

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



LXXXV 2011

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

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ELAINE KENNEDY  
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## EDITORIAL INFORMATION

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, giving the nature and approximate size of their paper. Much more information on these *Transactions* and on the activities of the Society can be found at [www.dgnhas.org.uk](http://www.dgnhas.org.uk).

Each contributor has seen a proof of his or her paper and neither the Editors nor the Society hold themselves responsible for the accuracy of scientific, historical or personal information in it.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr John L Williams, Merkland, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries DG1 1SY, Tel: 01387 710274, deals with all matters other than membership which are dealt with by the Hon. Membership Secretary, Miss H. Barrington, 30A Noblehill Avenue, Dumfries DG1 3HR, Tel: 01387 256666.

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Enquiries regarding back numbers of the *Transactions* - see back cover - should be made to the Hon. Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 2 Loreburn Park, Dumfries DG1 1LS, Tel: 01387 247297. As many of the back numbers are out of stock, members can greatly assist the finances of the Society by arranging for any volumes that are not required to be handed in. It follows that volumes marked as out of print may nevertheless be available from time to time.

All payments, other than subscriptions, should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Michael Cook, Gowan Foot, Amisfield, Dumfries DG1 3PB. Payment of subscriptions should be made to Miss H. Barrington (see above). The latter will be pleased to arrange for subscriptions and/or donations to be treated as Gift Aid under the Finance Acts, which can materially increase the income of the Society without, generally, any additional cost to the member. Important Inheritance Tax and Capital Gains Tax concessions are also conferred on individuals by these Acts, in as much as bequests or transfers of shares or cash to the Society by way of Gift Aid are exempt from these taxes.

The Society may make small grants available for excavation or 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 to that Trust should be made to Primrose and Gordon, Solicitors, 1 Newall Terrace, Dumfries DG1 1LN. The Society may also be able to assist with applications for funding from other sources. Dumfries and Galloway Council are thanked for their contribution to the Society.

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





ROSA GIGANTEA – ‘SIR GEORGE WATT’ PART II  
INCLUDING ‘SIR GEORGE WATT’ ESCORTS ‘BANARAS DAWN’ TO  
SCOTLAND BY GIRIJA VIRARAGHAVAN<sup>1</sup>

Morag Williams<sup>2</sup>

*Readers of the Transactions issue LXXXIV 2010 will recall the story of Rosa Gigantea ‘Sir George Watt’, which ended on a note of hope that the rose might be grown successfully in Scotland.*

*There was great despair at the lack of success of the various packages which had been sent from India at considerable cost by the ever-hopeful Girija Viraraghavan and her husband, Viru. In Scotland, Richard Baines at Logan Botanic Garden in the West of Dumfries and Galloway remained just as optimistic and willing to keep trying to achieve success.*

*After two failed attempts Morag Williams perhaps planted the seed of an idea in Girija’s mind, which lay dormant because there did not seem to any possibility of its happening. She said that the main reason for the lack of success seemed to be the time taken by these tender cuttings to reach their destination in Scotland and receive attention. If only someone travelling from India to the UK could bring them by air it would improve the chances of success. Better still, if a rooted plant, instead of cuttings, could arrive by this means there would be greater hope of a successful outcome. Even so, such a move would provide another hurdle to overcome: a plant would require certification to travel.*

*There follows in Girija’s own words the second instalment of the journeying of the Rosa Gigantea ‘Sir George Watt’ from India to Scotland, which first appeared in January 2011 in The Indian Rose Annual XXVII 2011. Girija has kindly given consent for publication in the Transactions.*

**‘Sir George Watt’ Escorts ‘Banaras Dawn’ to Scotland by Girija Viraraghavan<sup>1</sup>**

In September 2009 we received an email message:

My name is Ruhi Thallon (nee Saxena). My father, Major Prem Saxena, cultivated and registered a rose, ‘Benares Dawn’. I did not know my father, as my mother left him when I was two years old. Unfortunately I was not able to make contact with him before he died. I have met my relatives and half siblings who resided in Dehra Dun and they told me dad had cultivated a couple of roses, however ‘Benares Dawn’ is the only one registered.

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<sup>1</sup> The Indian Rose Annual, XXVII, 2011

<sup>2</sup> Fellow of the Society, Merkland, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries DG1 1SY

I am keen to find out more about this rose and, if possible have one to grow in my garden in Scotland. I would also like it for my mother, now 82 and still not over my father! Would you know if Doon Roses in Dehra Dun are still in business and whether there is any chance this rose may still be in existence?'

I replied:

What a pleasant surprise to get your mail. And we can well empathise with your nostalgic search for a rose raised by your father.

Viru remembers the rose 'Banaras Dawn' and has heard of your father. But we do not know if the variety is still available. We looked up our old rose catalogues and we find that Friends Rosery, Lucknow, had listed it in their 1988-89 catalogue. This is what it said:

'BANARAS DAWN: (Maj. Saxena, Introducer: Doon Valley Roses) Rs. 10/-. The first Indian bred apricot coloured rose with gold base, with as many petals as in Medallion but much deeper in colour, more shapely and more fragrant. Very floriferous on long strong stems.'

We will try to scout around among our rose friends, some of whom are nurserymen, and see if they can come up with any answers. We do not think Doon Roses is in existence any more.

I do not want to raise your hopes, however, because over the years we have found many old Indian raised varieties have disappeared – many of my husband's early ones too. We have not been able to keep even the mother plant as he was on a transferable job till he retired.

I will ring up our good friend Mr G. Kasturirangan who owns KSG Sons, the biggest rose nursery in India and ask about 'Banaras Dawn'.

Unfortunately, Mr. Agarwal who owned 'Friends Rosery', Lucknow, and who catalogued this rose, passed away many years back.'

(Benares is the name of a holy town on the banks of the River Ganges, and is spelt either 'Benares' or 'Banaras'. The variety had been registered as 'Banaras Dawn')

Ruhi wrote that her father died in 1975 but the rose was registered in 1979 and Modern Roses 10 listed it. She was naturally unhappy that he did not know his rose had been registered and therefore all the more determined to try and find a plant. We wondered who had registered it, because in those days all registrations had to be done through the I.A.R.I. (Indian Agricultural Research Institute), which would forward the forms to the I.R.R.A. (International Rose Registration Authority), U.S.A., and not directly as can be done now. Perhaps the late Mr. Arpi Thakur, owner of Doon Valley Roses, had sent in the registration.

We rang Kasturirangan and were pleasantly surprised (actually we shouldn't have been, as Kasturi, as he is affectionately called, is the repository of an unbelievable number of varieties, old and new) to hear him say, 'yes, I know 'Banaras Dawn' and I have a mother plant'. We told him about Ruhi Thallon and her search and requested him to bud a few plants for her. He agreed and we lost no time in emailing Ruhi with this good news. She was naturally delighted and emailed him and also rang him to thank him.

Plants were budded straightaway, at Kasturi's farm on the Bangalore-Mysore Road, but it took many months for them to grow to a reasonable size – a size where they would recover from the trauma of being transported, bare-root and nearly dry, all the way from Bangalore, India, to Hunter's Quay, near Dunoon, Argyll, Scotland, where Ruhi lives.

Ruhi and we were in constant touch, she fretting at the slow growth, impatient to see them in her garden, and we reassuring her that they were growing and that Kasturi was the best judge of when they would be ready to take flight.

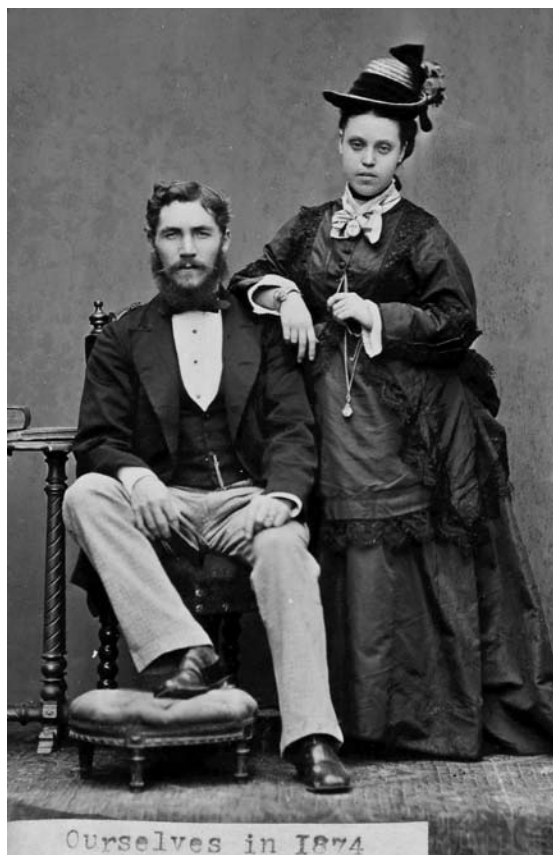


Figure 1. George Watt, aged 22, married Jane Simmie in 1873. This photograph, taken in 1874, possibly represents an official record of the event. From the archives of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh.

A parallel tale: We had been trying to send plant material of our variety, a Hybrid Gigantea, named for Sir George Watt (who had discovered *R. gigantea* in Ukhrul area, in Manipur State, north-east India) to a botanic garden in Scotland. (Please see my article 'A Tale of Two Knights', I.R.A. 2009). Several parcels, with proper documentation, had been dispatched over the past year, with no success. Once a postal strike in the U.K. delayed delivery over-long, another time the weather was bitterly cold, so the cuttings wouldn't root and a third time, though the stems reached in record time, somehow they didn't 'strike'. We were despondent, as was our friend in Scotland – Morag Williams, the retired Archivist of the Dumfries Hospital (where Sir George Watt, and later his son, had worked) who had been instrumental in sending me precious information about Sir George Watt himself, and putting me in touch with his descendants. We were at our wits' end wondering how to deliver 'Sir George Watt' the rose plant to the environs of where Sir George Watt, the person, had lived and worked.

Surprisingly, another hybrid gigantea bred by Viru, (with the same parentage as 'SGW') and named 'Sir Henry Collett', after the other knight who discovered the species gigantea in Burma (in the Shan Hills) has proved much easier to root from cuttings and has reached southern France and Kent. Just shows how very different siblings can be!!

Suddenly the bright idea occurred to Viru that if we could bud a plant of 'SGW' and grow it to a reasonable size, we could add it to the parcel of 'Banaras Dawn' plants and send them all together to Scotland. Our budding was successful and after a few months we had a strapping plant.

Kasturi called us up in August 2010 (earlier, I had been really bugging him, telephoning every so often to enquire about the growth of the 'Banaras Dawns') to say the plants had reached the size where travel would not affect them. We requested him that when he applied for the phyto-sanitary certificate and all other documentation necessary for sending a parcel of rooted plants he should add 'Sir George Watt' to the list. He readily agreed. But then waiting for the documentation to be completed took all of a month and more – typical bureaucratic delays. Finally one very rainy afternoon he called to say 'the certificates will come tomorrow, so please courier 'SGW' at once so it can be taken along with 'B.Ds.' to the Quarantine Office'. In pouring rain we rushed out, pruned, washed and cleaned up the roots and packed and couriered the plant-from Kodaikanal (where we live) to Bangalore (to Kasturi).

The parcel was finally ready to be sent by an international courier service to an eagerly waiting Ruhi. It so happened that a few days after we had sent 'SGW' to Bangalore we ourselves had to go there as we were keen to attend our very good friend Kasturi's 80th birthday – 'Shatabhishekam' as it is called on 29<sup>th</sup> September. We met his nephew, Sanjay, who had come for the function from London and who offered to carry the precious parcel personally and post it to Ruhi as soon as he returned back home. This seemed a better idea than the courier. The parcel rested in the refrigerator till such time as Sanjay was to leave, just a few days later. But a problem cropped up. We couldn't contact Ruhi for some days so instead we rang Morag and requested her to accept the parcel, and introduced her to Ruhi. Later when they contacted each other, they made arrangements to meet up at the Royal

Botanic Garden Edinburgh – which they did, after a nail-biting delay in the parcel reaching Morag. We were relieved to hear that all the plants were green and in good condition. They are now in the Botanic Garden’s quarantine area for three months. Hopefully they will survive and come through the bitter winter – remember they are Indian and acclimatized to warmth.

We are all keeping our fingers crossed – that ‘Banaras Dawn’ will finally bloom for Ruhi and her mother in Hunter’s Quay, Dunoon, and that ‘Sir George Watt’ will grow luxuriantly in the gardens he created – in the Crichton Royal Hospital, Dumfries, and his grandson’s former garden at Rosevale in Langholm, all in Scotland.



Figure 2. George Watt was elected a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire (CIE) in 1886 at the age of 35. This photograph might have been taken about that time. From the archives of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh.

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Morag takes up the story...

Girija is not exaggerating when she speaks of nail-biting. Sanjay arrived back in London on the Sunday. He posted the parcel to Scotland as soon as possible.

There are other key people in the story: none more so than Richard Baines at Logan Gardens, who smoothed the path for Rosa Gigantea hybrid ‘Sir George Watt’<sup>3</sup> to be received

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3 Viru Viraraghavan has advised that henceforth the rose should be named Rosa Gigantea hybrid ‘Sir George Watt’.

into the care of the staff of the quarantine department of the Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh.

It was fortuitous that Morag and her husband had an appointment in Edinburgh that week. It was crucial that the parcel should arrive by the Thursday and in time for them to keep an appointment in Edinburgh. It had not arrived by the Wednesday. Would it arrive on the Thursday and in time? Meanwhile Ruhi was on tenterhooks in Dunoon wondering if she would be making a trip to Edinburgh that day, too. Thankfully the parcel arrived and everyone involved set off.

Morag was welcomed by Bruce Robertson at the Royal Botanic Gardens. Ruhi had the longer journey and, as lunch-time was fast approaching, it was decided that the parcel should be taken to the quarantine department for inspection because everyone was eager to discover how the plants had stood up to their long journey in an unnatural environment.

Thanks to the specialist knowledge and careful packing by our Indian friends, it was a joy to discover how remarkably fresh-looking they were, despite imprisonment over several days. *Rosa Gigantea* hybrid 'Sir George Watt' emerged as a sturdy, stripped-back plant about 16 inches high. There was some unwelcome news for Ruhi, however, when she arrived. The three Banaras Dawn plants had been admitted to quarantine and would not be allowed to go to Dunoon until given a clean bill of health. Given that it was late October, she was quickly persuaded that all the plants stood a better chance of survival if the first winter in Scotland were to be spent in the most benign conditions available right there in Edinburgh.

Early in February 2011 after a second severe winter in Scotland Morag received an email from Bruce Robertson.

The rose is alive, well, out of quarantine and living up to the specific epithet i.e. '**gigantea**'. Your rose has not been outside so it hasn't had to deal with our harsh winter. It has put on quite a considerable amount of growth. There is a small bit of die-back at the top of the original cutting but I think this is perfectly normal and the new growth all appears to be healthy.

We are thinking of sending the rose to Logan and then hopefully they can propagate it. I cannot help but think that this particular rose is tender. This small but crucial fact should, I think, be borne in mind when the rose is planted out and eventually distributed.

All concerned were delighted at the news and before the end of February a second email arrived to say:

The rose is now at Logan. Richard Baines collected it yesterday and took it back along with another rose and some conifers. If you consider what the rose looked like when it first arrived here, then there has been quite a transformation. The main growth is about three feet long. Probably because it has been indoors the foliage is in quite good condition and rather attractive.

In May a delighted Ruhi saw the first delicate apricot-coloured bud of her father's rose and was able to breathe in its delicate fragrance. Meanwhile Morag visited Logan Botanic Garden in May to witness the progress of the *Rosa gigantea* hybrid.

Richard Baines greeted her with the surprising news that the rose had been planted outside the day before. This much-travelled specimen has been placed in a sheltered spot against a high, south-facing wall in one of the most hospitable garden climates in Scotland, as it benefits from the warming influence of the Gulf Stream. Richard said on that occasion that he confidently expected it to bloom in 2012.

However, in mid-August 2011, an e-mail arrived from Richard Baines to say that the rose was in bloom 'and doing very well'. The skills of the Royal Botanic Garden staff in Edinburgh and at Logan had brought about Viru and Girija's desired objective of having the rose grow in Scotland, Sir George Watt's native country. This had been achieved ahead of schedule and, remarkably, in an outdoor situation. Richard's seemingly incredible optimism, voiced in May, was more than justified. There were whoopees all the way from Dumfries and Galloway to South India!

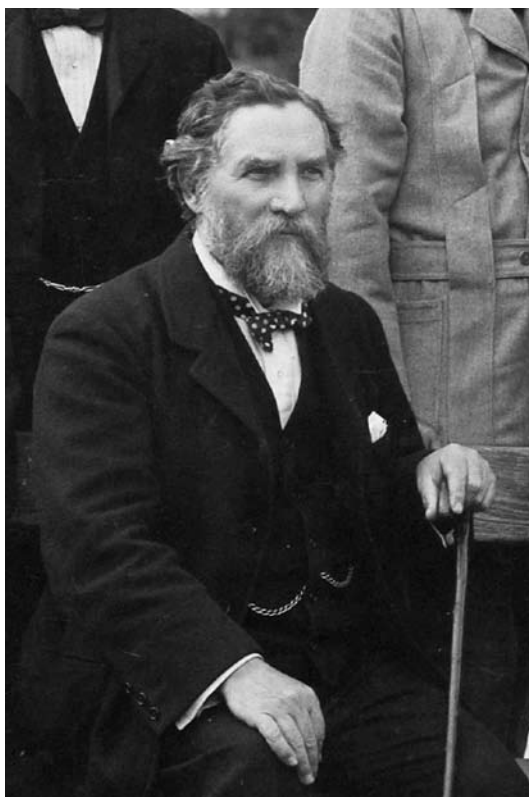


Figure 3. This photograph shows Sir George Watt (1851 – 1930) in 1903 at the age of 52, soon after he was knighted. From the archives of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh.





Figure 4. *Rosa Gigantea* hybrid ‘Sir George Watt’ in bloom at Logan Botanic Garden, Dumfries and Galloway, on 27th August 2011. By kind permission of Richard Baines, Curator, Logan Botanic Garden.



Figure 5. Viru and Girija Viraraghavan in 2011. They garden in Tamil Nadu, South India, on a mountain top. In 2006 the couple were recipients of the Huntington ‘Great Rosarians of the World’ award. By kind permission of Viru and Girija.

## THE 2010 DUMFRIESSHIRE ROOKERY CENSUS

Including comparisons with the surveys of 1908, 1921, 1963, 1973,  
1975, 1993, 2003, 2004 and 2008

L. R. Griffin<sup>1</sup>, D. Skilling<sup>2</sup>, R. T. Smith<sup>3</sup>, J. G. Young<sup>4</sup>

*Completion of the whole-county 2010 census of Rook *Corvus frugilegus* nests in Dumfriesshire is the most recent in a series which began in 1908. The results confirm that the decline in the number of Rook nests, first noted in 2003<sup>5</sup>, continues and now at 12,350 is at the lowest level ever recorded. This number is less than 50% of that recorded in 1993 when 25,489 nests, the largest number for the area was counted, meaning that the number of breeding Rooks has more than halved in the 17 year intervening period since that survey. In 1993, 22 colonies each held more than 200 nests, in 2010 (as in 2008) only one colony (not the same one) had more than 200 nests, symptomatic of the unabated fragmentation of large rookeries that has occurred resulting in ever smaller average rookery size, now just 33 nests per rookery.*

### Introduction

In 1908 Sir Hugh Gladstone conducted a census of Dumfriesshire rookeries that covered the whole county, the results of which were included in his *Birds of Dumfriesshire*<sup>6</sup> (1910). This, like his 1921 census, was largely correspondence-based, involving ornithologists and landowners. These two surveys provided the foundation of what now constitutes one of the most complete records of rookeries in Britain. Gladstone's 1908 and 1921 censuses used the county's 43 parishes as the means of sub-division. Since our aim is to monitor populations we have continued with this approach to allow direct comparison to be made with all of the previous censuses, except 1975, which was not based on parish boundaries.

It should be noted that the County of Dumfriesshire no longer exists as a political entity, having been incorporated into Dumfries and Galloway Region in a restructuring of local government in 1975.

- 
- 1 Larry Griffin, Crooks House, Mabie, Dumfries, DG2 8EY
  - 2 Derek Skilling, 14 Watling Street, Dumfries, DG1 1HF
  - 3 Bobby Smith, Treetops, Johnsfeld, Lockerbie, DG11 1RS
  - 4 John Young, 11 Ash Grove, Heathhall, Dumfries, DG1 3TG
  - 5 Griffin, L R, Skilling, D, Smith, R T, Young J G, 'The Rookeries of Dumfriesshire 2003', *TDGNHAS* ser III, Vol 82, p 4
  - 6 Gladstone, Hugh S, *Birds of Dumfriesshire*, 1910, pp10 - 117

## **Census Methods and Accuracy**

The 1963 census and later surveys were carried out by observers who had become more mobile and probably achieved more complete coverage of the county. 1963 also saw the introduction of census methods that have remained essentially unchanged. Observers are provided with parish maps, lists of all previous rookery sites, guidelines and a recording form which asks for nest counts, count dates and O.S. grid references. Additionally, comments on disturbance, tree felling or other relevant observations are requested. As in previous surveys, observers were asked to use their own judgement as to whether discrete groups of nests were offshoots of nearby rookeries or separate colonies.

Including the organisers, 32 observers took part in 2010, visiting more than 800 sites, including those sites recorded in all previous surveys.

Counting is mainly carried out in mid-April<sup>7</sup>: a series of observations made locally in 1994 indicated this as being the optimum time for counting, when nest building is slowing and before emerging foliage begins to conceal the nests.

Censuses on a county-wide scale will inevitably have some level of inaccuracy for reasons such as disorientation within large rookeries or even through missing smaller colonies entirely. We believe however that similar levels of accuracy were achieved, and since 1963, when the standardised methods were introduced, we consider that the data are valid for the purposes of population monitoring.

## **Part Censuses**

Because whole county surveys demand so much of the observers' time and associated travelling expenses they cannot be carried out annually. However it has been possible to carry out part censuses where random counts are made. In 2004, 29 of the 43 parishes (67%) were surveyed. This revealed a decline of 6% in one year when the 29 parishes were compared with the same parishes in 2003, and when these 29 parishes plus 4 more (77%) were resurveyed in 2005 a further decline of 5% was found in the year. These samples are sufficiently large to be considered valid.

## **Rookery Locations**

The database of all rookeries recorded since 1908 now totals 843. This lists parishes, place names, grid references where available, nest numbers, tree species for many sites and other relevant comments. Confusion regarding the exact location of older sites led to the introduction of O.S. grid reference recording in the 2003 census and the added refinement of GPS has brought more precision to the location of those rookeries where it has been used.

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7 Griffin, L R, Skilling, D, Smith, R T, Young J G, 'The Rookeries of Dumfriesshire 1993', *TDGNHAS* ser III, Vol 68, p 4

This list of all rookeries has now become so large that the cost of printing is prohibitive. Therefore a copy of the database will be lodged with the publishers and will be available from the Editor of the *Transactions* on request.

### Rook Numbers in 2010

In the 2010 census the number of nests counted was 12,350 which represents a decline of 1,109 nests (-8.2%) in the two years since 2008 when the total was 13,459. In the 15 years between 1993, when the largest ever number of nests 25,489 were counted and 2008, nest numbers declined at a rate of 5 - 6% per annum.

The winter of 2009/2010 was the coldest in Scotland since 1963, the ground being frozen hard for an extended period, especially in early 2010 and although an increase in mortality might have been expected, the current census indicates a decline nearer to 4% per annum in the two years since 2008 rather than the figure of 5% or 6% seen since 1993. Whether this represents a real slowing down of the previously declining nest numbers is not clear.

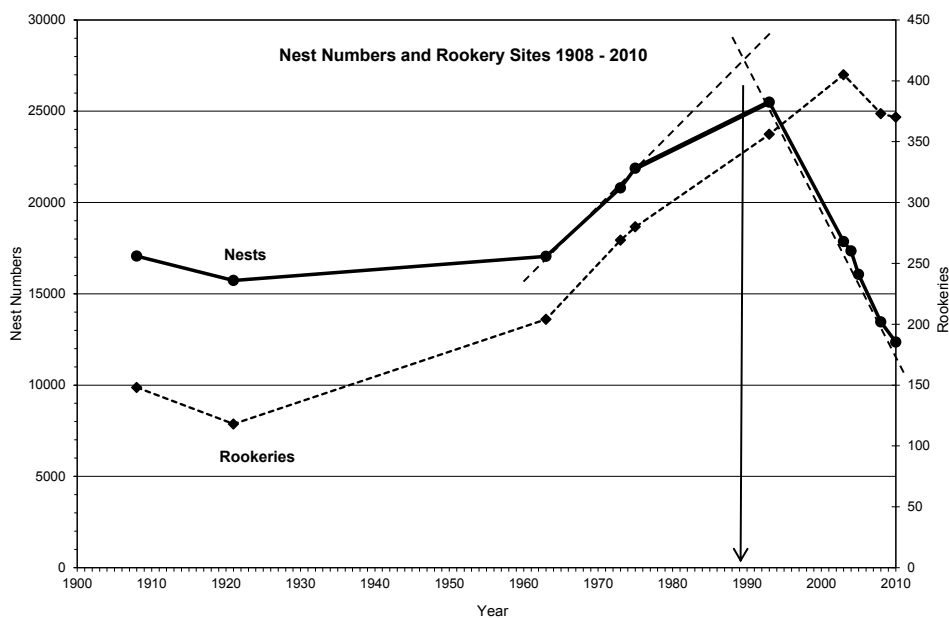


Figure 1. The number of nests and rookeries recorded in Dumfriesshire from 1908-2010. The solid line shows the number of nests with two dotted extrapolated lines added based on the rate of increase pre-1993 and the rate of decline post-1993. These lines cross at approximately 1990, suggesting a sudden change in the fortunes of the Rook across this large study area at that time. The dashed line indicates the change in the number of rookeries over this period.

### **Rookery Numbers and Size**

The 12,350 nests referred to above were in 370 rookeries, making the average rookery size 33.4 nests compared to an average size of 36.1 in 2008. This is the continuation of a trend toward smaller rookeries which has probably been going on since the 1921 census (Table 1.). As recently as 1993, two rookeries each held more than 500 nests and 22 colonies each held more than 200 nests. By 2008, only one colony with just over 200 nests remained at Panlands, Johnstone. In 2010, Burrenrigg, Kirkmichael with 217 nests was the only rookery with more than 200 nests and is one of only 29 sites which exceed 100 nests. The decline in nest numbers has not been uniform through space and time (Table 1.); six parishes have shown continuous declines since 1973 including: Closeburn, Dryfesdale, Kirkconnel, Moffat, Tinwald (since 1963) and Tundergarth with ten further parishes showing declines sustained since the peak counts on 1993 including: Annan, Canonbie, Cummertrees, Dornock, Durisdeer, Half Morton, Hutton & Corrie, Middlebie, Sanquhar and Westerkirk. Over the three surveys since 1993 no parish has shown a continuous increase in nest numbers and only one parish, Gretna, has shown a continued increase over the last two surveys (see numbers in bold type in Table 1.). There does not appear to be any obvious pattern as to where and when a parish first began to exhibit a decline in nest numbers or whether or not it has shown any recovery in numbers since.

Although the Rook decline in Dumfriesshire has its complexities, probably due to larger colonies splitting up into smaller groups and moving some distance to colonise sites in other parishes and thus masking changes in numbers at those sites, it is perhaps constructive to look at the total nest counts and try and establish when the main period of decline occurred. From Figure 1. it can be seen that if the current rate of decline is extrapolated as a line fitted by eye back in time to a point at which it meets a similar line modelled on the rate of increase pre-1993, then the pivotal year about which this dramatic change in the fortunes of the Rook appears to have taken place is 1990 or thereabouts. It is noteworthy how there appears to have been no great change in the rate of decline and thus the fortunes of the Rook since this time and as such this suggests it is unlikely to have been some periodic factor such as one might expect with inclement weather at the wrong time of year or the like. Also, for the decline to cover such a wide geographic area with no parish bucking the trend suggests a change in some aspect of its agricultural habitat, but one which occurred across a large area over a matter of perhaps a few years and which is probably still ongoing. An agent for such change has not been identified by the authors but we welcome suggestions from the farming sector.

