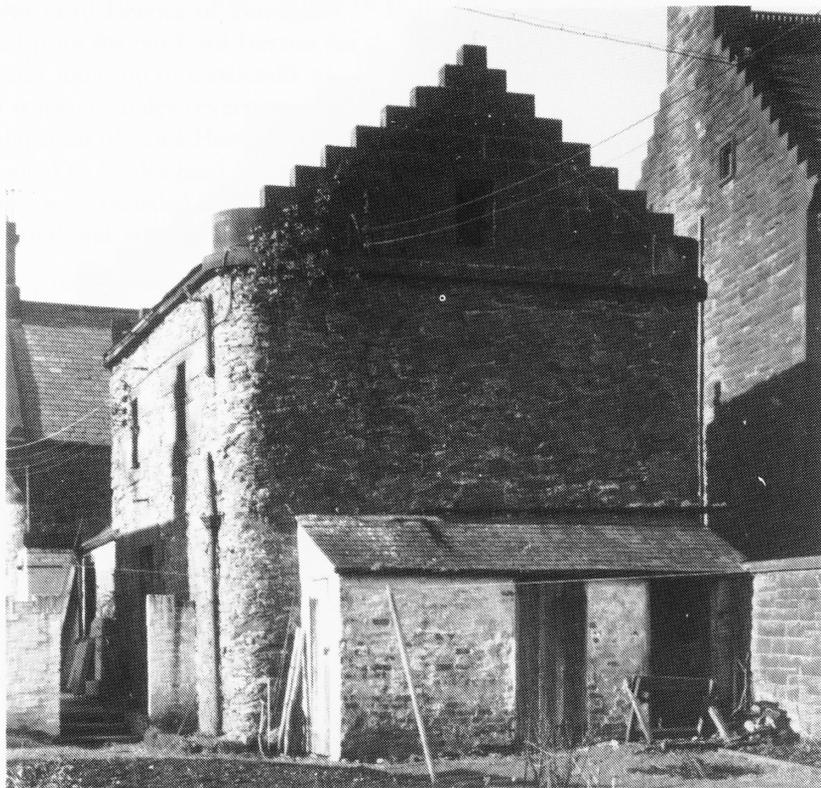


Fig. 2 Lockerbie Tower from south east, 1964. RCAHMS ref. DF/1399/7. Crown copyright reserved

reach his objective, he was met by Johnston of that Ilk at Dryfesands, a short distance to the NW, and in the ensuing battle Maxwell was killed and his force routed. It was the last clan battle to be fought in the Borders. The tower was again mentioned in 1600, when, as part of measures to maintain order in the Borders, Lord Herries was ordered to reside either at Hoddom or Lockerbie.<sup>27</sup>

24. *Border Papers* I, No. 312.

25. Fraser 1873, I, 289.

26. *Border Papers*, I, No. 918. It is not known for certain which of the two towers — at Mains and Nether Place — belonged at the time to 'Mungo Johnston of Lockerbie' and to 'Andrew Johnston of Lockerbie'.

27. Fraser 1894, I, cxxxix.

The last laird to live in the tower was William Johnston of Lockerbie, who died in 1772.<sup>28</sup> The tower was then abandoned as a residence, but some time during the 19th century, and before 1856, it was converted for use as a prison.<sup>29</sup> At this time it was reported that 'the entire walls of the original structure yet remain', but some time later they were reduced to two storeys and a new roof built. The tower continued to be associated with the police station until 1967, when the site was cleared and the present police station built.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- APS *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 1124-1707*. Thomson, C and Innes, E (eds). Edinburgh. 1844-75.
- Bain *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, 1108-1516*, Bain J, et al. (eds). 1881-1970. Edinburgh.
- Black, G F 1946 *The Surnames of Scotland*. New York.
- Complete Peerage *The Complete Peerage*, by Cockayne, G E. Revised Edition, 1910-50. London.
- Fraser, (Sir) W 1873 *The Book of Carlaverock: Memoirs of the Maxwells, Earls of Nithsdale, Lords of Annandale*. Edinburgh.
- O.S. Name Books *Ordnance Survey, Object Name Books*, c.1848-58, in the National Monuments Record of Scotland.
- RMS *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1306-1668*. Edinburgh, 1984 (Reprint).
- Stat Acct *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, by Sinclair, Sir J (ed), 1791-9. Edinburgh.

28. Henderson, T. 'Lockerbie Tower', *TDGAS*, 3rd Ser., XIV, 180. One of William's daughters married Sir William Douglas of Kelhead and built Lockerbie House some time before 1812.

29. *O.S. Name Books*, Parish of Dryfesdale, 92.

# IMPROVEMENT TO THE GLASGOW-CARLISLE ROAD, 1815

## THE METAL BRIDGE

by

Norman and Margaret Miller

Before the bridge over the River Sark at Longtown was built, under the Act of Parliament of 1777 'to repair certain roads in the county of Dumfries and Galloway, including two turnpike roads from Gretna Green to the north by means of tolls', the border crossing was via the River Sark, at Allison Bank at the point where the Toll house still stands (the first house in Scotland). It is known that from midway in the 17th century till the Treaty of the Union in 1707, Allison Bank was an important port for collecting the Custom and Excise duties on goods crossing the border. Both the rivers Sark and Esk were crossed by fords, which were often unusable, due to the bad weather and flooding.<sup>1</sup>

This shorter and more direct route between Scotland and England (see Appendix 1) could not have escaped the attention of the early road surveyors, but they would not have had either the skilled labour or the money to construct the most effective road. Anyone with the slightest ability was able to call himself a 'road maker'. Such a man was John Metcalf born in 1717 in Spofford, Yorkshire. Blinded by smallpox at the age of six, he became an accomplished fiddler, was involved in smuggling, traded in cotton and cloth, built bridges, and constructed 200 miles of turnpike roads in Lancashire and Yorkshire. He died at the age of 93.<sup>2</sup> Charles G. Harper on a cycling tour of the Great North Road in 1901, comments on one of Metcalf's bridges at Boroughbridge: it 'spans the stream in useful but highly unornamental manner'.

The first mail coach ran in England between London and Bath in 1784. Glasgow to London followed in 1788, and Edinburgh to London in the same year, with an exemption from the payment of tolls. At this time Brouns and Harkness, the Glasgow carriers, took five days to deliver goods to Carlisle.<sup>3</sup> Nowhere more than the Glasgow to Carlisle road, was improvement so necessary.

Big losses in revenue were reported by the turnpike trusts in Scotland. From the outset they complained that the heavy mail coaches pulled by four horses, damaged the road surface without contributing to its maintenance. These roads were financed by tolls administered by local turnpike trusts, who raised them as much as possible, while the local landowners through whose land the road passed contributed an amount they considered suitable for the benefit it brought them. It was not until 1813 that an Act of Parliament removed the toll exemption on all four-wheeled mail coaches in Scotland, but exemption continued on two-wheeled gigs provided no passengers were carried.

1. Cumberland and Westmorland *Transactions* LXX 1973, 282.

2. Heginbotham. *Stockport ancient and modern*.

3. Carriers trade card. August 30th 1781.

Even this concession did not satisfy the local trustees, as late as 1828 a reply from Francis Freeling, Secretary of the Post Office, to the Postmaster General, who had received complaints from Scottish Truists, that passengers were occasionally being carried by two-wheeled gigs in the south of Scotland, and requested the removal of the exemption. Freeling's reply was, 'I wish sincerely that the Trustees of all the roads in Scotland were more desirous of repairing and maintaining them than attempting to enforce what under any circumstances, must be considered an unjust claim. I lament to add the fact that most of the roads in Scotland are kept up with Post Office money'.<sup>4</sup> The Postmaster General had been consistently complaining about the delays to the mails due to the state of the Glasgow-Carlisle road.<sup>5</sup>

It was realised that it not only carried the mails but also heavy traffic of all kinds. Improvements to the Glasgow-Carlisle road could not be financed by the local trusts as it involved the rebuilding of roads capable of carrying the heavy traffic. Macadam and his three sons, though employed at one stage by 79 trusts in 28 different counties, never called himself an engineer. He did not make the roads. He resurfaced and repaired existing ones, with materials already there. This system was much cheaper and suited the local road trustees, who received an excellent road surface suited to the lighter local traffic, at a price they were prepared to pay.<sup>6</sup>

As much in need of attention were the bridges, 'Many of them imperfect, one has been in ruins for several years past, and the cause of the loss of lives'<sup>7</sup>, which would have to be financed with public money. Finally after continual Post Office pressure Telford's 1815 report was acted on and Parliament granted £50,000 for its improvement. The roads and bridges through the Highlands had already been improved by Telford, work for which he applied the system he had devised for earlier public works, by contract, a system that is still applied today.

His first large bridge at Geriston, when completed was Telford's longest cast iron bridge, about 470 feet overall, and his only iron multi-span bridge for carriage traffic, but he seems to have underestimated the difficulties that would be encountered when bridging the Esk at Geriston. The fact that the bridge is neither illustrated nor discussed in his published writings may be indicative of his dissatisfaction with its profile in elevation, and its omission is possibly the reason it has been overlooked by his biographers.

It is obvious that there were tremendous problems caused by the weather and the extra 150 foot arch was added to increase the waterway at the southern bank. This created an ungainly hog's back effect and the rise of the road is clearly seen in the photograph (Fig. 1) at the Metal Bridge Inn c. 1900.

4. Post Office records 40/649/12/828.

5. Thomas Hasker, Superintendent of mail coaches at the Post Office, being questioned by Select Committee, 22nd June 1815.

6. Gibb. *Story of Telford*, pp 177-180. Maclehoose 1935.

7. Thomas Telford's reply to the 1815 Select Committee's question about the state of bridges on the Glasgow-Carlisle road.

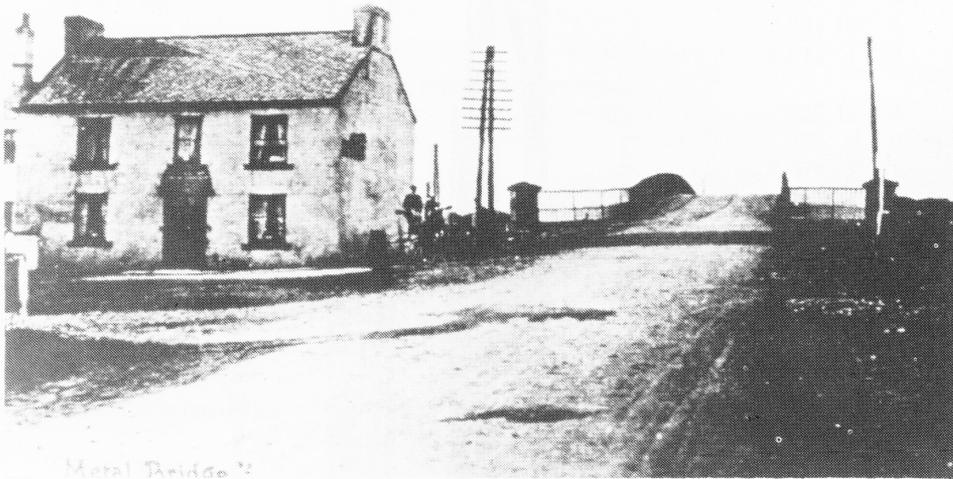


Fig. 1 The 'Metal Bridge' and Inn looking North, from a postcard about 1900.

The structure was cast at Ruabon, Denbighshire by William Hazeldine who together with W. A. Provis, were ironmaster and resident engineer during the construction of Telford's Menai Bridge. Provis also carried out the 1815 survey for Telford of the Glasgow to Carlisle road. When the bridge under discussion was being dismantled after 93 years service its construction was noted and was as follows.

It consisted of 3 spans, the southern span being 150 feet and the two others 105 feet each in length. The gradients of roadway over the bridge varied from 1 in 14 to 1 in 40. The arch ribs were of cast iron, and were 3 feet deep for the large span and 2 feet 6 inches for the small spans. The spandrils were formed of castings in the form of a cross, the lower ends being inserted into sockets provided in the arch ribs, and the upper ends connected by cast iron beams; the decking consisted of 1 inch cast iron plates resting on the spandrils.

The abutments and the two piers were constructed of local freestone. Sothey writes in 1819 that the surveyors discovered a fine supply on the estate of Sir John Maxwell. The factor assured them that Sir John would be so benefitted by its discovery, as well as the new road and bridge, he would expect no payment. On this assurance the quarry was opened at the expense of £100. Sir John then demanded an exorbitant price for the stone, and only a threat by the Commissioners to bring the case before a jury, as the Act entitled them to do, settled the issue and the price agreed on was 1½d per cubic foot.

*Bridge over the River Eske in the County of Cumberland.*

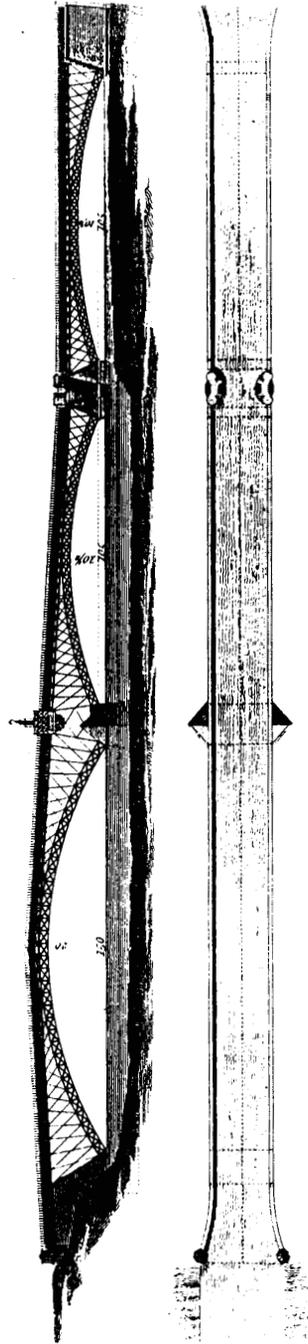


Fig. 2 The 'Metal Bridge', from the 10th Report of the Commissioners of Highland Roads and Bridges.

Telford realised the importance of this new line of road by its disproportionate bridge expenditure, which was reported in the *Carlisle Journal* on the 12th of March 1820 to be:

Mr Hazeldine's contract for road	£9,062	1s	2d
Esk Bridge	10,583	0	0
Additional expenses	2,244	19	6
Damages	1,632	1	10
Completion of road from Stanwix-Bank not in contract estimated at	529	16	0
A toll house at Gretna	320	0	0
Sark Bridge, per contract	1,679	7	1
Additional	151	4	9
Miscellaneous charges	620	10	10
<hr/> Total	<hr/> £26,822	<hr/> 16	<hr/> 2
By exchequer	£22,000	0	0
Interest	555	11	8
Balance being deficit	4,268	4	6
<hr/> Total debit	<hr/> £26,822	<hr/> 16	<hr/> 2

'The above deficit has since been made up, and the whole amount will be defrayed by tolls, which in all probability will require more than twenty years in liquidating, especially as an extra piece of work has been required since the above date, and will be added to the above estimate.'

However, it was reported in August 1820 that, 'The Esk was much swollen and the current carried away framework intended for the arches of the new Garriestown (*sic*) bridge; the materials, which were erected at considerable expense, were floated down the firth as far as Bowness; and the circumstance will considerably delay that erection.' There was more storm damage on June 2nd 1821 and a further Act of Parliament granted permission to borrow a sum of £5,000 to repair the damage, in which the northern approaches to the bridge, and the sea wall were also swept away.

On the 10th of June 1822 a contract for further storm damage repair was signed by a Robert Gibbons (farmer) of Mossband, in which he agreed to rebuild both sides of the embankments, plant two rows of thorn hedges, and make two roads for access to the fields on each side of the North approach. He was also required to provide 'all the necessary materials, stone, tools, and labour of every kind requisite for the execution of the said work and have the whole complete in a workmanlike manner to the entire satisfaction of John Pollok road engineer, in the absence of Thomas Telford'. The payment for the work was £82 12s, which was to be paid in three instalments, and he had to guarantee all the work for 20 years.<sup>8</sup>

8. S.R.O. E330/13/4.

A turnpike gate was to be erected on the old road two miles from Carlisle, this was to catch toll dodgers trying to avoid the toll house and gate on the new road at the North side of the new bridge at Gretna. The tolls collected at these bars were to share equally in the repayment of interest on the money borrowed. After repayment of interest, the tolls collected at Carlisle were to be used for maintenance and management of the road between Carlisle and Gretna. Should they be insufficient the tolls from Gretna were to be used to make up the deficiency. If there was no deficiency, the Gretna tolls would be used to help maintain the road between Gretna and Hamilton.<sup>9</sup>

It came to be known as the 'Metal Bridge' (Fig. 2), and gave satisfactory service until 1911 when the County Surveyor reported that the ironwork was badly corroded, and the bridge in danger of collapsing.