Parish	1908		1921		1963		1973		1993		2003		2008		2010	
	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites
Annan	1072	4	409	5	429	5	320	5	697	9	465	10	367	7	299	8
Applegarth & Sibbaldbie	1274	4	1560	7	977	8	724	16	800	10	353	8	262	9	<b>290</b>	11
Caerlaverock	150	2	280	1	127	3	94	3	183	3	<b>371</b>	10	230	10	198	9
Canonbie	15	3	0	0	331	7	296	8	1111	22	705	22	431	19	395	21
Closeburn	750	4	554	5	688	7	1089	7	754	7	546	11	417	11	333	13
Cummertrees	970	6	450	2	597	2	346	3	1286	8	719	9	669	9	633	9
Dalton	1195	3	1600	4	799	3	907	8	1069	12	220	9	89	6	<b>102</b>	8
Dornock	330	2	190	1	95	3	147	1	299	5	232	4	102	6	<b>38</b>	3
Dryfesdale	232	4	632	5	804	10	1434	22	1225	25	469	20	246	13	<b>255</b>	13
Dumfries	245	5	149	3	214	4	52	5	465	8	<b>548</b>	10	<b>567</b>	13	522	12
Dunscore	1132	6	720	3	1298	5	894	5	1083	7	459	5	283	6	<b>349</b>	9
Durisdeer	0	0	0	0	741	7	652	8	1051	6	751	8	604	8	532	8
Eskdalemuir	0	0	200	1	20	2	103	2	56	2	<b>133</b>	6	67	3	63	4
Ewes	18	4	0	0	0	0	128	3	105	3	<b>188</b>	4	92	4	90	3
Glencairn	282	6	165	2	309	3	763	6	543	7	<b>711</b>	10	408	8	300	9
Gretna	72	3	285	3	293	9	358	7	341	6	212	10	<b>325</b>	11	<b>401</b>	11
Half Morton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	302	2	144	2	0	0	0	0
Hoddam	840	9	752	6	1014	9	1262	13	1622	18	432	12	<b>546</b>	19	466	18
Hollywood	727	5	883	4	937	12	923	12	878	14	548	11	490	13	<b>567</b>	13
Hutton & Corrie	290	4	635	6	594	3	692	6	1028	13	534	15	315	13	255	11
Johnstone	0	0	0	0	222	2	217	4	518	10	463	13	<b>591</b>	13	424	11
Keir	130	1	0	0	98	1	141	1	24	1	<b>238</b>	3	82	2	9	1
Kirkconnel	0	0	7	1	599	3	1013	3	763	4	656	6	482	6	<b>490</b>	6
Kirkmahoe	735	4	525	3	312	2	312	3	251	5	231	7	<b>295</b>	7	274	7
Kirkmichael	102	2	346	3	747	8	781	12	810	12	<b>859</b>	20	444	13	<b>524</b>	12
Kirkpatrick Fleming	1766	8	342	5	328	5	354	6	377	8	<b>425</b>	15	122	9	118	9
Kirkpatrick Juxta	0	0	0	0	347	9	360	10	1066	12	470	11	440	11	<b>525</b>	11
Langholm	275	4	200	4	87	3	187	4	405	5	199	4	144	4	<b>162</b>	5
Lochmaben	452	4	631	5	416	10	777	9	600	9	397	14	340	13	<b>355</b>	14
Middlebie	571	8	665	5	228	3	808	9	1168	16	866	19	593	18	293	13
Moffat	431	9	758	7	285	10	531	9	469	7	434	7	362	8	352	7
Morton	0	0	0	0	21	2	140	3	528	6	405	8	349	8	<b>381</b>	11
Mouswald	209	3	303	2	0	0	337	2	307	5	<b>362</b>	7	332	7	293	5
Penpont	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	<b>180</b>	3	<b>269</b>	3	244	3
Ruthwell	615	5	320	6	149	5	117	3	116	8	<b>164</b>	4	<b>261</b>	4	207	4
Sanquhar	525	4	463	5	345	3	274	4	624	8	585	10	556	13	398	10
St Mungo	200	1	0	0	205	4	256	6	490	9	<b>561</b>	10	185	4	<b>277</b>	10
Tinwald	544	4	520	3	1113	11	1102	14	752	13	296	12	240	9	172	7
Torthorwald	2	1	0	0	137	3	381	4	135	2	<b>185</b>	4	135	5	<b>161</b>	7
Tundergarth	354	8	869	7	524	13	1087	16	517	14	348	14	197	10	188	10
Tynron	0	0	0	0	130	1	107	1	118	2	<b>190</b>	4	74	5	<b>86</b>	5
Wamphray	480	4	324	3	440	3	302	5	286	8	<b>459</b>	9	415	9	322	8
Westerkirk	84	4	9	1	47	1	31	1	265	4	140	5	41	4	7	1
<b>Nest and Site Totals</b>	<b>17069</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>15746</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>17047</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>20799</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>25489</b>	<b>356</b>	<b>17853</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>13459</b>	<b>373</b>	<b>12350</b>	<b>370</b>
Nests per rookery	115		133		84		77		72		44		36		33	

Table 1. Number of nests, rookeries and the average rookery size for Dumfriesshire's 43 parishes. Numbers in bold type in 2003, 2008 and 2010 indicate parishes with nest increases since the previous survey.



### **Site Fidelity**

With 373 sites counted in 2008 and 370 in 2010 it might appear that little change is taking place and site fidelity is remarkably stable. However, closer examination reveals that 62 rookeries that were occupied in 2008 had been vacated by 2010 and 59 new rookeries had been established in the same period. The reasons why rooks leave an established rookery are not always apparent; the trees in which they nest are often unchanged and some rookeries protected by their owners against disturbance are sometimes simply deserted for no apparent reason. It has to be said however that quite intensive shooting is sometimes employed to move rooks from unwanted sites.

We have no record of a large rookery moving en masse to a new site and perhaps this is part of the mechanism leading to ever smaller rookeries. Of the 843 rookeries counted from 1908 to 2010 only 15 have been occupied at every full census. These are: Glenstuart, Cummertrees; Dalgonar and Friars Carse, Dunscore; Gilmerston, Glencairn; Knockhill, Hoddam; Cluden Bank, Cowhill Tower, Gribton and Portrack, Holywood; Shaw of Dryfe, Hutton & Corrie; Cullivait, Kirkmahoe; Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick Fleming; Craigieburn Wood and Heathery Haugh, Moffat and Amisfield, Tinwald. There is no certainty that the same trees were in use each time. Nonetheless, the apparent continuity at or near the same site is noteworthy.

### **Conclusions**

The authors believe that the Rook represents a unique opportunity to monitor with great accuracy through counts of its obvious nesting aggregations the population status of a generalist feeder that is dependent on the agricultural mosaics of the UK throughout the year. As such we believe it is a neglected yet useful agricultural indicator species for which the picture is not sullied by migratory activity and it thus seems timely to engage in a repeat national census or partial census to clarify the position of the Rook nationwide. On the website summarising the results of the 'Breeding Birds in the Wider Countryside' the British Trust for Ornithology report:

Relatively few rookeries fell within CBC [Common Birds Census] plots, but an index calculated from the available nest counts showed a shallow, long-term increase. The trend is confirmed by the results of the most recent BTO rookeries survey, which identified a 40% increase in abundance between 1975 and 1996. This increase probably reflects the species' considerable adaptability in the face of agricultural change. BBS [Breeding Bird Survey] indices, which are drawn from sightings during transect walks and not from the BBS's nest counts, suggest that some decrease has occurred subsequently, especially in Scotland and Northern Ireland since around 2000. There has been little change in breeding productivity since the 1960s but a minor decrease in brood size is now becoming evident.

Thus it seems this decreasing trend in the Rook first drawn attention to by the Dumfriesshire study is actually now being detected across a much wider area, suggesting

this is not just a local issue and that more widespread research into this species should be instigated and that it should be afforded greater protection. It is very concerning that the predictions of the authors in their 2008 paper that there would be approximately only 10,000 nests by 2013 with the potential for near extinction in the region by 2025 seem worryingly on schedule considering the findings of the current paper.

### **Acknowledgements**

The success of this census depends essentially on the co-operation of the volunteer surveyors who census at least one parish each and, in some cases, more than one. The searching of each parish for sites old and new involved the considerable expenditure of time and increasingly expensive travel, all of which was freely given. More than 800 sites were visited, including all the sites recorded in earlier surveys. We wish to thank all who took part. Their names are listed here:

A Anderson, I Anderson, Mrs J Anderson, A Black, J A Charteris, J Clark, D Davidson, Mrs K Davidson, I Gilmour, Mrs C Hesketh, R Hesketh, D J Irving, Mrs M Irving, J Kirkwood, I MacKay, Mrs B Mearns, R Mearns, W McMichael, Mrs H McMichael, Mrs K Miller, J M Riddet, Mrs S Skilling, T Shannan, A P Taylor, W R M Thomson, C Watret, D Watson & M Youdale.

We thank all those farmers and landowners who allowed access to the hundreds of sites visited.

D J Irving updated the database which is the core of the survey.



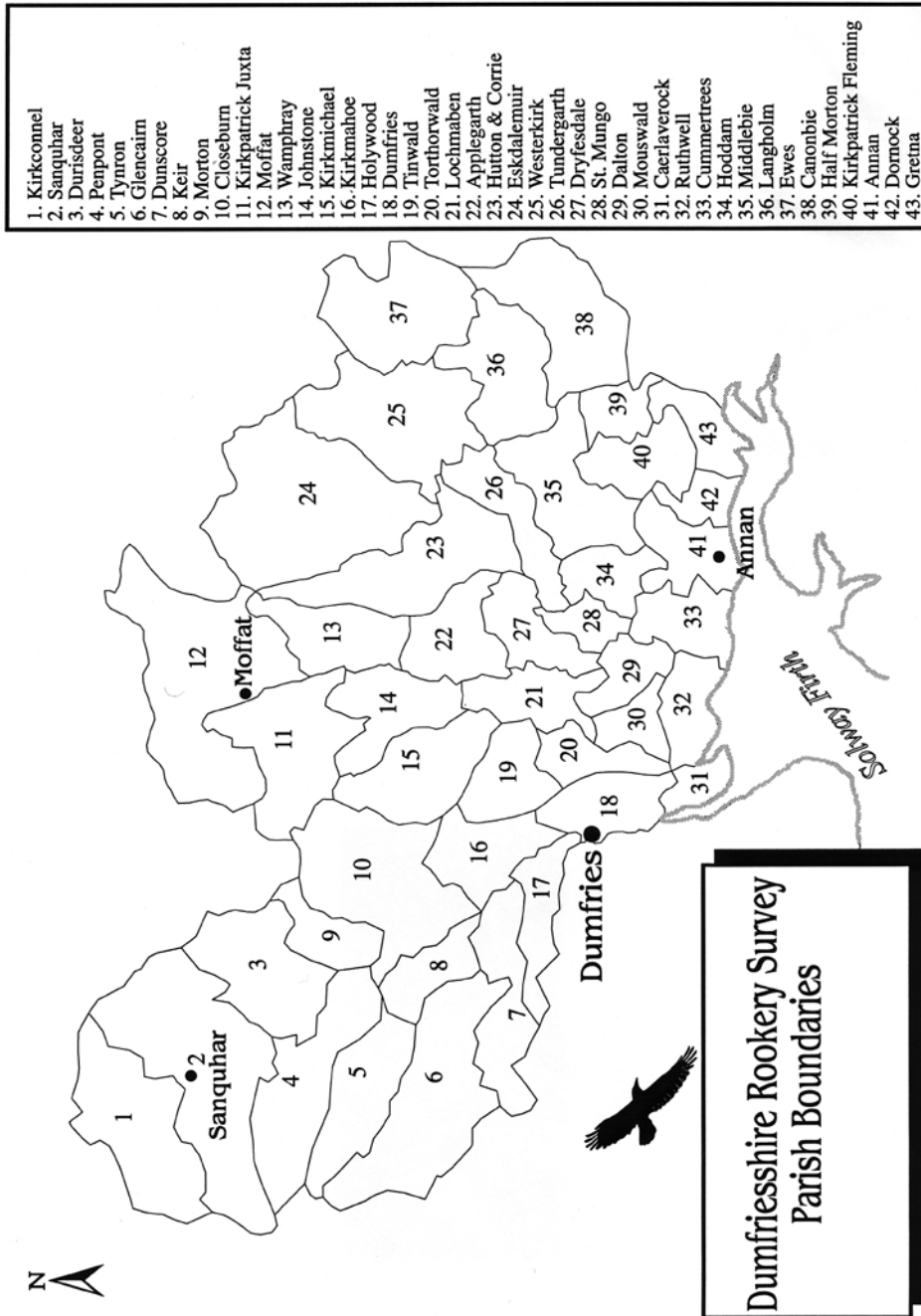


Figure 2. Dumfriesshire Rookery Survey parish boundaries

## EXCAVATION AND RECORDING OF THREE SITES AT KNOCKNAB ON TORRS WARREN, WEST FREUGH

Diana Coles<sup>1</sup>, Alison Sheridan<sup>2</sup> and Crane Begg<sup>3</sup>  
with contributions from Philip Abramson<sup>4</sup>, Charles French<sup>5</sup> and Jane Murray<sup>6</sup>  
and line drawings by Marion O'Neil

*In 1992, during a routine reconnaissance of MOD land at West Freugh, a scatter of artefacts was observed eroding out of a former land surface within the dunes at Knocknab. Initially the assemblage was recorded in situ and surface artefacts were collected. However, when it became evident that archaeological layers were being exposed and then undermined by severe storms, limited excavation was also undertaken. Over the following three years, the area was periodically monitored and artefacts collected where present. The great majority of the assemblage comprised lithics and ceramics located on the old ground surface and within pits. A radiocarbon date of 3940–3700 cal BC, obtained from Sorbus charcoal from a pit in Area 1, established an early Neolithic context for the material. The aim of this report is to bring the results of this investigation into the public arena, with particular emphasis on an analysis of the lithic and ceramic assemblages. It is not intended to provide a more wide-ranging synthesis of the material from Luce Sands but it is hoped that the information within this article could be incorporated into such a synthesis in the future.*

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

by Philip Abramson, Crane Begg and Jane Murray

Luce Sands lie at the western end of the Dumfries and Galloway peninsula (Figure 1.). They comprise the dune and beach area at the north side of Luce Bay and stretch from Sandhead in the east to the mouth of the Waters of Luce. The major area of archaeological interest is on and around Torrs Warren, an area which forms the western part of the dune system. The dunes are bounded by the sea to the east, the Piltanton Burn and Mye Burn to the north and south respectively, and the B7084 to the west. Beyond the road lies The Freugh, an area of former mire. The area of Torrs Warren owned by the MOD is 820 ha (2032 acres) and is designated in the Wigtown Local Plan as an Archaeologically Sensitive Area. Within the boundary of the MOD establishment, there are 44 known sites of archaeological interest, 36 of them located on the dunes complex and the remainder within the area of the former airfield (Abramson 2010).

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1 dianacoles@hotmail.com

2 a.sheridan@nms.ac.uk

3 crane.begg@suffolk.gov.uk

4 phil.abramson789@mod.uk

5 caif2@cam.ac.uk

6 Member of the Society; murraydervaird.t21@btinternet.com

The crescentic dunes at Luce Sands initially formed at the back of a raised beach on top of curved ridges of beach gravel and were, presumably, composed of wind-blown sand from that beach. There have been at least four incidents of severe sand blow followed by periods of stabilisation when vegetation colonised the dunes and thin layers of soil formed over the dunes (Idle and Martin 1975). However, they remained subject to both erosion and further sand deposition, with the whole area forming a shifting dune system.

An archaeological assessment of the Solway coastal zone undertaken in 1996 (Cressey and Toolis 1996) recognised that at that time the dune system was under thick vegetation and was thus extremely stable, with only a few areas of exposed sand (due to rabbit action) open to erosion. Little appears to have changed in the intervening period since this assessment.

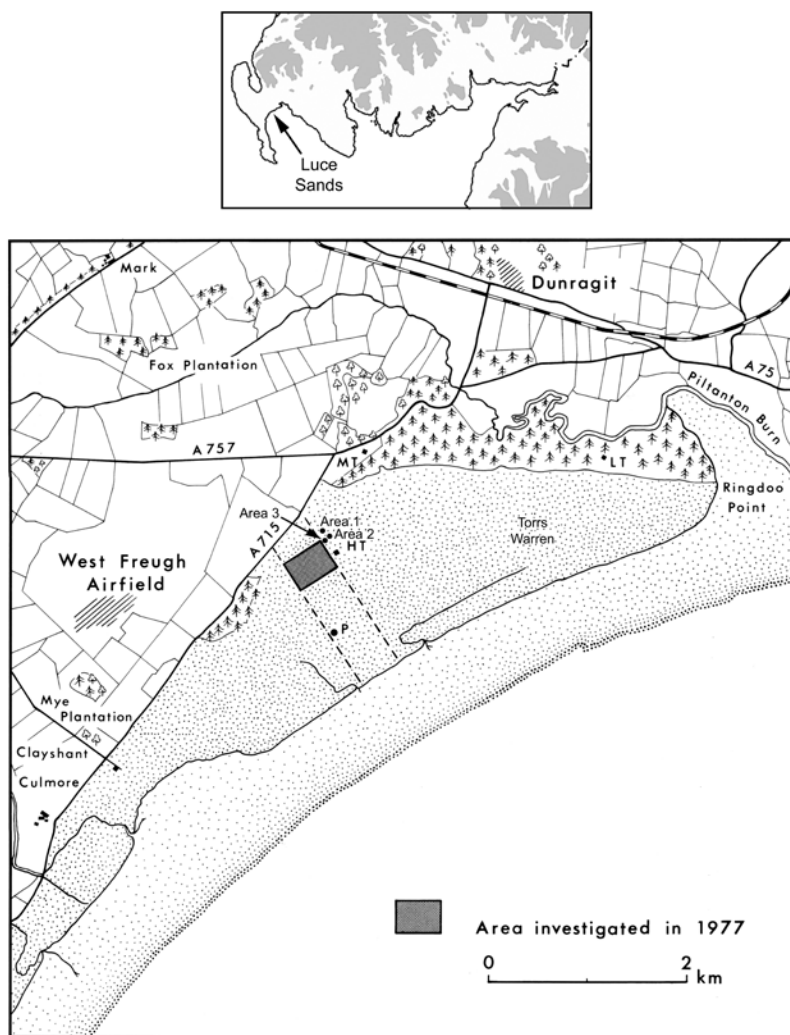


Figure 1. Site location, also showing area investigated by Trevor Cowie in 1977 (from Cowie 1996, with additions)

## Archaeological Background

Torrs Warren has been described as one of the most productive areas for archaeological finds in Scotland (Cowie 1996) and from the 19th century onwards numerous artefacts of prehistoric and later date have been recovered from blowouts or deflation hollows, in the dunes. There are some 8,500 objects from Torrs Warren in the collections of the National Museums Scotland alone, and there are large collections in Glasgow, Dumfries and Stranraer Museums and smaller dispersed collections elsewhere.

The significance of the prehistoric material from Torrs Warren and the analytical study that these have generated cannot be overstated. Mesolithic finds, which are relatively few, are described by Morrison (1982). Neolithic pottery is discussed by McInnes (1964), and stone axeheads by Williams (1970). This Neolithic material, and the lithics from the Warren, are all regularly referred to in general works, and all are important within a national context. There are also significant bronzes and a few gold items (Coles 1965), besides faience beads (Newton and Renfrew 1970). There are records of Bronze Age burials, mostly in the form of cremated remains in cinerary urns (Wilson 1888; Davidson 1952; Cormack 1968; Morrison 1968), but including an account of an unusual Beaker burial in a wooden 'chamber' (Ritchie and Shepherd 1973). One post-Bronze Age deposit of cremated human bones has, interestingly, been suggested to be that of an itinerant Roman smith (Breeze and Ritchie 1980). There are also Early Medieval (Dark Age) brooches (Laing 1973), and coin finds (Cormack 1961; 1965), including the 15th century deposit with an associated building (Jope *et al* 1959).

The great majority of finds consist of prehistoric pottery and lithics associated with exposed former ground surfaces, which have subsequently been sealed by blown sand and incorporated into the body of the dune. Cowie (1996, 15–16) describes the destructive nature of the erosion process whereby once a buried ground surface has been revealed by the erosion of the overlying sand, it is subjected to wind and water scour on its upper surface and to undercutting from beneath. In a short time the unsupported buried soil breaks off in lumps and any features such as pits or post holes disappear, their contents forming an unstratified jumble in the eroded hollows.

The first fully recorded excavation on the Sands revealing evidence for prehistoric activity undertaken with modern techniques was a rescue excavation undertaken by Trevor Cowie in 1977. This was carried out in advance of the construction of a hard target by the MOD in the area of the dunes running from the high dunes through the dune slack area and the low dunes to the foreshore. During this excavation ten separate areas within the vicinity of High Torrs were investigated, three of which were found to contain prehistoric features. Large quantities of pottery and lithics, the majority of them flint with a small number of chert and quartz pieces, were also recovered.

Analysis of the soils that formed within the dune system indicated that the former Neolithic surface is composed of highly leached material that would originally have been a fertile soil. A small stand of stunted oak trees, currently growing on the Sands, indicates that the soils, although heavily depleted, are nevertheless still capable of supporting tree cover.

## Investigation

In 1992 an eroding area of prehistoric ground surface was noticed close to the east of the Hard Target. Cowie had made a preliminary investigation of this area during his excavation but had found only a layer of sterile soil and had not investigated further (Trevor Cowie pers. comm.). With the vegetation cover removed, both this sterile soil layer and the sand layer below had subsequently been eroded exposing the prehistoric land surface below. A collection of material from the area was made and, when it became apparent that wind and animal action were rapidly destroying the site, a small scale rescue excavation was undertaken by Crane Begg and Ross Henry. Because this report is the first published account of this excavation, the lithic and ceramic assemblage will be discussed in some detail. In addition, a preliminary micromorphological assessment of the Neolithic land surface in Area 1 by Dr Charles French is included; this confirms the highly degraded and altered nature of that surface.

The three sites under investigation (Figure 1.) are situated in an area of Torrs Warren depicted on the OS map as Knocknab, centred on grid reference NX 13099 54949, some 225 m to the north of the Hard Target Area examined by Cowie in 1977 and 230 m to the NW of the remains of High Torrs Farm, depicted on Ainslie's map of 1782. For the purposes of this report the site will be referred to as Knocknab.

Area 1 (NX 1302 5490) was an area of exposed former land surface, originally of about 54 m<sup>2</sup> but reduced by wind and erosion to about 18 m<sup>2</sup>. Two features in this area, a pit and a scorched area, possibly a hearth, were recorded and investigated. The pit contained the pieces of what appeared to be most of a large prehistoric pot and a sample of *Sorbus sp* charcoal from the pit gave a C14 date of 5005±35 BP (SUERC-23679/GU-18657, 3940–3700 cal BC at 2σ using OxCal 4.1) There were also some waste pieces of burnt flint and, within the pot itself, an elongated pebble which, from the smoothed surface at one end, had clearly been used as a polishing stone. Surface collection took place over a season prior to the excavation when the entire original soil horizon was gridded and soil removed in 10 mm spits. All removed material was wet sieved (Crane Begg pers. comm.).

Area 2 (NX 1308 5484), located 80 m southwest of Area 1, was an eroding band of land surface measuring 18.5 x 1.3m with a thickness of 120–150m.

Area 3 (NX 1302 5481), 80 m south of Area 1, was a further band of old land surface. The material recovered included fragments of burnt bone and a quantity of pottery, as well as an assemblage of flint, chert, quartzite, pitchstone, polished stone axe fragments and coarse stone tools.

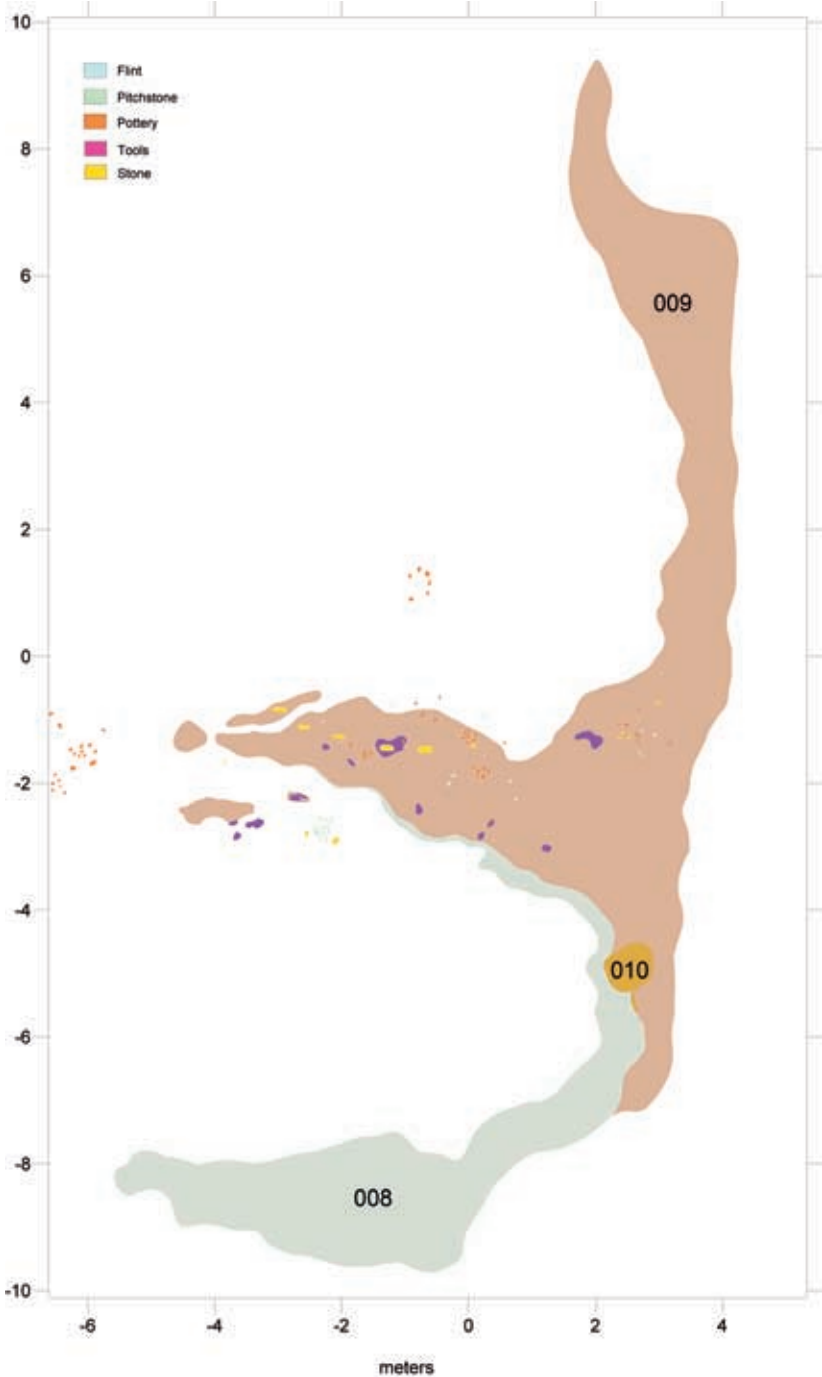


Figure 2a. Plan of the surviving deposits and surface finds in Area 1.  
Image by Crane Begg

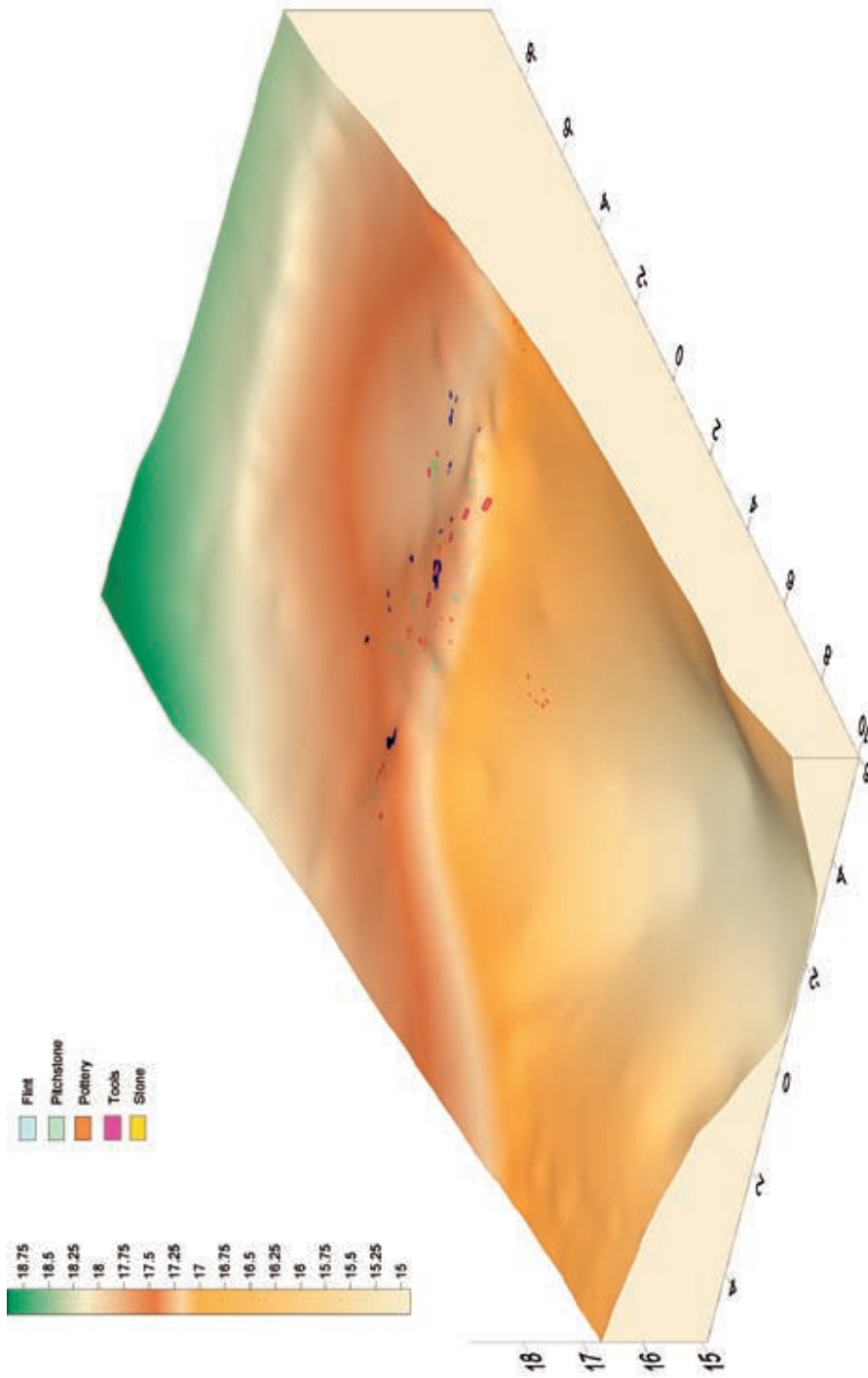


Figure 2b. Terrain model of the surviving deposits and surface finds in Area 1. Image by Crane Begg



## **Methodology**

In 1992 the initial methodology was to plan and photograph the exposed surfaces, collect the artefacts that were visible on the surface and excavate any features which were in immediate danger of destruction. These included a pit and an area of scorching – possibly a hearth. Following the recording work, it was decided to leave the surviving surface untouched and to set in place a policy of 100% collection of materials as they appeared on the surface through the action of wind erosion, on a weekly basis.

In 1993, following a severe storm, it was decided to conduct a more detailed examination and excavation of the surface than in the previous season. The surviving surface area was gridded on a 0.5 m network, surveyed, planned, photographed and excavated in 1cm spits. The deposits removed per spit were bagged for later wet sieving for artefact recovery. As previously, 100% collection of surface artefacts was undertaken.

For the next three years, material which eroded out of the soil horizons within the dune clearly associated with the exposed surface was collected on a regular basis. Subsequently, all the finds were submitted to specialists for their assessment and analysis. Although a palaeoenvironmental assessment was made of the plant remains from the pit in Area 1 – with the finds including grains of emmer wheat and hazelnuts – no report is available for inclusion here. The palaeoenvironmental samples have, however, been retained by Crane Begg and can be re-examined.

## SPECIALIST REPORTS

### LITHICS

by Diana Coles

### **Material**

A total of 1503 pieces of flint and chert were recovered from all three Areas, with a total weight of 4583.5 g. Of these, 763 were recovered from Area 1, 450 from Area 2 and 290 from Area 3. Of the material from Area 1, 205 pieces were recovered *in situ* (see Figure 2.), the rest being recovered from the eroded soil. All the material from Areas 2 and 3 was retrieved after erosion had destroyed the archaeological layers.

### *Flint*

The majority of the flint used appeared to be pebble flint from a local source. This could have been either from the raised beach deposits that underlie the dunes and are at times exposed, or else from the present beach. It is still possible to collect pebbles from Luce Bay, about one kilometre to the south of Knocknab, of sufficient size to produce the majority of the debitage recovered from Knocknab. It occurs in a wide range of colours, from white through to dark brown. However, it would seem that other material was imported from outwith the area. A small number of particularly large and well made tools, all from Area



1 with the exception of a knife from Area 3, were manufactured from material that differs from the local pebble flint. This is mottled grey and, to judge from the size of the artefacts, had occurred in considerably larger pieces than the local beach flint. All of the artefacts in question retain some cortex and this does not show the smoothing and chattermarking that is characteristic of beach pebble flint. The cortex is creamy in colour and appears fresh and uncrazed. This indicates that the flint came from a different source and had not been water-rolled. The colour matches with flint from Antrim and it seems most probable that it was imported from there. A single identifiable primary flake of this material was also retrieved from Area 1. This may indicate that the material was being worked on site but in the absence of any more working flakes, the evidence is far from conclusive. It may be that the flake was imported as a blank for manufacturing a scraper. Two hoards of Antrim flint flakes from the Portpatrick area of former Wigtownshire contained respectively 77 and around 150 large flakes, presumably for the manufacture of tools (Saville 1999). At Auchenhoan, near Campbeltown, Kintyre a hoard of Antrim flint discovered in 1989 included five axes and 171 utilisable flakes (Saville 1999). The implements of Antrim flint in the Knocknab assemblage are generally larger and more carefully made than those manufactured from pebble flint.

#### *Chert*

One of the flakes from Area 1 and one of the chips from Area 3 are of green veined chert. These are exactly analogous to artefacts of the Mesolithic period that may still be recovered from the shores of Loch Doon and of which there is a considerable quantity of archaeologically-recovered material in Dumfries Museum. This would seem to suggest the possibility that both areas share a common source for this material during the Mesolithic period.

#### *Quartz*

No quartz implements were present in the assemblage. However, a small number of worked quartz chips were recovered from Areas 1 and 3, indicating that quartz had been knapped, at least in small quantities. Quartz pebbles are commonly found on the beach together with the flint. Quartz implements are known from the Southwest peninsula.

#### *Technology*

The range of the debitage indicates clearly that all stages of manufacture were taking place on the Sands (Table 1.).

	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3	Total
Primary flakes	64	44	8	116
Secondary flakes	89	102	33	225
Tertiary flakes	71	32	8	111
Blades	3	7	0	10
Chips	105	0	17	122
Split pebbles	54	28	17	99
Tested pebbles	1	2	0	3
Unworked pebbles	3	1	3	7
Single platform core	1	2	0	3
Multi-platform core	4	6	5	15
Failed core	1	0	0	1
Irregular waste/shatter	90	87	52	229
Small fragments	135	47	82	264
Burnt flint waste	119	83	57	259
Implements	23	9	8	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>763</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>1503</b>

Table 1. Worked flint by debitage type

The lack of chips in Area 2 can most probably be attributed to the collection method rather than an absence of this type of debitage. Area 1, where the largest number of chips were found, was where sieving ensured complete recovery for at least part of the Area.

The cores, split pebbles and primary flakes were examined to ascertain whether bipolar knapping had been employed. In some cases the evidence was unclear. However, examples of bipolar knapping were identified in a small minority of artefacts from each of the Areas (Table 2.).

	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3	Total
Regular cores	0	0	1	1
Split pebble cores	5	2	4	11
Flakes	3	0	1	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>16</b>

Table 2. Artefacts showing evidence for bipolar knapping, by Area

In the case of other flakes and pebbles this technique had evidently not been employed. Experiment indicates that bipolar knapping is not an effective way of utilising flint pebbles as they are as likely to shatter during the process as to yield useful flakes. It therefore seems likely that the technique was employed as a last resort for attempting to access very rounded, small flint pebbles that could not be broken when held in the hand (Coles forthcoming).

A note should be made about the definitions used. Because of the nature of the raw material, the distinction between split pebbles and cores is somewhat blurred. A knapper wishing to utilise one of the smaller pebbles must, initially, break it into two parts. One of these will have a positive bulb scar and the other a negative. The former have been classified as primary flakes where no further modification has taken place. At this stage there are a number of possibilities:

1. Both portions of the split pebble may be discarded at this point as not fit for purpose.
2. The primary flake may be retained for use and the portion bearing the negative scar discarded. It should be noted that a large number of scrapers from Luce Sands are made on primary flakes.
3. Alternatively, further flakes may be removed. These may be slices of flint that remove the entire exposed face of the pebble. It seems likely that, given the relatively small size of the pebbles, the largest possible flakes were removed wherever possible. The number of secondary flakes with cortex at both the distal and proximal ends would seem to confirm this.
4. The exposed face may be used as a platform for further removals.

There will no discernible differences in the appearance of the split pebble whether 1, 2, or 3 has taken place. For this reason, split pebbles with only one negative scar have all been classified as split pebbles even though many of them must, technically, be cores.

### *Flakes*

Of the secondary flakes from Area 1, 11 (12%) had cortex on both the proximal and distal end indicating that the entire length of the flake had been utilised. Their length ranged from 30.3 mm to 49.6 mm, giving some idea of the size of utilised pebbles. Fifteen (17%) of these unmodified flakes showed clear evidence for use wear in the areas of abrasion along one or more cutting edges. It was not possible to assess the number of flakes showing edge gloss since, for many of the pieces, sand polish would have obliterated all traces of this.

Measurements of the unbroken flakes gave average lengths as follows:

Primary flakes	26.2 mm
Secondary flakes	25.1 mm
Tertiary flakes	16.9 mm

The proportion of primary, secondary and tertiary flakes in each Area is given in Table 3.

Area	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
1	28.5%	40%	31.5%
2	25.5%	57%	18%
3	16.5%	67%	16.5%

Table 3. Proportion of primary, secondary and tertiary flakes by Area

*Implements*

A total of 40 flint implements were identified in the assemblage. These are detailed in Table 4.

Area	Microlith	Scraper	Arrowhead	Knife	Piercer	Notched tool	Unidentified	Total
1	4	9	3	3	3	0	1	23
2	1	3	1	0	2	1	1	9
3	6	0	1	1	0	0	0	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>40</b>

Table 4. Implement categories by Area

*Microliths*

These were found in all three Areas. Forms included obliquely truncated and straight backed bladelets. Some of the forms are diagnostically late Mesolithic. These indicate a Mesolithic presence in the Sands and, together with the chert blades, indicate that it is very likely that a proportion of the debitage present is of Mesolithic origin. However, with such a small quantity of identifiable Mesolithic material, it is not possible to draw any further conclusions.

*Scrapers*

The largest of the scrapers (L21, Figure 3a.) is a horseshoe scraper made on a massive flake of pale grey mottled flint with only a small patch of cortex remaining at its distal end. This measures 77 x 53 x 16 mm and weighs 71.9 g. The proximal end has been broken so no bulb is present. The distal end has been steeply retouched but there has been considerable damage to this end with a number of removals which have obliterated much of the retouch. The sides have been very finely retouched and also show some signs of damage.

L22 (Figure 3a.) is a side scraper and measures 56 x 35 x 1 mm and weighs 30.2 g. It is made on a fragment of a mottled pale grey flake from which both the proximal end and one of the sides have been removed. A large patch of cortex remains which, together with the side removal, have the effect of making it fit very comfortably and firmly in the hand. The business edge has been retouched in two stages. Large, invasive flakes have been removed, presumably to create the desired shape for the working edge, and then the edge has been finely retouched along the entire side.

A smaller scraper from Area 1 (L23, Figure 3a.), measuring 30 x 24 x 9 mm and weighing 8 g, may also be of Antrim flint but in the absence of cortex, it is not possible to be sure of this. It is made on a broken flake or blade from which the distal end has been broken but which retains the bulb of mottled light grey flint. One side has been steeply retouched, while the opposing side and proximal end have shallow retouch. The upper face is slightly dished.

The remaining eight scrapers, five from Area 1 and three from Area 2, are all identifiably of local pebble flint. They range between 20 mm and 40 mm in length. Three are made on primary flakes, four on secondary flakes and one on a tertiary flake. Four are side scrapers, three are end scrapers and one is a nosed scraper.

### *Arrowheads*

Of the five arrowheads in the assemblage, the three from Area 1 were the most complete. These were as follows:

L1 (Figure 3b.) is an entire, very small leaf arrowhead of pale grey-brown flint. It had been bifacially knapped. It measures 19 x 13 x 3 mm and weighs 0.7 g.

L2 (Figure 3b.) is a pinkish-grey leaf arrowhead, very finely made with bifacial knapping but broken in two during the manufacturing process. This artefact still needed further thinning. It measures 31 x 27 x 3 mm and weighs 2.2 g.

L3 (Figure 3b.) is a leaf arrowhead which, like L2, had also been split in two lengthwise but in this case only one half was recovered. It is of a red-brown flint and measures 32 mm in length and the unbroken width would have been around 28 mm. The thickness is 5 mm and it weighs 2.1 g, making it considerably chunkier than the other two, and suggesting that this too may have been broken during the thinning process.

The arrowheads recovered from Areas 2 and 3 were tips only and cannot confidently be distinguished as to type.

The fragment from Area 2 (L4, Figure 3b.) was the upper portion of the arrowhead with the very tip missing. It was of a very pale, creamy white colour and had been invasively retouched across both faces.

The tip from Area 3 (L5, Figure 3b.) was of brownish flint, invasively retouched across both faces.

### *Knives*

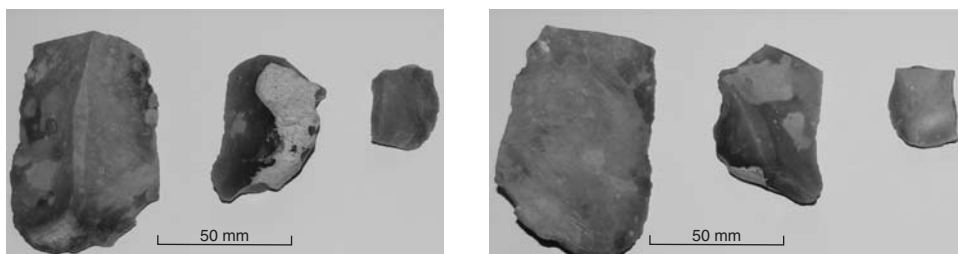
All four knives are also made of pale grey mottled flint but are stylistically very different. The first three come from Area 1 and the last from Area 3.

L17 (Figure 3c.) was made on a blade broken at the proximal end. It measures 46 x 21 x 5 mm and weighs 5.3 g. There is shallow invasive retouch along one edge while the other has been very finely steeply retouched. It retains only a very small amount of cortex at the distal end.

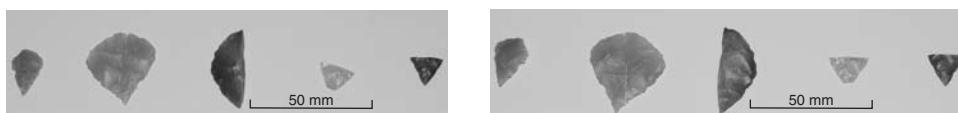
L18 (Figure 3c.) was made on a large flake and retains the bulb of percussion on the ventral face. It measures 74 x 33 x 11 mm and weighs 23.8 g. It does not retain any cortex. One edge has semi-abrupt retouch up to the central ridge. The cutting edge has a number of small, uneven removals – probably the result of use damage.

The third knife (L19, Figure 3c.) was made on a long flake which retains its bulb. One edge is corticated and curved. The opposing straight edge has fine, shallow retouch along its entire length. There is some damage to the lower part where at least two flakes have been broken off from the cortical edge. This appears to be accidental damage.

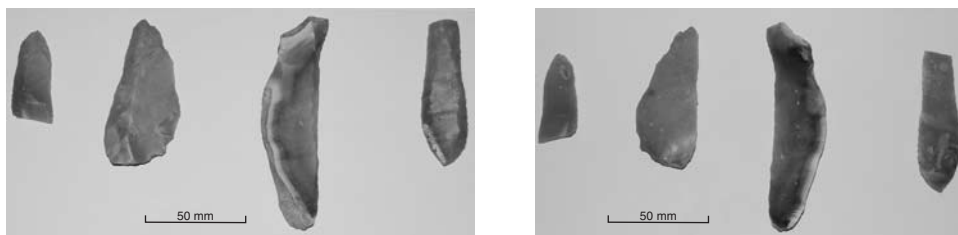
The only knife from Area 3 (L20, Figure 3c.) is plano-convex in form, made on a long thick blade from which the proximal end has been broken away subsequent to the manufacture of the knife. It has semi-abrupt retouch to both edges and tapers towards the proximal end, perhaps to facilitate hafting.



3a.: Scrapers L21, L22 and L23



3b.: Arrowheads L1, L2, L3, L4 and L5



3c.: Knives L17, L18, L19 and L20

Figure 3. Selection of flint artefacts from Knocknab. Photographs by Diana Coles

## Other Exotic Material

### *Pitchstone*

A total of 283 pieces of pitchstone were recovered. Of these only 10 were from Area 2 and 22 from Area 3. The rest were from Area 1. All of the pitchstone was aphyric although differences were apparent in its appearance. The majority was black, ranging from matt-black to very glassy. Much of it had very small white inclusions. There were a small number of grey pieces and rather more brown pieces. Many of the latter showed evidence of burning and it may be that the burning process altered their colour. One blade was striped longitudinally in different shades of brown.

Some of the pitchstone was found *in situ* (Figure 4.). Two discrete surface scatters were found in Area 1. One of these comprised 13 pieces and the other, four pieces. It proved possible to refit several of these, indicating that knapping of the pitchstone was clearly taking place on site.



Figure 4. Conjoining pitchstone blades *in situ*, Area 1. Photograph by Crane Begg

The assemblage is characterised by its large number of blades. Of the total number of pieces, 30% were blades (see Figure 5.). This prevalence of blades is found in the surface collections of pitchstone from Luce Sands in both the National Museums Scotland collections and in Dumfries Museum although it is even more marked in the Knocknab assemblage.

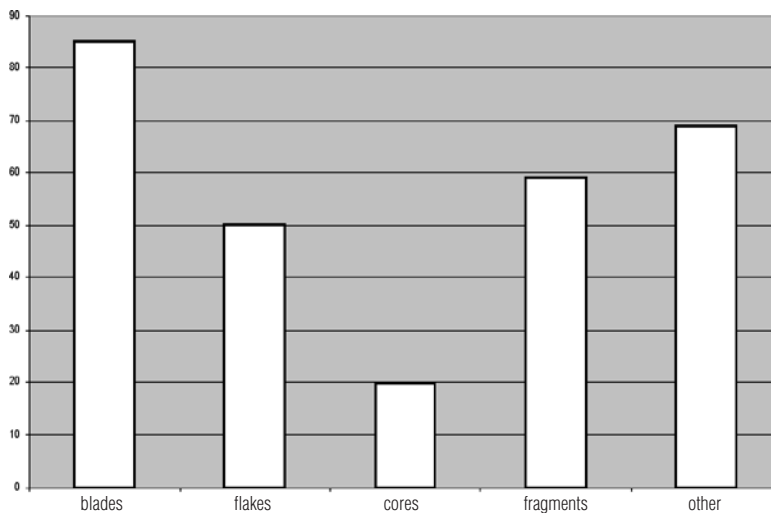


Figure 5. Pitchstone from Knocknab by type

Four or five of the pieces appeared to have been retouched along one edge. This appears to be fairly crude although, in the absence of experimental verification, it is unclear whether this is due to the working properties of the raw material.

The blades are fairly small, their average length being only 19.1 mm, with the longest being 39 mm. The flakes tend to be even smaller with an average length of 18.4 mm while the largest flake is only 34 mm long. Although a few pieces appeared to have retouch along an edge the great majority of both the pitchstone flakes and blades are unmodified. A small number of pieces of pitchstone from Areas 1 and 2 had been burnt. This included several large pieces of what appeared to be largely unmodified tabular pitchstone. This is paralleled by the findings from Trevor Cowie's excavations on Luce Sands on the opposite side of the Hard Target where a large quantity of material was found which was originally thought to be mudstone (Cowie 1996) but which has, on re-examination, been identified as burnt pitchstone, much of it in an unmodified form (Torben Ballin pers. comm.).

### Axe Flakes

Twenty-one flakes of struck stone presumed to derive from ground or polished stone axes were recovered (Figure 6.). Of these, three were from Area 1, 18 from Area 2 and none from Area 3 (Table 5.).

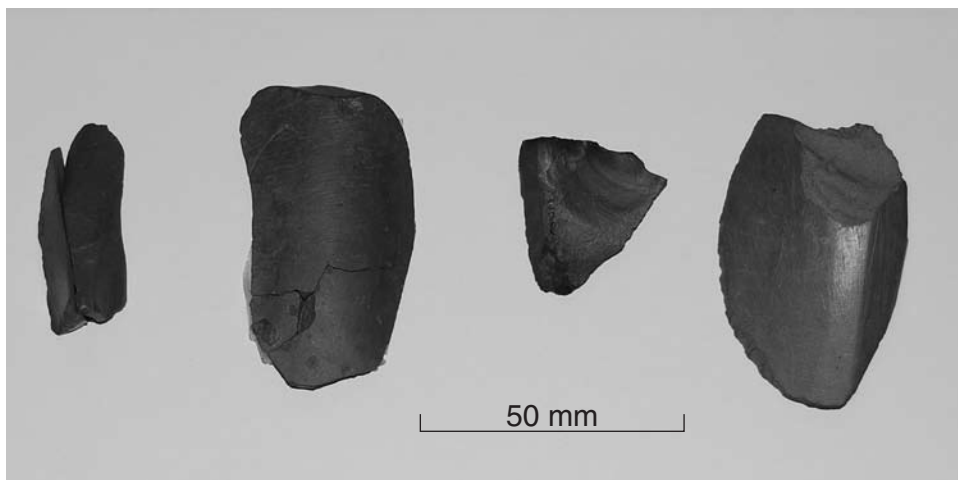


Figure 6. Axe fragments 1 & 2 (conjoined), 9, 16 and 20. Photograph by Diana Coles



EXCAVATION AND RECORDING OF THREE SITES AT  
KNOCKNAB ON TORRS WARREN, WEST FREUGH

Number marked on flake	Material	Thin-sectioned	Polish	Length (mm)	Breadth (mm)	Width (mm)	Retouch	Note	Area
1	grey-green tuff	no	yes	36	14	7	no	Flakes 1 & 2 conjoin	2
2	grey-green tuff	no	yes	39	12	5	no		2
3	grey-green tuff	no	yes	23	30	5	no		2
4	grey-green tuff	no	no	23	8	5	no		2
5	grey-green tuff	no	no	16	18	4	no		2
6	grey-green tuff	no	yes	14	11	2	no		2
7	grey-green tuff	no	no	16	13	3	no		2
8	grey-green tuff	no	no	20	13	4	no		2
9	red-brown	no	yes	57	32	7	no		2
10	grey-green tuff	Gp VI	yes	23	14	4	no		2
11	black	no	no	18	11	4	no		2
12	dark grey	no	no	23	13	3	no		2
14	dark grey	no	no	23	9	3	no		2
16	red-brown	no	no	29	27	6	yes		2
17	grey-green tuff	no	no	13	8	1	no		2
18	grey-green tuff	no	no	12	12	2	no		1
20	grey-green tuff	no	yes	33	53	12	yes		1
Unmarked	grey-green tuff	no	yes	35	24	6	no		1
Unmarked	grey-green tuff	Gp VI	yes	27	28	4	no		2
Unmarked	grey-green tuff	Gp VI	yes	28	19	4	no		2
Unmarked	grey-green tuff	no	yes	19	15	8	no		2

Table 5. Axe fragments from Knocknab

Petrological analysis of three of the flakes which appeared to be of grey-green tuff, together with two unmarked flakes from Area 2, was undertaken by Dr Vin Davis of the Implement Petrology Group. He concluded that these flakes were a match or near match to materials from the Great Langdale area of the Lake District, across the Solway Firth (i.e. belonging to petrological Group VI) .

Most of the flakes were very small. The largest (9, Figure 6.) had been burnt. Dr Davis examined this flake and observed that it demonstrated the fracture pattern and hinge ‘fairly typical of an axe or adze hitting wood, rather than the tool striking a stone in the ground.’ He was reluctant to ascribe a group to it on macroscopic examination but felt it bore some

similarities to specimens from the Creag na Caillich site near Killin. (However see below, Discussion, for further comments about this suggestion.)

A second flake which he examined exhibited a surface darker than the interior of the fragment as a result of iron-rich weathering which, he considered, indicated that the axe might have been made on a beach cobble. This flake had been neatly retouched along one edge to form a tool.

A very broad flake (20, Figure 6.) has been retouched along one edge to form a scraper. The entire dorsal surface retains the original polishing, apart from an area above the bulb where part of the surface has been removed, possibly to provide a grip, possibly to facilitate hafting.

Eleven of the flakes, that is just over 50%, show some part of an original ground/polished surface, a feature which identifies them beyond doubt as having come from ground or polished axes or adzes. For the remaining 10 flakes, it is more difficult to be sure about their origins. Without microscopic analysis it is unclear whether they are of Group VI origin. Numbers 11, 12 and 14 do not have the appearance of Group VI material. The flakes are mostly very small – the largest being the modified flake from Area 1 which measures 53 mm in width (20) and the burnt flake from Area 2 (9) which is 59 mm long. None of the other flakes exceeds 40 mm in their greatest dimension and most are less than 30mm.

Flakes 1 and 2 (Figure 6.) which had been struck from the faceted edge of an axe conjoin, indicating that they had most probably been struck from the axe on site.

### **Other Worked Stone**

All stone, worked and unworked, that was present on the site was retained by the excavator. Over 20 fragments of fractured beach cobbles and pebbles, some small, some quite large, were recovered from Area 1 where they appear to have been distributed widely across the site, and one fragment was found in Area 2. These are analogous to a large number of fractured stones from Cowie's earlier excavation. In the report from this excavation it was considered that these fractured stones may have resulted from the flint heat-treating process (Cowie, 1996 p30). In the light of subsequent archaeological discoveries Cowie considered that they may more probably represent the equivalent of burnt mound material, having been shattered in the process of heating water (Trevor Cowie pers. comm.). It is also possible that they are simply the remains of the lining of domestic hearths.

Area 1 also yielded seven elongated stones, ranging from 100 mm – 140 mm in length. Only one of these pebbles, S2, found accompanying the pot in the pit, shows evidence of use, having an area of polish at one end indicating that it had been used to burnish something – possibly the pot itself (but see below, Pottery). While such elongated pebbles occur frequently in the beach material they are not the predominant form. It seems likely that these unmodified pebbles were deliberately curated for future use. All fit very comfortably in the hand and may well have been selected for use as rubbing or burnishing tools.

Another similar pebble, S9, discovered as a surface find beyond the limit of the excavation, has been deliberately broken across the upper end. This shows heavy signs of wear along both edges, one of the faces and at the tip. Flakes have been removed from the broken end, presumably to facilitate hafting. The heavy use wear suggests that it may have been employed as an ard point. While this pebble seems rather small and light to have been employed for this purpose the thin, sandy nature of the soils would mean that a heavier implement may not have been required. S10 is an elongated red sandstone pebble with both ends missing. An area of pecking on one surface is analogous to that found on ard tips from the Northern Isles (Clarke 2006). Cowie's excavation found evidence for cultivation in the form of ard marks in the upper soil at site J and cultivation ridges at sites E and H. These were of probable prehistoric date (Cowie 1996, 62).

A rounded cobble from Area 1, S1, with a diameter of c.100 mm, shows evidence for heavy use as a pounder. Large areas of the surface have been bruised by repeated usage.

Two pebbles from Area 1, (S4 and S7, Figure 7.) have been split longitudinally. This may have been done to obtain an instant cutting edge in the manner of a 'Skaill knife'. Another (S3, Figure 7.), has a flake scar from which a large oval flake has been detached by striking the cobble on one edge. It also has several scars as if repeated attempts were necessary to achieve this.

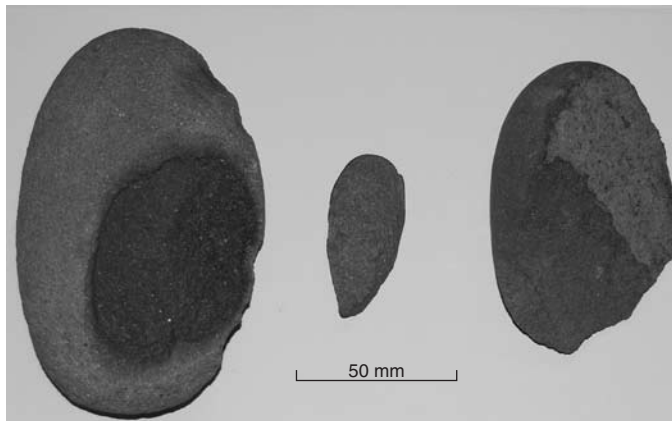


Figure 7. Coarse stone tools S3, S4 and S7. Photograph by Diana Coles

## Discussion

The presence of a small number of microliths, together with a chert blade of probable Mesolithic origin, indicates that this is a mixed assemblage. Some of the microliths in Area 1 were recovered from the same spits of soil as pitchstone flakes and blades. Some fragments of copper and other metals were also retrieved. These may be of early origin but may equally result from military activity on the site. It is therefore not possible to assign individual flint artefacts to periods with any degree of confidence, with the exception of a very small number of diagnostic pieces.

The presence of Antrim flint within the assemblage has been noted. Also noteworthy is the lack of specifically Irish forms. It seems most likely that the flint arrived at Luce Sands in a similar form to that of the material from the Campbeltown hoard; that is, as a number of flakes which could be used as blanks for the manufacture of knives and scrapers.

It seems clear from the evidence that arrowhead manufacture was occurring on site. Of the three arrowheads from Area 1, two fall within the colour range for Antrim flint and in the absence of cortex it is not possible to be definite about their origin. The third, however, is of a red-brown colour which is definitely not Antrim in origin. All three arrowheads are well made, all have invasive bifacial retouch and the flakes which have been removed during this process are, in all three cases, in excess of 10 mm in length. All three arrowheads are small. This is another reason for considering that all three most probably derive from pebble flint since Antrim flint seems to have been used specifically to manufacture objects of a size which the constraints of the local material would not permit.