An order was made to close the bridge to traction engine and other heavy traffic. Realising the serious inconvenience of closing a bridge on one of the main trunk roads in the country, a Sub-Committee of the Highways and Bridges Committee was appointed to consider what steps should be taken, and in 1912 the County Surveyor, Mr W. Finch, was asked to prepare schemes and estimates for a new bridge.

The following three schemes were subsequently submitted:

1. A new stone bridge	£16,350
2. Steel girder bridge	£16,000
3. Reinforced concrete bridge	£16,000

#### Considerations

##### Stone bridge.

Was to consist of 7 arches with spans of 60 feet, requiring 6 piers in the river, restricting the flow of water and causing considerable obstruction during floods.

##### Steel girder bridge.

Was to consist of horizontal beam girders carried on stone piers, similar in design to the railway bridge. Again the river piers were a disadvantage, and though a considerably increased waterway would be obtained, it was thought the cost of maintenance in the periodical painting of the steelwork would be considerable.

Although there was not much difference in the initial estimated costs of the three schemes, it was decided by the Sub-Committee that the reinforced concrete structure would be most suitable, practically and economically. The main advantages were:—

1. That it would only require 2 river piers, not exceeding the number supporting the old bridge.
2. That the span from each bank would more than clear the present water channels.
3. That the centre span of 165 feet would be capable of carrying the whole of the flow at low water should the course of the river ever be diverted through it.

9. Act of Parliament Geo III CAP XC 1819.

4. That the method of construction allowed the use of open spandrels, necessary for the flow of flood water which is often retarded by heavy tides from the Solway.
5. That notwithstanding the length of the spans, a rise could be given to the arches to achieve easy gradients to the roadway without detracting from the graceful appearance of the structure.
6. That there would be little or no maintenance.

In due course the Sub-Committee recommended to the Highway and Bridges Committee to adopt the reinforced concrete bridge as designed by the County Surveyor and Bridgemaster, using the Mouches-Hennibique system of reinforcement. The scheme was approved on 7th of May 1913.

Application was made to the Local Government Board by the County Council for permission to obtain a loan to defray the cost. The Local Government Board required that the plans and calculations should be examined by an independent engineer conversant with reinforced concrete construction. The examination was carried out by D. Balfour & Sons of Newcastle-on-Tyne and the following loans and terms were sanctioned.

- |            |                                  |
|------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Bridge  | £14,000 for a period of 15 years |
| 2. Roadway | £2,000 for a period of 20 years  |

Tenders were invited, and the contract was awarded to Holloway Bros. of London who had carried out this type of work in various parts of the country.

The works commenced in July 1914 and the bridge was opened on Wednesday 3rd of May 1916 by Alderman William Dixon of the Highways and Bridges Committee.<sup>10</sup>

#### Acknowledgement

We acknowledge the help given to us by Roland Paxton of Heriot Watt University.

#### APPENDIX 1

Telford's report to the House of Commons Select Committee, 21 June 1815, to consider the three following divisions.

1. The present state of the Road from Carlisle to Glasgow.
2. The advantage to be derived from a good Road being made.
3. The merits of the proposed Plan, and probability of its being carried out.

The following is his entry in the Cumberland section, on his proposed new border crossing.

From the Sark Bridge where the road enters Cumberland, it turns eastwards about three miles up the north bank up the river Esk to Longtown and then returns at nearly right angles to Carlisle. The inconvenience of this circuitry is rendered evident and irksome, by perceiving from the bank at Springfield, an almost uniform plain, and a straight direction to Carlisle; but to pass along this straight line, a new road of about eight miles is required, and a considerable bridge over the Esk at Geriston. This very material improvement has already been stated to your Lordships, in my Reports of 1809 and 1811, upon improving the line of intercourse between the north of England and Ireland, by Carlisle, and Portpatrick; and has recommended to be executed, solely at the public expense, by a Committee of the House of Commons, printed 13 May 1811.

10. Publication by the Cumberland County Council for private circulation on opening of the Esk bridge.

PLANTS AND SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION TO TWO CHECKLISTS OF  
FLOWERING PLANTS AND FERNS IN DUMFRIESSHIRE

1. Milne-Redhead: *Transactions* Vol. LXV, 1972.
2. Martin: *Transactions* Vol. LX, 1985

by

Mary E. R. Martin

Recording has recently been made with close reference to G. F. Scott-Elliot's 1896 publication of Dumfriesshire and part of Kirkcudbrightshire Plants which shows that completely new records for the twentieth century are very few.

*RANUNCULUS*. Sorting out complications of the Water Crowfoots have moved a little way ahead since Scott-Elliot arranged and published what he and his helpers had found for the difficult group *Ranunculus fluitans*; there is no single plant of that name but a complex group.

*R. trichophyllus* collected 1952 at Brocklehurst by Frances Lottie Balfour-Browne, with the specimen confirmed at the British Museum (B.M.). It is not common but it turned up in 1981 in a disused reservoir at the top of Thorniethwaite Burn. It is a small water plant and the specimen made was confirmed by Dr N. T. Holmes. The next three Water Crowfoots have also been confirmed by Dr Holmes.

*R. aquatilis* from Lowberry Loch in Nithsdale 1978 and *R. poltatus* from the same place 1979, the only record of the species. The former is relatively common with another Nithsdale record from the Lightwater stream near Conna's Knowe, Kirkmahoe, and six from Annandale.

The third confirmed Water Crowfoot was a plant taken from the broad fast flowing water of the Nith below the weir at Whitesands on 4.6.1989. It had very long flaccid leaves only, streaming with the current and making a spectacular show of many white flowers right across to the opposite bank; named *R. penicilatus* var. *calcareous*. See Olga Stewart's Kirkcudbrightshire List p.14 (*Transactions* Vol. LXV, 1990).

In 1987 I received, in a letter from Mr C. D. Preston at the Institute of Terrestrial Ecology, the following news of a plant that would be additional to my checklist and I quote from it as follows, "There is a specimen of *R. flammula* x *R. reptans* (*R. x levenensis* Druce ex Gornall) in the Cambridge Herbarium (CGE) collected in August 1841 at Lochmaben by "Mr Gardiner" and recently checked by R. J. Gornall. There is a second Lochmaben specimen in CGE but the label is very difficult to read — the collector's initials are given and may be T.C. or J.C. and the date might be 2.8.1824. It seems likely that P. Gray's 1850 record of *R. reptans* mentioned in Scott-Elliot's Flora (p.3) is also *R. x levenensis* but this is only speculation. Richard Gornall has written a paper on *R. levenensis*. . . . He thinks *R. reptans* is introduced from Scandinavia by geese, then hybridises with *R. flammula*." Once again I suggest readers look at Olga's List, p.14, because the plant has turned up twice in Kirkcudbrightshire in modern times but has not been seen again in Dumfriesshire.

*DROSERACEAE*. Apart from *Drosera rotundifolia* (Round-leaved Sundew) this family was not well documented up to very recent times and even yet Dumfriesshire cannot boast the number of records collected for the Scott-Elliot Publication, we can only produce two.

*D. anglica* (Great Sundew). In 1960 Mr Allan Stirling of Glasgow found it in a not previously known place at 1200 ft. near the road below Auchenstroan Craig five miles west of Moniaive and inside the county boundary. It arrived just too late for the publishing committee to allot its rightful place in the Atlas with a dot. The card was traced and the record is now recognised, unfortunately the place appears to be much planted with conifers. I have been told that no fewer than five Great Sundew specimens are in the British Museum, all from east of Dumfries on Solway and Lochar Mosses. Plants are certainly disappearing in number but in this case not entirely because in 1990 two NCC Officers found quite a patch of *Drosera anglica* in wet Sphagnum pools on the Lochar Moss.

*D. intermedia* (Oblong-leaved Sundew) found on the Lochar Moss 1987 by the two NCC botanists mentioned above. It had not been in quantity and it was on a return visit to check its safety in 1990 they found these partner Sundews nearby in what might be the last pools of the Lochar Moss.

*Polygonum hydropiper* var. *densiflorum* A. Braum, collected 9.9.1986 and examined by A. K. Akeroid and P. Sell who recognised it from what they had read from E. S. Marshall and old literature. Plants grew in quantity on the coarse gravel of the Nith not far from Carzield when I was botanising on an afternoon with Jean Muir.

*Calamagrostis canescens* (Weber) Roth. found 10.7.1987 in dried out end of cut off ox-bow on Kinnel Water near Lochmaben by Elizabeth Kungu and Mary Martin. Specimen sent to Kew for determination by Dr T. A. Cope. A beautiful tall slender grass called Purple Smallread.

*Hordeum murinum* ssp. *leporinum* otherwise known as *H. leporinum*. An alien wild barley growing at pavement edges and railings at the north end of Locharbriggs 25.6.1992. Confirmed by Prof. C. A. Stace.

*Elatine hexandra* Waterwort. A very small quite rare plant growing under clear shallow water at an edge of the Mill Loch, Lochmaben. Confirmed at I.T.E. by C. D. Preston. The only record this century, but it was recorded by Mr G. Bell of Lockerbie in 1896, just in time to be included at the end of Scott-Elliot's book.

*Eupatorium cannabinum* Hemp Agrimony, more a shore loving plant and grew on the Dumfries Dock Wall long ago, but a flourishing and persistent clump grew over the steep side of the River Nith bridge near Newbridge and now cut off by road realignment leaving a small conservation area.

*Viola riviniana* ssp. *minor* (Gregory) Valentine, confirmed by Prof. D. M. Moore. Scattered through the not too well mown grass in the old cemetery at Bentpath, Westerkirk 16.5.1985 and found again the following year in short grass of the moor above Kirktonhill, Westerkirk.

*Epipactis helleborine* (L.) Crantz Broad Helleborine. I have received two recent records of this Orchid, one from the east side of the county south of Langholm and the other from the west near Sanquhar. Dr A. Davidson made an annotated Checklist that can be read in Dumfries Library from that undoubtedly good district c.1884 and the Welsh botanist Gwynn Ellis sent in the same record, August 1987. The place is now a conservation area by the Crawick Water. The other plant was found by Mr M. R. Porter who crossed the border from Cumbria to high above the Liddel Water on the Scottish side. That might have been where Dr H. M.-R. had found it for his list.

*Sherardia arvensis* Field Madder seen twice in Dumfriesshire. 1940 in grass of a small garden in Lockerbie and assumed as a casual one in builder's topsoil, if so it was a nice little casual. Seen again in 1988 during a close monitoring exercise in the far corner of a drumlin type of field that ran out to a point with the railway bank and the north-west corner of Lochmaben Mill Loch, a natural habitat. Nearby plants were *Ornithopus perpusillus* (Bird's-foot), *Spergularia rubra* (Sand Spurrey), *Cerastium arvense* (Field Mouse-ear).

*Erodium cicutarium*, so far only recorded to 'aggregate' status but of a local Tinwald geological situation in a field very close to the Lochar Moss fence on Tinwald Parks farm. Such plants may be relict species of the bygone open Solway inlet.

BOTANICAL OUTING, 29th MAY 1993  
(I.C.I., Cargenbridge and Auchenfad Hill, New Abbey)

by

Olga Stewart

In 1939 the Ministry of Supply acquired land for the building of a factory for Imperial Chemical Industries on the western outskirts of Dumfries. The land was bought from James Nodwell and consisted of 50 acres, forming a rough triangle bounded by the Old Military Road, the Dumfries to Castle Douglas railway line and the Garroch Loaning. From his displeasing sale it is clear how the land had been used previously. To be sold were 8 stacks of oats, 2 stacks of hay, 40 pits of turnips, 4 Clydesdale horses, 70 Cheviot sheep and 50 bullocks — a good example of mixed farming. After the factory was built and commissioned in January 1941, the initial output was nitric and sulphuric acid and gun cotton for munitions for the War effort. After the War the factory was closed down in 1945, but in 1946 the Oleum (Sulphuric Acid) plant was recommissioned for nitrocellulose for the making of celluloid. Then, in 1947, other buildings were added for a new product, Ardil, a protein fibre (like wool) which was made from ground nuts. Unfortunately these factories had to be closed down again ten years later, Ardil had failed to compete with Nylon and Terylene and there was a general depression in the textile trade. However, new products were found and the factories were reopened and to nitrocellulose now was added Cellofas, Methofas and then Melinex and Propafilm. Melinex is a polyester film used for photographic, printing, industrial use and packaging while Propafilm is a fine stable clear oriented film used principally for packaging and one sees the product every day in the wrapping of biscuits and many other items of food.

As these products were developed several new factory buildings and office blocks were built, but an area of 3 acres was never developed. Workers interested in flowers had noticed that there were interesting plants growing in this rough piece of land. Among them was Chris Boston, the Environmental Manager at I.C.I. He and the Regional Environmental Education Forum (REEF) got together and approached I.C.I. with the idea of using this land as a field study area for the local children and their teachers. I.C.I. thought this was an excellent idea and approved of the 3 acres being used for this purpose. As soon as the decision was made the children in the schools were involved with the project, first in giving the site a name, EDEN (Educational Deeds for Environmental Needs) being the one chosen from the various suggestions. The REEF Committee had made plans for how to vary the habitat, but still keep its natural wilderness. The main area is rough grassland where wild orchids grow, including over 600 Greater Twayblades *Listera ovata*, which is by far the best site in the Stewartry. With them are many Northern Marsh Orchids *Dactylorhiza purpurella*, another uncommon plant, but the rarest find is 10 Adder's Tongue ferns *Ophioglossum vulgatum*, not easy to see hidden in the grass only a couple of inches high. There is a small willow carr that is being left as a damp area to encourage frogs and dragonflies and bog plants. To vary the habitat a slope up to the railway embankment has been planted with native trees. The local businesses have donated these and also material for fences to surround the area. Others have given their expertise and help to the children in planting the trees, which bear their names on the ones they've planted. A concrete shed was found to have Hart's-tongue fern *Phyllitis scolopendrium* growing on its walls and, hopefully bats can be persuaded to make it their home. Another feature is a small nursery bed where the children can grow seeds or acorns.

EDEN was opened officially on 26th May 1993 by Dr Magnus Magnusson, head of Scottish Natural Heritage and three days later a party of 10 members of the Society visited the reserve. Besides the show of orchids, they also saw growing more common meadow plants, Oxeye Daisies *Leucanthemum vulgare*, Meadow Vetchling *Lathyrus pratensis*, Common Vetch *Vicia sativa* ssp. *nigra* and Knapweed *Centaurea nigra*. On a steep bank Bird's-foot *Ornithopus perpusillus* and Changing Forget-me-not *Myosotis discolor* were seen and where the rabbits had grazed the grass bare Parsley-piert *Apanes inexpectata* and Wall Speedwell *Veronica arvensis* had taken advantage of the lack of competition.

The second part of the field outing was to Auchenfad Hill near New Abbey, an area that was planted with Sitka Spruce and some hardwoods three years ago. At that time the rabbits were removed and a road was built to the top of the hill. Without the rabbits one could see the regeneration even in the middle of the road where broom and shrubs had seeded themselves. The bank above the road must have been woodland at one time, as in the grass were seen Wood Anemones *Anemone nemorosa*, Wood Sage *Teucrium scorodonia*, Common Dog-violets *Viola riviniana*, Bluebells *Hyacinthoides non-scripta* and so on. The edge of the road was colourful with Thyme *Thymus vulgaris*, Wild Pansies *Viola tricolor*, Bird's-foot-trefoil *Lotus corniculatus* and Germander Speedwell *Vernonia chamaedrys* and in the damp area on the higher side, part ditch and part burn, one could study bog plants, Sundews *Drosera rotundifolia* and Butterworts *Pinguicula vulgaris* as well as sedges and Lesser Spearwort *Ranunculus flammula*. There was an excellent display of Fritillaries feeding on the Bird's-foot-trefoil enjoying the sunny afternoon as we were and the view was lovely from the top, but sadly will disappear as the trees grow up.