However, experiment has indicated that the removals effected in the bifacial retouch are unlikely to have been possible on untreated pebble flint (Coles forthcoming) and in order to render the pebble flint workable it would have needed to have been heat-treated. This accords well with the findings of Cowie's excavation in which the physical changes to the flint resultant from such treatment were noted (Cowie 1996).

There are a large number of exotic materials within the assemblage. Flint from Antrim, pitchstone from Arran and axe material from Great Langdale and possibly also from Strathgairn (but see discussion below) had all been brought into the Sands.

There is evidence that, during the early Neolithic period in this area of the Sands, a variety of lithic materials were processed, particularly in Area 1. The intermingling of material from different periods confuses the interpretation of the story but it seems clear that leaf arrowhead manufacture, probably using local pebble flint that had been heat treated, was one activity. Arran pitchstone had been reduced to flakes and blades. Some of it had been burned.

The large, and presumably prestigious, implements of Antrim flint may also have been manufactured on site from imported raw material although the lack of identifiable debitage of Antrim flint makes it more likely that they reached the Sands in a finished form. It is possible that Antrim flint may have been used in the manufacture of some, although not all, of the arrowheads.

It is evident that the axe material was being reworked in some way on site although there is no evidence that roughouts were being finished. The flakes from Area 2 are more suggestive of damage caused during use and may suggest that wood was being worked on site. The flakes and chips of polished stone axe material, concentrated in Area 2, may result from an episode of woodworking within that Area or may point to reduction of a whole axe, either for recycling or in a deliberate act of decommissioning.

It is possible, although unprovable, that the fact that the scraper from Area 1 had been made from an axehead of Langdale tuff gave it special significance, since it came from an object whose prior history may well have been known. That the axehead need not have been very old when reused in this way is suggested by the radiocarbon date from Area 1: if the scraper is broadly contemporary with that dated episode of activity, then this lies close to the date for the beginning of axe production at Great Langdale.

That the pitchstone was being knapped here is evidenced by the scatters of refittable material from Area 1. What is not clear is why flakes and blades were allowed to remain as they fell. Torben Ballin has argued that secondary working has taken place on more pitchstone pieces that was formerly recognised (Ballin 2007). Nevertheless, there are no finely worked pitchstone tools and such retouch as exists is both slight and fairly crude. Both this and the other pitchstone assemblages from Luce Sands seem to indicate that the aim of the knapper was to produce blades and flakes with a preference for the former and cores have been worked down to tiny nubbins to achieve this. The pitchstone that has been recovered from deposition pits and in association with rock art suggests that its importance may have been not merely practical and functional but also symbolic and metaphorical. It may be that the scatters of pitchstone, as well as the small amounts of burnt material, echoing the far greater amounts of burnt material discovered at Cowie's Site J, result from its deliberate destruction.

## POTTERY

by Alison Sheridan

The ceramic assemblage, which is all of Early Neolithic date, comprises around 600 sherds and several hundred fragments (i.e. pieces less than 10 mm in their greatest dimension), from at least 31 vessels, all undecorated; its overall weight is around 2.7 kg. Only a tiny proportion – just 2.5% by sherd number (15) and 0.5% by weight – comes from Area 2, and no pottery was found in Area 3. Of the pottery found in Area 1, around half by weight is taken up by Pot 1 (Figures 8 & 9.) – much of a large carinated bowl that had been found in 1992, eroding from the pit – and up to 17% of the rest (by weight) is taken up by a second large pot, possibly a deep jar with a sinuous profile (Pot 2, Figure 10.), found in 1993 and thought to have eroded out of the same pit. The constituent sherds from these two pots include pieces up to 139 x 99 mm in size, but the rest of the assemblage stands in stark contrast to these, mostly consisting of pieces smaller than 30 x 30 mm, and often considerably smaller than this. The destructive effect of exposure to the elements is reflected in the fact that most of the pieces collected from the surface in and after 2003 – that is, after at least a year of exposure – are featureless, mostly abraded spalls under 20 x 20 mm in size, unattributable to any specific vessel. (The retrieval of some of these by wet sieving may have added to their abraded appearance, although not necessarily by much.) The vulnerability of the pottery is underlined by the fact that it had been necessary to consolidate sherds belonging to Pot 2 to prevent them from disintegrating; some of the sherds from thin, fine Pot 4 are also friable and slightly laminar, with a tendency to spall, and these would not have survived long periods of exposure. The same vulnerability has been noted by other commentators on Luce Sands pottery (Cowie 1996, 16; McInnes 1964, 40).



Figure 8. Pot 1. Photograph by Alison Sheridan

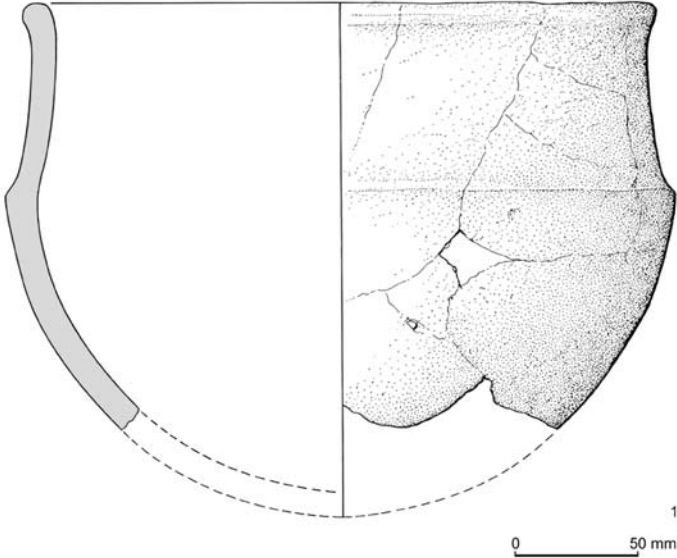


Figure 9. Reconstruction drawing of Pot 1 by Marion O'Neil

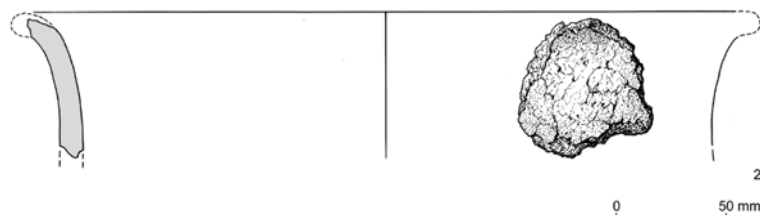


Figure 10. Reconstruction drawing of Pot 2 by Marion O'Neil

The overall spatial distribution of the pottery in Area 1 is shown in Figure 2.; the nature of the recording system makes it impossible to tell which pieces had come from the hearth feature, although the abundance of burnt pieces makes it clear that many of the pots (or rather their constituent sherds) had been burnt, and in some cases the sherds are accompanied by lumps of what looks like burnt sediment, probably originating in a hearth. Assuming that Pot 2 had originated in the pit, this feature produced parts of four, possibly five pots (Pots 1, 2, 21 and 26 and possibly 5), with additional sherds from most of these vessels being found on the surface. The small size of many of the sherds means that the estimate of the minimum number of individual vessels present is bound to be an under-estimation; it had been based principally on feature sherds (i.e. rims and carinations) and on a consideration of fabric, thickness and colour, bearing in mind that all these can vary within a single pot. With the exception of Pot 1 (see below), no more than 10% of any individual vessel is present, and in several cases a pot is represented by a single sherd. In the description below, the four pots represented in Area 2 (Pots 28–31) are described alongside the vessels from Area 1, as they are comparable with the Area 1 material. A summary identification of each of the identifiable pots is presented in the Appendix; a fuller inventory is available in archive form.

In terms of overall vessel shape, most of the recognisable vessels had definitely or probably been carinated bowls; where carinations are not present, it is the shape of the rim and the shape and angle of the neck which suggest that the vessels had originally been of this type. These carinated bowls vary in their size, wall thickness, texture and fabric (although the same few minerals recur as deliberately-added filler). The largest is Pot 3 (Figure 11. top) – a relatively thick-walled (9–15.7 mm thick), gritty-textured cooking bowl with an estimated rim diameter of 340 mm. Pot 1 (Figures 8 & 9.) is smaller and finer-textured, with a rim diameter of 260 mm and a wall thickness of around 12 mm at the neck and *c* 15 mm at the upper belly; it has a fairly deep belly. By contrast, Pot 4 (Figure 11. middle) – with its estimated rim diameter of *c* 240 mm – had been very fine and thin-walled, with some sherds as thin as 3.8 mm. This had been a shallow-bellied bowl with a relatively long, near-vertical neck. The smallest carinated bowl whose rim diameter can be estimated is Pot 5 (Figure 11. bottom), and in this case the diameter is around 130 mm, while the wall thickness ranges between 8 and 10 mm. The rims on this type of pot range in shape from rounded and slightly everted (e.g. in Pots 1, 5, 6 and 18: Figures 8, 9, 11 & 12.), to flattish-topped with their outer edges rolled (Pots 4, 7: Figures 11. middle & 12.); the large Pot 3 has a peaked, externally-bevelled rim (Figure 11. top). Necks are generally upright or minimally splayed, and straight or slightly concave; carinations are gentle (Figures 8, 9, 11 & 12.). As indicated above, bellies range from shallow to deep.



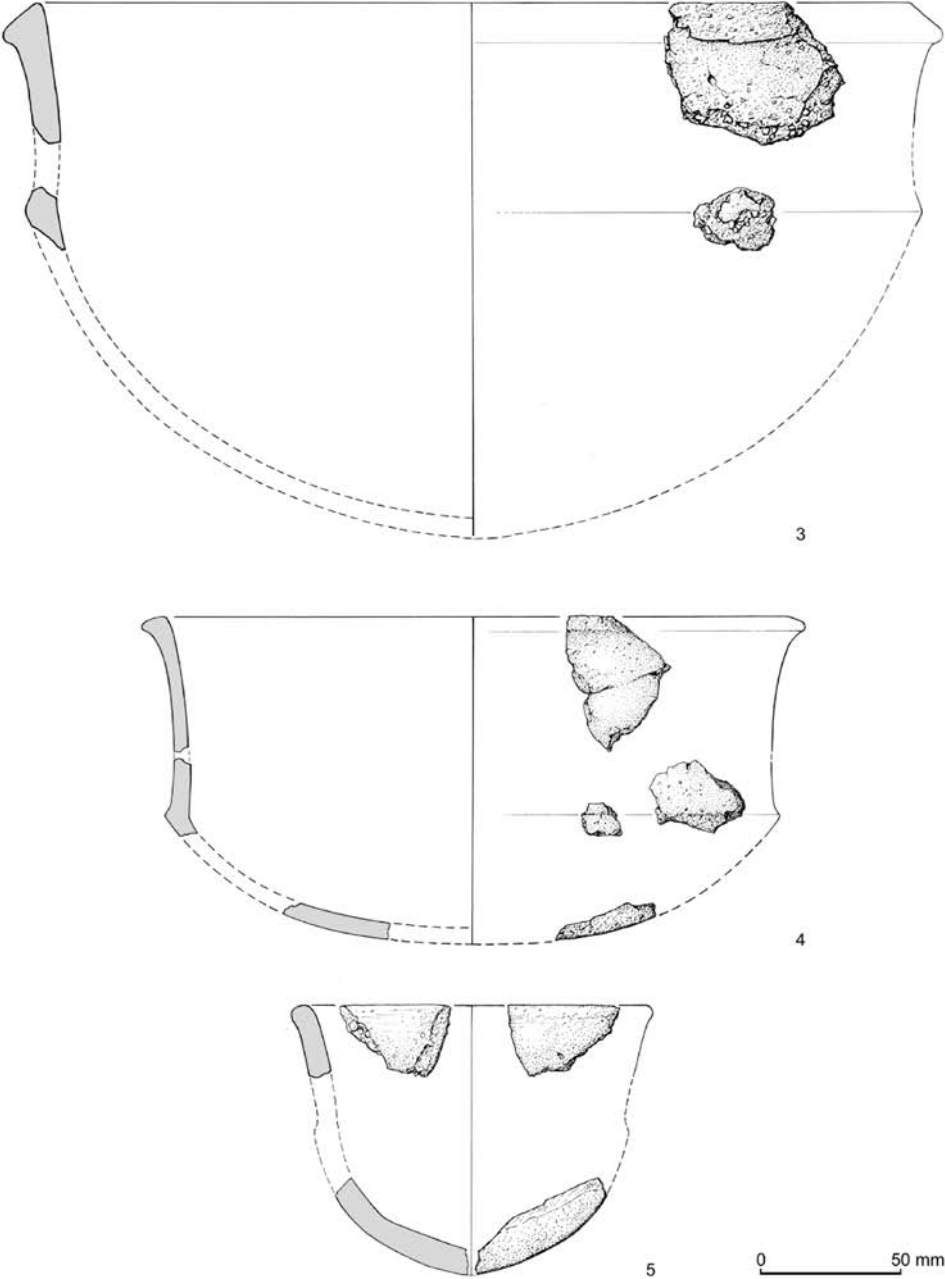


Figure 11. Reconstruction drawings of Pots 3, 4 and 5 by Marion O'Neil



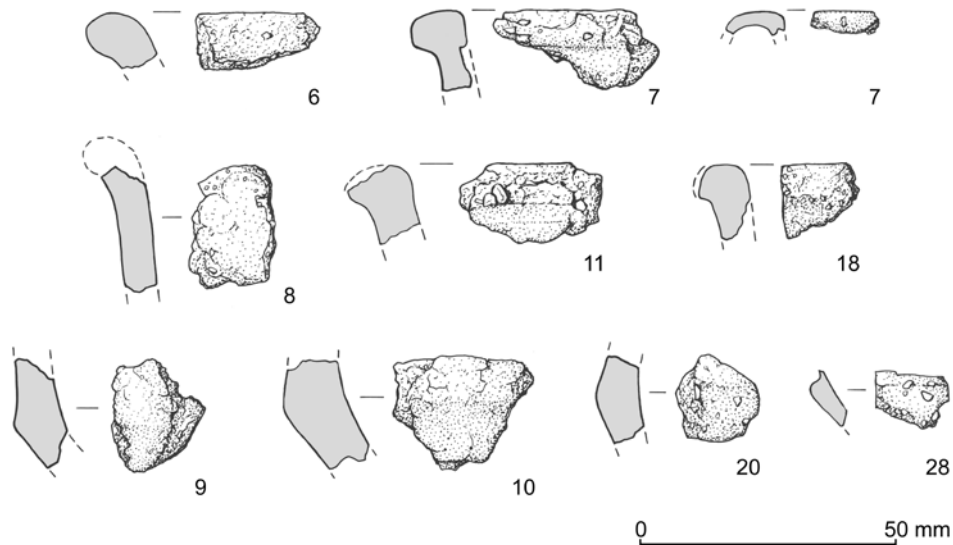
EXCAVATION AND RECORDING OF THREE SITES AT  
KNOCKNAB ON TORRS WARREN, WEST FREUGH

Figure 12: Miscellaneous rim and carination sherds. Drawings by Marion O'Neil

There are between four and six uncarinated pots in the assemblage. The large Pot 2 (Figure 10.) may well have been a deep-bellied, sinuous-profiled cooking jar reminiscent of a vessel found at Carzield, Dumfries and Galloway (Sheridan 1993, Pot 2), although not enough of the pot is present to be certain of this. The constituent sherds include two large conjoining belly sherds, up to 18.5 mm in thickness, and it is uncertain whether they come from the bottom of the belly or further up the pot; if the latter, they suggest that its diameter at that point was around 360 mm, wider than the estimated rim diameter of *c* 345 mm.

The other uncarinated pots (namely Pots 12, 13, 16 and possibly 21 and 24: Figure 13.) had probably been small bowls and cups; all are burnt. In four cases the sherds are heavily abraded and the identification is only tentative. Pot 12 has an upright, simple rounded rim and an estimated rim diameter of 160 mm; Pot 13 has a peaked top, a gentle internal bevel and a steep external bevel, and is too small to estimate its rim diameter reliably, although it is likely to be between 120 and 160 mm. Pot 16 may have been a cup, with thin walls (*c* 5.2 mm) and a simple, upright rounded rim, its diameter possibly around 100 mm; and Pot 21 may also have been a cup, with a flat rim (if indeed the sherd in question is a rimsherd), its diameter possibly around 110 mm. It is impossible to determine whether the heavily abraded Pot 24 had been a rimsherd from an uncarinated bowl or a belly sherd from a larger pot, broken along a ring joint line and subsequently abraded.

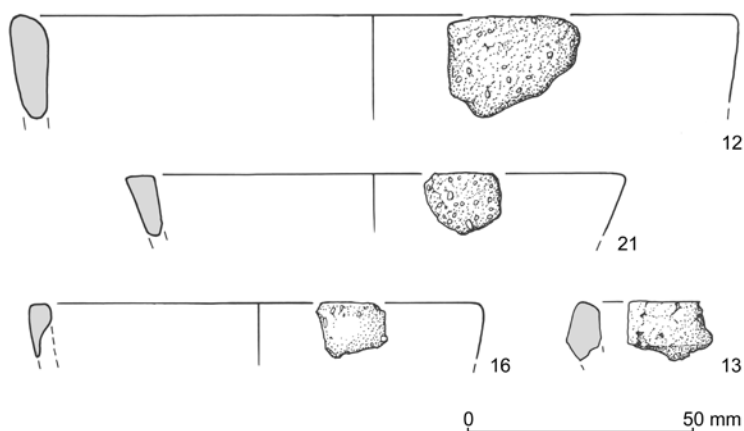


Figure 13. Small uncarinated bowls and cups. Drawings by Marion O'Neil

The colour of the pottery varies considerably, both between and within vessels, not least because many of the pots show signs of heat damage. The exterior of the two large conjoining belly sherds from Pot 2, for example, has been oxidised (though burning) to a bright orange, while Pot 1's exterior is mottled, with some areas burnt to a similar colour, while other parts of the surface remained brown with dark grey patches (Figure 8.) The most heavily burnt sherd, found during a post-1993 surface collection, has been thoroughly oxidised to a uniform pale yellowish-buff colour; this comes from the belly of a very fine-textured pot with walls as thin as 4 mm in places.

Regarding manufacture and surface finish, the use of successive rings to build up the body is evident from where sherds have broken along ring joint planes, as is the case with Pot 1 a little distance below the carination, for example, or with Pots 7 and 15, where the top of the rim had been formed by adding a thin flattened ring. In some other pots, the rim shape had been achieved by smoothing or rolling the top of the rim outwards; traces of a seam, from the folding over of the rim-top and its subsequent smoothing down, are visible in Pot 5. On Pot 4, the slightly ragged carination shows how its shape had been completed by upwards smoothing. Most of the pots in the assemblage, and most of the sherds that cannot be attributed to specific vessels, have wall thicknesses in the 4–8 mm range, and the achievement of such thin walls, especially in sizeable pots such as Pot 4, attests to the skill of the potters. The slight faceting seen just below the carination on Pot 1, on the rims of Pots 7 and 15 and on the interior of the rim of Pot 5, attest to the use of a tool to smooth and shape these vessels at leather-hard stage; in the case of Pot 5, we may be dealing with scraping of the interior. With Pot 1, the discovery of a long pebble with smoothing-polish at one end inside this pot (see lithics report) suggests that this could have been the tool used to shape the carination and to smooth the pot's surface. (However, the fact that the pot had been used as a cooking pot indicates that there was some time-gap between its manufacture and its deposition, and so the pebble need not have been used to smooth this particular vessel.) The two aforementioned thick belly sherds from Pot 2 have more marked, broad faceting on their exterior, along with broad internal corrugation between ring joints, and clearly in this case there had been less of a concern with achieving

a uniform wall thickness and smooth surfaces than was the case with the other pots in the assemblage. In general, attempts have been made to create smooth surfaces, and this is most likely to have been achieved by wet-smoothing, which creates a slip-like appearance. On Pot 4, the surface has been further refined by polishing the exterior (especially at the neck and immediately below the carination) to a low sheen – an effect enhanced by the presence of tiny, shiny gold-coloured mica platelets. None of the pots had been burnished to a high sheen, however. In many cases the surface smoothing has obscured the lithic inclusions, but the grittier pots in the assemblage (e.g. Pot 3) tend to have many inclusions protruding from the outer and/or inner surfaces.

The fabric and texture of the pots varies, although the nature of the crushed stone used as a deliberate filler is remarkably consistent. White quartz, in angular or sub-angular fragments of varying sizes, is the commonest inclusion along with gold-coloured mica plates and a black shiny mineral (possibly hornblende, amphibole or biotite). All three minerals also occur together, in speckled inclusions; the size of the constituent minerals, and their relative proportions, vary between pots, just as the size range and abundance of the inclusions also vary. It is suspected that locally-available cobbles of this igneous rock type, varying in their texture, had been smashed up and used as filler. There is no clear correlation between abundance and/or size of the inclusions and the size or overall texture of the pots: some fine-looking pots (such as Pot 6) have abundant small inclusions, while the large Pot 1 has relatively sparse inclusions, in contrast to the markedly gritty large Pot 3.

Some clues as to the functions of the pots are provided by traces of thin black organic encrustation, on the inside and/or outside of several pots, suggesting their use for cooking. The burnt-on encrustation on the interior of Pot 4 indicates that this pot had been used for this purpose; on one sherd it extends up to the rim, while on another neck sherd it stops in a neat line. Pot 1 has patches of thin black encrustation on its interior, and also on its exterior at the neck and the belly; that on the belly occurs as a discrete horizontal band (as seen on sherds SF 22–24), as if marking a point where the pot had nestled in a hearth. The fact that many sherds show signs of burning, and had presumably been found in the hearth spread area, suggests that they, too, may well have been cooking pots, their sherds left in the hearth to be burnt after their breakage. (The burning of the aforementioned cups is, however, harder to explain). Lipid analysis may well reveal the former contents of the pots.

## **Discussion**

The nature of the assemblage – with small pieces of numerous pots present – suggests that we are dealing with the residue of one or more episodes of habitation in this area, involving the cooking of food on hearths and the disposal of waste in the pit and on the surface; there are plenty of parallels for this (e.g. at Maybole, Ayrshire: Sheridan 2009a). The large size of most of the sherds found in the pit, and the absence or lightness of abrasion, indicates that large parts of Pots 1 and 2 were deposited shortly after use. Whether these pots had been incomplete when deposited there is impossible to tell, given the eroded condition of the pit when first spotted.

The assemblage is recognisable as belonging to the Early Neolithic Carinated Bowl (CB) tradition (as defined and discussed in Sheridan 2007a), with its roots in a regional variant of the Chasséo-Michelsberg pottery of the far north of France (Sheridan 2010). A distinction can be made between the earliest pottery of this type in Britain and Ireland – the so-called ‘traditional CB’ pottery, which is markedly homogeneous over large areas – and the regionally-specific variants which developed from this, through a process of style drift; these are known by the umbrella term ‘modified CB’ (Sheridan 2007a, Fig. 10). The Knocknab assemblage includes many features characteristic of ‘traditional CB’ pottery: the simple rounded rims, the gentle carinations, the careful smoothing of the surfaces, a range of thicknesses, including some very thin pots, and a range of textures and fabrics, from very fine to slightly coarse. The bevelled rim of Pot 3, and the flat-topped rim of Pot 4, depart slightly from the ‘traditional CB’ canon, but it is suspected that not many generations had passed between the initial appearance of CB pottery in Britain, some time between 4000 and 3800 BC, and the manufacture of the Knocknab assemblage. The radiocarbon date of  $5005 \pm 35$  BP (SUERC-23679/GU-18657, 3940–3700 cal BC at  $2\sigma$  using OxCal 4.1), from *Sorbus* charcoal in the pit, is consistent with such a view, and the lithic assemblage (see Coles, this article) is also in accord.

*Comparanda* are to be found among the large amounts of prehistoric pottery found in Luce Sands, as well a further afield. The geographically closest examples are from Cowie’s site J at the southern end of Flint Howe, just *c* 225 m away to the south (Cowie 1996, 70–2, fig. 31, nos. 467–81, 494); like the Knocknab pottery, these vessels were remarkable for the high incidence of mica among their lithic mineral inclusions. The Knocknab vessels are also comparable to some of McInnes’s ‘Class I’ pottery, found elsewhere in the Sands (e.g. McInnes 1964, fig. 1 and fig.3.56–69); again, quartz and mica feature prominently as inclusions. Further afield in Dumfries and Galloway, comparable Early Neolithic pottery of ‘traditional CB’ type is known from Cairnholy chamber tomb in the former Stewartry of Kirkcudbright (Piggott and Powell 1948, fig. 7); under the cairn of a Bargrennan-type chamber tomb at Cairnderry, further inland in Kirkcudbright (Sheridan 2007b, 97); and at a cluster of sites around Dumfries, including a pit at Carzield (Sheridan 1993) and a recently-excavated ‘hall’ at Lockerbie Academy (Sheridan 2011. See Sheridan 2007a, fig. 1, for a distribution map of traditional CB pottery in Scotland.) The last two findspots are associated with radiocarbon dates comparable with that obtained for the Knocknab pottery from Pit 1, and the Carzield pit also contained a fragment of Great Langdale stone axehead and two pieces of Arran pitchstone, a further point of similarity with Knocknab (Maynard 1993; Ballin 2009, 90).

Other parallels can be cited throughout the British and Irish area of distribution of this style of pottery, and the similarities extend beyond shape and finish to technical characteristics such as the method of shaping the pots, and the preferential use, for a protective filler, of crushed igneous stone types featuring a white mineral (usually quartz), a black mineral (usually hornblende or amphibole) and a gold-coloured mineral (mica platelets). Local sources of these distinctive-looking stone types seem to have been sought out. The stone occurs in pots both as speckled fragments incorporating two or more of the minerals, and as the individual constituent minerals, with large mica platelets sparkling on the surface of the pots. This choice of filler (and, more generally, of micaceous stone)

is particularly common among Scottish assemblages, being found not only in south-west Scotland (e.g. at the aforementioned sites and at Maybole, South Ayrshire: Sheridan 2009a) but also in the North East, as at Crathes, Aberdeenshire (Sheridan 2009b, 86: here the stone is a local diorite, comprising quartz, feldspar and diorite). This consistency in style and technique reinforces the impression that we are dealing with a tradition of potting that had been introduced over a wide area, and which included ideas about the 'correct' way of making pots; over time we then see a deviation away from this canon, in both design and in the technique and quality of manufacture.

#### SOIL MICROMORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

by Charles A.I. French

One sample was taken through the land surface in Area 1 for analysis in thin section (Bullock et al 1985; Murphy 1986).

The thin section revealed an apedal groundmass of fine quartz sand containing minor amounts of orientated silty clay coatings towards the base of the sample. There was a highly fragmented and very comminuted, minor but ubiquitous, carbonised organic component. In addition, there were a few, rounded, fine sand-size fragments of bone as inclusions.

This fabric has the appearance of being highly leached with much of the silty clay and fine organic component removed by the leaching process, with the latter much destroyed by faunal attack and physical reworking of the sediment by wind and water. The calcareous nature of the sand has meant that only the carbonised material of the former organic component survives, and this too is poorly preserved. This 'old land surface' has undoubtedly undergone pedogenesis, but the unstable sand subsoil has meant that it has been transformed from a reasonably stable soil with illuvial silty clay textural pedofeatures as well as organic and archaeologically derived inclusions to a highly depleted, structureless sand.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

by Alison Sheridan, Phil Abramson, Crane Begg, Diana Coles and Jane Murray

The three areas explored at Knocknab are typical of the discoveries elsewhere in Luce Sands in being highly degraded remains of prehistoric activity. Although the lithic finds indicate that more than one period of activity is represented – with Mesolithic microliths being present – nevertheless the ceramic evidence from Areas 1 and 2 indicates that the principal period of activity was the Early Neolithic, and the lithic finds do not contradict that.

As to the nature and duration of these activities, the truncated condition of the locale makes it difficult to determine whether we are dealing with short-term episodes (such as camping visits to exploit the wild resources), or more sustained occupation. The possible stone ard tip, like the traces of ard cultivation noted by Cowie during his fieldwork at

Torrs Warren (Cowie 1996, 62 and fig. 28), hints at the latter, although the fact that neither of these pieces of evidence for agricultural activity is firmly dated means that we cannot assume an Early Neolithic date for this. All we can state for certain is that, in Area 1, food was being cooked and consumed, and the waste was both deposited in a pit and left on the surface; the presence of grains of emmer wheat among the material from the pit shows that the people certainly had access to cereals, whether or not they had grown them in the locality. (Similarly, the presence of hazelnut shells shows that they were also consuming gathered plant foods.) The small size of the leaf-shaped arrowheads is characteristic of Neolithic and Bronze Age arrowheads from sandhills sites around Scotland, and it has been suggested that these may have been designed for use in shooting birds or fish (Clarke 2004). As regards the latter, even though the isotope results from Early Neolithic human remains around the coast of Britain indicates an apparent aversion to consuming fish (Richards and Schulting 2006), nevertheless some small-scale eating of fish may have taken place, insufficient to leave a marine signature in the bones. Alternatively, as suggested above, the arrowheads may have been destined for use in hunting birds.

The variety of lithic resources in use – showing links with Cumbria, Arran and north-east Ireland (if not also to Killin) – is characteristic of Early Neolithic assemblages. It is clear that the early farming groups of the ‘Carinated Bowl Neolithic’ established connections with each other at a very early stage after their initial appearance (Sheridan 2007a), exchanging objects, materials, ideas and almost certainly also people. The chronology of exploitation of Arran pitchstone (Ballin 2009), Langdale tuff (Davis and Edmonds 2011) and Antrim flint (Woodman *et al.* 2006, 268–74) supports the idea that the Early Neolithic settlers in Scotland (and indeed elsewhere in Britain and Ireland) sought out and exploited specific lithic resources, as well as using locally-available stone types. As for the question of whether the calc-silicate hornfels of Creag na Caillich is genuinely represented among the Knocknab assemblage of axehead fragments, our current understanding of the exploitation of this source (Edmonds *et al.* 1992, 103, 105) is that it did not start until the Late Neolithic, during the early centuries of the third millennium; the tentative nature of Dr Davis’s macroscopic identification is noted.

There is more research that could be undertaken on the material retrieved in 1992 and 1993; lipid analysis of sherds from Pots 1 and 4 is being carried out by Dr Lucy Cramp at Bristol University, as part of a larger-scale study of Neolithic pottery use, and initial palaeoenvironmental examination of material from the pit in Area 1 had indicated that a detailed study of this material would enhance our understanding of resource use.

In the meantime, however, the evidence already obtained from what was essentially an exercise in rescue archaeology has provided valuable additional information about the early Neolithic inhabitants of this part of Scotland. We already know, from finds of comparable Carinated Bowl pottery elsewhere in Dumfries and Galloway, that some people – arguably the first generation or two of settlers – lived in a large house (‘hall’) at Lockerbie, and that the non-megalithic funerary tradition that they brought with them (as attested by the mortuary structures at Lochhill and Slewcairn: Kinnes 1992, 46–7, Figs. 1D.28 and 29) became translated into a stone version at Cairnholy, along the coast from Luce Sands. The pit at Carzield shows that Knocknab was by no means the only place where pottery

and lithic material were deposited in a pit; and this and other findspots (including that of an Early Neolithic yew bow, probably imported from Cumbria, at Rotten Bottom in the Moffat Hills: Sheridan 2007a) show how well-connected these people were with other communities elsewhere. (This evidence also confirms the impression, given by the Knocknab finds that these early farming communities exploited wild resources as well as relying on domesticates; cf. Bishop *et al.* 2009).

No doubt much more evidence lies buried in the sands, awaiting the next storm to be revealed. With luck and regular monitoring, it may be possible to capture the information before it is destroyed by nature.

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## APPENDIX

### **Catalogue of the Identifiable Pots from Knocknab**

by Alison Sheridan

Note: a fuller inventory exists in archive form. Key: E = estimated; RD = rim diameter; ND = neck diameter; CD = carination diameter; Th = wall thickness; Ht = height. Dimensions in mm. Unless specified otherwise, inclusions are all angular and sub-angular fragments of the stone type described above.

Pots 1–27 are from Area 1; Pots 28–31 are from Area 2.

Pot 1 (Figures 8 & 9.) Between a third and a half of a carinated bowl with rounded, slightly everted rim; upright, slightly concave neck; gentle carination and fairly deep belly. ERD c260; ECD 276; EHt c212; Th 9.8 neck, 13 upper belly. Carefully smoothed surfaces (with tool-faceting on exterior just below carination) but some surface pitting, due to burning. Exterior mottled: light to mid brown with grey patches and some areas burnt to bright orange. Core mid-brown and orange-brown; interior mid-brown and grey-brown. Thin blackish organic residue on interior of belly and on exterior of neck. Fairly fine: inclusions up to 3.5 x 2; fairly sparse density 3–5%. One natural rounded pebble. Some belly sherds could belong either to Pot 1 or to Pot 2. Burning relates to the use of the pot as a cooking pot.

Pot 2 (Figure 10.) Less than 10% of a large jar, probably with sinuous profile, with everted, probably rounded rim; upright, minimally concave neck; and deep belly. ERD c 345; Th 11.8 neck, 19.4 belly. Two large conjoining belly sherds have faceted exterior and corrugated interior from where ring joints have not been fully smoothed over. Friable: many sherds consolidated with PEG. Uneven surfaces. Exterior red-brown; core medium grey-brown and blackish; interior dark grey-brown. Blackish organic encrustation on interior of belly. Hackly fracture. Inclusions up to 7.5 x 7; 5–10%. Burnt.

Pot 3 (Figure 11.) Less than 5% of a very large, gritty carinated bowl, with externally-bevelled upright rim; upright, minimally-concave neck and gentle carination; the belly had probably been medium depth. ERD 340; Th 9–12.8 (15.7 at thickest part of rim); EHt c 194. Surfaces had been smoothed but many inclusions project. Exterior mid-brown and blackish brown; core blackish and dark grey; interior blackish and dark brown. Patches of very thin black organic encrustation on interior at neck; the black on the rim bevel may also represent encrustation. Gritty. Inclusions up to 4.8 x 2.7; 10–15%.

Pot 4 (Figure 11.) Less than 10% of a very fine, very thin-walled carinated bowl with flat-topped, minimally everted rim; upright or very slightly everted straightish neck; fairly crisply angled carination; and shallow belly. ERD 240; ECD 230–240; Th 3.8–6.8; EHt c 120. Very carefully smoothed surfaces, with neck and upper belly polished to a low sheen on exterior. Exterior medium reddish-brown and dark grey-brown; base sherd lighter red-brown; core red-brown and dark grey; interior red-brown and black-brown. Thin black organic encrustation on interior at neck and belly. Fine-textured. Inclusions up to 2 x 2; 3% or below. Some scorching of belly through use as a cooking pot.

Pot 5 (Figure 11.) Less than 10% of a small, fairly fine carinated bowl with rounded, gently everted rim; straightish, slightly everted neck and medium-depth belly. ERD c 130; Th 8.1–9.8; EHt c 98. Carefully smoothed surfaces; faceting on interior of neck may relate to scraping, or else to smoothing

using a tool such as a pebble). Seam line on exterior immediately under rim relates to the folding outwards of the rim top. Exterior light brown and grey-brown; core mid-grey; interior light grey-brown. Inclusions up to 7 x 4.5; *c* 7%.

Pot 6 (Figure 12.) Less than 5% of a large, probably carinated bowl with rounded, slightly everted rim; rimsherd too small for reliable ERD, but could be *c* 280. Th *c* 9. Carefully smoothed surfaces even though fabric is gritty. Exterior buff and orange-buff; core orange-buff; interior pale orange and light grey-buff. Inclusions up to 4.4 x 2.5; *c* 5%. Burnt.

Pot 7 (Figure 12.) Less than 5% of a large, probably carinated bowl with slightly angular sub-rounded rim, minimally everted; ERD possibly *c* 350; Th *c* 9 at neck. One spall from the top of the rim has become detached along a ring joint plane, showing that the top of the rim had been added as a strip of clay; the faceting of the rim shows that a tool had been used to shape it. (One unburnt rimsherd, SF 81, has a slightly hooked exterior but it is not certain that this belongs to this pot.) Surfaces carefully smoothed; two unburnt rimsherds (including SF 81) have exteriors that have been polished to a low sheen, and one of these has wipe marks. The constituent sherds vary widely in colour, as some have been thoroughly burnt. Hard, but with tendency to spall. Fairly gritty: inclusions up to 5 x 3.5; *c* 7%. Some sherds burnt.

Pot 8 (Figure 12.) Single neck sherd from a thin, fine, almost certainly carinated bowl; neck straight and upright or slightly everted; Th *c* 7. Sherd too small for END. Surfaces carefully smoothed. Pale orange throughout. Inclusions up to 1.5 x 1.7; 3% or less. Burnt.

Pot 9 (Figure 12.) Single carination sherd from a fairly fine carinated bowl with a gentle carination and probably an upright, fairly straight neck; Th 7.9–9.5. Sherd too small for ECD. Carefully smoothed surfaces. Exterior medium brown; core medium brown and dark grey; interior medium grey-brown. Inclusions up to 1 x 2; 3% or less.

Pot 10 (Figure 12.) Less than 5% of a fairly large carinated bowl with a gentle carination and probably upright neck; ECD 200–260; Th 9.8 (11.8 at carination). Carefully smoothed surfaces. Medium to dark brown throughout. Thin black organic encrustation on interior. Relatively fine-textured; inclusions up to 4.5 x 3.5 but almost all under 2 x 2; 3% or less.

Pot 11 (Figure 12.) Less than 5% of a large, almost certainly carinated bowl with flattish-topped, externally-expanded rim, minimally everted. Rimsherd too small for reliable ERD but will have been at least 270; Th 15.8 at widest point. Much of the rim surface had spalled off. One fragment from the top of the rim may have broken off along a ring joint plane. Smooth surfaces. Pale orange-brown throughout. Thin black organic encrustation on exterior or (more probably) interior of one sherd. Inclusions relatively large, up to 5 x 4; *c* 5%. Burnt.

Pot 12 (Figure 13.) One rimsherd and one body sherd from a thin-walled, uncarinated bowl with simple upright rounded rim; ERD *c* 160; Th *c* 6.7. Heavily abraded; some inclusions protrude through the surfaces. Pale orange throughout, with patches of pale grey in core. Gritty: inclusions up to 3 x 2.5; *c* 5%. Burnt.

Pot 13 (Figure 13.) One rimsherd and several fragments from thin-walled, fine uncarinated bowl with an externally-bevelled rim; ERD 120–160; Th 7.2. Carefully smoothed surfaces. Buff throughout. Inclusions small and sparse, up to 2 x 1; <3%. Burnt. Friable.

Pot 14 (not illustrated) Small fragment from the tip of a rounded rim, probably from a carinated bowl. Too small for ERD; Th 8. Smooth surface; buff and dark grey exterior, buff core and interior. Fine textured: inclusions up to 1 x 0.5; <3%. Burnt.

Pot 15 (not illustrated) Spall from the top of a rim (plus two body sherds and two fragments); flattish topped, and rolled outwards. Rim shape typical of those found on carinated bowls. Spalled off along a ring joint plane; slight faceting indicates that a tool has been used to shape the rim. Too small for ERD; Th 9.6. Smooth; buff throughout. Inclusions up to 3 x 2.5; <3%. Burnt.

Pot 16 (Figure 13.) Rimsherd from thin uncarinated cup with upright, rounded rim; ERD c 100; Th 5.2. Smooth; buff throughout with small reddish patches on exterior. Inclusions up to 3 x 1; <3%. Burnt.

Pot 17 (not illustrated) Pot defined on basis of fabric and thickness. Probably belly sherd, at least 10 mm thick; smooth. Exterior spalled off. Core mid grey-brown and orange brown; interior mid grey-brown. Inclusions up to 2 x 1.5; <3%. Possibly burnt.

Pot 18 (Figure 12.) Rimsherd and body sherd, probably from medium-sized to large carinated bowl of fine-gritty fabric. Rim rounded, upright, slightly expanded to exterior; rimsherd too small for ERD; Th c 12. Small socket in core where clay had been folded over to form the rim. Smooth; buff throughout. Inclusions up to 2.5 x 1; c 5%. Burnt.

Pot 19 (not illustrated) Pot defined on basis of fabric and thickness. Neck sherd and body sherd from thin-walled, fine-textured pot, almost certainly a carinated bowl; sherd too small for ERD; Th 5. Smooth; buff-grey throughout. Inclusions up to 1.5 x 1.0; 3%. Burnt.

Pot 20 (Figure 12.) Carination sherd from carinated bowl; gentle carination. Sherd too small for ERD; Th 9.4, but interior surface missing. Details obscured by sediment attaching to sherd. Fairly smooth; buff throughout; inclusions up to 3.0 x 3.5; 5–7%. Burnt.

Pot 21 (Figure 13.) Possibly a flat-topped rimsherd from a gritty, thin-walled uncarinated cup; ERD c 110; Th 7.4, thinning rapidly to 4.3. Smooth. Pinkish-brown throughout. Inclusions up to 3 x 4; 15–20%. Possibly burnt.

Pot 22 (not illustrated) Pot defined on basis of fabric and thickness. Body sherd from large pot with remarkably few inclusions; Th 10. Smooth surfaces, heavily abraded; pink-buff throughout. Inclusions up to 0.5 x 0.5; <3%. Burnt.

Pot 23 (not illustrated) Pot defined on basis of fabric and thickness. 3 Body sherds, thin (Th 5.5) but with large inclusions. Smooth; exterior mid-brown, core and interior dark grey. Inclusions up to 3 x 2.5; c 5%.

Pot 24 (not illustrated) Heavily abraded, thin, very gritty sherd which may be a rimsherd from an uncarinated bowl or a belly sherd with abraded ring joint plane; Th 5.9. Exterior and core light brown; interior slightly pink-brown. Many inclusions protrude through the surfaces. Inclusions up to 3.5 x 1.5; 15–20%. Burnt.

Pot 25 (not illustrated) Spall from rim, with an undulating surface; it is unclear whether it is the exterior or interior. Unclear whether it is from a carinated bowl or not. Th 3.9 but one surface missing. Inclusions up to 1.0 x 1.5; <3%.

Pot 26 (not illustrated) Pot defined on basis of fabric and thickness. Belly sherd from large, gritty pot; Th c 11. Inclusions up to 5 x 3; c 15%. Burnt.

Pot 27 (not illustrated) Neck sherd from large, almost certainly carinated bowl; END 280; Th 12.4. Smooth. Surfaces buff, core orange-buff. Thin black organic encrustation on exterior. Inclusions up to 4 x 7; *c* 10%. Burnt.

Pot 28 (Figure 12.) Less than 5% of a gritty carinated bowl; all the pieces are spalls, so its thickness cannot be assessed. The carination is rounded but crisply defined; spall too small for ECD. Blackish; abraded. Inclusions up to 5 x 3; *c* 10%.

Pots 29–31 (not illustrated) are defined on the basis of their fabric and thickness; Pot 29 is represented by a possible neck sherd from thin (Th 5.7), fine, probably carinated bowl with relatively large inclusions; Pot 30 by a belly sherd from a thin (Th 7.7), fairly fine pot; and Pot 31 by an abraded, gritty sherd.

In addition to these identifiable pots, among the unattributable sherds and fragments from Area 1 (dry sieve material) is one carination sherd and several spalls from rounded rims.

## NEOLITHIC, BRONZE AGE, ANGLIAN AND LATER DISCOVERIES AT LOCKERBIE

Magnus Kirby<sup>1</sup>

*Four areas of archaeological significance covering a timescale from early Neolithic to post-medieval periods were identified during initial fieldwork at Lockerbie Academy.<sup>2</sup> The earliest site identified was the remains of a Neolithic timber hall, which was situated on top of the flat plateau towards the north-west end of the site. At the summit of the rounded knoll in the centre of the area, a Bronze Age phase consisting of a cremation and inhumation cemetery enclosed by a possible ring-cairn was identified. At the base of the rounded knoll, the remains of an Early Historic timber hall were identified. This Anglian timber hall reoccupied the site of a post-built structure, which was interpreted as a timber hall, possibly belonging to an earlier British tradition. A corn-drying kiln was identified cut into the same knoll as the Bronze Age cemetery and has been dated to the late medieval or early post-medieval period. A segmented ditched enclosure was located towards the north-east end of the site, but the poor survival of this feature combined with a lack of finds and palaeobotanical evidence means that it remains undated.*

### Introduction

Trial trenching by CFA Archaeology Ltd in 2006 to the north of Lockerbie Academy, in an area earmarked for the construction of a new primary and secondary school, identified four areas of archaeological significance covering a timescale from early Neolithic to post-medieval periods. Following consultation with the Dumfries and Galloway Council Archaeologist, these four areas (designated Areas A–D; Figure 1.) were subject to a programme of archaeological excavations. The area lies within Dryfedale, c 200m to the east of the Kirk Burn at an altitude of c 70m OD on agricultural land bordering the West Coast Mainline Railway (NGR: NY 1339 8273; Figure 1.). The work was commissioned and funded by Dumfries & Galloway Council.

A full report on the excavations, including specialist reports on the artefacts and environmental remains, has recently been published in the Scottish Archaeological Internet Report series (Kirby 2011)<sup>3</sup>, and the current paper presents a summary of the results of the fieldwork and post-excavation analysis.

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1 CFA Archaeology Ltd., Old Engine House, Eskmills Park, Musselburgh, East Lothian, EH2 7PQ

2 These areas of archaeological significance were originally identified by the late W F Cormack and by R H McEwen, both members of DGNHAS and former editors of these *Transactions*, who were responsible for bringing them to the attention of the Archaeology Service of Dumfries and Galloway Council. (Ed.)

3 <http://www.sair.org.uk/sair46/>

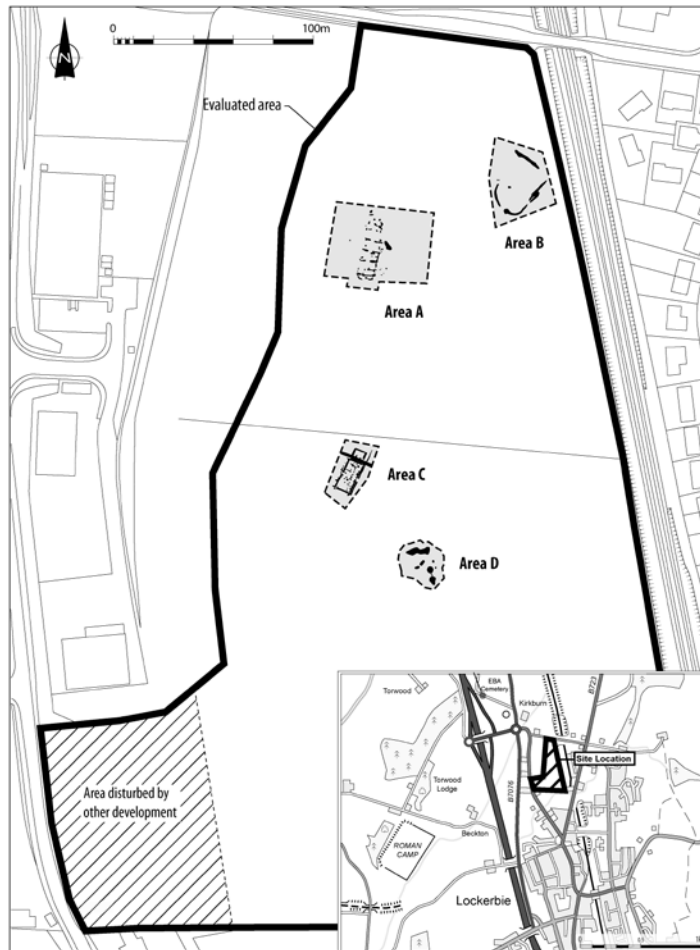


Figure 1. Site location and positions of Areas A–D

### The Neolithic Timber Hall

The earliest site identified was the remains of a Neolithic timber hall (Figures 2 and 3.), which was situated on top of the flat plateau towards the north-west end of the site (Area A). Pottery recovered from the Neolithic structure was of the Carinated Bowl tradition, suggesting a date of 3950–3700 BC. These dates have been confirmed by radiocarbon dating of grains of charred emmer wheat, hazelnut shell and willow, which produced an earliest date of 3950–3700 cal BC ( $2\sigma$ ) and a latest date of 3770–3630 cal BC ( $2\sigma$ ). They are broadly contemporary with the dates obtained from the Neolithic timber halls excavated at Balbridie Farm, Aberdeenshire (Ralston 1982; Fairweather & Ralston 1993), Claish, Stirling (Barclay et al 2002) and Warren Field (also known as Crathes), Aberdeenshire (Murray & Murray 2004).

The timber structure measured up to c 27m north-to-south by c 8m east-to-west. The northern end of the structure was slightly offset from the southern end, so an alternative interpretation of these features as two separate structures measuring c 19m by 8m and 7.5m by 5.5m respectively is possible (Figure 2. B).

The walls of the structure, where they survived and could clearly be identified, were defined by a combination of construction trenches, post-pits, and separate post-holes, which were of varying sizes and had been cut to varying depths into the subsoil. These features appear to represent a single phase of construction. Some of the post-holes had been re-cut, but this is most likely due to replacement of single posts after they had started to rot.

Internally, the building appeared to be divided into compartments by partitions that ran at right angles from the side walls towards the centre of the building, creating a wide central aisle running much of the length of the building (Figure 2.). The internal divisions comprised substantial post-holes, suggesting that this was a roofed structure. The layout of the internal divisions suggests that the support for the roof was provided by longitudinal beams positioned on either side of a central aisle, with a much lesser structural role being played by the less substantial external timbers.

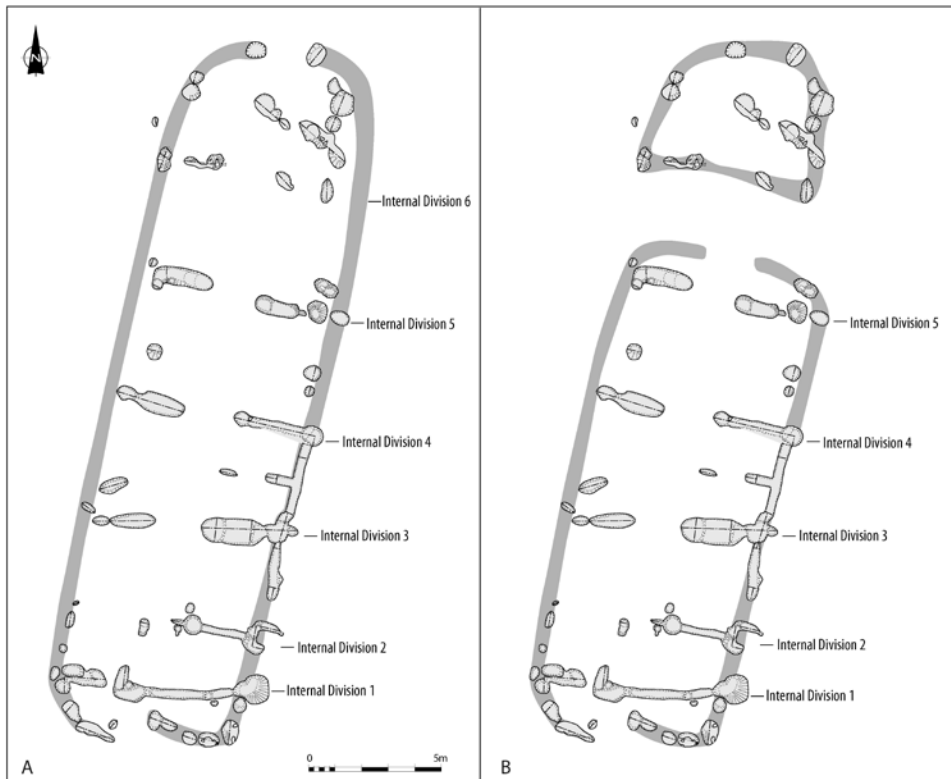


Figure 2. Plan and possible interpretations of the Neolithic structure





Figure 3. The excavated structure from the north

No features that were considered to be non-structural were identified within the structure. The lack of occupation layers, surfaces or hearths is a further indication of the degree of plough truncation that has been inflicted on this site.

Several additional features were identified outwith the structure. Of particular note was a large pit (F133) that was situated immediately to the east of the structure. The pit was rather irregular in shape and measured 4.6m long by 2m wide by 0.5m deep. A quantity of Neolithic pottery recovered from the primary fill of the pit all proved to belong to the same vessel.

Features situated close to the eastern wall of the structure may relate to structural repairs or to external features such as animal pens. Other scattered pits, with the exception of one which contained charcoal and burnt bone and another with fire-cracked stone, produced no finds and their relationship to the structure is unclear.

A minimum of 46 vessels was identified amongst the Neolithic pottery assemblage (Sheridan in Kirby 2011), most of which were scattered in the structural features and were represented by only small sherds. A narrow range of vessel forms was present, with carinated and sinuous-profiled bowls dominating the assemblage, most with smoothed

surfaces. The presence of a thin black encrustation on the interior and/or exterior of ten vessels suggests their use as cooking pots.

Other finds from the structure and associated features included twelve flint artefacts, comprising a fragment of a polished object, a scraper, an edge-retouched knife, blades and flakes (Warren in Kirby 2011), and a small quantity of fired clay (Anderson in Kirby 2011). Samples from the structure produced small quantities of burnt bone, and a small charred grain assemblage which was dominated by wheat (Hastie in Kirby 2011) but also included some flax seeds which are important in affirming that flax was being cultivated during this period of prehistory.

The radiocarbon dates obtained for the Lockerbie Academy hall make it broadly contemporary with the previously excavated examples of Balbridie, Warren Field and Claish. Although it is by no means certain that these structures would all have served the same function, they all have fairly similar dimensions with substantial internal divisions and they all contained fairly large assemblages of material culture. Possible interpretations of these structures include their use as a domestic dwelling for an extended family (Kinnes 1985), or as communal gathering places (Cross 2003), or having ritual significance (Topping 1997; Barclay et al 2002). The animal bone, nutshell and pottery identified at Lockerbie Academy certainly indicate that food preparation was undertaken within the structure, but there was no clear evidence that this was carried out on anything more than a domestic scale. It is also perhaps of note that the internal compartments were of approximately the same dimensions, with no apparent effort being made to create a single large open space that would have accommodated a large gathering.

Slight reddening of the subsoil within the interior of the building, which is visible on some of the site photographs, and large concentrations of oak charcoal from within some of the post-holes, suggests that the building may have burnt down. Pottery and flint artefacts recovered from the building also showed signs of burning. The destruction of Neolithic structures using fire appears to be a recurring theme, evidence for this having been found at other halls, suggesting that it was a deliberate act marking the end of the use of that particular structure.

### **The Bronze Age Cemetery**

At the summit of the rounded knoll in the centre of the area (Area D) a Bronze Age phase consisting of a cremation and inhumation cemetery enclosed by a possible ring-cairn was identified (Figure 4.). This would have been a very prominent location and would probably have been inter-visible with the Bronze Age cemetery at Kirkburn, lying slightly to the north. The cemetery consisted of three graves containing cremated remains and two possible inhumation graves.

A large grave (F33) was located at the very summit of the knoll with a capstone placed over the top. A flat, riveted copper alloy dagger of Butterwick type (Sheridan in Kirby 2011), buried in its sheath, and a barbed and tanged arrowhead (Warren in Kirby

2011) were recovered from the primary fill towards the south-western end of the pit. A radiocarbon date of 2140–1910 cal BC at  $2\sigma$  was obtained from the organic remains of the dagger sheath. This date lies within the general date range of c 2200 cal BC to 1950 BC for flat riveted daggers of this type. No human remains were identified in the acidic soil, but a layer of darker material (33/05) towards the southern end of the pit may have been a ‘body shadow’. Another possible grave, F37, was identified based on its size and shape, but no grave goods or human remains were present.

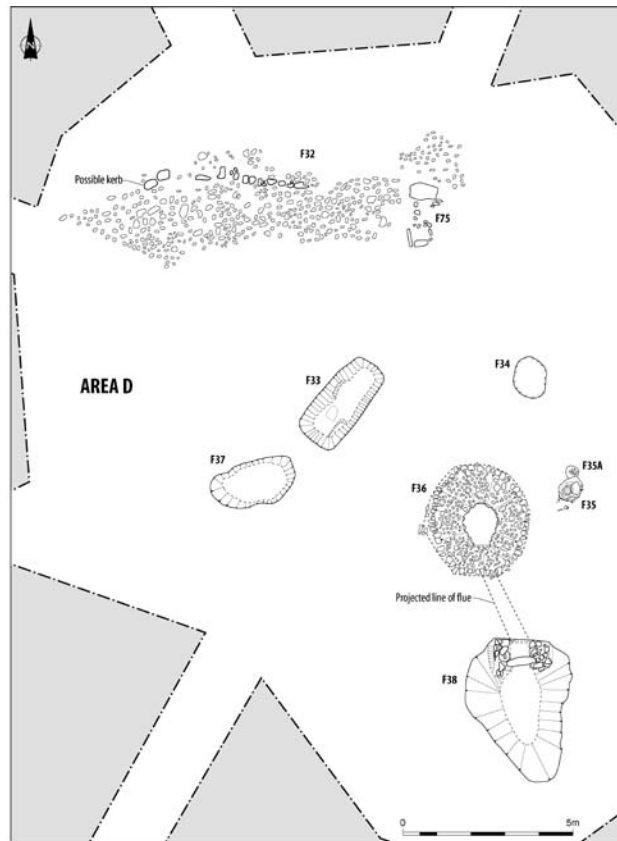


Figure 4. Plan of Bronze Age cemetery and medieval corn-drying kiln

Three cremation burials were identified (F34, F35 and F35A). The cremated bone in F34 suggested the presence of at least two individuals; an adult male and a juvenile (Anderson in Kirby 2011). An antler pin and seven burnt flints including a plano-convex knife were recovered from the cremation deposit (McLaren and Warren in Kirby 2011). A layer of rounded stones had been placed over the cremation and a stone wristguard (Sheridan & Jackson in Kirby 2011) had been placed on top of the stones. The pit was backfilled using redeposited natural subsoil and rounded stones. The top of the backfilled pit was covered with sub-angular stones. A radiocarbon date of 2130–1920 cal bc ( $2\sigma$ ) was obtained from the cremated bone.