### GREAT NORTHERN DIVERS IN WIGTOWNSHIRE

by

R. C. Dickson

The status and distribution of wintering Great Northern Divers in Wigtownshire have been poorly documented but Gray and Anderson (1869) gave brief details and stated that they were found in "great numbers" off the west coast where 3-4 were repeatedly seen at Kirkmaiden. Since then no detailed counts have been documented for Wigtownshire, so it was decided in 1978 to make regular monthly counts (October-March) particularly at Luce Bay where the highest concentrations occur, more regularly than at Loch Ryan (Table 1) or off other coasts. During 1985/86-1990/91 the counts were extended to include Red-throated and Black-throated Divers at Luce Bay and Loch Ryan.

Table 2 gives the numbers of Great Northern Divers at Luce Bay but there are many gaps in the counts particularly in October and March.

Numbers apparently fluctuate but the highest counts were consistently made between November and January and the lowest in October, indicating that wintering birds probably do not arrive until later in November/December. Numbers were low in the winters of 1982/83 and 1983/84 and in the mild winter of 1987/88 relatively good numbers were not recorded until January. Low counts were made in March, presumably because the divers had moved north by then.

In a survey of divers in the Moray Firth Barrett & Barrett (1985) found that Great Northern Divers occurred regularly further offshore (but within 10 kms) than other diver species. Conversely, the best counts at Luce Bay occurred when the divers fed close inshore (less than 300-500 metres offshore) on a flowing tide and off rocky shorelines. The counts were low in poor counting conditions and at low and ebbing tides when the divers were presumably in deeper water further out.

The largest concentrations of Red-throated Divers occurred at Loch Ryan especially in November and March-April with fewer numbers during the winter, both at Loch Ryan and Luce Bay (Table 3). Only small numbers of Black-throated Divers occurred at both bays (Table 4) and in most years.

Great Northern Divers are well distributed over large sea areas on the west and north-west coasts of Scotland in winter north of the Clyde (Moser *et al.*) but there are few areas in the west, south of the Clyde, holding large concentrations in any one locality or bay (Thom 1986). The results of this survey suggests that Luce Bay may hold the most important concentrations of Great Northern Divers, at least south of the Clyde, with numbers of conservation interest.

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Table 1. Peak monthly distribution of Great Northern Diver records at Loch Ryan, 1978-91.

Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.
—	3	16	7	3	1	5

Table 2. Monthly counts of Great Northern Divers at Luce Bay, 1978-91

Year	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.
1978/79	—	14	6	3	—	—
1979/80	—	—	31	—	—	—
1980/81	—	1	13	—	—	1
1981/82	—	6	20	10	25	7
1982/83	—	5	8	2	4	—
1983/84	4	1	8	1	—	—
1984/85	—	13	10	9	—	—
1985/86	—	1	22	17	—	3
1986/87	—	50	44	17	11	1
1987/88	5	—	1	29	5	1
1988/89	1	17	6	—	24	—
1989/90	—	17	3	3	45	5
1990/91	2	3	1	26	—	—

Table 3. Peak counts of Red-throated Divers at Loch Ryan (LR) and Luce Bay (LB) 1985-91.

Year	Oct.		Nov.		Dec.		Jan.		Feb.		Mar.		Apr.	
	LR	LB												
1985/86	—	—	—	3	9	9	—	2	—	7	28	1	1	1
1986/87	—	1	13	9	—	3	2	3	5	25	25	1	—	—
1987/88	5	12	46	3	1	1	—	1	—	8	4	1	—	—
1988/89	6	6	10	7	—	1	20	—	—	8	42	—	14	4
1989/90	7	1	18	22	2	4	8	4	4	3	7	5	43	—
1990/91	10	7	29	5	6	1	4	—	—	4	50	—	19	—

Table 4. Peak monthly distribution of Black-throated Diver records at Luce Bay and Loch Ryan, 1982-90.

	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.
Luce Bay	2	7	1	2	1	1	2
Loch Ryan	—	1	—	1	4	2	—

## A NOTE ON THE OWNERSHIP OF THE BARONY OF BUITTLE

by Richard D. Oram, M.A., Ph.D.

The control of the barony and castle of Buittle in the 14th century is considerably more complex than Alexander Maxwell-Irving's long-overdue and much-welcomed study might suggest.<sup>1</sup> The surviving documentation is fragmentary and leaves a number of important questions unanswered, but it is possible to say more concerning the Douglas's possession of the barony.

In 1325 Robert I granted the former Balliol manor of Buittle to his loyal supporter, Sir James Douglas "the Good".<sup>2</sup> This grant formed part of the Bruce settlement of Galloway which had begun after Bannockburn, but which had faltered by 1318 when Edward Bruce, whom Robert had made Lord of Galloway, perished in the Scottish defeat at Dundalk in Ireland. King Robert's installation of the head of the increasingly-powerful Douglas family in the former caput of the Balliol lords of Galloway may have been a belated — and largely symbolic — gesture aimed at providing the native nobility with a strong leader who was associated closely with the new dynasty and who had the resources of manpower to supervise a restive territory. Sir James's death in 1330 whilst carrying King Robert's heart on Crusade was quickly followed at home by the invasion of the Disinherited and the proclamation of Edward Balliol as king. For most of the late 1330s and down into the 1350s, Galloway was the chief centre of Edward Balliol's power and Buittle was to be one of his most-frequented strongholds.<sup>3</sup>

As part of the interplay of power-broking and manoeuvring between the Balliol and Bruce parties, in recognition of continued Douglas loyalty to his cause David II on his return from France in 1342 confirmed the lands of Buittle, as part of the overall Douglas heritage, in a charter of entail to Sir Hugh Douglas, brother of Sir James.<sup>4</sup> On his death in 1347 the lands passed by working of the entail to his nephew, William, who became lord, and after 1358 first earl, of Douglas.

In 1347 William Douglas was still a minor living in France and the ward of the young heir and his lands were given to his kinsman, Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale. Between 1330 and 1333, this Sir William Douglas had received a grant of a portion of Buittle by charter from yet another William, lord Douglas, this one the short-lived son of Sir James Douglas "the Good".<sup>5</sup> From him he had received the lands of Knox, Logan, Cullinaw and the lost 'Sewynkirk Kenmore' in the parish and barony of Buittle, establishing him with a considerable landed interest there. Sir William of Liddesdale's reputation for duplicity is well-known and his relationship with his young ward seems never to have been good. Part of the tension between the kinsmen, which culminated in the ambush and killing of "the Knight of Liddesdale" in 1353 by the lord of Douglas and his men, appears to have stemmed from the management of the Douglas estates during the minority. There is no charter extant to show how the transfer of property was achieved, but it would seem that Sir William of Liddesdale had used his control of the estates to divert full rights to the barony of Buittle into his possession.

On Sir William's murder in 1353 the property descended to his daughter, Mary Douglas. There are indications that the young lord of Douglas enforced his claims to superiority over Buittle, but did not press for return of the property to his personal control.<sup>6</sup> Mary was twice married, first to Reginald More, son of Sir William More of Abercorn, who divorced her before 1365, and then in that same year to Thomas Erskine, son of Sir Robert Erskine the chamberlain of King David II.<sup>7</sup> Both marriages were politically inspired, designed to strengthen

1. A. M. T. Maxwell-Irving, 'The Castles of Buittle,' *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, lxxvi (1991), 59-66.
2. *Registrum Honoris de Morton* (Bannatyne Club, 1853), ii, No. 32.
3. *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1881-88), iii, No. 1578, pts. 3 and 4.
4. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* edd. T. Thompson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75).
5. *Morton Registrum*, ii, No. 13.
6. *The Scots Peerage*, ed. J. Balfour-Paul (Edinburgh, 1904-14), iii, 151-2.
7. *Scots Peerage*, vi, 342.

her family's ties with important regional or social figures. In 1367 Mary died giving birth to a stillborn child, whereupon her husband's interest in Buittle was terminated and, by operation of an earlier charter of entail, all her properties descended to her cousin, Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, ancestor of the earls of Morton.<sup>8</sup> An inquest post mortem held at Dumfries on the last Wednesday in July 1367 confirmed Sir James as her heir under the entail and instructions were issued that he be infeft in the barony.<sup>9</sup> The main line of the family did, however, retain some stake in the direct landholding of Buittle. In 1370 land at Leaths, previously held by William, first earl of Douglas, was granted to Sir James following its forfeiture to the crown for the earl's alienation of it in mortmain without royal licence.<sup>10</sup>

In the previous year King David II granted to his favourite, Archibald Douglas, illegitimate son of Sir James Douglas "the Good", all the royal estates in Galloway between the waters of Cree and Nith.<sup>11</sup> This represented the bulk of the forfeited Balliol lands in the Dee Valley and Glenkens, the spread of which can be recovered from the records of Walter, abbot of Dundrennan, Chamberlain of Galloway for King James II, who supervised the collection of revenues from the estates following the forfeiture of the ninth Earl of Douglas in 1455.<sup>12</sup> The grant, however, did not include the barony of Buittle, superiority of which remained with the earls of Douglas and thus did not pass to Archibald until 1388, when he succeeded to the earldom on the death of James, the second earl, at the battle of Otterburn. Archibald the Grim, as he is known to history, was the royal strongman needed to pacify the turbulent province of Galloway in the aftermath of the long years of civil war in the region between the partisans of Bruce and Balliol and, although he already possessed the strong castle of Bothwell through marriage to Joanna Moray, he was determined to exercise firm rule also from a base in his new lordship. Since the traditional caput of Balliol power in eastern Galloway lay outwith his control, Archibald built himself a wholly new stronghold at Threave in the Dee valley. The Douglasses of Dalkeith, in the meanwhile, with a more convenient centre for their southern estates at Morton in Nithsdale, took little interest in their ruined castle at Buittle and leased out the demesne to various tenants. Ruined in the wars of the 1350s, the old castle was left to moulder and when Archibald succeeded in 1388 as third earl of Douglas, he showed no inclination to move the seat of his power from his new tower-house to the traditional site. Buittle's importance as the caput of a major lordship was over.

8. *Morton Registrum*, ii, No. 70.

9. *Morton Registrum*, ii, No. 83.

10. *Morton Registrum*, ii, No. 95.

11. *Regesta Regum Scotorum*, edd. G. W. S. Barrow, B. Webster and others (Edinburgh, 1960), vi, No. 451.

12. *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, edd. J. Stuart, G. Burnett and others (Edinburgh 1878-1908), vi, 191-210.

## ARBIGLAND ACCOUNTS 1751-59

by

A. E. Truckell

Captain Blackett of Arbigland kindly loaned the writer a large calf-bound account ledger running from 1751 to 1759, comprising 89 pages, in the writing and spelling of William Craik the pioneer agriculturalist. It had been handed to the Blackett family by James Kirk of Carsethorn, into whose possession it seems to have come on the death of John Hamilton Craik, William's great-nephew, on his death in 1877.

The accounts give close detail on the agricultural improvement of the estate, and of his building of Arbigland House and the laying out of the grounds and gardens, with frequent mentions of his gardener John Paul, father of the famous Paul Jones. These accounts were the subject of a long and detailed article by William McDowall, author of the *History of Dumfries*, in the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* of Wednesday May 17 1882, Kirk having loaned McDowall the volume.

The account book, now back at Arbigland, has been photocopied and the copies can be seen at the Nithsdale Archive Centre in Burns Street or at the Ewart Library, Dumfries. My article takes a slightly different approach to McDowall's besides providing information on the Craik family from Adams' *History of the Douglasses of Morton* and William's daughter Helen's letter of 1810 published in the *Farmers's Magazine* for 1811, plus comments by acquaintances of Craik — see G. W. Shirley's article on *Two Pioneer Galloway Agriculturalists*, and Arnott's paper on *The Romance of Helen Craik* in the *Transactions* of the Society.

Helen Craik, aristocrat and Anglophile, derived the Craiks from the Crekes of Creke Hall in England: but in fact their roots were firmly in Glencairn and Dumfries. We begin, not unusually for our area, with a murder. In 1501 Philip de Crak was slain by Andro Cunyngham who, 9 years later, in 1510, received a respite from the Earl of Glencairn. Thomas Craik in 1505/06 acted as bailie to a sasine, at Snaid, and again in 1531 — it may have been he who was involved in the murder of Roger Kirkpatrick, son of Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael, in 1525.

In 1549 Herbert Craik witnessed an agreement in Dumfries: in 1597 Effie Craik, spouse of Alexander McBrair, was infest in a burgh tenement, John Craik in Rokelheid being a witness: and in 1609 Isobell Craik was infest by her and her husband Peter Makkein in his tenement in the Rattoun Raw (Church Crescent area). Not till 1618 when John Craik and William Craik, merchant burgesses, who may have been brothers, petition the Privy Council can a lineage be established.

John Craik was among the merchants who purchased from a mixed cargo of the *John* of Glasgow when she came from Flanders in September 1621. He was on the Town Council at the disputed election of the same year, and a bailie in 1632, interfering with the Provost and Council over Stakeford Mill, and still a bailie in 1635 when he bought various lands around the town. He was dead by 1636.

William Craik was a merchant burghess when in 1636 he received sasine of a quarter of the fishing in Nith, as the second legitimate son of the late John Craik. He married in 1665 Anne Napier, daughter of Adam Napier, brother to Lord Napier of Merchistoun, the inventor of logarithms. In 1661 he was infest by his mother Isobell in some property. He was Provost 1674-8, 1679-80, and 1688-90, an office requiring great skill in those days of dictatorial government, religious persecution, and of the Glorious Revolution, Commissioner to the Convention of Burghs 1675-81, and Member of Parliament for 1678-81. In November 1675 he gave evidence in a Dumfries dispute as a Commissioner. Provost William had a charter of Duchrae in Balmaghie parish in 1666 and of Arbigland in 1676. He died at a great age on 1st April 1697.

His younger son, William Craik of Duchrae, like his Father, took an active part in the town's affairs: made a burghess in 1701, he was elected merchant councillor on 25th September 1710 and rose through the Council to be Provost in 1721-22, and remained active in Council as bailie and late provost until at least 1725-6: he died in 1726; from the frequency of his attendance at meetings he must have spent much of his time in Dumfries.

We know much less of his elder brother Adam who was served heir to Arbigland on 31st May 1699. He was admitted a burghess of Dumfries on 2nd June 1721 and was dead by 1746 (his grand-daughter Helen says, 1736). Unlike his younger brother there is no record of him on Dumfries Town Council. He married Marion Campbell, daughter of Sir William Campbell of Ardkinglass, in 1701 or 1702; his son William was born at their residence, Arbigland Hall, on high ground near the present Gardens, on 26th August 1703. Marion died young and Adam married a Cumberland lady, Miss Aglionby, having four sons and three daughters by her, her eldest son John at Arbigland, all the others at the estate of Flimby across the Solway near Workington, which he had purchased.

William seems to have been brought up mainly by his mother's family as he was educated at Dumbarton Academy before going to Edinburgh University to study law. According to his daughter Helen he had told her that at this stage in his life he was a hard rider, hard drinker and gambler, winning at cards the first three acts of "The Gentle Shepherd" from Allan Ramsay, and establishing a firm friendship with the future great lawyer Lord Kaimes. On his father refusing to send him to Leiden University, at that time the European centre for legal studies, he changed course, and came back to farm Maxwellfield on Arbigland estate, in 1726, raising fat Galloway cattle for the English market, and lived there until 1755 when he moved into his, as yet, not quite

finished new house at Arbigland, built partly with the stone from the demolished Arbigland Hall. In 1733 he married Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of William Stewart of Shambellie the pioneer sylviculturist, having already, six years before, had an illegitimate son James: although Helen calls Elizabeth the only daughter of William Stewart the late Miss Craik of America, a direct descendant of James, a very accurate source, claimed that James was the son of Elizabeth's sister. Elizabeth raised him as her own: he trained in medicine, became physician and friend to the Washingtons in America by the 1750s and a leading medical man in the Revolutionary Army: Washington died in his arms: Dr James died in 1814.