F35A was disturbed by the later F35 and contained a small quantity of adult bone, but no artefacts. Radiocarbon dating of the cremated bone indicates that this burial dated to 2030–1880 cal BC ( $2\sigma$ ).

F35 contained an inverted Collared Urn, which was sitting on top of a slab of red sandstone. The pit had been lined with edge-set slabs. An irregular flake of chert and some cremated bone from the fill may have been redeposited from F35A. The urn contained the cremated bone of a mature adult male. Radiocarbon dating of the cremated bone from the urn produced a date of 1910–1690 cal BC ( $2\sigma$ ), suggesting a slightly later date than those obtained for the other burials. The Collared Urn was of tripartite form and was decorated with impressed twisted cord forming a lattice motif on the collar and neck, with narrow horizontal oval impressions running along the shoulder (Johnson in Kirby 2011).

Immediately to the north of the Bronze Age cemetery, a slightly curved stone bank (F32) was identified. The curve might indicate that it was the remains of a ring-cairn, which would originally have enclosed the cemetery. At the eastern end of the stone bank, a possible cist (F75) was identified. This was defined by three end-set stone slabs and measured 0.5m by 0.5m. There was no evidence of a burial and the interpretation of this feature as a burial cist is based entirely on its morphology.

The cemetery appears to be fairly typical of those dating to the Early Bronze Age in terms of its location, on the summit of a small natural knoll, in its spatial organisation, featuring a primary grave (F33), surrounded by secondary graves, and in the variety of funerary practices represented. Of the four dated graves, the radiocarbon dates suggest that F33, F34 and F35A may have been contemporary, whereas grave F35 may have been inserted between 50 and 300 years later. Where the sex of the deceased could be determined (either directly from the bones, or indirectly from grave goods), it was consistently male. The shift from inhumation to cremation – reflected in the fact that the primary grave featured the former, and most of the secondary graves the latter – reflects a broader chronological trend. An element of status differentiation is also present, with the rich grave goods and massive covering stone of F33 suggesting the presence of a high-status male; the wristguard from F34 would also have been a status indicator.

The closest comparison to the Lockerbie Academy site is the burial site at Kirkburn (Cormack 1963), less than half a kilometre to the north and also situated on a small knoll or hillock. The site consisted of 14 probable burials representing 16 persons, variously contained in cinerary urns, a small cist and small pits. A large pit at the centre was similar in dimensions and character to the central grave at Lockerbie, although it contained no grave goods. The location of these large pits at the very highest point on their respective knolls suggests that they represent the inhumation of a particularly significant member of a family or community, with other members being placed in satellite burials around this main burial.

### **The Anglian Timber Hall and Post-built Structure**

At the base of the rounded knoll, the remains of an Early Historic timber hall were identified (Area C; Figure 5.). The interpretation of this structure as belonging to the Anglian period was initially based on the ground plan, which closely resembled examples from Yeavering, Northumberland (Hope-Taylor 1977), Sprouston, Borders (known from cropmarks only) and Doon Hill, East Lothian (Hope-Taylor 1980). This interpretation is supported by radiocarbon dates taken from charred barley, which give an earliest date of 430–620 cal AD ( $2\sigma$ ) and a latest date of 595–670 cal AD ( $2\sigma$ ). The Anglian timber hall reoccupied the site of a post-built structure, which was interpreted as a timber hall, possibly belonging to an earlier British tradition. Radiocarbon dates taken from the primary fill of two of the post-holes of the earlier structure gave dates of 550–660 cal AD and 600–675 cal AD ( $2\sigma$ ), which is broadly contemporary with the dates obtained for the Anglian hall, suggesting that the post-built structure immediately preceded it.

#### *The Anglian hall*

The Anglian hall measured 19m NNE to SSW by 7m overall and comprised a main rectangular structure with a single small square annex to the north (Figure 5.). The walls of the main hall were defined by four large corner post-holes linked by construction trenches. Two entranceways were centrally located along either side of the main axis of the building and were positioned directly opposite each other. The remains of the annex were defined by three conjoined construction trenches; two post-holes defined a possible entranceway set within the eastern wall. A single sherd of a Roman bowl or mortarium (McBride in Kirby 2011) was found within one of the main hall construction trenches and a flint chip was recovered from a post-hole in the annex. A large quantity of fired clay was recovered from a pit which cut the eastern entrance post-holes (Anderson in Kirby 2011), which may represent the remains of a wattle-and-daub internal partition to the structure; other small fragments of fired clay were scattered in several post-holes and trench fills. A high concentration of well-preserved burnt oak timber was recovered, along with fragments of wattle, from the same pit (Hastie in Kirby 2011).

A number of apparently random features were identified within the footprint of the Anglian hall. These all consisted of small pits or post-holes. Two pits had a charcoal-rich fill containing burnt bone. One was located along the north–south central axis of the Anglian hall, and is likely to have been a hearth for this structure; the other may have served the same function. It is unclear whether the remaining features were associated with the Anglian hall or the post-built structure. Four features, two on each side, cut the main construction trenches and might represent internal buttressing that was inserted at a later date.

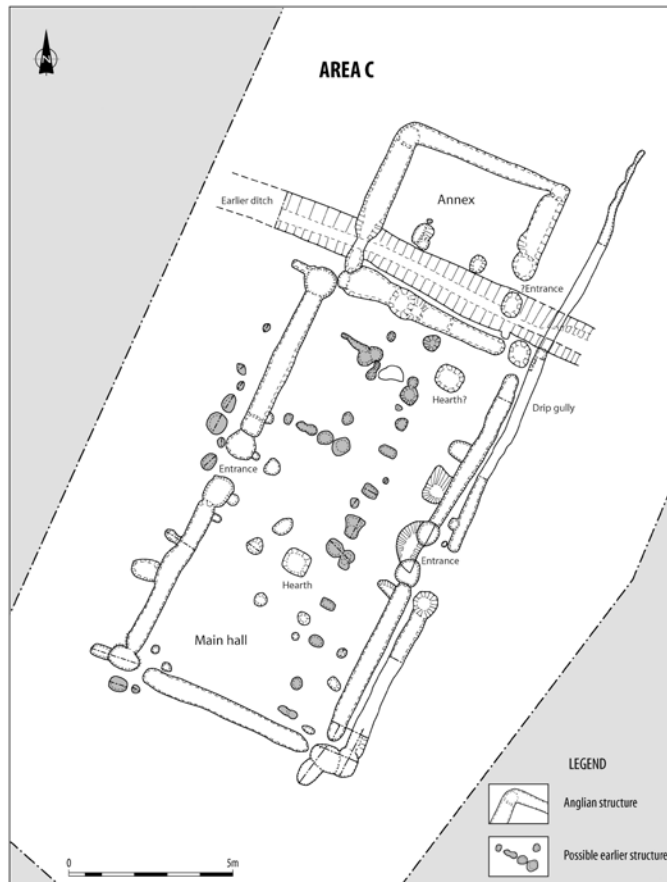


Figure 5. Plan of Anglian hall and earlier structure

Features considered typical of Anglian or Anglo-Saxon buildings include doors in the middle of the long sides, weak corners, annexes and internal partitions (Marshall & Marshall 1991). Other features often encountered include post or plank-in-trench construction and buttressed corners. The example excavated at Lockerbie Academy appears to have been fairly typical. There was no evidence of weak corners (corners that cut across diagonally rather than the walls meeting each other at right angles, often defined by two diagonally positioned post-holes), with the corners being defined by four large post-holes with evidence of buttressing placed close in against them. This type of corner is broadly paralleled at Castle Park, Dunbar (Phase 8, Building 3; Perry 2000), which also appeared to have had the same post-in-trench construction method.

Analysis of data relating to the size of excavated Anglo-Saxon buildings (Marshall & Marshall 1991) suggests that the Lockerbie Academy Anglian hall at 14m by 7m (excluding annex) was at the very top end of the normal building size range. Larger buildings have



been identified at Sprouston (Smith 1991) and Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1977). Widths seem to have been determined by the availability of timber suitable for use as a single beam that would have had the structural integrity to span the building.

The palaeobotanical evidence from the Lockerbie Academy Anglian hall, combined with the presence of two possible hearths, suggests a possible domestic function, although this should in no way be taken to imply that it was anything along the lines of a large, permanently occupied farmhouse. The lack of any material culture is perhaps in keeping with periodic occupation, with all possessions being removed when it was not occupied. A rarity of occupation material from the larger halls was also noted by Hope-Taylor (1977) at Yeavinger, who suggests that this was as a result of careful sweeping, presumably of wooden floors. Great or royal halls are portrayed in *Beowulf* as places for banqueting and wine-drinking (Alcock 2003), but other probable uses were for holding council and as lordly or kingly residences. Hope-Taylor (1977) has suggested that annexes such as that identified at Lockerbie may have been sleeping chambers.

#### *The Post-built Structure*

The ground plan of the possible post-built structure was hard to disentangle from the surviving remains, but a straight line from NNE to SSW could be drawn between 16 post-holes, possibly representing a 12m length of the alignment of the eastern wall (Figure 5., shaded post-holes). This post alignment was set at a slight angle to that of the Anglian hall, and consequently it was considered unlikely to represent an associated internal feature. A further line of at least eight post-holes running parallel with the first at a distance of c 5m is likely to represent the alignment of the western wall. There was no clear evidence of the southern and northern walls. A possible internal division with a near-square plan and attached to the western wall was represented by seven post-holes.

The presence of post-built structures on the same site as Anglian halls is paralleled at Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1977), Sprouston (Smith 1991) and Doon Hill (Hope-Taylor 1980). A possible post-built Early Historic timber hall measuring c 17m by c 5.5m was also identified at Kirkconnel (Reynolds 1980), but it is unclear if it was a British or Northumbrian structure. However, the idea that all Anglian structures were post- or plank-in-trench-built and that all post-built structures belong to a native British tradition is a gross oversimplification of the evidence. Anglian post-built structures are known from Brandon, Suffolk (Carr et al 1988) and from Catholme, Staffordshire (Losco-Bradley & Kinsley 2002), raising the possibility that the post-built structure might simply have been an earlier Anglian hall that was replaced due to decay. The dates obtained for the Lockerbie Anglian hall would suggest that this structure relates to a period of very early Northumbrian influence in south-west Scotland, possibly suggesting that the earlier post-built structure related to an earlier British tradition, but a very shortlived post-built Anglian Hall is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

### **Post-medieval and Undated Remains**

A corn-drying kiln was identified cut into the same knoll as the Bronze Age cemetery (Area D; Figure 3.). It consisted of a circular stone-lined bowl and a teardrop-shaped fire-pit, which were conjoined by a stone-lined flue. A thin layer of charcoal and grey carbonised material was identified at the base of the bowl and the natural subsoil beneath it had been baked hard by the intensity of heat from the flue. Finds from the fill included fragments of fuel-ash slag, burnt bone and charred grain, the majority of which was black oat (McLaren, Thoms and Hastie in Kirby 2011).

Corn-drying kilns have been in use in the north-west of the British Isles since Roman times (Scott 1951), but the vast majority of those recorded are post-medieval in date (Cormack 1981). Radiocarbon dating on charred oats taken from the fire-pit of the Lockerbie Academy kiln gave an earlier date of 1450–1640 cal AD and a later date of 1510–1800 cal AD (2 $\sigma$ ). The Hearth Tax Lists of 1692 indicate that corn-drying kilns were relatively rare in Dumfriesshire (Adamson 1970–72), but were comparatively common in Wigtownshire, with perhaps one for every half-dozen households (Cormack 1981).

A segmented ditched enclosure c 25m in diameter was located towards the north-east end of the site (Area B), and an oval pit was present within the area defined by the ditches. Due to the poor survival of this feature, analogies with other sites are problematic. Two recently discovered ring-ditches from the Colne Valley, West London (Barclay 2009) enclosed pits containing cremation burials dating to the latter part of the fourth millennium BC. However, at Lockerbie the absence of both artefacts and material suitable for radiocarbon dating mean that it is impossible to tell if this enclosure was of a similar date or shared a similar function.

### **Conclusions**

The excavations carried out at Lockerbie Academy have made a significant contribution to the archaeology of the Neolithic, Bronze Age and the Anglian periods in Scotland.

The Early Neolithic timber hall is only the fourth example to be excavated in Scotland (the fifth, if Doon Hill A is indeed Neolithic) and its position within the south-west of the country demonstrates that a building type once thought to be confined to the north-eastern Lowlands may have been considerably more widespread. Radiocarbon dates obtained for these structures suggest that they were broadly contemporary, indicating that they were a relatively short-lived phenomenon dating to the earliest part of the Neolithic. Similarities between the four excavated structures indicate that they may all have served a similar function. Whether they can be interpreted as ‘normal’ farmhouses is open to debate, but they were all situated within highly fertile plains and potentially represent the control of large tracts of arable land.

The Bronze Age cemetery was very similar to that excavated at the nearby Kirkburn site, but on a rather smaller scale. It broadly comprised a large central burial surrounded



by smaller satellite burials. The cemetery demonstrated a variety of burial rites, including cremation and inhumation. Of particular note was the large boulder that sat within the upper fill of the central burial. Several high-status items were recovered from the graves, including a stone wristguard and a bronze dagger of the Butterwick type.

The site also demonstrated clear evidence of Northumbrian settlement within the south-western part of Scotland. Northumbrian settlement is clearly visible within the archaeological record of south-east Scotland at sites such as Sprouston, Doon Hill and Castle Rock, Dunbar, but in the south-west, away from the important monastic sites at Whithorn (Hill 1996) and Hoddom (Lowe 2006), it has been largely inferred from the historical records of the time, combined with the presence of Anglian place-names and the recovery of Anglian carved crosses and other sculpture.

### Acknowledgements

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## SIR ENGUERRAND DE UMFRAVILLE HIS LIFE, DESCENT AND ISSUE

Alex Maxwell Findlater<sup>1</sup>

*The relationship of the Balliols and Umfravilles of Redcastle and Urr has caused historians problems, even to the extent of the suggestion<sup>2</sup> that there might have been two of the name Enguerrand (Ingelram) de Umfraville. The most recent book<sup>3</sup> shows Enguerrand in an altogether different position in the pedigree, without annotation, but obviously as an attempt to make sense of the evidence.*

*I shall show that Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville enjoyed an exceptionally long life, being born about 1245 and dying after 1321, that he was the first cousin and co-heir of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol II (d 1298) son of Sir Eustace (d 1270/76), and that his mother was indeed Eustace's sister Eva, daughter of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol I (d ca 1244) of Urr and Redcastle. Furthermore I reposition Sir Henry de Balliol of Cavers as the son, not the brother, of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol I, both on chronological grounds, and on the evidence that Sir Enguerrand had a son Henry who also had a son Henry, as did Sir Henry de Balliol of Cavers have a son Henry, so giving two matching pairs of Henrys.*

*The first section of this paper draws together the evidence for the career of Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville, to give a picture of a man who had considerable influence on the affairs of his time, being a paragon of knightly virtue, a Guardian of the Kingdom of Scotland, a confidant of kings of England, a trusted and respected senior courtier in Scotland and possibly the uncle of King Robert I.*

*Much of the material in this essay has been used by earlier scholars, but there has not previously been a study of Umfraville himself, but rather of his period, where he appears as a player of lesser importance. I am indebted to the work of Geoffrey Barrow in particular in this respect. I have also been able to refer to articles by R C Reid and A Cameron Smith. I have referred to more recent studies by G A Moriarty, W P Hedley, Geoffrey Stell and Bruce McAndrew, but in these cases I have been more a revisionist than a plagiarist. I am particularly indebted to Andrew MacEwen for his great knowledge and for his advice.*

*The French spelling of the Christian name has been retained, as this family had property in France; lived there certainly for some time; at least sometimes transacted their*

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1 Member of the Society; Pitullie, Barclay Mill, Rockcliffe, DG5 4QL

2 Dr Bruce McAndrew, *The Balliol Arms of Sir Ingelram de Umfraville*, Coat of Arms new series vii (1987-89), p 100 ff

3 Dr Amanda Beam, *The Balliol Dynasty* (2008), table p xviii

*business in French, as in, for example, the Patent Roll entry of 1335 noted below and also witnessed<sup>4</sup> using the French spelling.*

### **The Ancestry and Dates of Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville**

Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville was born about 1245, married in 1285 and died probably shortly after 1320. The evidence for this has to be stated, as it has so often been doubted. Sir Enguerrand was the son of Robert de Umfraville of Chollerton, by his wife Eva, who as a widow married secondly<sup>5</sup> before February 1258/9 Nicholas de Bolteby and thirdly<sup>6</sup> ca 1274 William de Percy. In the St George Roll and in the Charles Roll, both of ca 1285, the arms of Enguerrand de Umfraville are shown near those of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol, who held Urr, Redcastle and Tours en Vimeu in Picardy. They are the same as Balliol's, Gules an escutcheon voided ermine, but with the addition of a label Azure, identifying him as the heir. In 1299 in a English grant of his lands<sup>7</sup> to Sir Henry de Percy, Umfraville is called the heir of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol. That he adopted the Balliol arms instead of his paternal arms, and the terms of the grant to Sir Henry de Percy suggest that he had been the designated heir since before ca 1285.

By writ of 9 July 24 Edward I, ie 1296, in the Inquisitio post mortem of Willielmus de Umfravill' it was found<sup>8</sup> on 26 November 1296 that 'Ingram de Umfravil' propinquus haeres est dicti Willielmi et de atate sexaginta annorum et amplius' in various small parcels of land held of various lords in Essex. This places his birth date as about 1236 or before. Often these inquisition ages are not accurate, particularly when a round figure is quoted. However, in this instance it seems clear that he was certainly of a considerable age but an analysis of the Umfraville family confirms the likelihood that a birth-date of 1236 or before is too early.

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4 Rev Frederick W Ragg, 'Five Strathclyde and Galloway Charters', *TDGNHAS*, ser III, v, p 231ff. Facsimile opposite page 258, where Sir Enguerrand de Balliol of Urr is the first witness to a charter of Alan Lord of Galloway as *E de Balliello*. The transcription on p 259 identifies this as 'the earlier Eustace' ie Eustace of Bywell, but the date range, 1199x1225, together with Sir Enguerrand's position as a principal tenant in Galloway and the other witnesses, all from the old Strathclyde, must indicate Sir Enguerrand. See Geoffrey Stell, 'The Balliol Family and the Great Cause of 1291-2' in *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. K J Stringer (1985) on page 154.

5 CDS i, 2152, p 241

6 R C Reid, 'The Mote of Urr', *TDGNHAS* ser III, xxi, p 22, note 9, quoting other secondary sources

7 CDS ii, 1060

8 Indeed in a book [Edward Pickering, *The Umfrevilles, Their Ancestors and Descendants*, 1860, p 19] this *lpm* is given a date of 25th November 35 Edw I, ie 1306. I am indebted to Andrew MacEwen for bringing this book to my attention. It is clear from an examination of the original documents in the National Archives (London) (C133/77/9) that the writ is dated 9th July 24 Edw I and the inquisition is dated *xxvi Novembris re[gni] re[gis] Edwardi vicessimo quinto*, the start and finish of the regnal year of Edward I being 20th November. The date *xxvi* has a long descender (thus: *xxvj*) and cannot possibly be 25th.

The newly married Eva and her second husband Nicholas de Bolteby were charged<sup>9</sup> in February 1258/9 as having ‘made waste, sales and ‘exilium’ (here meaning ‘destruction’) in the woods they hold of Eva’s dower in Burtel, of the heritage of Gilbert de Umfraville, son and heir of Robert de Umfraville, who is under age and in the said earl’s (Simon de Montfort’s<sup>10</sup>) custody.’ This places Gilbert’s birth at the earliest in 1238 and we might therefore suggest that he was born in about 1240, his next brother Richard in 1242 and Sir Enguerrand in 1245; at all events Enguerrand could not have been born before 1240. Gilbert died in 1269 and Richard was insane by 1278 when Alexander III<sup>11</sup> thereby petitioned King Edward I on Sir Enguerrand’s behalf that the lands might be allowed to him.

Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville’s life seems to have spanned from about 1245 to after 1320. Between 1287 and 1294 he had an annual fee from Scotland of between 20 merks and £40 of silver<sup>12</sup> and this is probably the subject of the confirmation to him in 1292/3, at the first Scone Parliament<sup>13</sup> of King John Balliol, of the 100 merks of rent as had been granted to him by King Alexander III and which he received as the dower of his wife, Isabella, widow of Alani filii Rother’, that is of Alan MacRuairi of Garmoran. The marriage must have taken place after 5 February 1283/4, when both Umfraville and MacRuairi signed the declaration<sup>14</sup> accepting the Maid of Norway as heir to the throne, and before 1286, when Alexander III died. Of this, 40 merks came from lands in Carrick and £40 from the King’s Chamber. The £40 was to be received until the lands of Alan MacRuairi were recovered (this was the parliament which established new shirieval arrangements in the west and where the Earl of Ross was appointed to the Sheriffdom of Skye, which included the MacRuairi lands), and therefore may be seen as in place of Isabella’s terce, while the 40 merks of land in Ayrshire perhaps represent her inheritance or maritagium.

The relationship of Isabella is very important, for her infant daughter Christiana MacRuairi would have been brought up by Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville. Christiana married Donald of Mar, brother of the first wife of Bruce, thus being the King’s sister, as descriptions were then used.

However there was perhaps a closer relationship, for Isabella was probably the sister<sup>15</sup> of Marjorie of Carrick, mother of King Robert. This relationship has been proposed by Andrew MacEwen and seems valid on the basis of fairly compelling, but incomplete evidence. This is indicated partly by the lands which Sir Enguerrand had in the County of Ayr in 1296 and more conclusively by the fact that his granddaughter Philippa was related

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9 CDS i, 2152, p 241. I am indebted to Andrew MacEwen for drawing this to my attention.

10 It should be noted that Simon de Montfort had the custody of Gilbert de Umfraville, the young earl of Angus, but the context here shows that our Gilbert was not the young earl, but rather his cousin.

11 CDS ii, 155, 158

12 CDS ii, 325, 328, 594

13 APS, 9th February 1293, RPS, 1293/2/15

14 *Rhymer’s Foedera*, R.1.638 sub 1284

15 Andrew MacEwen, ‘MacSkillings of Kintyre, West Highland and Island’, *Notes and Queries*, iii, 10, pp 3-10, Oct 2007; ‘The Daughters of Neil of Carrick’, forthcoming

in the third degree to King David II, so having a common great-grandparent, in this case Neil Earl of Carrick. It is also significant that Bruce petitioned for Umfraville's Ayrshire lands, when these were forfeited by Edward I in 1297 or 1298.

In Barbour's Bruce<sup>16</sup>, 'a lady of that country (Carrick) who was to him in close degree of cousinage' is recorded, but not identified. Tellingly she brought him forty men, which matches the forty merks due to Sir Enguerrand and Isabella from lands in Carrick. This lady has been taken to be Christian of Carrick, who received an annual allowance<sup>17</sup> of 40s from King Robert in 1328 and 1329. The identity of the number 40 in each case is persuasive, and, on the basis that Isabella was a daughter of Earl Neil, Christiana MacRuairi would have been an heiress in Carrick and Bruce's cousin german, so perhaps this also may be a reference to her.

Thus Sir Enguerrand was uncle by marriage to King Robert and the oldest member of the new Royal family; however it should be emphasised that this is conjectural. This family relationship would have formed a strong bond; the loyalty of Sir Enguerrand to King John, his kinsman through his mother Eva de Balliol, would have been seen as a reason for admiration, however much it had troubled King Robert in practice. It is clear from the reports of Barbour in *The Bruce*, quoted later, that the King had a high regard for Sir Enguerrand. Indeed that Sir Enguerrand was the man who buried Sir David de Brechin in 1320 suggests his position of trust.

On 28 June 1296 he was ordered by Edward I to put the Castle of Dumbarton, of which he was Constable, in the hands of Sir James the Steward, and his two daughters Eva and Isabella were taken as hostages<sup>18</sup> for his good behaviour. This would be consistent with a marriage date between 1284 and 1286, they being old enough to be hostages and young enough not to be married. In 1335<sup>19</sup> the former seigneur of Tours en Vimeu is named as 'Sir John de Moubray, knight, late Lord of Tours'. We shall later find that Sir John was the son of Umfraville's daughter Eva and doubtless Umfraville had died of old age long before this, possibly quite soon after he left Scotland in 1320 or 1321 and travelled through London, presumably on his way to Tours.

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16 Barbour, *The Bruce*, v, 133ff. Prof Duncan discusses the identity of this lady in his note on p 196 opposite the text, considering it unproven. In contemporary records Christiana is called *la femme Dulkan de Mar* in the Ragman Roll (Thomas Thomson, *Bannatyne Club* Vol 47 (1834), pp129 & 131), *Cristiana* (sic) *filia et heres Alani filii Rodrici* in her own charter to Arthur Campbell (Royal Faculty of Procurators, Glasgow) and *Cristiana de Marre filia Allani Roderici* in the Royal confirmation of her charter to her half-brother Roderick (RMS i, App I, 9). It is only Fordoun some decades later who calls her Christiana of the Isles, although this description would for this period have been right as the MacDonalds were called *de Yle* or 'of Islay', while the MacRuairis had the little islands, which Amy MacRuairi the heiress eventually carried to her husband John MacDonald, Lord of the Isles.

17 Exchequer Rolls, Vol I, p 114 (1328) and p 209 (1329)

18 CDS ii, p 224; Rot Scot, I, pp 29-36

19 CDS iii, App p 318

Sir Enguerrand is held up in Barbour's *Bruce* as a paragon of knightly virtue. Because of Barbour's frequent mentions of him, it has been proposed by Professor Duncan<sup>20</sup> that one of the sources used by Barbour was a lost history of his career and his example of knightliness, and indeed his first entry<sup>21</sup> in *The Bruce* is together with his son-in-law Sir Philip de Moubray.

There was also another of the same name, who fought at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346. If this was his son, which would seem likely, he must have been illegitimate, as Sir Enguerrand's lands went to his daughter Eva and her Moubray offspring.

### Career of Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville

Having placed Umfraville in time, we may look at his career. For the first 35 years of his life, until 1279, he was a landless younger son without prospects. However his eldest brother Gilbert died in 1269 and his next brother Richard was acknowledged insane in 1279. In 1279 Alexander III petitioned King Edward to favour him and allow him his father's lands<sup>22</sup> in England. It is at this point that he begins to have significance.

In view of his later career, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that he was a strenuous knight<sup>23</sup>, possibly involved in tournaments, like his uncle, Sir Eustace, and first cousin, Sir Enguerrand de Balliol. Enguerrand de Balliol took part in the tournament at Hem-Monacu in 1278, where he appeared disguised as the devil. Sarrasin, the romancer, recording this<sup>24</sup> lauded Eustace, his father, as 'plus cortois homme, Qui fust entre Londres et Romme', stating that he 'Sires fu de Tours en Vimeu, Et en Escoche ot il grant terre'. This suggests that the family had considerable international chivalric standing. Umfraville was perhaps a household retainer similar to the English William the Marshal, a fourth son, before his marriage to the heiress of Pembroke in 1189 and eventual inheritance of his brother John's lands in 1194. In the same way Umfraville, a third son, eventually came to prominence as his father's heir. That King Alexander III petitioned Edward I on Umfraville's behalf in 1279 perhaps suggests that he might have been a retainer in the Royal household.

Having come into prominence in 1279, Sir Enguerrand was given in marriage Isabella, widowed by the death of Alan MacRuairi in 1284 or 1285. In 1287 he is warned by King Edward<sup>25</sup> to obey Hugh de Cressingham. On 13 June 1291 he was one of the magnates to swear fealty to Edward I at Upsettlington. On 26 December 1292 he was important enough

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20 Barbour, *The Bruce*, edited by A A M Duncan (1997), introduction p 28 ff.

21 *Ibid.* Book ii, lines 210-214, p 91

22 These lands included Chastrefield, Dronfelda and Leghes (Stevenson, II, 367n)

23 That he is not described as a knight in the Declaration of 1284 (see note 13) has no relevance, as none of the magnates are in that text so described.

24 Albert Henry (ed), *Le Roman du Hem*, Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles, 9: Les Belles Lettres, 1939, pp lxxix-lxxx, cxix

25 CDS ii, 884



to witness<sup>26</sup> the homage of King John Balliol to Edward I. He secured his Scottish income at the Parliament of February 1292/3 and witnessed the brieve to Alexander de Ergadia (Argyll), presumably appointing him Sheriff of Lorn, on Tuesday 24 February soon after.