William Craik was fluent in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and Italian and had some Spanish. He was a tolerable architect, fond of chemistry, read much on learned subjects, and usually rendered himself master of whatever he set his mind upon. He was a friend of Sir George Clerk, and was an acquaintance and correspondent of Benjamin Franklin and of Solander, both of whom he met when in London over the change of status of the Isle of Man, source of much Solway smuggling — he was for very many years until his death Inspector or Commissioner of Excise, and as the account book shows from time to time seized cargoes in this capacity. He claimed to his daughter that for 30 years he was up before sunrise, watching personally over the work on the estate and house, closely supervising everything: he appears from his daughter's account and from the accounts of friends as something of an autocrat and a demon of energy, and a martyr to gravel and showing great courage when cut for the stone in the 1770s — despite which he lived to 95, dying in 1798. He had two daughters, Anne, married in Edinburgh on 4th June 1758 to John Hamilton of Ellershaw (an account for £1 expended in Edinburgh in 1754 for "my daughter" may refer to her) and Helen, born in 1751, a poetess and correspondent of Burns, whom she probably met because of his Customs duties.

The accounts show considerable expenditure on his son Adam, including visits to the session courts, and on his maintenance in Edinburgh: clearly Craik had great hopes for the boy, but apart from the accounts we know nothing of him — not even his birth date. Adam was drowned in a boating accident on his way to visit his aunts and uncles at Flimby on 23rd July 1782, aged "upwards of 40" according to his sister Helen, who wrote "My dear brother was much beloved by all his particular friends: but his lot in life was not equal to his worth". He was unmarried and childless. What had happened? Had his forceful father been reluctant to let him share the running of the estate? All this in marked contrast to the high profile of his father.

William Craik soldiered on for another ten years and in 1792 — the same year Helen left Arbigland to live with her uncles and aunts at Flimby, her mother having died in 1778 — and Helen having suffered some personal tragedy (Arnott, in these *Transactions*, "The Romance of Helen Craik") — he handed over the whole management of the estate to his nephew, Anne's son Capt. Douglas Hamilton, serving in the Army in North America — he gave up his army career and added Craik to his name — William only retaining £200 a year, £100 of it his Customs salary. Hamilton Craik died in 1844 at 82; his son John, born 1804, inherited the estate and died single and childless on 6th May 1877 having sold the estate to Lt. Colonel (later General) Balfour in 1852 and thereafter resided at Arundel House, Dumfries.

The account book can be supplemented by the estate maps at the National Library in Edinburgh (photocopies in the Nithsdale Archive Centre) and by the relevant sheet of the General Roy survey of 1753.

One knows in an abstract way how much human labour was involved in the agricultural revolution: but this account book puts it all into minutely detailed reality, man-hours, hard labour and all. Some of the items are routine farm work — shearing, mowing, sowing — but most are specifically for improvements — ditching, building stone or turf dykes, draining, removing or planting hedges, removing old stone or turf dykes — or for the new house and its policies.

To copy the account in full would make a volume, and McDowall has already dealt fully with the book — so I shall restrict myself to samples.

The ledger opens with the account of Teind Bear and Silver Stipend paid the Minister out of each farm on Arbigland: Millhill, £5; Maxwellfield, £1-13-4; Mains, £1-13-4; Kimcarrock, £3-6-8; Tallawhirm, £2-18-4; Borron, £3-6-8; Carse, £1-13-4; Nethermill, 8/4d — a total of £20. The second sheet gives the valuation of

the Barony of Arbigland, totalling "1161 lb Scotts". "By the old Custom the said Barrony is computed 110 Bolls which is divided amongst the respective farms as follows:

Carsethorn.....	9 Bolls
Tallawhirn.....	14
Mill and Mill Lands.....	5
Borron.....	10
Cannabony Croft.....	2
Mains.....	20
Hall Croft.....	2
Above the Wood Croft.....	2
Millhill.....	20
Crofthead.....	5
Sandie worth or Maxwellfield.....	5
Kimcarrock.....	16

Now for a random selection of entries. 1754 — By 22 days at grinding colours and gathering stones for Casswing (roadmaking); By 132 days with Joahn Paul; 80 days at Garden to date; 10 Firr Trees from Carse; 18 rolls Sheet Lead; 12 ells of Harrn (cloth) for shirts to dumb Tom (in the account for John Caird, Tenant, so Tom was presumably one of his household); 891 foot superficial of 1 in. Virginia Fir plank at 1 ½d per foot. By ale to brickmakers. 1752: Andrew Trumbull Entred to his service this day but his fee to commence at Martinmas at £4 per annum and liveries but to furnish himself shoes & stockings I to be free the first half year and he bound for the year. Robert Mar, Groom — £3-15/- per annum — £1-1/- for Boots & breeches & liveries. April 1754 — John Paul by his son William — 16½ days at Sundries at 2d — 9/7½d — this is the only reference to William Paul who seems by 1759 to have been well established in Virginia, for his brother John (Paul Jones) stayed with him on John's first voyage to America at the age of 12. 1754 — 1 days at Collonade; August 1755 — 2 double carts to Dumfries with spirits: 117lb. salt butter at 6d per lb.; 3 days at Limekiln; An English plough full mounted & 2 flat Socks; 2 carts with Spirits to the Custom House after deducting ⅓rd; for 11 bottles red and white wine at 20d per bottle; 2 bottles brandy at 1/. 27 lb. Hops.

Now we come to an agreement for work, on page 39. John McCall and Robert Shannon ditchers. Bargained with them to build a division dyke in Mains Cross with 2 ditches the dyke 4 feet wide at Bottom 2 feet at top & 4 feet 4 inches high the North ditch 5 feet wide at top 3 feet deep and 20 inches wide at bottom the South ditch 4 feet wide at Top & 2½ feet deep the North ditch to be faced up on the side next the dyke with sods from the bottom even with the surface at top and 2½ feet broad at top to be covered with good earth 6 Inches deep for planting quicks and the dyke to be covered at top with a turf to overlap it & spread the earth that remains at 1/6d per rood 19 feet to the rood. (This is quoted as an example of the meticulous way Craik went about his improvements.)

There follows on page 40:

'Dr John Young Esquire Collector of Customs.

1754.

June 4. To my share of 27 casks Spirits seized by me at Saterness — 107 Gallons Rum 74 Dozen Brandy 40 Gallons Geniva £16-0-0½d

July 19. To my ¼th share of 2 hogshead Claret 2 half hogsheads White wine & 4 doz. bottle ditto seized by me & James Robison at Carse £7-2-11.

1755.

January 12. To my ⅓rd share of 28 casks spiritts seized by me on Barnhourie Sands 220 Gallons £55-4-4d.

March 12. To my ⅓rd share of 28 casks brandy £17-6-1¼d seized by me at Sauterness 240 Gallons.

March 12. To my ⅓rd share of 20 casks brandy 170 Gallons, 4 casks ½ ¼ ditto 36 gallons White Wine vinaigre 32 Gallons 2½ casks geniva 7 gallons seized by me at Glenstocken.

March 21. To my  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd share of 10 casks brandy 85 gallons & 1 cask geniva 7 gallons seized by me at Saterness.'

The above is a unique glimpse of William riding out, presumably armed, to seize cargoes of contraband — his Excise position was no sinecure! This page is unique in the volume and represents a considerable capital inflow.

1754. Feb. 14 — To cash paid to my daughter (Anne?) at Edinburgh — £1.

"Adam Craik my Son" — a long and minutely detailed account running from 1756 to 1758 including several large sums — £10-10/-, 7 guineas, £15, an annuity of £50 for clothes — much sent to him at Edinburgh: such items as "To Bailly Gilchrist of 1 pair silk stockings 16/-": "McClellan shoemaker for work £1-13/-: "To cash paid Willie for mending his watch 4/6" "to Hunter for Cambrick" "to cash paid him for his saddle £1-15-9" — and "when he went to Moffat", "When he went to Mr Livingston", "When he went to the Shaws" "When he went with Capt. Hamilton to Dumfries" "when he went to Nunnery" "At Kirkconnel".

Following on the "Adam" account we find "By second volume of Hume's History 14/-", "by Hume's On Vegetation etc 3/1" "By Cauliflower and Broccoli 1/6" "By four black Auchinpiew Trees and  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. Asparagus Seed, 6/-"

A loose paper mentions "Two Pounds Coffee" and "6 lb. Lump Sugar", Newspapers, and "1 bottle of Oyl". In 1758 we have "Snap Dyke in Rabbit Warren March" and "By Hirding the Orchard". In May 1759 "By two days thatching Boatmens houses: in 1757 "By drink to the party who took the three vagrants" and "By Salmon and Flounders to date": the fisherman who was appointed received £1-5-0 "for transporting his family". In 1758 and 1759 we have another substantial account for "Adam Craik my son" — "when he went to the Circuit" "for cloaths and mountings for a Suit £2-3/-" "by the price of a Cow hide received by him 7/6d" "By his Annuity" — 1758 & 59, £50 each: "By lemmons and oranges anno 1758 £2-9/-". There follow constructional items — "Thomas Bell Sawsier — by sawing 8838 superficial feet of Scots and foreign Fir and Geen tree at 2/2d per hundred £9-10-8": then, "Two stand shoes for blind horse".

There is also a detailed account for bringing a brickmaker from Dumfries with his equipment and making many thousands of bricks. In 1758 we have "The basoun before the stable" and "By building and roofing a Smithie": and "By Eight Roods 11 feet building Barn Carthouse Tower Two Gates Arched and a broke pillar at South end of the South Barn as also a low wall cross the end of North barn to workhorse stable" "by work at building two houses for boatman at Borron: walls roof Doors and windows included".

At Page 86 there is a detailed account on a loose sheet.

"Account of the Crusers house at Borron"

To Thirty Five foot of great timber at 8d per foot .....	£1- 0-5
To small timber .....	0- 8-0
To drawing timber.....	0- 2-6
To wood for doors and windows.....	0- 6-6
To Crooks and bands for doors and windows .....	0- 3-6
To nails for Rafters and doors and windows.....	0- 1-8
To Lime and bricks for Chimney heads .....	0- 8-6
To fifty one days of a man Ridding the foundation and quarring stones and digging Clay and Carrying stones and Clay .....	1 -9-0
To Casting truff leading and thatching .....	0-12-0
To Riggin truff and on putting.....	0- 3-0
To Thaching with straw .....	0-15-0
	<hr/>
	5- 4-1

Workmanship	
To Building two rood and twinty four yeards of walls .	3- 6-4
To two Chimney vents .....	0-10-0
To Cutting timber .....	0- 2-6
To Workmanship to the Roof .....	0- 7-0
To making doors and windows .....	0 -7-6
To Leading lime and sand and briks for Chimney heads and Building of them.....	0- 3-2
	<hr/> 4-19-0

The above too-brief selection cannot give a picture of the great mass of material, the long and meticulous details of improving and building work: the purpose of this summary is simply to stir up interest and attract researchers to this major source for agricultural and local history.

It should be added that the accounts give a great deal of topographical information on the estate, the old and new fields, "Shore Enclosure", "Middle Enclosure", "New Farm", "Rabbit Warren", "Pigeon House", etc.

To give an idea of the sheer scope of Craik's ventures, I append a list of those involved in one way or another with the work.

William Craik: his son Adam: Thomas Simpson tenant in Carse: Thomas Blaicklock: James Raffell: Peter Mulligan Mason: John Kirkconnell Tenant: Andrew Trumbull servant: Robert Mar groom: Marion McKie tenant: John Crosbie servant and to fish and take care of rabbit warren: William Mulligan Tenant, Nether Borran: John Thomson labourer: Peter Gregan tenant in Talloquairn: James Meek herd: John Edgar dyker: John Paul Servant: his son William Paul: James Menzies tenant: Mr James Hog: Peter Gregan tenant in Gateside: Joseph Forsyth: Robert Maxwell: James Irving and William Scott Drovers: Wm. Dods in Dumfries: William Roy, labourer: Gawin Caird in Torrorry: Thomas Barden in Powside: James Murphy elder and younger: James Affleck tenant: Charles Pattinson or Paterson tenant in Carse: John McCall and Robert Shannon Ditchers: John Young Esq. Collector of the Customs: James Teer Servant: William Anderson Plowman: William Hog: William Doughtie: James Shannon tenant in Canabonie Croft: Thomas Wilson for coming down viewing the ground & giving advice as to draining: John Ewart: William Caird: Adam McKie: James Craik: Hugh Gray ditcher: George Little Brickmaker: John & Archibald Mulligan Tenants: James Blaicklock servant: John Ewart Junior: Jannet Turner servant: 2 barrels herring to Mr Heron: Daniel Johnston servant: Samuel Edgar: Mr Porteous' man: William Gregan Tenant: Robert Corrie tenant: Gawin Costin in Preston Mill: Captain Hamilton: John Bell labourer: Thomas Porteous mason: William Cleugh Tydesman: James Robertson Tydesman: James Porteous Mason: Simon Porteous: Gawin Shannon: Adam McKie, Robert Maxwell: Mr Andrew Goldie: "Hunter for Cambrick": Messrs Young & Trotter: John Sprant Mason: James Hunter Apprentice: John Aitken & Thomas Young Sawyer: Thomas Bell sawyer: Alexander Matheson Mason: Gavin McCartney Mason: Francis Duff Mason: Barbara Hume: Dumb Tom (dependant of John Caird): Daniel May: Will Gordoun collector of Window Tax: John Mulligan in Nethermill: Robert Blair servant: William Allan: James Charters Labourer: John Murphie: James and John Atkins: James Carrick labourer: Thomas Costin labourer.

#### SOME 18th CENTURY TRANSATLANTIC TRADE DOCUMENTS

by

A. E. Truckell

In the 1960s a slave plantation account book, re-used circa 1880 as a scrap-book, was found in an attic in Balmaclellan. It covers the period 1771-76, beautifully written in copperplate script in immaculate double-entry. The names of Task Masters include a number of S.W. Scottish character.

Another account book turned up under the floorboards of Gelston Castle in the early 1970s: much stained, with the back of the volume badly perished, it is nevertheless a substantial volume recording the business of a Savannah, Georgia, merchant — whose name does not appear — specialising in textiles but trading in anything and everything as well, and runs from Summer 1766 into early 1767.

A third document is of a different character: a letter signed at Ecclefechan, July 1, 1773, by “Ecclefechanicus” — probably one of the Clapperton medical family — describing a slave revolt on the “Lord Cassils”, bound from Calabar to Barbados, from around midnight on 9th August 1772, he being Doctor’s Mate on the ship — printed in the *Dumfries Weekly Magazine*.

Starting with the Savannah Merchant, running through many scores of customers he lists, with their purchases, are a number of probably Scottish names: William Cochran: Robert Kirkwood: Ann Bryson: Alexander Crighton: David Brydie: James Love: High Ross: John McFarlane: James McHenry: Martin Fenton: Samuel Douglas: Darling: Munro: Sym: James Cochran: William Maxwell: John Graham: George Baillie: Francis Stuart: George Anderson: Jonathan Cochran: John Maxwell: George Baillie: James Maxwell Junior: James McKay: William McKenzie: Mary Douglas: Alexander Fyffe: Roderick McIntosh: James Crawford: George Anderson: Elizabeth Elliott and Lachlan McGillivray. These stand out among rather exotic-looking English names, some Welsh, and three Jewish — Abraham Parzedas, Solomon Joell and Solomon Levi — plus one or two French names.

The range of merchandise sold is extraordinary: while cloth, scarves, gloves, dress — male and female, shoes (including “Negro Shoes”), thread, scissors and so on predominate — including “Velvet Mask with Glass Eyes” and “Woman’s Mask with Glass Eyes”, we see Bohea Tea, Hyson Tea, a “Tomohawk”, Dutch Quills, Horn Moulds, a Memorandum Book, Pigtail Tobacco, gallons of rum, sugar, salt, mace, tacks, a copper tea kettle, printed linen, china bowls, many bottles of Turlington — whatever that was — bottles of Stoughton’s Elixir and Godfrey’s Cordial, black pepper, sealing wax, whipsaw files, a beaver hat, a black trunk — among hundreds of other items. The Orphan House buys bohea tea and glasses; and the “Deerskin Account” figures regularly. The impression given is of a prosperous community with a high standard of living and dressing.

Coming to the plantation account, much of its meticulous double-entry is obscured by pasted-in scraps and newspaper cuttings — these are of no particular importance and could easily be steamed off — but there is part of an alphabetical list of names, a Plantation Account with names, and on the last page, a list of names of the Task Gang. All three lists figure probable Scots and Galloway names. The alphabetical list has Alexander Anderson, Charles Bogle, James Duncan, John Dallachy, John Drysdale, Thomas Fraser, Finlay Fergusson, Patrick Fergusson, Henderson, John Hamilton, Thomas Hunter, Campbell, Christie and Orr, John Campbell, Chalmers, James Cunningham, Campbell and Skone, Grant & Baillie, Alexander Gordon, James Gordon, John Graham, and William Johnston.

In the Plantation Account we find the names of companies — Thomas Cheap and W. Collow, Donaldson and Collow — and Collow was a Glencairn district name — an account book for a Collow from the late 17th century on is in the Dumfries records. This page also includes Young & Stevenson, James Campbell, Charles, Wightman, John Drysdale, William Johnston and Alexander Paul.

The Task Gang names include John Hamilton, Thomas Wilson, George Fergusson, William Stuart, Stuart McNey, Thomas Orr, Archibald Stewart, John Clark, and Alexander Gordon: and at the foot of the list is “Negro man named Griffin, (sold) £42.”

The letter regarding the slave revolt is a very grim document indeed: the writer’s abhorrence of the punishment meted out is clear.

All these documents relate to the period when John Paul (Paul Jones) was in the slave trade and trading to and fro across the Atlantic.

As the two Account Books turned up in this area some local connection is implied.

The above documents are at Dumfries Museum. Another source was transcribed near 20 years ago by Mr Alex. McCracken of Annan, from Irving family papers<sup>1</sup>, and passed to the writer by Mr James Williams. It

consists of three letters from James Irving "Surgeon in the African Trade", son of Janatus Irving, Baker, at Langholm. One is undated and finds him "On Board the Princess Royal Clear of the Banks" (off Liverpool) — She has been delayed sailing by being cast on her side and strained so that she leaked but is now fit: he has been four days aboard and writes a letter for the pilot to post. "I eat in the Cabin and I have got a good Coat [?cot] Bed and Blankets and Twilt [quilt] and I sleep very well, the other Mate is a very good man and I like my place very well. The Capn. gave me the Coat [cot] frame — and my couzin got me the Blankets Twilt Jacket Trowsers Tea and Sugar and every thing that was necessary and I have every thing as good as any on the ship."

Of the other letters the earlier is dated 25th March 1790 from "Mogodore in Barbary": his ship, with others, has been seized by the Barbary Corsairs and is held until the Governor of Gibraltar sends a frigate to convey the son of the "Emperor" to Alexandria for Mecca when the ships will be released and fresh supplies — which have been stopped — again allowed into Gibraltar from Tangier. He is at pains to emphasise that he is well "I therefore beg that you will give yourselves no concern about me as we are now in a Town where there are Christian merchants and Shipping of different nations which are very kind to me and we live very well, have a house to ourselves, got good Cloaths and alwise money in our pockets and nothing to do but amuse ourselves so that we are just as well as we could wish only loosing our time." He hopes soon again to enjoy "our long lost liberty" and tell his parents "at your fire side . . . all that has happen'd to us since we came into Barbary . . . I write this By an English Brig who sails in 2 Days. My Couzin writes to Mrs Irving by the same vessel and desires her to write to Langholm." This letter is addressed to "Mr Janatus Irving, Langholm."

The next letter is dated January 2nd 1791. "North West Buoy, 6 miles from Liverpool. . . . We are Bound for Anamaboe in the Gold Coast — Discharge what goods we have for that place — & set sail from it again within 48 hours after we arrived [sic] then we are to call at Lagus Accra & other parts whose names I have forgot — we are then to go down as far as Benin River & stay a day or two & then go back to Anamaboe from which place we are to sail for the West Indies — My wage is 4£ St. per month besides if it please God we make a good voyage I expect to get head Money — & if we only Bury 6 slaves — my Couzin will receive 100£ & I 50£ Bounty — if we bury not more than 9 slaves my Couzin will receive 50£ and I 25£ Bounty — I don't expect we will be out less than 12 Months altho my Couzin says 10 months — however don't let that trouble you as it makes no difference provided we keep our health as I hope we will."

Life in the "African trade" was not a healthy one and in the event James Irving "died at Logus in Africa" on 22nd June 1793 at early age of 21 years.<sup>2</sup>

1. At the time of Alex. McCracken's transcription this correspondence was in the possession of Miss Nellie Irving of Langholm. Upon her decease the letters passed to her nephew Mr David Irving of Townhead House, High Street, Langholm. We are indebted to Mr Irving for granting permission to quote from this material in his care — copies of the full transcripts have been lodged with the Nithsdale District Archivist.
2. "In memory of Janetus Irving, Baker, who died 8th April 1815 aged 74. Helen Little his spouse who died 17th August 1797 aged 60. Also James and Ann, children, who died 17th June, 1771, in infancy. Also James, their son, Surgeon who died at Logus in Africa, 22nd June, 1793 aged 21. And Jenet Young spouse to John Irving, baker, who died 23rd March, 1806 aged 25". *Memorials of Langholm Parish: Langholm Old Churchyard*: Gilchrist, McCracken, Tolson and Shannon, 1969, 5.

#### Further Note on the Irving Family.

According to John and Robert Hyslop in their *Langholm as it Was*, 1912 ed., p.828, David Irving (d. 1862), the librarian to the Advocates' Library for the period 1820-1849 and the author of the *Life and Writings of George Buchanan*, was a fourth son of Janetus Irving and "born in the house, then a thatched cottage, adjoining the North U.F. Church, at the Townhead of Langholm, on 5th December 1778".

It is interesting to note that in the *Dumfries Service of Heirs* another James Irving, "presently residing in Liverpool" but writing from Langholm on 30th November 1807, seeks to be declared heir. In the witnesses' depositions, and in James' petition, 16th February 1808, to the Magistrates of the Burgh of Dumfries he is further described as "only lawful son of the deceased Jas. Irving late surgeon in the affrican trade who was son of the deceased Jno Irving Innkeeper in Langholm . . ." — clearly not the same James Irving as our correspondent but an interesting duplication of names and occupations in relation to a small Dumfriesshire town in the early years of the 19th century.

## A 1784-6 EXAMINATION ROLL FOR THE PARISH OF RUTHWELL

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

In the early part of 1993 the Revd Jim Williamson of Ruthwell drew the Writer's attention to a previously unknown examination roll for the parish of Ruthwell. The roll, covering the time-span 1784-86, is contained within two small coverless notebooks which have been prepared from wove paper hand-sewn together to provide leaves measuring 3 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches (9.8 x 15.8 cms). The document is predominantly written in a good black ink and generally upon the right-hand leaves - amendments being most often provided on the left-hand leaves and frequently in pencil. Individual's 'designations' or 'status' are frequently provided. Family relationships are usually easily discernible and are supplemented by specific mentions of relationships such as 'Mother'; 'Mother-in-law'; 'her Mother'; 'wife'; 'Wife's daughter'; 'Junior'; 'Twins'; 'Sisters'; 'Widow'; 'Bastard'; etc.

The total number of individuals recorded for the initial year of 1784 was 711 - which provides a useful intermediate value between that of Webster's Census of 1755<sup>1</sup> (599) and the Revd John Craig's population total recorded in his contribution to Sinclair's Statistical Account in 1792<sup>2</sup>.

From the evidence of the Diets of Examination the work in 1784 commenced upon the 2nd February and was completed by 1st March. The roll was amended up to 1786 by annotations indicating attendance at the communions of 1784 and 1785, movements of individuals, deaths, etc - and in 1786 there was a second series of diets of examination which was completed by the 10th of February of that year.

The manuscript is typical of its type and represents a class of documents normally referred to as 'Examination' or 'Catechismal Rolls': These were prepared by ministers as a record of theological examination carried out within the families and members of an individual congregation. An almost exactly contemporary publication of 1783 by the Revd John McNaught<sup>3</sup>, the minister of Buittle is quoted by the Revd David Frew in his 1909 account of *The Parish of Urr*<sup>4</sup> and this clear-cut explanatory summary bears reproduction here.—

'... After prayer, and calling of names, the pastor takes the boys and girls at school in hand, 'and all other such like little ones present.' He puts them through the *Shorter Catechism*, so far as they can go; and, while complimenting some of them on saying it from beginning to end, expresses the hope that next time he examines them they will also give him a part of the *Larger Catechism*. The Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed are next repeated and explained. Then follows a series of extempore questions and answers, in which the pastor sometimes appears as the respondent. ... an appropriate exhortation brings this part of the programme to a close. In the two succeeding portions, the same process is repeated, first with the unmarried lads and lasses, then with the husbands and wives, the sexes being taken up separately, and the range of topics widened and deepened with the advancing maturity of the catechumens.'

A number of these rolls exist for parishes within our own immediate area but they are perhaps most fully represented in the record for the Stewartry parish of Lochrutton: There two parish ministers, the George Duncans father and son<sup>5</sup>, administered to their congregations for the time-span 1728 to 1807 and have left rolls for the following years and periods — 1728-44; 1763-4; 1766; 1766/67; 1767; 1771-74 and 1789-90.

1. *Scottish Population Statistics including Webster's Analysis of Population 1755*, Ed. by James Gray Kyd, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1975.
2. Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol x, 1792, pp.218-28
3. *A Specimen of Plain and Practical Catechising* by John McNaught, A.M., Minister of Buittle, 1783.
4. *The Parish of Urr, Civil and Ecclesiastical: A History*, by David Frew, M.A., B.D. Thomas Fraser, Dalbeattie, 1909, p.191-93.
5. George Duncan, *primus*. Born c.1693; called 22nd February and ordained 23rd April, 1728; Drowned while bathing in Lochrutton Loch, 17th July, 1765.  
George Duncan, *secundus*. Born 1739; presented by George III on 11th September 1765 and ordained 24th April 1766; died 17th March 1807.  
See *Memorials of Lochrutton*, J. Williams & G. Gilchrist, 1974, entries 148 and 149.  
The catechismal or examination rolls for Lochrutton Parish have been transcribed and are available for study within the Reference Department of the Dumfries & Galloway Regional Libraries, Catherine St., Dumfries.

All records of this class are clearly primary source documents for the parishes of their concern: With the very best we have a record of household by household occupancy, family structures, ages, occupations, and sometimes even notification of religious persuasions - even if those individuals noted were not members of the established church. Most often they are, like that for Ruthwell, constructed for a single year and then amended year by year to record changes and modification. Due to these amendments, normally as scorings-out or overwriting, they are often difficult to adequately interpret. However if successfully completed these records, when supplemented by parish registers, communicants' rolls and memorial inscriptions have the potential to provide 'snapshots in time' so useful to the genealogist and social historian.

The Ruthwell Roll was prepared by the Revd John Craig who had been presented as minister to the parish by the Commissioner for David, Viscount Stormont and admitted upon 12th June 1783 — the roll therefore most probably represents a record of his very first parish visitation. According to Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*<sup>6</sup> Craig was licensed by the Presbytery of Dalkeith upon 5th August 1760 and ordained to the parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming in Dumfriesshire on 20th September 1764. On 5th October 1767 he married Barbara daughter of the Revd Alexander Orr, Minister of the adjacent parish of Hoddam. She died upon 5th January 1804 and by her, according to the Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish Registers<sup>7</sup>, he had the following issue. — (1) Robert, baptised 18th November 1769. (2) Agnes, baptised 14th July 1771. She married her father's successor the Revd Henry Duncan (son of George Duncan *secundus* of Lochrutton - see footnote 5) and died 28th February 1832. (3) Sophia, born 4th and baptised 15th August 1773; Died 1st March 1786 - See *Ruthwell Memorials*<sup>8</sup>, Entry 283. (4) Alexander, baptised 3rd September 1775: Factor to Murray of Broughton.

According to his tombstone, *Memorials of Ruthwell* entry 283, John Craig died, aged 62 years, upon 16th December 1798 at Ruthwell.

The whole document has been transcribed, indexed with respect to both place-names and personal names, and a copy presented to the Dumfries Archive Centre where it will be freely available to researchers. To indicate the comprehensive nature of the document a number of summaries are appended.

#### Summary 1. List of Individuals with Designations

Name	Location	Designation
John Craig	Manse	Minister
John Dinwoodie	Glebe	Elder
James Wilkin	Pyehills	Elder
James Davidson	Brow	Elder
Archibald Sloan	Bellridden	Precentor
John Swan	Aiket and Clarencefield Pendicles	Beadle
John Farish	Clarencefield	Schoolmaster
Thomas Dickson	N. Bowerhouses	Writer
Robert Henderson	Conlongon	Factor
Francis Johnston	Knockhardy	Wood Factor
Joseph Barclay	Comlongon	Gardener
Robert Bishop	Comlongon	Gardener
James Dickson	Slaethat	Smith
Hector Hetherington	Clarencefield	Smith
James Wright	Flosh	Smith
Thomas Dickie	Cockpool	Taylor
Samwell Haining	Clarencefield	Taylor

6. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, by Hew Scott, 1917 ed., Vol II.

7. *Old Parish Registers of Kirkpatrick Fleming, 1748-1854*. Ed. by P.G. & J. Williams, Records of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish, No 1, parts A-E.

8. *Memorials of Ruthwell*, R. Shannon & G. Gilchrist.

Edward Mundell	Cockpool	Wright
David Grier	Limekills	Joiner
James Johnston	Roadside/Slaithford	Cooper
William Grierson	Ruthwell	App. to Murray Hill
John Thomson	Clarencefield	Boarder
Robert Coltilew	Clarencefield	Boarder
Samuel Ashbridge	Clarencefield	Boarder
Sophia Armstrong	Nether Locharwood	Boarder
Jane Jardine	Nether Locharwood	Boarder
William Gillespie	Longbridge	Tinker

## Summary 2. Placenames by Diet of Examination

1st Diet.	Cockleitches, Longbridge, Doup, Horsel Close, Hungrle side and Larthat.
2nd Diet.	Hynberries, Hynberry Mill, Top Muir, Kirkstyle, Twathaites, Hynberry Rigg, Whiteclose and Bellridden.
3rd Diet.	Ruthwell, South side of the Road, Flosh, Glebe, Manse and Aiket.
4th Diet.	Midle of Ruthwell, East side, South side, Ruthwell, Thwait, Stank of Ruthwell and Parkside.
5th Diet.	Priestwood side and Burn.
6th Diet.	Clarencefield, Clarencefield Pendicles, Old Mill, Knock-hardy, Comlongon, Park (?) Nock and Littlewhat.
7th Diet.	Slaethait, New Slaethait, Pendicles, Danbygate, Forrest Park, Loaninghead and Howthat.
8th Diet.	Bowerhouses, N(orth) Bowerhouses, Windy Hall, Comlongon Mains, Pyehills, Bankhead, Roadside (Slaith Ford), Limekills and Longbridgemuir.
9th Diet.	Cockpool and Brow.
10th Diet.	Schoolhouse, Merkland, Stank, Nether Locharwood, Upper Locharwoods and Moss-side.