He was absent from the last Parliament of King John in July 1295, but was appointed to go on the embassy to Paris, with Bishop William Fraser of St Andrews, Bishop Matthew Crambeth of Dunkeld and Sir John de Soules. In 1296 he swore fealty to King Edward for his Ayrshire lands, perhaps, as suggested above, those which were the subject of the confirmation in 1292/3. Also in 1296 he surrendered Dumbarton Castle as noted above. However by 1299, he was an enemy of England, for King Edward had invaded in 1296 and Umfraville was loyal to his cousin King John de Balliol, who had been captured by Edward in 1296. It is unlikely that Umfraville did not take part on King John's behalf in the general risings in Scotland against the English in 1297.

On the death in 1298 of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol, his lands were granted<sup>27</sup> by Edward I to Sir Henry de Percy, first of Alnwick, as Umfraville, the heir, was 'the King's enemy and a rebel' and in the *Ipm* in 1299<sup>28</sup> of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol into his lands at Foston, Leicestershire, the heir is stated to be only Henry de Percy. In 1299 we find the rebel Umfraville and Sir Robert Keith leading a raid into the Forest with 100 horse and 1500 foot, excluding the men of the Forest, with the aim of taking Roxburgh, which however was too strongly held. He was however appointed<sup>29</sup> Sheriff of Roxburgh. At some time before the Rutherglen Parliament of 10 May 1300 Robert Bruce had resigned as a Guardian and at that Parliament Umfraville was appointed a Guardian, this indicating the trust in which he was universally held, for as a Balliol descendant he was naturally allied with the Comyn/Balliol faction. If he was the uncle by marriage of Bruce, however, this appointment takes on a greater significance.

In August 1300 he commanded a Scots cavalry brigade, along with Comyn of Buchan and Comyn of Badenoch, at the Battle of the Cree<sup>30</sup> in Galloway, where they took flight before the English. However the government of the country was unsettled and the three Guardians, William Lamberton Bishop of St Andrews, John Comyn of Badenoch and Umfraville, resigned between December 1300 and May 1301 to be replaced by a sole Guardian, Sir John de Soules. Soules and Umfraville, using Dalswinton as their base, began to recruit in Nithsdale and on 7 and 8 September 1301 attacked Lochmaben<sup>31</sup> unsuccessfully. They then moved to menace the English near Bothwell.

In the autumn of 1302 Umfraville was sent again as an envoy to Paris, with Sir John de Soules, Bishop Lamberton, the earl of Buchan, James the Steward, William de Balliol and

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26 CDS ii, 610

27 CDS ii, 1060

28 National Archives, C133/88/9, writ dated 24 January 27 Edw I (1298/99), also in printed series of *Ipms*

29 CDS ii, 1978

30 Chronicle of Rishanger, 442, quoted by G W S Barrow, *Robert Bruce* (1965), p 160

31 CDS ii, 1220

Bishop Matthew Crambeth. They seem to have stayed there until 1304, when all prominent Scots submitted to Edward I and the envoys returned<sup>32</sup> under safe conducts. Scots whose estates had been distrained by the English were then able to recover those estates, for two, three or four year's value, but so troublesome were Umfraville and William de Balliol to Edward that they<sup>33</sup> each had to pay five years' value. Umfraville had restoration of his estates, save those of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol, as being now held by Henry de Percy, but he was given leave<sup>34</sup> to claim them by process of law. It was further required that the Steward, Sir John de Soules and Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville should not have their submission accepted until Sir William Wallace had been given up, again showing that he was regarded as a ring-leader. In fact Umfraville never seems to have given up his belief that John de Balliol was the rightful King and if we view his actions thus far in this light they are perfectly consistent.

In Spring 1307 he was in Galloway and Carrick with Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke, Sir John Menteith, John MacDougall of Lorn, John Moubray and David son of the earl of Atholl; they opposed Bruce on his return from over-wintering in the Isles. In 1307 he held Cumnock Castle for Edward and received a tonel of wine<sup>35</sup> from the English King. Also in 1307 he was at Ayr, with orders to guard the town. It was ordered<sup>36</sup> that he be paid 250 of the 500 marks due to him for maintaining 30 men at arms at Carlisle in the period 31 August to 2 February and he was instructed to stay with Aymer de Valence with 10 men at arms and later to keep Galloway. In 1308 he received thanks from Edward II<sup>37</sup> for his services to Edward I and was appointed joint Warden of Galloway, Annandale and Carrick<sup>38</sup> with John de Moubray.

In the summer of 1308 Edward Bruce over-ran Galloway, but was unable to dislodge the pro-Balliol garrisons in the principal places, Lochmaben, Caerlaverock, Dalswinton, Tibbers, Loch Doon and Ayr. There was a battle probably on the banks of the Cree, which was won by Edward Bruce, and Barbour tells us at this point<sup>39</sup> that 'Schyr Ingrahame the Umfravill was famed for such great prowess that he passed the rest in reputation and for that reason he always had carried with him a red bonnet upon a spear, as a sign that he was set at the apex of chivalry'.

In 1309 he was called to a Council of England, representing the Scottish interest. Meanwhile the Declaration of the Clergy in the St Andrews Parliament of 16 and 17 March 1309 reaffirmed their loyalty to King Robert Bruce. The earls of Angus, Atholl and Dunbar, Sir Alexander Abernethy, Adam de Gordon, David de Brechin and Umfraville with his Galloway associates, excepting Sir John de Menteith, did not attend this Parliament,

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32 CDS ii, 1455

33 CDS ii, 1741, *Rot Parl* I, 212/3, *Foedera* I, 974/5

34 CDS ii, 1696

35 CDS ii, 1930, 1958

36 CDS v, 515

37 CDS iii, 43

38 CDS iii, 47

39 Barbour, *The Bruce*, ix, 510-513, Duncan edition p 347

maintaining their loyalty to Balliol and de facto to the English. This Parliament entered into negotiations with Philip of France, which inevitably weakened the position of those still loyal to Balliol.

During 1310 and 1311 he was Constable of Caerlaverock Castle<sup>40</sup> and received payments<sup>41</sup> from England, 50 merks on 10 February 1310, 100 merks on 22 June 1310 and 50 merks on 27 June 1310. On 8th December 1312 a tun of wine, value £4, was ordered<sup>42</sup> to be sent to him. In early 1313 he attended a Parliament<sup>43</sup> in England. Umfraville was on the English side at Bannockburn, along with the Comyns and other pro-Balliol magnates. It is clear that he did not fight, but was with the English Royal party, for Barbour<sup>44</sup> records that when Edward II said, 'These men kneel to ask for mercy,' Umfraville replied, 'You are right, they ask for mercy, but not of you. They ask it of God, for their sins,' that is lest they might be killed unconfessed. Umfraville, knowing the mettle of the Scots, advised Edward to make a tactical withdrawal, but his advice was not regarded. It was believed that he had been killed, but he was captured<sup>45</sup> by the Scots fleeing to Carlisle. The *Vita Edwardi Secundi*<sup>46</sup> tells that he went with many others to Bothwell Castle, where the Constable was Walter FitzGilbert, but that FitzGilbert changed sides, in view of the Scots victory, and held them prisoner. A William de Umfraville went to France<sup>47</sup> presumably to raise a ransom or fine and it seems that Umfraville was received into King Robert's peace.

Nothing is known of his activities between 1314 and 1320, which would be consistent with the behaviour of other pro-Balliol magnates, who doubtless saw little purpose in prosecuting a hopeless cause. The next notice of Umfraville is the Declaration of Arbroath of 6 April 1320, which he attested and to which his seal is still attached. He is listed near the start of the document after David de Graham and before Johannes de Menetethe, *Custos Comitatus de Menetethe*, so seventh after the earls and fifteenth out of thirty-nine, still demonstrating his importance, even though now old and with a pro-Balliol history.

The Soules Plot, apparently to place William de Soules on the throne in place of King Robert, was discovered in 1320, and according to Barbour<sup>48</sup> was disclosed to the King by 'a lady'. William de Soules, David de Brechin and Roger de Moubray, all signatories to the Declaration, were convicted of treason at the Scone Parliament of 4 August 1320. Moubray had recently died and his body was brought to Parliament to receive the doom, but he was allowed a decent burial. Also accused were the Countess of Strathearn, probably that 'lady', condemned to perpetual imprisonment, Gilbert Malherbe, John Logie and Richard Broun, condemned to be drawn, hanged and beheaded, and Patrick de Graham and

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40 CDS iii, 95,121,235, also CDS v, 566

41 NAS RH2/4/562 and NA E403/150 m.5, E 403.154 m.3, E403/154 m.4

42 CDS v, 572

43 CDS iii, 303

44 Barbour, *The Bruce*, xii, 482-490, p 473

45 CDS iii, 373, 374

46 *Vita Edwardi*, 55

47 CDS iii, 374

48 Barbour, *The Bruce*, xix, 22, Duncan edition p 69

Eustace de Maxwell, who were acquitted. William de Soules was condemned to perpetual imprisonment while David de Brechin was condemned to be hanged and beheaded at Perth, this despite not being a plotter, but for having failed to report the plot.

David de Brechin was a descendant of David Earl of Huntingdon and a gallant knight who had been a Balliol adherent before Bannockburn, serving with Umfraville. Barbour records that Umfraville protested against the sentence on Brechin, saying<sup>49</sup> to the crowd, 'Lordlings, why do you press to see the misfortune of a knight who was so valiant and so doughty, that I have seen more folk crowd to see him for his right sovereign nobility than now crowd to see him here.' The King allowed Umfraville to bury Sir David and afterwards he said to the King, 'One thing I pray you grant me; that is, that you give me leave to do my will with all my land that lies in Scotland,' to which the King answered, 'I will indeed grant this; but tell me what vexes you.' He answered, 'Sir, grant me leave and I shall tell you plainly. I have no heart to remain longer with you dwelling in this country; therefore, except it grieve you, I pray you from my heart for your leave to depart. For where a knight so right worthy, chivalrous and doughty, so renowned for valour, and so full of manly qualities, as was good Sir David the Brechin, has been put to so villainous a death, in truth my heart will on no account allow me to dwell.' The King replied, 'Since you will have it so, whenever you like you may go, and to that intent you shall have full leave to do your will with your land.'

From an undated charter under the Great Seal<sup>50</sup> we know that he held half of Redcastle and that the other half was in King Robert's hands by the forfeiture of Sir Henry de Percy, who died in October 1315 dating this to 1315x1329, but more probably the middle of the date range, possibly soon after Umfraville left Scotland in 1320. Had Umfraville remained in Scotland, it would have been natural for him to wish to reunite the two halves of the partitioned baronies of Redcastle and Urr. The forfeit Percy half of Redcastle was granted to Sir Donald Campbell, progenitor of the Campbells of Loudoun and brother of Sir Neil, Bruce's brother-in-law, but also, should Isabella be accepted as the aunt of Robert Bruce, the King's cousin german and Sir Enguerrand's nephew, through Campbell's mother, Affrica, another attributed daughter<sup>51</sup> of Neil of Carrick. Sir Henry de Percy, son of this Henry de Percy, was one of those who had their Scottish lands restored after, not by<sup>52</sup> as sometimes stated, the treaty of 1328 and the charter<sup>53</sup> of restoration was indeed issued by King Robert on 28 July 1328.

Sir Enguerrand had a safe conduct to pass to England, his lands of Elvedon (Northumberland)<sup>54</sup> were restored to him and he received gifts from King Edward. In his petition to King Edward, he claims to have been held in Scotland, but this may be no more

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49 Barbour, *The Bruce*, xix, 73 ff, Duncan edition p 703

50 RMS i, App I, 76

51 CDS ii, 325, 328, 594

52 E L G Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328* (1965 & 1970), Introduction p xxx and footnotes on p 171 (pp 342/3 in 1970 edition)

53 Percy Chartulary, 477, see also RRS v, 353

54 CDS iii, 694, 721, p 435

than a useful adaption of the truth, that he had not previously received permission to leave the country; again it might suggest that his acceptance of the Bruce regime was no more than pragmatic. So he passes from our view, probably to Tours en Vimeu.

That he came into King Robert's peace in 1314, he who had been a Guardian in 1300, who, as the companion of Sir John de Soules, fought for Scotland and went on Scottish embassies to France, who had always been loyal to his own kinsman King John, must have been a great example to those who had previously been loyal to King John or the English. As such this example would have been highly valued by King Robert, but it was also supremely fitting that his uncle should support him.

### **Descent of the Balliol Lands**

The descent of the Balliols and Umfravilles of Redcastle and Urr is unclear. The later history of the properties held by this family, Redcastle (Angus), Urr (Kirkcudbright), Foston or Foxton (Leicestershire) and Tours en Vimeu (Picardy), would seem the easiest way to approach the true descent of Umfraville. This is covered in a paper 'The Capture of Sanquhar'<sup>55</sup> by A Cameron Smith and another 'The Mote of Urr'<sup>56</sup> by R C Reid as well as in the paper 'The Balliols in Picardy, England and Scotland' by Moriarty<sup>57</sup> which is probably the fullest and has the most complete referencing. The baronies of Urr and Redcastle, or Inverkeillor, were divided into two parts in the reign of Robert I. All these lands had been held by successive Balliols from about 1200 until 1298, first Sir Enguerrand de Balliol, whom Moriarty considers was a son of Bernard de Balliol II of Bywell, but is more likely to have been a son of Eustace of Bywell, given both his dates, married about 1200 and died by 1244, and the fact that Eustace who inherited Bywell from Bernard de Balliol II seems not to have been his son, but rather a cousin. Sir Enguerrand was followed by Sir Eustace who married about 1235 and died 1270x76, to be succeeded by Sir Enguerrand II who died in 1298.

#### *Redcastle*

Redcastle was granted<sup>58</sup> to Sir Walter de Berkeley by William the Lion. Thereafter it passed to his daughter who married Sir Enguerrand de Balliol, to their son and grandson who died without issue in 1298. As noted above half of Redcastle was granted to Sir Donald Campbell<sup>59</sup> and the charter clearly states that this grant was on the forfeiture of the late Henry de Percy, while Umfraville retained his half. Percy must therefore have already acquired these rights to one half before the Campbell grant. Later in 1341 the half

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55 A Cameron Smith, 'The Capture of Sanquhar', *TDGNHAS*, ser III, xi, p 21 ff

56 R C Reid, 'The Mote of Urr', *TDGNHAS* ser III, xxi, p 11 ff

57 G A Moriarty, 'The Balliols in Picardy, England and Scotland', *New England Historic Genealogical Society*, October 1952

58 *Regesta Regum Scottorum (RRS)* ii, William I, 185, 344, 345

59 *RMS* i, App I, 76 & App II, 451

of Redcastle<sup>60</sup> owned by Eva de Umfraville and her son Sir John Moubray was, as being forfeit, granted<sup>61</sup> to William Douglas the younger. This Sir John Moubray was the Sir John Moubray of Tours en Vimeu, who was deceased<sup>62</sup> on 4 January 1335, and Reid identifies him, doubtless correctly, as the Sir John Moubray who was killed<sup>63</sup> on 16 December 1332, when Edward Balliol escaped from Annan in some deshabelle. Finally Sir Andrew Campbell of Loudoun, grandson of Sir Donald, resigned his half of the barony in favour of Robert Stewart of Schanbothy<sup>64</sup> in 1367/8.

### *Urr*

Urr was held by the Galloway family, the church of Kirkconstantine in Urr being granted to Holyrood Abbey by Uchtred son of Fergus before 1164, and confirmed by Sir Enguerrand de Balliol before 1228 and by Sir Eustace de Balliol, Lord of Tours<sup>65</sup> on 2 September 1262. At some point after the wars of independence one half of the barony of Urr had been granted<sup>66</sup> to Thomas Randolph Earl of Moray and Lord of Annandale. Moray died in July 1332. In August of the same year Edward Balliol invaded and Henry Percy was probably reinstated. In 1341 David II granted half of Urr<sup>67</sup> to Sir Andrew Buttergask of that Ilk, which may have been to encourage him to help oust the English. Galloway was under the control of Edward Balliol until his death in 1363 and was granted to Archibald Douglas in 1369 and there is very little known about the region until after the fall of the Douglases in 1455. In 1458 half of Urr was confirmed to John Herries of Terregles<sup>68</sup>; it is not known when it was acquired, but it may well have been by marriage. The other half was still in the hands of the Crown in 1456 and was let out for three shillings<sup>69</sup> and was tenanted until 1520 by Andrew Law, Adam McMilmuk, William Gordon, William Rerik and Patrick Sinclair of Spottes. This half was gradually acquired by the Lords Maxwell, and when their inheritance was merged with that of the Herries in 1667 the barony was once again reunited.

### *Argument*

The answer to the uncertainty, both of Umfraville's precise position as heir of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol, and of the relationship of the different branches of the Balliol family, must lie

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60 RMS i, 273

61 RMS i, App II, 1127;

62 Patent Rolls (English) 222, where Margaret, daughter of Sir Philip Moubray and wife of Sir Robert Gower, and co-heiress of one third of Kirkmichael in Nithsdale (held by her father), granted this third to Mary de St Pol, wife of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, the charter being written in French.

63 Chronicle of Lanercost, 275

64 RMS i, 273 & 274, 8 March 1567

65 Holyrood Liber (Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis), *Bannatyne Club* (1840), respectively Nos 23, 70 and 81.

66 RMS i, App I, 211

67 RMS i, App ii, 840

68 RMS ii, 668

69 Exchequer Rolls, vi, 193

in the partition of the inheritance. Having established that from the death without issue of Enguerrand de Balliol in 1298, both the baronies of Redcastle and Urr were partitioned, an analysis of the holders of the baronies is necessary.

### *Percy*

The Percies of Northumberland and Balliols of Tours had arranged two marriages in the early 1230s. Sir William de Percy, ancestor<sup>70</sup> of the later Earls and Dukes, married in about 1215 Joan daughter of Sir William de Briwere, having five daughters, of whom one was Agnes. Joan died before 12th June 1233 and Sir William swiftly remarried, this time Ellen daughter of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol of Tours. Percy had by Ellen at least six sons of whom the eldest was Henry. The second, Ingelram (Enguerrand), was given by his mother half of Dalton in Hartness, which had been her *maritagium*, but died in 1262, when at his *Inquisitio post mortem* on 24 October 1262 his heir was held to be his next brother William, a canon of York, then aged 26. There was a younger brother Walter, who later had the half of Dalton. This fixes the birth date of Henry, the eldest, pretty closely to 1234 or 1235. Henry (1235-1272) had a posthumous son Henry (1273-1315), held to be the first Lord Percy by writ of 1299, who had a son Henry (1300-1353). The Percies had no doubt that they were English and fought for the Edwards in the Scottish Wars of Independence.

Meanwhile Ellen de Balliol had a brother Eustace, probably rather younger than her, who married Agnes, daughter of Sir William Percy by his first marriage, perhaps about 1240. This was clearly a typical dynastic ‘diagonal’ marriage. Eustace died after 1270<sup>71</sup> and before 1276<sup>72</sup> leaving by Agnes a son Sir Enguerrand, who was one of the Parliament of 1284 which swore fealty to Margaret of Norway; he died without issue in 1298.

On his death the acknowledged heir was Enguerrand de Umfraville, who during the lifetime of Enguerrand de Balliol had borne the Balliol arms<sup>73</sup> with a label, the sign of the heir. The various estates were partitioned, as already discussed. However Edward I allowed Henry de Percy the lands inherited by Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville in 1298, on the grounds that Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville was a rebel against England.

### *Umfraville*

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70 All details here are derived from the Complete Peerage, sub Percy, Vol X, p 452 ff.

71 Enguerrand claimed in a 1270 suit concerning a tenement in Foston, that the tenement was held not of him, but of his father (CDS I, 2573). The father, as Sir Eustace de Turribus, was a witness to a 1262 charter of King Alexander to William Earl of Mar (*Antiquities of Aberdeen & Banff*, IV, 698).

72 CDS ii, 72, on 5 May 1276 Agnes, evidently then a widow granted to Enguerrand her lands in Foston for five years.

73 Gerard J Brault, *Aspilogia III, Rolls of Arms of Edward I, 1997*, in the following rolls: St George’s, ca 1285 (E410), Charles’, ca 1285 (F220), Additions to Charles’ (FII 91), Collins’, ca 1295 (Q313) as *Gules a false escutcheon ermine a label Azure*, LM227 has the label un-tinctured; later in the Balliol Roll of ca 1332, BL36 without a label.



The difficulty has revolved around the relationship of Enguerrand de Umfraville to the other heir and their relationship to Enguerrand de Balliol. Enguerrand de Umfraville was the son of Robert de Umfraville of Chollerton, by his wife Eva, who, as noted above, married secondly before February 1258/9 Nicholas de Bolteby and thirdly ca 1274 William de Percy. The mother of Enguerrand has been positioned as a sister of Sir Eustace and Ellen de Balliol and now more recently by Beam (2008) tentatively as the sister of Enguerrand de Balliol (d 1298). McAndrew (1988) gets over the problem of his long life by proposing two Enguerrands, father and son, although on a close reading of his text this seems to have been a late revision.

The name of Robert de Umfraville's wife is known to be Eva (see above). The daughter of Sir Enguerrand and wife of Sir Philip Moubray is also known to be named Eva, but most tellingly the wife of Walter de Berkeley, the first known holder of the baronies of Urr and Redcastle, was also called Eva. This earliest Eva was the widow of Robert de Quincy, Lord of Leuchars in right of his first wife Orabilis daughter of Ness son of William Lord of Leuchars. Eva, as widow of Robert de Quincy, made a donation to Melrose Abbey<sup>74</sup> for the souls of inter alia her brother Roland (not a common name), her sister Christian and her son John. She has thus been taken to be the sister of Roland of Galloway, which would explain why this family held Urr.

This attribution of Eva de Balliol as the daughter of Enguerrand de Balliol puts her in the right generation to be the mother of the only known Enguerrand de Umfraville (apart from a possible natural son noted earlier) and also allows for the division of the holdings of Urr, Redcastle and Foston in two parts. On this reading Ellen, wife of William de Percy and Eva wife of Robert de Umfraville of Chollerton were sisters and, having no other brothers, were in their issue coheirs of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol on his death in 1298. The Percy heir was Ellen's grandson Sir Henry while the Umfraville heir was Eva's son Sir Enguerrand.

### *Balliol of Cavers*

However in the pedigree shown by Hedley<sup>75</sup> in *Northumberland Families*, Sir Enguerrand de Balliol is shown with a second son, Henry Balliol of Cavers. Had Henry been a brother of Sir Eustace de Balliol, his heirs would have excluded the issue of both Ellen and Eva. Ellen certainly had a brother Henry I who had a son Henry II whom she appointed as guardian<sup>76</sup> of the moiety of Dalton in Hartness, which had been held by her younger son Walter de Percy, until the heirs of Henry de Percy, her eldest son, should come of age. This grant would probably date from between 1272, when her son Henry died, and before the birth of his posthumous son Henry in 1273. This gives Ellen a nephew of full age by that time, which suggests that his father might have been older than Sir Eustace of Redcastle. It is also perhaps significant that in the event of there being no heir of Elena's body to the

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<sup>74</sup> Liber Ste Marie de Melros, I, p 40; see note in *Complete Peerage*, Vol XII/2, p 748, sub Winchester

<sup>75</sup> W P Hedley, *Northumberland Families* (1968), i, p 205

<sup>76</sup> Percy Chartulary, no 877, also for the grant to Walter see no 16



Percy inheritance, her maritagium, Dalton in Hartness, which was a Balliol property, would have reverted to her father's heir. Perhaps therefore we might follow both Hedley and the articles in the Complete Peerage on Percy and on Essex, identifying this Sir Henry I, her brother, as Sir Henry of Cavers, father of Guy de Balliol, who died in 1265 at Evesham<sup>77</sup> as Simon de Montfort's standard-bearer, and of Sir Alexander of Cavers who became Chamberlain of Scotland like his father. This would mean that Henry II was their brother. It would also imply that Henry I was half-brother of Sir Eustace and so had no right to the heredity of Eustace's mother.

*Chronology of Cavers and Redcastle*

We can see that the work of Hedley (1968) has been adapted by Geoffrey Stell (1985) to show Sir Ingram and Sir Henry as brothers. This would seem to place Sir Enguerrand in the right generation, based on the apparent flourits of his descendants. Stell has removed Sir Ingram from Sir Jocelyn, shown surely incorrectly by Hedley as of Redcastle, in that Redcastle came to the Balliols through Sir Walter de Berkeley, and shows him instead as the son of Eustace de Héricourt, later de Balliol, and so brother of Sir Hugh Balliol of Bywell, presumably following the Durham Liber Vitae<sup>78</sup> entry on folio 59, which lists Eustace de Balliol with four sons, Hugh, Ingelram, Bernard and Henry.

However placing Henry of Cavers as a son of Eustace and brother of Sir Enguerrand creates an uncomfortable fit in terms of the ages of Henry's sons. Henry I was married probably soon before 1233 to Lora de Valoines. Unfortunately the extant series of Ipms starts in 1237, so the Ipms of Christina de Valoines, Countess of Essex, whose heir<sup>79</sup> Lora was with her two sisters, does not now exist. However, looking at the chronology of the Valoines and de Quincy families (Lora's mother was Loretta de Quincy, daughter of Saher Earl of Winchester) she could not have been born much before 1210. Of their sons, Guy died unmarried as a standard-bearer in 1265, while his brother Alexander did not marry until shortly after<sup>80</sup> 7 November 1270, his wife being Isabella de Chilham the widow of David Earl of Atholl, who died in that year. Alexander was not Chamberlain of Scotland until 1287, so suggesting quite a young man in 1270, and he died<sup>81</sup> 1310x11. One would not be far wrong in seeing Guy as about 25 at Evesham, so born about 1340, and Alexander perhaps the same age or a little older on his marriage in 1270. Henry II, the third brother, witnessed the charter<sup>82</sup> of Alexander confirming his aunt, Christina's, grant to Binham Priory on 6 April 1272 and was surely the same Henry charged with holding half of Dalton as guardian in 1272x73 by his aunt Elena widow of William de Percy (see above).

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77 Matthew Paris, quoted by Moriarty

78 Joseph Stevenson, *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, *Surtees Society* (1841), p 98

79 For a full discussion of their relationship see J Horace Round, 'Comyn and Valoignes', *The Ancestor* xi, p 129ff

80 When the marriage of Isabella was granted to Philip d'Aubigny, see CP i, p 305 sub Atholl. She died February 1292.

81 CP i, p387, sub Balliol

82 Reg de Binham, Cottonian MSS, Claud D XIII, folio 151b; Reg de Panmure ii, p 144

Comparing this with the family of Redcastle, it seems that Sir Enguerrand had married Walter de Berkekey's daughter no later than 1210x15 as his daughter Elena married<sup>83</sup> William de Percy ca 1233. Eustace, his son, who married Agnes, daughter of William de Percy's first marriage, must have been appreciably younger than his sister Elena. Thus we would consider that Sir Enguerrand was a full generation older than Sir Henry of Cavers. It would therefore seem unlikely that they were brothers.

Given that each of the Henrys, the brother of Elena de Percy and the Henry who married Lora de Valoines and was definitely of Cavers had a son named Henry, and that there is no contemporary record showing that these pairs had separate existences, it seems more likely that Henry of Cavers was indeed the son of Sir Enguerrand. It equally seems unlikely that he was his brother, given the difference in their ages. McAndrew (1987) includes this branch of Henry Balliol with a son Henry and daughter Constance and grandson Henry de Fishburn as part of the Urr tree, but without the designation 'of Cavers' as shown by Hedley. However he also shows the Cavers branch in its own right, thus perhaps unwittingly duplicating the Cavers branch.

It is partly because of this duplication of the Cavers branch, that there has been doubt about Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville, when taken with the wording of the 1299 grant of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol's lands to Sir Henry de Percy, ambiguous in that it talks of the whole lands, when they were the whole lands of Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville as the coheir, rather than the whole lands of the deceased Sir Enguerrand de Balliol. The confusion has been increased by the great span of Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville's life, which previously has been doubted. The proposal that there was a second Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville whose widow was alive in 1364 is also carried forward from Hedley and probably refers to his possible son, who would have been illegitimate, if his son. Hedley also mistakenly assumes that in the 1296 *Inquisitio post mortem* Sir Enguerrand (there called Ingelram) was the brother of William de Umfraville, whereas he was described as 'propinquius haeres' not 'frater' and so probably William's cousin, Enguerrand having petitioned for his father's lands in 1279 with the recommendation of King Alexander III.

#### *Fishburn Interest*

Further confusion is caused by the quitclaim of Henry Fishburn to Henry de Percy. In 1331 Henry Percy (1300-1353) was quitclaimed by Henry Fishburn, as son of Constance and grandson and heir of Dominus Henry de Balliol, of his rights<sup>84</sup> in Redcastle, Urr and Foston, probably based on Percy's hope of recovering the Umfraville half, allowed to him in 1299 by Edward I, in the anticipated 1332 invasion by Edward Balliol. A Thomas de Fishbourn was noted as of Redcastle in 1306<sup>85</sup> and it may be that the Fishburns were holding in Redcastle as feuars. At all events Henry de Fishburn renounced his rights over

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83 See above and the argument in CP X, p 453ff, sub Percy. Their son Sir Henry was born about 1235, being still under age 6 Feb 1256/7, but knighted by June 1257.