## Summary 3. List of Surnames with Relative Frequency.

Achison (1)	Buyers & Byers (3)	Dempster (1)
Adamson (7)	Caid (1)	Dickie (8)
Affleck (9)	Carlyle (4)	Dickson (37) & Dixon (4)
Aikman (3)	Carruthers (31)	Dinwoodie (3)
Aitcheson (1)	Chalmers (1)	Donaldson (2)
Alison (1)	Charters (1)	Douglas (1)
Allan (1)	Clark & Clarke (20)	Drummond (1)
Anderson (3)	Colthart (8)	Dun (1)
Armstrong (10)	Coltilew (1)	Dunbar (2)
Ashbridge (1)	Cook (2)	Edgar (17)
Barclay (2)	Copeland (1)	Esby (3)
Baxter (2)	Corrie (1)	Ewart (6)
Beattie (1)	Couden & Cowden (4)	Farish (4)
Beck (8)	Coulter (1)	Ferguson (2)
Bell (10)	Cowan (1)	Finlay (2)
Bishop (8)	Craig (4)	Forbes (1)
Black (2)	Crichton (9)	Forsyth (1)
Blackstock (1)	Crosbie (1)	Foster (1)
Boyd (25)	Cullion (1)	Fraser (2) & Frizzel (1)
Boyes (3)	Currie (1)	Gardiner (3)
Breton (2)	Dagleish (2)	Gass (1)
Brown (4)	Dalrymple (1)	Geddes (1)
Burney (2)	Davidson(19)	Gellatly (5)

- Giland (1)  
 Gillespie (4)  
 Girvan (1)  
 Glover (1)  
 Graham (2)  
 Greenlaw (1)  
 Grier (11)  
 Grierson (3)  
 Gunion (10)  
 Haggan (1)  
 Haining (1)  
 Haliday (1)  
 Hanna (1)  
 Hanning (1)  
 Harkness (1) & Herkness (1)  
 Henderson (11)  
 Henning (1)  
 Herbertson (2)  
 Heron (1)  
 Hetherington (1)  
 Hill (15)  
 Hog (3)  
 Hutchison (1)  
 Irvine (25)  
 Jackson (1)  
 Jahaan (1)  
 Jardine (2)  
 Johnston(e) (40)  
 Kennedy (4)  
 Kent (1)  
 Ker & Kerr (5)  
 Kirkpatrick (1)  
 Landles (1)  
 Latimer (11) & Lotimer (1)  
 Lawson (3)  
 Lightbody (2)  
 Lipperick (2)
- Lippnach (5)  
 Little (1)  
 Lockerbie (1)  
 Lockhart (1)  
 Maid (1)  
 Maxwell (2)  
 McCorkindale (1)  
 McDonal (1)  
 McGeorge (2)  
 McGowan (1)  
 McKinnan (1)  
 McLain (1)  
 McLune (10)  
 McQueen (1)  
 McVite (3)  
 Meldrum (1)  
 Minto (1)  
 Mitchell (1)  
 Moffat (12)  
 Monro (1)  
 Morpeth (5)  
 Mossman (2)  
 Mounsey (6) & Munsie (1)  
 Muir (5)  
 Mundel (1) & Mundle (5)  
 Murdoch (2)  
 Murray (18)  
 Neilson (2)  
 Nicolson (14)  
 Pagan (1)  
 Palmer (5)  
 Paterson (8)  
 Philip (4)  
 Pool (1)  
 Porteous (8&  
 Pott (1)  
 Rae (11)
- Reid (2)  
 Richardson (12)  
 Robertson (1)  
 Rod(d)ick (13)  
 Rogers (1)  
 Rome (15)  
 Sail (2)  
 Scott (4)  
 Sime (1)  
 Skinna (1)  
 Slimmin & Slimmon (3)  
 Sloan (7)  
 Smith (6)  
 Something ie unknown (1)  
 Stephen (1)  
 Stewart (4)  
 Stormont. Lord — (1)  
 Story (2)  
 Swan (8)  
 Tait (2)  
 Terras (4)  
 Thomson (4)  
 Tweedie (6)  
 Underwood (3)  
 Walker (11)  
 Watson (1)  
 White (1)  
 Wightman (1)  
 Wilkin (9)  
 Wilson (7)  
 Wood (1)  
 Wright (5)  
 Young (1)

**DAVID CUNNINGHAM M.A.**

We regret to have to record the death of David Cunningham, the senior Fellow of the Society.

David was a Life Member of the Society having been elected in 1945, and took a very active part in its work in the years following the Second World War. He served as Honorary Secretary from October, 1949 to March, 1951 and was President from October, 1953 to October, 1956

He was a quiet unassuming man whose chief interest was in Lepidoptera. He was a close friend of the late Sir Arthur Duncan, and together they made valuable contributions to our knowledge of the moth fauna of Dumfries and Galloway. His Presidential address to the Society was on the distribution in the Solway area of the group of moths known as the Prominents.

J.H.

**Bibliography**

**Butterflies and Moths of the Solway Area.** *Transactions IIIrd Series*, Vol XXV (1946-47), pp. 69-75.

**Butterflies and Moths of the Solway Area: Further Additions and Notes.** *Transactions IIIrd Series*, Vol XXVIII (1949-50), pp. 150-156.

**Moths Taken at Light in 1951 in Dumfriesshire and Eastern Kirkcudbrightshire.** (Co-author with Arthur B. Duncan), *Transactions IIIrd Series*, Vol XXX (1951-52), pp. 166-170.

**Mary's Flight to the Solway** by Alexander MacRobert. Typescript in Ewart Library, Dumfries and main branch libraries.

In view of the fact that so much has been written about Mary Queen of Scots and the events of her life have been so minutely investigated, it is curious that most writers have been content to gloss over the crucial period between her defeat at Langside on the morning of 13th May 1568 and her arrival, as a fugitive, on the English shore of the Solway in the early evening of May 16th. This thoughtful and well documented study by Alexander MacRoberts, made available by him in 1993 for consultation in the main branch libraries of Dumfries and Galloway, aims to make good this deficiency.

There is a surprising amount of documentary evidence albeit contradictory, fragmentary and of varying authenticity. Mr MacRobert examines this material, source by source, discussing the reliance that can be placed on it in each case and considering what can be learned from each source about the route Mary may have taken on her fateful journey to Dundrennan, the points of departure and arrival of her boat, who accompanied her at different stages and, most interestingly of all, what plans may have prompted her actions. He identifies the four most likely routes and looks at each in the light of the surviving evidence, the nature of the terrain and what is known about the political sympathies of the inhabitants. The range of documentary sources cited is extensive and Mr MacRobert's critical assessment of each of these is both meticulous and fascinating. The same clear and logical approach is adopted in discussion of local traditions concerning Mary's last journey and in surveying the different versions of the story provided by some of her best known biographers.

Mr MacRobert's identification of Queen Mary's port of embarkation as the small harbour in the tidal creek at Abbey Burnfoot directly south of Dundrennan, rather than the modern Port Mary, carries conviction, as does his account of her reception in England but puzzles still remain over the diamond ring reputedly exchanged between her and Queen Elizabeth and the exact route she followed during these last days. As he himself asserts "There is, of course, the temptation to present an authoritative reconstruction of Mary's flight. That should be resisted by historians. They can only point to the conflicting evidence." This Mr MacRobert's study does. As an exemplar to researchers on how to sift through surviving evidence in a fair and balanced way, it is most helpful. As an attempt to penetrate the mystery surrounding Mary's last days in her kingdom it is enlightening and thought provoking.

Marion M. Stewart

**The Novels of Dumfries and Galloway** by Alexander MacRobert (1992)

Copies of this typescript, prepared in 1992 by Alexander MacRobert, have been made available by him for public consultation in the local studies collections of the main branch libraries throughout Dumfries and Galloway.

Its aim is to discuss a selection of historical novels written in the 19th and 20th centuries which are at least partly about Dumfries and Galloway and it naturally concentrates upon works by Sir Walter Scott, Robert Louis Stevenson, S. R. Crockett and John Buchan although there are also chapters for runaway weddings and on modern detective fiction set in this area.

The study commences with a brief historical outline of life in South West Scotland from the earliest known settlements onwards. Certain key elements of the story which are of more relevance to a study of historical fiction are then examined in more detail, these being Mary Queen of Scots, the Covenanters, the Jacobites and smuggling.

As Mr MacRobert says in his introduction, the fact that so many novelists have been attracted to the history and scenery of this region is a reflection of its richness and variety. This useful and clearly expounded study provides a most useful introduction to the literary heritage thus created.

Marion M. Stewart

**William MacGillivray** by Robert Ralph. HMSO Books, £25.00.

One autumn evening in 1819 a travel-worn figure crept over the wall by Burns's mausoleum and stood for a moment in front of the poet's tomb. Having arrived in Dumfries too late to make a legitimate entry, and unwilling to wait until the following day, the stranger had decided to pay his respects at once. The man's ultimate destination was the British Museum and he had decided to walk all the way there from his home town of Aberdeen, making notes on natural history along the way.

The incident at Dumfries is not mentioned in this book; nor need it be, since the work is not intended to be a comprehensive biography but, in the words of the author, "an account of MacGillivray's life to accompany a selection of his paintings". In 88 pages Dr Ralph tells us about MacGillivray's early life, his trip to London and then his accomplishments as a naturalist and writer.

Born in Aberdeen on 25 January 1796 but brought up on Harris by an uncle, MacGillivray graduated from Aberdeen University and later became a conservator of the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons at Edinburgh. Here he met the American bird artist John James Audubon who asked him to help with the *Ornithological Biography* (the separately published text for *The Birds of America*); between them they wrote some 3000 pages, MacGillivray often working concurrently upon a number of his own projects.

In 1841 MacGillivray was appointed to the Regius Chair of Civil and Natural History at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and he taught there for the rest of his life. His list of publications by now covered the British birds, quadrupeds, plants, minerals, shells and domestic cattle. Some of his local studies appeared in his *Natural History of Deeside and Braemar*, published posthumously by Queen Victoria.

MacGillivray was also a very capable artist. A variety of his black and white drawings are scattered through Ralph's text (including one of some Dumfriesshire agricultural tools made on the long walk to London). They greatly complement the selection of thirty-two colour plates reproduced in a block at the end of the book; the eighteen birds, nine fish and five mammals are selected from more than two hundred half-forgotten paintings held at the London Natural History Museum. Dr Ralph has also managed to track down a portrait, still in the possession of the family (in Australia) and, like most of the paintings it is reproduced in colour for the first time.

Here then is a most useful tribute to a great naturalist and artist who failed to win widespread recognition during his life-time. This book deserves a wide readership and I hope it will help to bring MacGillivray some of the acclaim that is his due.

Richard J. Mearns

**18th October 1991**

Annual General Meeting

Speaker: Mr Brian Turner — 'Wildlife and Archaeology in Zimbabwe'

**1st November**

Speaker: Mr John Crawford — 'Leadhills Library in the Wider World'

**15th November**

Speaker: Mr Peter Hill — 'Whithorn - the Latest Discoveries!'

**30th November**

Speaker: Dr David Devereux — 'Stewartry District Museum Service (an illustrated history)'

This meeting was held at Castle Douglas

**13th December**

Speaker: Mr George Blount — 'Sixty Years of Pharmacy' - to mark 150 years of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain

This meeting was held in the Crichton Royal Museum, Dumfries

**10th January 1992**

Speaker: Mr James Young — 'Wildlife and Farming in Portugal'

**24th January**

Members' Night

Speakers: Mr A. Anderson — Slides of Excursions

M/s Elaine Kennedy — 'Four Artifacts recently acquired by Dumfries Museum'

Mrs Morag Williams — 'History of the Garrick Hospital, Stranraer'

**7th February**

Speaker: Miss Alison Reid — 'The Castle of St. John, Stranraer'

**21st February**

Speaker: Mrs Heather McCarty — 'Mountain Gorillas'

**6th March**

Speaker: Mr H. Gordon Slade — 'The Buildings of a Parish - Kirkpatrick Fleming'

**14th March**

Speaker: Mr Gavin Spratt — 'What was the Agricultural Revolution?'

This meeting was held at Gatehouse of Fleet

**20th March**

Special General Meeting

Speaker: Mr William Cormack — 'Excavations at Barhobble'

As revised and adopted at the Annual General Meeting held on 8th October 1993

#### NAME OF THE SOCIETY

1. The Society shall be called "The Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society."

#### AIMS

2. The objects of the Society shall be to collect and publish the best information on the natural sciences and antiquities (including history, records, genealogy, customs and heraldry) of the three counties of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown; to procure the preservation of objects of natural science and antiquities relative to the district; to encourage local research and field activities in natural science and excavations by private individuals or public bodies and afford them suggestions and co-operation; to prevent as far as possible, any injury to ancient monuments and records, etc.; and to collect photographs, drawings and descriptions and transcripts of the same.

#### MEMBERSHIP

3. The Society shall consist of Life Members, Honorary Members, Ordinary Members, and Junior Members.

#### LIFE MEMBERS

4. Life Membership shall be gained by a composition fee of such sum as may be agreed on from time to time by the Annual General Meeting or a Special Meeting, which shall entitle the Life Member to all the privileges of the Society.

#### HONORARY MEMBERS

5. Honorary Members shall not exceed twenty in number. They shall be entitled to all the privileges of the Society, without subscriptions, but shall be elected or re-elected annually at the Annual General Meeting. Honorary Membership shall, as far as possible, be reserved (a) for those who have aided the Society locally, or (b) for those of recognised attainments in natural history, archaeology, or kindred subjects.

#### ORDINARY AND JUNIOR MEMBERS, ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS, PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERS

6. Persons desirous of becoming members should apply to the Honorary Membership Secretary who shall have power to admit such persons as Members. They shall contribute annually on the 1st October or within three months thereafter such sum as may be agreed upon from time to time by the Annual General Meeting, or a Special Meeting. All Ordinary Members shall be entitled to attend the Meetings of the Society and shall receive gratis a copy of the *Transactions* of the Society on issue.

When more than one person from the same family and residing in the same house joins the Society, all after the first may pay half the subscription rate or such sum as may be agreed upon from time to time by the Annual General Meeting or a Special Meeting, and shall enjoy the privileges of the Society except that they shall not receive gratis a copy of the *Transactions*.

Junior members are those who have not attained the age of eighteen. They may join the Society in the same way as Ordinary Members, but shall pay an annual subscription of such sum as may be agreed upon from time to time. Junior Members shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership, except that they shall have no vote nor shall they receive gratis a copy of the *Transactions*. Junior Members shall be liable for the Ordinary Membership subscription on the first day of October following their eighteenth birthday, or within three months thereafter.

Subscriptions from newly joined Members are due on their joining the Society.

#### OVERDUE SUBSCRIPTIONS

7. Members whose subscriptions are in arrears shall not receive the *Transactions*. If in arrears for fifteen months and having received due notice from the Treasurer, they shall cease *ipso facto* to be Members of the Society.

#### VISITORS

8. A Member may introduce a friend to any Ordinary Meeting of the Society.

#### OFFICE-BEARERS, COUNCIL ELECTION

9. The business of the Society shall be conducted by a Council composed of a President, Past President, four Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and twelve Ordinary Members, together with Membership Secretary, Librarians, Curators, and Editors. They shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting and shall be eligible for re-election with the following provisos:

The President shall not occupy the Chair for more than three years consecutively and shall not be eligible for re-election until the expiry of one year.

Each year one Vice-President and three Ordinary Members shall retire and shall not be eligible for re-election until the expiry of one year. In deciding who shall be ineligible for re-election, the Council shall take into account length of service and attendance at the Council Meetings, but if vacancies occur owing to voluntary retirement, or death, these vacancies shall reduce the retiring quota.

The Council shall have power to fill casual vacancies occurring during the year. Any person thus appointed shall be subject to the same conditions as those applicable to the person whom he replaces.

#### QUORUM

Five Members shall form a quorum at a Council Meeting.

#### FELLOWS

10. On retiring, Presidents shall become Fellows of the Society. This honour may also be conferred upon Members of the Society, who have done outstanding scientific work for the Society. Such individuals shall be proposed by the Council for election at an Annual General Meeting. A Fellow shall be eligible for any office for which he is qualified.

### COMMITTEES

11. The Council may appoint Committees for any specific purpose, and with such powers as may seem warranted by the occasion; any such Committee to be composed of not less than three Members of the Society, exclusive of the President and the Secretary, who shall be ex officio members of all Committees. Every Committee shall have power to co-opt.

### SECRETARY'S DUTIES

12. The Secretary shall keep a Minute Book of the Society's Proceedings, shall conduct the ordinary correspondence of the Society and shall submit a report on the previous year's activities at the Annual General Meeting. The Secretary shall call all Meetings.

### EDITOR

13. The Council shall appoint one or more Members of the Society as Editors of the *Transactions* who shall be ex officio Members of the Council.

### TREASURER'S DUTIES

14. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions, take charge of the funds, and make payments therefrom under the direction of the Council, to whom the Treasurer shall present an Annual Account made up to 31st March, to be audited for submission at the Annual General Meeting.

The Treasurer shall arrange such insurance cover of the Society's property, and for its potential liability to Members or to third parties as the Council may from time to time direct. The Council need only instruct such insurance cover, and, if instructed, for such amounts, as they in their sole discretion think fit.

### INVESTED FUNDS

15. The invested funds of the Society shall be in the name of the President, Secretary, and Treasurer, for the time being, conjointly or held by the Nominee Company of the Society's Bank to the order of the said three Office-Bearers. Life Membership fees are to be regarded as capital, and are to be invested at the discretion of the above-named three Office-Bearers in any stocks known as Trustee Securities, or in a Bank Deposit.

### MEETINGS

16. The Meetings of the Society shall be held, as arranged by the Council and at such Meetings papers may be read and discussed, objects of interest exhibited, and other business transacted.

### FIELD MEETINGS

17. The Field Meetings shall be held as arranged by the Council, to visit and examine places of interest, and otherwise carry out the aims of the Society.

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

18. The Annual General Meeting, of which not less than fourteen days' notice shall be given, shall be held in October, and at this meeting the Office-Bearers, Members of Council, and two Auditors shall be elected. Fifteen Members shall form a quorum.

Reports (general and financial) shall be submitted and any other competent business transacted. Office-Bearers and Members of Council shall be nominated by the outgoing Council, but it shall be competent for any two Members to make alternative or additional nominations, provided that they are in the hands of the Secretary, together with the consent in writing of the nominee(s), at least seven clear days before the meeting. A ballot shall be held if necessary.

### SPECIAL MEETINGS

19. The Secretary or the President shall at any time call a special meeting of the Society on receiving instructions of the Council, or a requisition signed by six Members. Every Member of the Society must be informed of any such Special Meeting, of which not less than seven days' notice must be given. Fifteen Members shall form a quorum.

### TRANSACTIONAL RIGHT TO PUBLISH PAPERS

20. The Council shall have the right to publish in the *Transactions* or otherwise, the whole, or part, of a résumé of, any paper read by any member or person at a meeting of the Society, and the Council shall decide what illustrations, plates, or diagrams shall be reproduced with any such papers.

### SEPARATE COPIES OF PAPERS

21. Contributors of papers to the Society shall be entitled, if such papers be published in the *Transactions* to receive ten copies gratis of such papers as "separates" in pamphlet form.

### LOANS

22. The Society is prepared to accept articles of interest for exhibition on loan, but they will not be responsible for their damage or loss by fire, theft, or any other cause. It is desirable that parties lending articles should state the value put upon them, that the Society (in their discretion) may insure the articles for a similar amount. The Council shall have the power to terminate or to refuse, the loan of such articles as they may from time to time see fit.

### RULES

23. These Rules cancel all other Rules previously passed. They shall be printed in pamphlet form and a copy shall be supplied to every member and to every new member on his joining. They shall take effect from the date of the Meeting at which they were adopted.

### ALTERATION OF RULES

24. Alterations of these Rules or the addition of any new rule shall be made only with the consent of three fourths of the Members, present and voting at an Annual General Meeting, or at a Special Meeting, notice of such proposed alteration or addition having been given in writing to the Secretary not less than eight weeks previous to such Meeting. The Secretary shall intimate to all Members resident in the British Isles that a change in the Rules is proposed.

## LIST OF MEMBERS —

as at 01/05/1993

Those marked '\*\*' are Fellows of the Society under Rule 10

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

**Honorary Members.**

Number	Name & Address	Joined
0316	Mr* A.E. Truckell, Castlerag, Carsethorn, Kirkbean, Dumfries. DG2 8DS	1947

**Life Members.**

Number	Name & Address	Joined
0037	Dr R Baguley, 48 Albert Road, Grappenhall, Warrington. WA4 2PC	1978
0038	Prof. E. Birley*, Carvoran House, Greenhead, Carlisle. CA6 7JB	1935
0039	Mr P.F.B. Blackwell, Ramshill, Upper Easebourne, Midhurst, Sussex.	1946
0040	His Grace Duke of Buccleuch, Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill. DG3 4AQ	1975
0043	Mrs J.T.S. Ferguson, Laggan, Dunscore, Dumfries. DG2 0UF	1986
0044	Dr J.D. Floyd, Inst. of Geological Sciences, Murchison House, West Mains Road, Edinburgh. EH9 3LA	1970
0045	Mr D.R. Gaskell, Auchenbreck Farm, Tynron, Moniaive, Thornhill. DG3 4LF	1975
0442	Ms J Gibson, Memphis, 5 Arthur's Place Lockerbie DG11 2EB	1991
0136	Dr J.A. Gibson, Foremount House, Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire	1968
0046	Mr J. Gordon, Whaup Croft, The Lake, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4XL	1969
0053	Dr D.R. Hannay, Kirkdale, Carluith, Newton Stewart. DG8 7EA	1969
0162	Mr W.F. Horsburgh, Burn Grange, Ecclefechan, Lockerbie. DG11 3DR	1978
0168	Dr W.G. Jardine, 22 Bute Crescent, Bearsden, Glasgow. G61 1BS	1966
0047	Mr J.J. Johnston, P.O. Box 65, Marshall, Arkansas 72650 U.S.A.	1972
0405	Mr K. Johnston, Allanton Mill, Auldirth. DG2 0UB	1990
0048	Mr A. Kennedy, Craigmullen, Dundrennan, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4QF	1943
0049	Dr A. Mackie, Viewfield, Mauchline, Ayrshire.	1976
0050	Miss F. McCulloch, Anwoth House, Gatehouse of Fleet. DG7 2EF	1985
0051	Dr E.J. Perkins, Grove Cottage, Birkby, Maryport, Cumbria. CA15 0RG	1964
0052	Miss M. Porteous, Lincluden House, College Road Lincluden DG2 0BX	1953
0054	Hon. Sir Steven Runciman, Elsiefields, Lockerbie. DG11 1LY	1967
0055	Prof. Etienne Rynne, University College, Galway, Eire.	1964
0057	Mr F.J. Stewart, 30/5 Colinton Road, Edinburgh. EH10 5DG	1978
0058	Mrs O.M. Stewart, 30/5 Colinton Road, Edinburgh. EH10 5DG	1978
0059	Mr M. Stirling, 20 Westbourne Terrace, London W2.	
0304	Mr T. Stothart, 3 Walter Street, Langholm. DG13 0AX	1978
0060	Mrs J.M. Thomas, Southwick House, Southwick, Dumfries. DG2 8AH	1950
0061	Mr J. Thomson, Summerhill House, Annan. DG12 6SH	1977

**Ordinary Members.**

Number	Name & Address	Joined
0062	Mr D. Adamson, Highfields, Barrhill Road, Dalbeattie. DG5 4HT	1981
0063	Mr* & Mrs D. Adamson, 39 Roberts Crescent, Dumfries. DG2 7RS	1972
0066	Mr J.M. Aitkenhead, Kilquanity House, Castle Douglas. DG7 3DB	1969
0387	Mrs E.D. Allan, Pine Cottage, 45 Commercial Road, Strathaven. ML10 6LX	1990
0441	Mr Alan Anderson, Cargenfield, Cargenholm, Dumfries. DG2 8ER	1991
0451	Mr David Anderson, Lavender Bank, Tinwald Shaws, By Dumfries	1992

0067	Mr* & Mrs A. Anderson, 22 St Annes Road, Dumfries. DG2 9HZ	1962
0068	Dr & Mrs D.G. Anderson, Camregan Bungalow, Old Dailly, By Girvan, Ayrshire KA26 9RA	1978
0069	Mr I.G. Anderson, Gribton, Irongray, Dumfries. DG2 0YJ	1982
0388	Mrs E. Anderson, 3 River Park, The Howes, Annan. DG12 5PE	1960
0071	Mr M.L. Ansell, Shierglass, Balmaclellan, Castle Douglas. DG7 3QE	1965
0072	Mr A. Archibald, Eriskay, St Annes Road, Dumfries. DG2 9HZ	1970
0389	Mrs M.V.R. Archibald, Greddock Cottage, Palmure, Newton Stewart. DG8 6BA	
0073	Mr William Austin, Glaston, 54 Albert Road, Dumfries. DG2 9DL	1977
0074	Mr* James. Banks, Scarknowe, St Annes Road, Dumfries. DG2 9HZ	1960
0390	Miss H. Barrington, Norwood, 30A Noblehill Avenue, Dumfries. DG1 3HR	1989
0075	Mr & Mrs Timothy Beard, 108 North Street P.O.Box 269 Roxbury CT06783-0269 U.S.A.	1970
0076	Mrs A. Bell, 12 Castle Douglas Road, Dumfries. DG2 7NX	1967
0077	Miss Marion FS Bell, 6a Johnstone Park, Dumfries. DG1 4AE	1979
0440	Mr D Black, Ashley Dene, Staplestreet Road, Dunkirk, Kent. ME13 9TJ	1991
0078	Mr J.B. Blair, 49 Whinhall Avenue, Airdrie, Lanarkshire.	1973
0079	Mr Brian Blake, Silver Beck, Silverhowe, Grasmere, Westmorland.	1953
0392	Mr & Mrs Wm.B. Blyth, Blowplain Open Farm, Balmaclan, Castle Douglas. DG7 3PY	1989
0080	Mr M.K. Bonnar, 9/4 Timber Bush Leith, Dunfermline.	1975
0271	Mr & Mrs C.J. Bown, Oakdene, Barrasgate, Kirkton, Dumfries. DG1 1SS	1991
0081	Miss E.G. Boyes, 45 Greenlea Crescent, Collin, Dumfries. DG1 4PR	1969
0082	Mrs F. & Mrs R. Brewis, Ardwell House Stranraer. DG9 9LY	1958
0083	Mrs D. Brooke, Craignair, Auchencairn, Castle Douglas. DG5 4LX	1984
0459	Mr & Mrs J A Brooker, Holehouse, Drumburn, Kirkbean by Dumfries. DG2 8DL	1992
0503	Mr D Brooks, 15 Plumdon Park Avenue, Annan. DG11 6EY	1992
0084	Mr A.J.M. Brown, Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4UB	1972
0085	Dr G. Brown, Sea View, Main Street, Port William, Newton Stewart. DG8	1981
0086	Mr & Mrs KD & SM. Brown, Duncraig 3 Hermitage Drive, Dumfries DG2 7QF	1984
0087	Mr William L Brown, Taynord, St Georges, Castle Douglas. DG7 1LN	1970
0088	Mr T. Bryden, 5 Woodlands Crescent, Newbridge, Dumfries. DG2 0LB	1968
0460	Mrs M Bryson, Harts Close Cottage, 31 High Street, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4SL	
0089	Dr Isabel Bryson, Alma Bank, 15 Lovers Walk, Dumfries. DG1 1LR	1977
0090	Dr J. Buchanan, Zambezi, Mill Hall, Borgue, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4TN	1981
0509	Mrs Burkinshaw, Wood Cottage, Douglas Hall Road, Colvend By Dalbeattie. DG5 4PX	1993
0091	Miss C. Cameron, 6 Glenannan Avenue, Lockerbie. DG11 2EG	1984
0510	Ms Marion Campbell, Barnboard Mill, Balmaghie, By Castle Douglas. DG7 2PE	1993
0092	Miss Denise J. Carruthers, Moss-side, Troqueer, Dumfries. DG2 8NB	1967
0094	Mrs G. Carson, Burnfoot of Cluden, Holywood Road, Dumfries.	1983
0393	Mr R. Chadburn, 28 Maxwell Street, Dalbeattie. DG5 4AQ	1990
0394	Mrs M. Chandler, East Cluden Mill, Newbridge, Dumfries. DG2 0JA	1990
0095	Mr* & Mrs J. Chinnock, 63 Albert Road, Dumfries. DG2 9DL	1968
0096	J.D. Clark, 41 Auchencrieff Road South, Locharbriggs, Dumfries. DG1 1BX	1971
0448	Mr Tim Clarkson, 43 Raynham Street, Ashton Under Lyne, Lancashire. OL6 9PB	1991
0097	Miss M. Clavering, Clover Cottage, Moffat. DG10 9LS	1949
0098	Miss M.S. Cochrane, J.M.Barrie Court, 61 George Street, Dumfries. DG1 1EA	1946
0099	Mr & Mrs R. Coleman, 4 Lovers Walk, Dumfries. DG1 1LP	1978

## LIST OF MEMBERS

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0100	Mr T.R Collin, Oakley Bank, Kirkcudbright. DG6	1973
0508	Mrs F.M. Colton, Annandale & Eskdale Council Offices, Annan. DG12 6AQ	1993
0463	Miss Jean Comrie, 33 Alva Place, Edinburgh. EH7 5AX	1992
0395	Mr & Mrs K.D. Connock, Ardnish, Wellhouse Road, Kirkcowan. Newton Stewart DG8 OHE	1989
0433	Mr & Mrs J & J Copland, Rostherne House, 35 Doune Road, Dunblane. FK15 9AT	1991
0101	Mr* & Mrs W.F. Cormack, 16 Dryfe Road, Lockerbie. DG11 2AJ	1951
0103	Derek. Craig, Dept. of Archaeology, 46 Saddler Street, Durham. DH1 3NU	1985
0104	Mr & Mrs Patrick Crichton, Mundeville, Tinwald, Dumfries. DG1 3PL	1989
0105	Mr T.G. Crosbie, 69 Moffat Road, Dumfries. DG1 1PB	1981
0502	Mrs S Cunningham, 53 Albert Road, Dumfries. DG2 9DL	1992
0107	Dr Charles Daniels, Museum of Antiquities, The University, Newcastle upon Tyne. NE1 7RU	1961
0108	Mrs H. Darke, 12 Lake View, Powfoot, Annan. DG12 5PG	
0110	Mr E.J.M. Davies, Cairnmill, Penpont, Thornhill. DG3 4LX	1973
0111	J.W.S. Dearness, Whistlebrae, Sanday, Orkney. KW17 2AZ	1979
0507	Mrs Jean Den Hengst, 17 Grant Court, Dumfries. DG1 2RB	1993
0444	Dr David Devereux, 25 Fleet Street, Gatehouse of Fleet. DG7 2JT	1991
0112	Mr N. Dinwiddie, 27 Newall Terrace, Dumfries. DG1 1LN	1937
0113	Mr David, Dinwoodie, Applegarth, 31 Glendale Close, Carlton, Nottingham NG4 4FD	1982
0114	Mr Alex. Dobbie, 1 Georgetown Cresent, Dumfries. DG1 4EQ	1976
0115	Mr & Mrs K.H. Dobie, 2 Corbelly Hill, Dumfries. DG2 7SQ	1973
0117	Misses I. & M.I. Douglas, 3 Nunholm Place, Dumfries. DG1 1JR	1968
0120	Mr John Dunbar-Lidderdail, 21 Withyholt Park, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham. GL53 9BP	1966
0121	Miss R. Dundas, Caddam, Kinnordy, Kirriemuir, Angus. DD8 4LP	1966
0122	Dr J.F. Eden, Buittle Bridge, East Logan, Castle Douglas. DG7 3AA	1980
0511	Mr Robert Edgar, PO Box 213, Monmouth, Oregon. 97361 U.S.A.	1993
0124	Mr T.C. Farries, 3 Nunholm Park, Dumfries. DG1 1JP	1948
0125	Mr G. Fazakerley, Coniston, Carsethorn, Kirkbean, Dumfries. DG2 8DS	1970
0126	Miss E. Ferguson, 14 Gordon Street, Dumfries. DG1 1EG	1968
0127	Mrs P.M. Ferguson, Changue, Port William, Newton Stewart. DG8 9QU	1988
0128	R. Ferguson, Woodlea House, High Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire. FK4 2AZ	1953
0398	Mr & Mrs J.C. & M.D Foster, 2 Blackacre Cottages, Courance, Lockerbie. DG11 1TR	1989
0397	Mr & Mrs W.R. Foyle, Wayside 2 Milehouse Crescent Dumfries DG1 1J2	1991
0130	Dr & Mrs I.A.M. Fraser, Windrush, 42 Rotchell Park, Dumfries. DG2 7RJ	1963
0131	J.H. Fraser, 10 The Drive, Adel, Leeds. LS16 6BG	1978
0132	Mr J.H.D. Gair, Clairmont, 16 Dumfries Road, Lockerbie DG11 2EF	1945
0512	J R Gelston, 12 Longbridge Road, Lichfield, Staffs. WS14 9EL	1993
0133	Mrs M.R Gemie, Banks of Troqueer, Troqueer Road, Dumfries. DG2 7DF	1970
0134	Miss B. Gerdes, 27 Ardwall Road, Dumfries. DG1 3AQ	1967
0135	Dr Allan Gibbs, Oldhall, Fenwick, Ayrshire. KA3 6AR	1968
0137	Mrs M. Glendinning, Woodend, Sandyhills, Dalbeattie. DG5 4NP	1957
0138	Mr W. Good, 6 Abbots Way, Ayr. KA7 4EY	1985
0402	Mr I.C. Gordon, Druidhill Mill, Thornhill. DG3 4AR	1989
0401	Mr & Mrs B. Gotto, Yeomonrigg, Lochmaben. DG11 1RW	1991
0438	Mr & Mrs H Gough-Cooper, Fraserford, Dunscore, Dumfries. DG2 OUU	1991

0139	Mrs E.Graham, Mansefield, Whithorn, Newton Stewart. DG8 8PE	1989
0399	Miss A.G. Graham, West Bretton, Annan. DG12 6RN	1990
0141	Mr W. Green, Greenways, Halleaths Road, Lochmaben, Lockerbie. DG11 1RB	1989
0446	Mrs M Griffin, Ashgrove, Ashgrove Terrace, Lockerbie. DG11 2BG	1991
0439	Mr & Mrs S Hall, United Methodist Church, 421 West Broadway, P.O.Box 101, Eagle Grove, IOWA. 50533 USA	1991
0141	Mr A.G. Halliday, 1 Noblehill Drive, Dumfries. DG1 3HH	1988
0142	Mr B. Hanraads, Ravelston, Laurieston Road, Gatehouse of Fleet. DG7 2BE	1988
0143	Mr W. Hanson, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, Glasgow. G12 8QQ	1979
0144	Mrs B. Hargreaves, Straith Cottage, Moniaive, Thornhill. DG3 4DZ	1983
0145	Dr* & Mrs J. Harper, 18 High Street, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4JX	1947
0146	Mrs M.I. Hastings, 15 Milehouse Crescent, Dumfries. DG1 1JZ	1983
0147	H.N. Hawley, Tumbly Lawn, Boston, Lincolnshire.	1962
0148	Mr D. Henderson, 9 Gillbrae Crescent, Georgetown, Dumfries. DG1 4DJ	1988
0149	Mr I.G. Henderson, The Hermitage, St Brydes Terrace, Lockerbie. DG11 2EJ	1951
0151	Miss J.M. Henderson, Ardgowan 5 Lockerbie Road Dumfries DG1 3AP	1945
0152	Lady Catherine Henderson, The Hensol, Mossdale, Castle Douglas. DG7 2NE	1984
0501	Miss M.A. Heywood, The Hollies, Barningham, Richmond, North Yorkshire. DL11 7DW	1992
0156	Mr G.R. Higgs, 8 Barrhill Road, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4BG	1967
0157	Mr G.M. Hill, 102 Edinburgh Road, Dumfries. DG1 1JU	1979
0158	Mr P. Hill, Scottish Development Dept., 3-11 Melville Street, Edinburgh. EH3 7QD	1985
0159	Mr & Mrs W.B. Hill, 1 Strathearn Place, Dumfries. DG2 7RT	1985
0160	Mr & Mrs J.H Holland, Bargaly Lodge, Newton Stewart. DG8 7BH	1988
0161	Rev W. & Mrs H.Holland, The Manse, New Abbey, Dumfries.	1986
0163	Mrs M. Hughes, Rambler Cottage, Racks Road, Greenlea, Collin, Dumfries. DG1 4PS	1977
0403	Mr J.G.D. Hume, 51 Moffat Road, Dumfries. DG1 1NN	1991
0164	Mr Fraser Hunter, Finnart, Larg Road, Stranraer. Wigtownshire DG9 0JE	1985
0165	Sir E.T. Hunter-Blair, Parton House, Castle Douglas. DG7 3NB	1965
0166	Mr D.B. Hyde, P.O.Box 25747, Colorado Springs, CO 80936 U.S.A.	1978
0167	Mr J.W. Irving, Kirkbrae, Lochrutton, Dumfries. DG2 8NH	1957
0404	Dr & Mrs J.K. Johnson, 65 Rotchell Road, Dumfries. DG2 7SA	1989
0406	Mr & Mrs Johnston-Stewart, Physgill Lodge, Whithorn. DG8 8JU	1990
0437	Dr J.H. Jones, The Archivist, Balliol College, Oxford OX1 3BJ	1991
0172	M. Jubb, Elliscroft, Elrig, Newton Stewart. DG8 9RD	1979
0174	Mr D.C. Kellar, Woodlea, Shawhead, Dumfries. DG2 9SJ	1984
0175	Dr & Mrs D.J. Kennedy, Meadowcroft, Bankend Road, Dumfries. DG1 4TP	1988
0408	Ms Elaine Kennedy, Gilnockie, 10 Park Road, Dumfries DG2 7PW	1990
0178	Mrs Margaret Kingan, Blairshinnoch, Kirkgunzeon, Dumfries. DG2 8JJ	1987
0409	Miss Ina Kirkpatrick, 2 Corberry Mews, Maxwell Street, Dumfries. DG2 7AX	1990
0180	Mr G. Kirkwood, 11 Georgetown Crescent, Dumfries. DG1 4EQ	1986
0504	Mr Peter Kormylo, Abbot's Tower, Landis, New Abbey. DG2 8HH	
0183	Mr T. Laurie, Linnpark, Leonard Crescent, Lockerbie. DG11 2BE	1987
0185	Mrs S. Lenthall, The Smithy, Marrburn Road, Penpont, Thornhill. DG3 4BL	1983
0186	Mrs E. Leven, 21 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries. DG1 3AP	1987
0187	Mrs C. Leyland, Rubylea, Glencaple, Dumfries. DG1 4RD	1988
0410	Dr & Mrs J. Little, Fearnhill, Bankend Road, Dumfries. DG1 4TP	1989
0188	Mr D. Lockwood, Balmaine, 15 Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries. DG2 7PE	1977

0506	Mrs Ethel.B. MacBrair-Koller, 3100 College Drive, Berkley, California. 94705 U.S.A.	1969
0207	Mr I.F. MacLeod, 59 Oakfield Avenue Glasgow, . G12 8LW	1963
0208	Mr M. MacLure, Redholme, 69 Edinburgh Road, Dumfries. DG1 1JX	1983
0210	Prof. J. MacQueen, 12 Orchard Toll, Edinburgh. EH4 3JF	1952
0462	Mr A.E. MacRobert, 2 Winchester Drive, Glasgow. G12 ONE	1992
0213	Mr & Mrs W.R. Main, Drumburn, Colvend, Dalbeattie. DG5 4PY	1984
0214	Mrs M. Martin, c/o Robertland, Amisfield Dumfries DG1 3PB	1946
0215	Mrs Mary H Martin, Bank House, Ruthwell, Dumfries. DG1 4NN	1986
0216	Mr & Mrs K. Mason-Parry, Auldton Mote, Moffat. DG10 9LB	1973
0217	Miss M. Massie, 1 Greenlea Drive, Collin, Dumfries. DG1 4PP	1978
0218	Mr* L.J. Masters, 18A Newark Drive, Pollockshields, Glasgow. G41 4QE	1966
0219	Mr & Mrs D. Mathieson, 18 St Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries. DG2 7NZ	1981
0220	Miss J.M. Maton, Cargenholm House Nursing Home, New Abbey Road, Dumfries. DG2 8ER	1970
0221	Mrs B. Maxwell, Steadstone House, Dalbeattie. DG5 4QT	1963
0222	Sir Michael Maxwell, Monreith House, Port William, Newton Stewart. DG8 9LB	1989
0223	Miss M.V. Maxwell, 97 Newchurch Road, Rawtenstall, Rossendale.	1981
0224	Mrs Shuna Maxwell, 15 Gordon Road, Edinburgh EH12 6NB	1954
0225	Mr Stuart Maxwell, 16 Dick Place, Edinburgh. EH9	1966
0226	Mr A.M.T. Maxwell-Irving, Telford House, Blairlogie, Stirlingshire. FK9 5PX	1987
0191	Mr R.H McArthur, Windlehurst, 96 Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries DG2 7JX	1986
0412	Mrs T. McAughtrie, 5 Kellwood Avenue, Dumfries. DG1 4HQ	1990
0453	Dr & Mrs B.H. McBrayer, 23488 SW Pony Ridge Drive, Rainbow Lakes Estates, Dunnellon, Florida 34431-2761, U.S.A.	1986
0193	Mr P.J.D. McCall, Crawford Villa, Johnstone Park, Dumfries. DG1 4AE	1970
0194	C.L. McCallum, Greenwood Hall, Moffat. DG10 9BZ	1983
0195	Mr A. McCracken, Tarras, 3 Alexandra Place, Annan. DG12 5DJ	1961
0198	Mr R.H. McEwen, Seaforth, 13 Douglas Terrace, Lockerbie. DG11 2DZ	1969
0199	Mr & Mrs J.A.C. McFadden, 54 Moffat Road, Dumfries. DG1 1NY	1969
0200	Mr J. McFadzean, Airylick, Elrig, Port William, Newton Stewart. DG8 9RF	1981
0202	B.E. McGarrigle, 22 Nethercliffe Avenue, Glasgow. G44 3UL	1972
0204	Mr & Mrs G. McKean, 58 Cardoness Street, Dumfries. DG1 3QZ	1975
0413	The Lady Mc Kerrell of Hillhouse, Magdalene House, Bruce Street, Lochmaben. DG11 1PD	
0452	Mr & Mrs JS & MP McKinnell, Drumskeoch, Colvend, Dalbeattie. DG5 4QD	1989
0505	Mr M.J. McMullen, 1 Woodlands Avenue, Walton, Stone, Staffs. ST15 ODR	1992
0457	Dr & Mr S & P McNeill, Woodfoot, Gatehouse of Fleet. DG7 2BJ	1992
0211	Dr. M. McWilliam, 9840 90 Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta, T6E 2T2. CANADA	1984
0228	Miss R.M. Meyler, Marlin, Chapel Street, Moniaive, Thornhill. DG3 4EJ	1967
0416	Mr & Mrs N.S & M Miller, Dinwoodie Toll Bar, Lockerbie. DG11 2SL	1990
0230	Dr J. Minton, Dalveen Grange Road Moffat Dumfriesshire DG10 9HS	1982
0464	Mrs Caroline Mitchell, Harbour Cottage, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4LD	1992
0231	Miss L.A. Morrison, 77 Laghall Court, Kingholm Quay, Dumfries. DG1 4SY	1985
0232	Mrs Jean Muir, North Wing, Carzield House, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries. DG1 1SY	1981
0233	Mrs B.J. Murray, 4 Moray Place, Edinburgh. EH3 6DS	1979
0234	Mr & Mrs J.B. Murray, Mount Charles, Moffat. DG10 9SD	1987
0235	Mr & Mrs J. Neilson, Rosewood, 2 Park Street, Dumfries. DG2 7PH	1977
0236	Mrs Nancy Nevay, 27 Lovers Walk, Dumfries. DG1 1LR	1987
0237	Mr P.J Newell, 27 Grove Road, Acton. London W3 6AW	1985
0239	Mr W.W. Nielson, 33 Spen Road, West Park, Leeds. LS16 5AT	1957

0240	Mr T. Nisbet, 9 Georgetown Drive, Dumfries. DG1 4EH	1972
0241	Mr D.W. Ogilvie, Lingerwood, Nelson Street, Dumfries. DG2 7AY	1976
0242	Dr R.D Oram, Rosevalley, Mid Street, Hopeman, Morayshire. IV30 2TF	1986
0244	Mrs E.J. Brann, Violet Grove, 296 King Street, Castle Douglas. DG7 1HA	1988
0246	Dr J. Parker, Rose Place, 11 Park Avenue, Chelmsford. Essex CM1 2AA	1979
0247	Mr R. Pate, Willowbank, Minnigaff, Newton Stewart	1969
0248	Miss J. Patterson, Lochalt, Loch Head of Elrig, Port William, Newton Stewart. DG8 9RG	1981
0249	A.W.H. Pearsall, 71 Parkside, Vanbrugh Park, London. SE5	1969
0250	Mr & Mrs J. Pearson, 29 Castle Street, Dumfries. DG1 1DL	1963
0251	Mr M. Pedreschi, Carse of Clary, Newton Stewart. DG8 6BH	1983
0253	Mr & Mrs A. Penman, Lochaber, 65 Academy Street, Castle Douglas. DG7 1EE	1987
0252	Mr I.A. Pennie, Annandale House, Lochmaben, Lockerbie. DG11 1NH	1987
0254	Mr D.J. Perry, 25 New Forest Drive, Brockenhurst, Hampshire. SO4 7QT	1972
0255	Mr J.Q.S. Phillips, 33 Cliffe Road, Walkley, Sheffield. S6 5DR	1979
0256	Mr H. Pickles, 14 Auchenkeld Avenue, Heathhall, Dumfries. DG1 3QX	1986
0257	Mr & Mrs W. Prentice, North Laurieknowe House, Maxwelltown, Dumfries. DG2 7AL	1966
0258	Miss J. Primrose, 33 St. Mary's Street, Sanquhar. DG4 6BW	1970
0259	Mr & Mrs K. Prince, Shealladh, Wallaceaton, Auldgirth, Dumfries. DG2 0TG	1986
0260	Dr. T.M. Pritchard, Roe Cottage, Heck, Lochmaben, Lockerbie. DG11 1JD	1979
0418	Mrs E.V.W. Proudfoot, Westgate, Wardlaw gardens, St. Andrews. KY16 9DW	1990
0261	Mrs S. Purdie, The Auld Kirk, Hardgate, Haugh of Urr, Castle Douglas. DG7 3LD	1977
0262	Mrs H. Quinn, 4 Corseknoe, Sanquhar. DG4 6EF	1966
0263	Mrs A. Reddoch, 4 Cochrane Street, Strathaven, Lanarkshire. ML10 6ND	1986
0264	Dr. J. Rees, 3 Hamilton Drive, Cambuslang, Glasgow.	1961
0265	Mr K.R.W. Reid, 4 Drummond Place, Gargunock, Stirlingshire.	1965
0419	Miss A. Reid, 3 Hawthorne Way, Stranraer. DG9 7QY	1985
0266	Dr E.D. Roberts, 31 Park Gates Drive, Cheadlehume, Cheshire. SK8 7DD	1981
0268	Mr* A. Robertson, Kenyon, 45 Albert Road, Dumfries. DG2 9DN	1957
0269	Prof. Anne S Robertson, 31 Upper Glenburn Road, Bearsden, Glasgow. G61 4BN	1965
0270	Mr J* & G Robertson, 38 Edinburgh Road, Dumfries. DG1 1JQ	1936
0272	Mrs W. Robertson, 253 Annan Road, Dumfries. DG1 3HB	1971
0273	Mrs I.M. Robinson, Dykenook, Colvend, Dalbeattie. DG5 4QA	1985
0274	Mr & Mrs D.C. Rochester, Hillcrest, Kirkton, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries. DG1 1SL	1983
0275	Mr & Mrs J & M. Rodan, Wallacehall, Wallaceaton, Auldgirth, Dumfries. DG2 0TG	1987
0276	Dr & Mrs W.J.B. Rogers, Achnaha, Barcloy Road, Rockcliffe, Kirkcudbrightshire. DG5 4QJ	1980
0279	Mrs E.M.G. Ross, 11 Hardthorn Cresnet, Dumfries. DG2 9HS	1962
0281	Mrs A. Rourke, 2 Courtyard Cottages, Arbigland, Dumfries. DG2 8BQ	1986
0282	Miss M.M. Rowland, 5 Cassalands, Dumfries. DG2 7NT	1977
0420	J.E. Russell, Drumwalls, Gatehouse of Fleet. DG7 2DE	1990
0283	Mr D. Sainty, Waterside, Ringford, Castle Douglas. DG7 2AU	1956
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