84 Percy Chartulary, nos 1078, 1080

85 D J Scott, *The Norman Balliols in England*, 1914, p 390, see McAndrew's note 25 on p 107

Redcastle and Urr and it is interesting to note that a similar quitclaim<sup>86</sup> relating to Foston was in 1313 given to Henry de Percy by Ralph de Secheville, chivaler.

Constance must almost certainly have been the daughter of either Henry I, ie Sir Henry of Cavers, as shown by Hedley, or of his son of the same name, as in 1297/8<sup>87</sup> Thomas de Fishburn petitioned for restitution of his lands in Edenham vic Roxburgh, given to him by John de Balliol. There was a Thomas de Fishburn who witnessed<sup>88</sup> a Fountains Abbey Charter in 1294 and presumably the same man who was holding Redcastle in 1306. Constance's son Henry de Fishburn might alternatively be the same as Henry son of William, who quitclaimed<sup>89</sup> Domino Henrico de Percy of 5 shillings annual rent. The note in the Percy Cartulary says

... the later Thomas de Fishburn married Christian daughter of Nicholas de Swinburne and obtained from him the lordship of West Swinburn (Hodgson History of Northumberland 1832, ii, ii, 232). He was Proctor of King of Scots in a suit brought by the King against Prior of Hexham in 1279 regarding the regality of Tyndale (CDS ii, p 52). His son was probably Justice of Assize 1293-1316. In 1291 Thomas de Fishburn was a witness to an indenture by which muniments were removed from the Treasury in Edinburgh to Berwick (CDS ii, p 128); in 1297/8 he petitioned for restitution of his lands in Edenham, near Roxburgh, given to him by John de Balliol (Stevenson ii, p 262).

The Urr, Redcastle, Foston and Tours estates would of course have devolved in 1299 upon the heirs of Henry de Balliol, if he had indeed been the uncle of the whole blood of Sir Enguerrand de Balliol who died in 1298. That they did not is surely the best evidence that he was not a son of the Berkeley heiress.

It seems therefore that the most satisfactory reconciliation of the facts is that the Cavers branch of the Balliols were descended from an earlier marriage of the first Sir Enguerrand de Balliol. This would allow better for the age of Sir Henry when he married Lora de Valoignes, who was born about 1210 and married before 1233, and of his son Sir Alexander who married after 1270 Isabella de Chilham, the widow of David Earl of Atholl. The history of Cavers is somewhat unclear after the time of Sir Alexander the Chancellor and it may be that later the Fishburn family took the name Balliol, as happened in eg the family of Wark, where a nephew of John Balliol adopted the name.

### *Pedigree*

So we are now able to prepare a pedigree, where the barony of Urr flows from Uchtred of Galloway or his son Roland, to Eva, Roland's sister and wife of Walter de Berkeley, then to his daughter who married Sir Enguerrand de Balliol, to his son Sir Eustace and to his

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86 Percy Chartulary no 1083

87 Stevenson ii, p 262

88 Percy Chartulary no 65

89 Percy Chartulary no 407

son Sir Enguerrand. On Sir Enguerrand's death in 1298, the inheritance fell between two co-heirs, issue respectively of Eva and Ellen, full sisters of Sir Eustace.

We see that the half which was the inheritance of Eva was restored before 1320 to Sir Enguerrand de Umfraville and passed through the marriage of his daughter Eva to Sir Philip Moubray of Kirkmichael, a younger son of Sir Geoffrey Moubray, to her son Sir John Moubray who died in 1332, fighting for Edward Balliol, and thus finally lost the estate for his heirs, who were his three sisters<sup>90</sup> Philippa, Margaret and a third sister married to David Mareschal. Margaret married Sir Robert Gower and had no further interest in Scotland. Philippa married Anselm de Guise, without issue, and secondly Sir Bartholomew de Leon, a knight of King David II, by whom she had David, probably named for the King, who took the name Moubray and was the ancestor of the house of Moubray of Barnbougle, but was not however allowed the other extensive holdings of the Scottish Moubrays, nor those to which his mother had been in right<sup>91</sup>.

### Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Andrew MacEwen, David Sellar, Geoffrey Stell and Bruce McAndrew for discussion of this subject. I alone am responsible for the conclusions, with which these scholars might not agree. I am also grateful to John Gaylor for preparing the pedigree and reading the text.

### Abbreviations

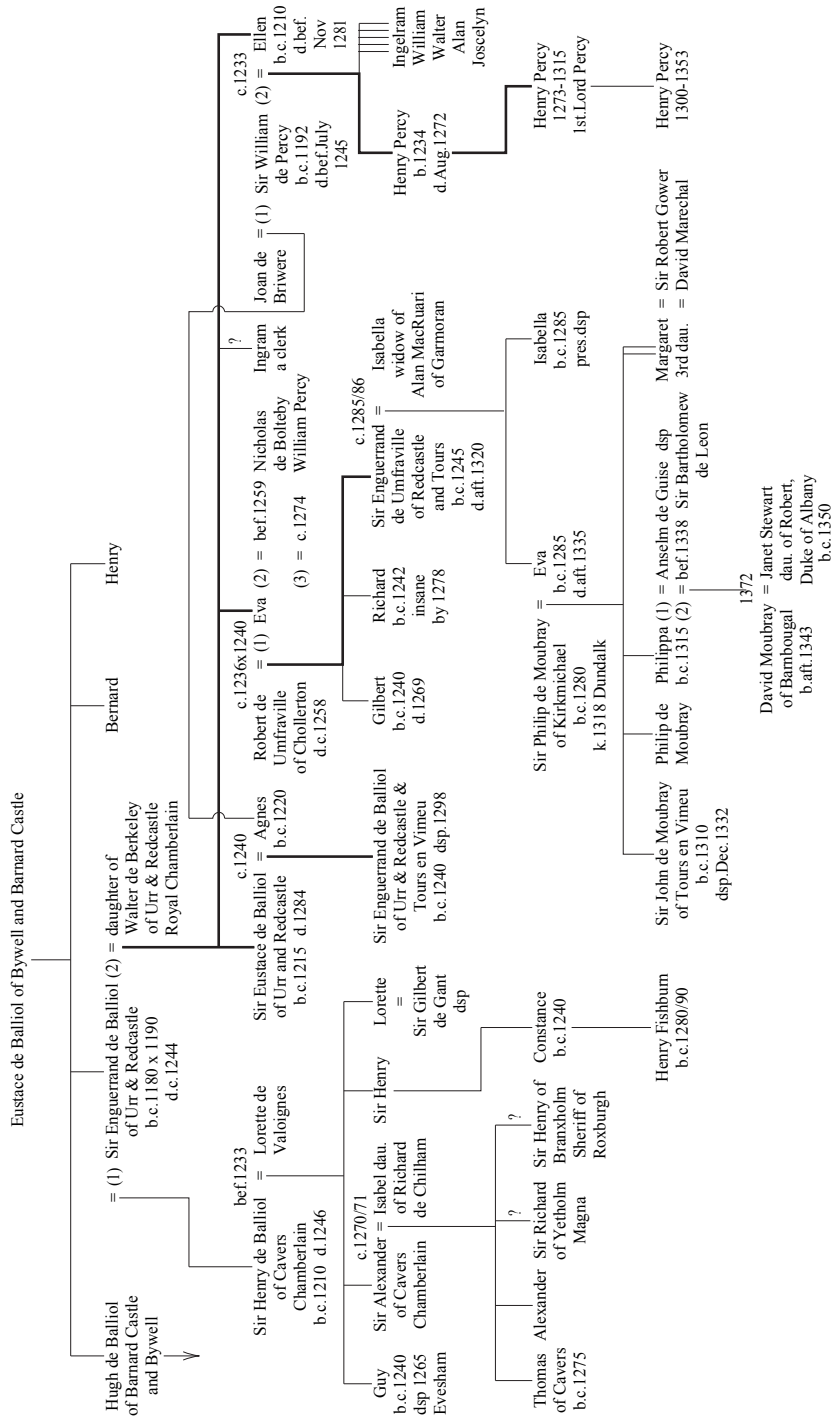
<b>APS</b>	Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland
<b>CDS</b>	Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, ed. J Bain
<b>CP</b>	Complete Peerage
<b><i>Ipms</i></b>	<i>Inquisitiones post Mortem</i> , Public Records Office
<b>NAS</b>	National Archives of Scotland
<b>RMS</b>	Registrum magni Sigilli (Register of the Great Seal)
<b>RRS</b>	Regesta Regnum Scottorum (Deeds of the Kings of Scots), Vol 1 ed. G W S Barrow

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90 There appears to have been another son, Philip, who in *ca* 1365 petitioned for the Kirkmichael lands of his father Sir Philip. The Inquest held that he was the heir, but he must have retired to France after 1332 and allowed his sisters what they could make of their British inheritance, only returning in *ca* 1365 to make this claim. This Retour is printed and discussed by R C Reid in *TDGNHAS* ser III, xxxiii, p 197 ff.

91 David de Leon adopted his mother's name, Moubray, and married Janet, eldest daughter of Robert, 1st Duke of Albany. (Scots Peerage i, p149) Given that the dates fit perfectly there is a possibility that Sir John Lyon, Royal Chamberlain, was a younger son of Sir Bartholomew de Leon.

SIR ENGUERRAND DE UMFRVILLE  
HIS LIFE, DESCENT AND ISSUE



Pedigree

Table 1. Pedigree

## GAELIC IN GALLOWAY: PART ONE - EXPANSION

Alistair Livingston<sup>1</sup>

*For at least 600 years, between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries, Galloway was a Gaelic speaking land. Although both the beginning and the end of Gaelic Galloway are uncertain, that Gaelic was the language of the kingdom of Galloway established by Fergus in the early eleventh century, and was still the main language of the Douglas lordship of Galloway at its end in 1455, is indisputable. In addition to the Gaelic personal and place names recorded in medieval charters, the thousands of Gaelic place names which survived to be recorded by the Ordnance Survey in the 1840s bear witness to Galloway's Gaelic past. Furthermore, despite the language shift to Scots, there is evidence of cultural continuity between the agriculture of Gaelic Galloway and the farming practice of seventeenth and early eighteenth century Galloway. Then, at the end of the eighteenth century, the process of agricultural improvement began, a process which has continued to the present. The cumulative effect of this process in the lowlands, combined with afforestation in the uplands, has been the erasure of Galloway's past. The Galloway landscape known to the Galloway Levellers and the Covenanters would have been familiar to the medieval Gaelic farmers who named the land, but none would recognise the landscape of the present.*

In 1755, it is estimated that 23% of the Scottish population (concentrated in the Highlands and Islands) spoke Gaelic. In 1901 only 4.5 % were still Gaelic speakers and by 2001 the numbers had fallen to 1.2%. Concern over the decline of Gaelic led to the passing of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act in 2005 and the establishment of Bord na Gaidhlig in 2006. Bord na Gaidhlig's priority is to increase the number of Gaelic speakers. In November 2010, Dumfries and Galloway's Community Learning and Development Service received funding of £45,000 from the Bord to support adult Gaelic learning in the region.<sup>2</sup> As the number of Gaelic speakers in the region increases, interest in the region's Gaelic history and the traces it has left in the place names of the region will also increase

To begin with then, who were the Gaelic speakers who made such an impression upon the linguistic landscape of Galloway? This is not an easy question to answer. One possibility is that Gaelic had a very early origin in Galloway. The hypothesis is that in the fifth century, Gaelic speakers from the north of Ireland crossed over the North Channel to settle in the Rhinns of Galloway and gradually spread their language eastwards. If this happened, then Galloway was the first place in Scotland outwith Dál Riata where Gaelic was spoken. The difficulty with the early origin hypothesis is that it relies on the interpretation of place name evidence, in particular the distribution of the Gaelic place name element *sliabh*. This can mean mountain, hill or upland moor and there is very dense cluster of *sliabh* (as

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1 Member of the Society; 6 Merrick Road, Castle Douglas, DG7 1FD

2 Dumfries and Galloway Council Press Release, 9 November, 2010

*slew-*) place names in the Rhinns of Galloway where Herbert Maxwell listed over thirty in 1887.<sup>3</sup>

In compiling his study of over 4000 Galloway place names, Maxwell used the Ordnance Survey's six inch to the mile maps of Galloway. The fine detail provided by these maps was not preserved in later, smaller scale, maps. To give an example, Maxwell found a *sliabh* place name, Slaeharbrie, in Kelton parish. Attempting to find Slaeharbrie using modern editions of Ordnance Survey maps proved impossible, but eventually it was found at NX 747 566 using the National Library of Scotland's digital archive of the six inch to the miles maps. Since the Scotland wide distribution of *sliabh* place names was later plotted using smaller scale maps, the Galloway cluster appeared more significant than it actually is. Recent research by Simon Taylor has found a much wider distribution of *sliabh* place names. This wider distribution also shows that *sliabh* cannot be used as an indicator of early Gaelic settlement.<sup>4</sup> Although there was close contact between Gaelic speakers in Ulster and the Rhinns of Galloway, this did not lead the early expansion of Gaelic in Galloway.

That Gaelic speakers from Ulster did not cross the North Channel to settle in the Rhinns of Galloway is indicated by an entry in the *Annals of Ulster* which Alex Woolf draws attention to.<sup>5</sup>

AU 913.5 The heathen inflicted a battle-rout upon the crew of a new fleet of the Ulaid, on the 'Saxon shore' and many fell including Camuscach son of Mael Mochergi, king of Lecale.

As Woolf explains, the 'heathens' would have been Vikings, Lecale was the area around Downpatrick and the 'Saxon shore' (in this context) meant the coast of a Galloway still under Northumbrian control. Woolf goes on to wonder 'what the long-term consequences might have been if the Ulaid had managed to establish their hegemony in Wigtownshire.'

If the Ulaid of Ulster had been able to take such advantage of the collapse of western Northumbria, then one consequence would have been that events in Galloway would have been recorded in the *Annals of Ulster*. Another is that the region may never have acquired the name 'Galloway' since the Gaelic speaking people who gave their name to the region were the Gall-Ghàidheil, the 'foreign (Viking descended) Gaels'.

Up until 1986, the theory that Gaelic was brought to Galloway by the Gall-Ghàidheil in the tenth century was generally accepted. In that year a conference of the Scottish Society for Northern Studies was held in Gatehouse-of-Fleet where papers (subsequently published in 1991<sup>6</sup>) presented by Edward Cowan and Daphne Brooke cast doubt on this theory. Cowan

3 Maxwell, H, *Studies in the Topography of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1887). Also in Maxwell's *The Place Names of Galloway* (Glasgow, 1930)

4 Taylor, S, 'Sliabh in Scottish Place-names: its meaning and chronology', *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 1 (2007)

5 Woolf, A, *From Pictland to Alba* (Edinburgh, 2007) p 140

6 In Oram, R and Stell, G (editors) , *Galloway Land and Lordship* (Edinburgh, 1991)



highlighted the lack of evidence for Viking settlement in Galloway and Brooke drew attention to the difficulty of connecting historical references to the Gall-Ghàidheil with Galloway. Consequentially, the Gall-Ghàidheil hypothesis fell into disrepute. However, recent work by Thomas Clancy has helped to clarify the relationship between the Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway.<sup>7</sup> The following is a summary of Clancy's very detailed findings, which include research carried out since 1991.

Although the Gall-Ghàidheil are first recorded in mid-ninth century Ireland, their origins are likely to have been in Scotland, possibly in the Kintyre/Argyll area where Viking settlers were absorbed into a Gaelic speaking community. This was a different situation to that found in the Hebrides and Western Isles where Gaelic did not survive Viking settlement and where Gaelic did not return until the twelfth century. In contrast, the suggested Kintyre/Argyll settlement led within a generation or two to the emergence of a Norse influenced but Gaelic speaking people who were established on Bute by 900. By 1034, when the *Annals of Ulster* record the death of Suibne mac Cinaeda as *ri Gall Gaidel*, the Gall-Ghàidheil territory Suibne ruled probably extended along the coast of the lower Firth of Clyde and into Renfrewshire and Ayrshire, including Carrick. By the beginning of the twelfth century the term Galloway (implying the territory of the Gall-Ghàidheil) was loosely used to describe a large part of south-west Scotland. This 'greater' Galloway stretched from Renfrewshire in the north-west as far south-east as the Annandale/Nithsdale border.

Confusingly, the region now called Galloway (Wigtownshire and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright) may not have been part of this Gall-Ghàidheil territory. In 1065, Echmacarch mac Ragnaill died on pilgrimage to Rome and his death was noted by an Irish chronicler who described him as *rex ina renn*, king of the Rhinns. This is assumed to mean the Rhinns of Galloway (which had still been the 'Saxon shore' in 913) and his kingdom included the Machars of Wigtownshire. Between 1036 and 1052, Echmacarch was twice ruler of Dublin and for a time the Isle of Man was part of his kingdom, although it is not known if Echmacarch's kingdom extended into the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. The conclusion Thomas Clancy draws from this is that 'the Gall-Ghàidheil were not the only Norse-dominated Gaelic-speaking group to have been colonising the south-west'. The implication is that Gaelic may have arrived in Galloway both by land, via the Gall-Ghàidheil of the Firth of Clyde and Ayrshire; and by sea, via Dublin and Norse-Gaelic Ireland.

Although the precise details of how it was achieved remain elusive, by the beginning of the twelfth century Gaelic was established as the language of a Galloway which embraced south-west Scotland. It was within this greater Galloway that Fergus of Galloway carved out his smaller kingdom. With benefit of hindsight it is possible that the survival of Gaelic in Fergus' lesser Galloway was at the expense of a more rapid decline of Gaelic in greater Galloway. The key figure here is Fergus' contemporary, King David I of Scotland. Amongst the problems faced by David I when he became king of Scotland in 1124 was that he had little control over south-west Scotland<sup>8</sup> David's response, continued by his successors, was

7 Clancy, T, 'The Gall-Ghaidheil and Galloway', *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, 2 (2008)

8 Oram, R, *Domination and Lordship Scotland 1017 - 1230* (Edinburgh, 2011) p 87



the introduction of Norman and Flemish settlers into south-west Scotland. This process started the Bruce, Stewart and Douglas families' rise to power and checked the expansion of Fergus' kingdom, gradually reducing Gaelic Galloway to the region (which included Carrick) controlled by Fergus. Although described by Richard Oram as a 'failed kingdom',<sup>9</sup> the territorial unit created by Fergus survived his death in 1161 and Gaelic persisted in the 'failed kingdom' for another four hundred years.

Discussing Dervorgilla's role in preserving a semblance of her father's lordship, Richard Oram revealed the centrality of Gaelic to the survival of Fergus's Galloway...

Dervorgilla offered continuity with the great days of the lordship and inherited the loyalty of her ancestors' native supporters... the lords of Galloway were Celtic lords, and it was on their Celtic aristocracy and people that Dervorgilla, like her father, grandfather and great-grandfather before her, depended for their power and position.<sup>10</sup>

Although Uhtred, Roland (Lachlann) and Alan of Galloway introduced Anglo-Normans (mainly Cumbrians) into Galloway, ultimately their power was rooted in Galloway's Gaelic community. As they farmed the land, this community created a surplus of agriculture wealth for their lords to live on and the warriors who fought for them. It was therefore not in the interests of the lords of Galloway to interfere with the social structures of Galloway and so its Gaelic community survived. The last person to benefit from this relationship of interdependence was Dervorgilla's grandson, Edward Balliol.

The *Chronicle of Lanercost* notes that the people of Galloway supported Edward Balliol's bid for the Scottish throne in 1332 since they regarded him as their 'dominus specialis', their 'special lord'.<sup>11</sup> This support for Edward Balliol continued despite his failure to secure the throne. So long as Balliol had the support of Galloway's leading Gaelic kindreds, the McDowalls, McLellans and McCullochs,<sup>12</sup> he was able to maintain at least a toe-hold on Scottish soil. But once the bonds of loyalty to Galloway's 'special lord' were finally broken and the Galloway kindreds deserted him, Balliol had to admit defeat. In January 1356 he surrendered both the kingdom of Scotland and his lands in Galloway to Edward III. By this act, Edward Balliol brought to an end seventy years of rivalry and conflict between the Bruce and Balliol families.

The first act of this dynastic struggle occurred in 1286 when the Bruces raided into Galloway and forced Dervorgilla's steward, Patrick McGuffog, to read a proclamation (written in French) directed against the Balliols from the bailey of Buittle castle.<sup>13</sup> In 1324,

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9 Oram, R, *The Lordship of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 2000) p 284

10 Oram, R, 'A Family Business? Colonisation and Settlement in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Galloway', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Volume LXXII, 2, No.194, October 1993, p 145

11 *Chronicon de Lanercost* (Edinburgh, 1839) p 269

12 Beam, A, *The Balliol Dynasty 1210-1364* (Edinburgh, 2008) p 223

13 *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ed. F. Palgrave (London, 1837) No 6, pp 23-26 and No.13, p 42. Also see Barrow, G, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1976) p 25 and Oram, R, *The Lordship of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 2000) p 159

almost as if he was anticipating subsequent events, Robert I granted James Douglas most of what is now Buittle parish.

Charter by King Robert the Bruce to James, Lord of Douglas, knight, for his homage and service, of the whole land of Botle in Galloway, namely, the whole parish of Botile, except Corbettoun and Patrick MacGilbothyn's lands, namely, from the place where the water of Vr falls into the sea, and along the old Vr until it again runs into the water of Vr, and along the water of Vr to the marches of the land of Crossmychelle and of Corbettoun, and thence by the old marches to a certain land which is called Knokynbotile, and so from Knokynbotile by the old marches to the land of Torrys, and thence by the old marches to the lands of Brethtathe and so to the marches of the lands of Torrys and Brethtathe as far as the marches of Keltoun, and as the marches of Keltoun and Brethtath coincide, to a certain stream which runs from the mill of Keuilstoun [Gelston], and so by a certain stream that runs between the lands of Brethtath and Keuilstoun, and from that stream as it runs until it comes to a certain land called Rinteishey : To be held by the said James and his heirs, of the King and his heirs, in free barony, fee and heritage... Rendering yearly at Trequer a pair of gilt spurs, at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, for all other service, ward, relief, marriage, suit of court, and all other demands. Berwick-on-Tweed, 24<sup>th</sup> February [1324].<sup>14</sup>

Combining this source with later fourteenth century Douglas records, it is possible to gain an insight into the relationship between the Gaelic place and farm names of Buittle and the Gaelic community who farmed the land.

To begin with, the following is a list of farms and lands of Buittle as recorded in the fourteenth century.

1324: Corbettoun, Patrick McGylbothyn's lands, Knokynbutil, Brethtath, Rinteishey.

1330: Lathys.<sup>15</sup>

1370: Knokys, Sewynkirk Kenmore, Logane, Colenknauc.<sup>16</sup>

1374: Clouchlarbane, Ambrenes, Marnauch, Barteane, Castlegour, Brekauchlug, Mikilbrekauch, Duo Knokis, Balgirdane, Logane and Porthuly, Clak..tis, Villa de Butyll, Munchyes, Towarde and Tibernes with Culnaw, Buittle mill.<sup>17</sup>

1393: Forty mark lands of Meykle Bregauch of Bregauchlug and of Castlegour.<sup>18</sup>

[Written in Scots rather than Latin.]

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14 Fraser, W, *The Douglas Book*, (Edinburgh, 1885) Vol III, p 12, No 15

15 *Registrum Honoris de Morton* (Edinburgh, 1853) Vol II, p 73, No 95

16 *Registrum Honoris de Morton* (Edinburgh, 1853) Vol. II, p10, No13

17 *Registrum Honoris de Morton* (Edinburgh, 1853) Vol I, p lix

18 *Registrum Honoris de Morton* (Edinburgh, 1853) Vol II, p 190, No 200

In the *Exchequer Rolls* for 1456<sup>19</sup> the farms in Buittle listed were: Almorness, Munches, ville de Buttil, Balgreden, Hanckcolathez, Mikilknox, Litoliknox, Guffokland. Marynach, Clune, Culegnaw, Corvare, Cule, Brekhalch, Corbartoun, Irisbutil, mill of Buttil. Most of these are still farms. From these list, the farms which can be identified are: Almorness, Balgredan (until circa 1820), Barchain, Breoch, Old Buittle Mains (Buittle Castle), Castlegower, Clone, Corbieton, Corra, Cuil, Cullinaw, Guffogland, Hacketleathes, Leaths, Little Knox, Meikle Knox, Logan (East and West), Marnoch (until circa 1750), Milton of Buittle, Munches and Orchardton (Irisbutil in the *Exchequer Rolls*). Of the farms and lands which were recorded in the fourteenth century, Patrick McGibbothyn's lands may have been Orchardton (Irisbutil in 1456), Rinteishey was probably the Almorness peninsula and Sewynkirk Kenmore would have been in the vicinity of Kenmore Hill and the since drained Kenmore Loch. Clouchlarbane, Porthuly, Clak..tis, Torward and Tibernes remain unidentified.

A question which arises from this evidence is that of farm formation. Did all the farms recorded in 1456 already exist in 1324, or had some new farms been created? The 1324 charter mentions *Brethtathe*. By 1374 this farm had become *Brekauchlug* and *Mikilbrekauch* (*Meykle Bregauch* in 1393) but by 1456 there was once more only a single farm, *Brekhalch* which is now Breoch farm. In the area between Torrs and *Brekhalch*, the farms of *Cule* and *Corwar* (now Cuil and Corra) are first recorded in 1456. The Kelton/Buittle boundary forms a distinct 'corner' here, and the Gaelic *cuil* means corner. Cuil farm occupies this corner of Buittle. If there had been a farm here in 1324, it could have been used as a reference point in Robert I's charter. If Cuil had existed in 1376, it would have been included in the rental roll. In 1374, *Mikilbrekauch* had 9 tenants; Gilbert McGuffok Andrew and John McOrry, Gilbert McCorrill, Thomas McGilrewy, John McCrikir, John McClafferty, Andrew Fullon and Donald McGilreigne, the largest number of all the farms listed. Since *Brekauchlug* with two tenants and *Castelgour* with one tenant had already been formed from the *Brethtathe* of 1324, it is likely that Cuil and Corra were created by a division of *Mikilbrekauch* sometime after it was last recorded as *Mykle Bregauch* in 1393.

When a comparison is made with the situation in Kelton, an interesting linguistic divergence emerges. By 1456, a farm called *Qhuitpark* (now Whitepark)<sup>20</sup> existed on the other side of the Kelton/ Buittle boundary 1 km from *Cule*. *Qhuitpark* was presumably formed through a division of the lands of Torrs farm (which is in Kelton parish) mentioned in Robert I's charter to James Douglas. If so, then it is likely to have been created sometime after Archibald the Grim gained the lands between the Nith and the Cree (except for Buittle) in 1369. Its formation is likely to have been directly linked to the construction of Archibald's new castle on Threave island 3 km away. *Qhuitpark* is a Scots farm name. Does this mean that the tenants of *Qhuitpark* were Scots speakers, while their neighbours in *Cule* only half a mile away were still Gaelic speakers? Or was *Qhuitpark*, like neighbouring *Carlynwerk* (Carlingwark) and which also first appears in 1456, Scots in name only and worked by Gaelic speaking tenants?

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19 *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1883) Vol VII, p 191

20 *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1883) Vol VII, p 192

Farm name evidence on its own cannot answer this question. However, it is known that Archibald replaced members of Galloway's Gaelic kindreds as tenants-in-chief with Scots speakers loyal to the Douglasses. In Borgue, Archibald gave the barony to James Douglas of Dalkeith in place of the McDowells. In the Glenkens, Archibald gave his allies the Glendinnings lands in Parton and persuaded Gilbert McLellan to sell him his lands in Balmaclellan. To manage his affairs in the Stewartry, Archibald appointed Thomas Hert and Alexander Mure as stewards of Kirkcudbright.<sup>21</sup> As a result, Scots/ Gaelic bilingualism would have become essential.

Prior to the Douglasses, from its foundation by Fergus, most of the internal management of the lordship of Galloway would have been carried on in Gaelic. So long as Gaelic speaking tenants-in-chief were able to arrange their affairs through extended kinship networks and so long as the lords of Galloway ultimately relied on these kinship networks for their position and power, Gaelic remained the dominant language of the region, as it did in neighbouring Carrick. Even the introduction of Anglo-Normans from Cumbria by Uhtred, Roland (Lachlann) and Alan did not affect this dominance. The Ingleston farms of Sorbie, Borgue, Twynholm, Kelton, Kirkgunzeon and New Abbey suggest that settlements of Middle English (or Older Scots<sup>22</sup>) speakers introduced by these Anglo-Normans formed isolated enclaves in a still Gaelic countryside.

To begin with, the Scots speakers introduced by the Douglasses would have been as isolated as the Middle English speakers had been 200 years earlier. Then, as Archibald the Grim and his successors began to exercise their control over Galloway, wherever their new Gaelic tenants had to engage with the Douglas administration, the language used was now Scots.<sup>23</sup> The shift to Scots as the language of power under the Douglasses left Gaelic as the everyday language of Galloway, but, as the leaders of the Gaelic kindreds adapted to the new regime, the status of Gaelic began to decline. As the language of the less important tenant farmers and their cottars and crofters, the everyday use of Gaelic continued even after the Douglas lands passed to the Scottish Crown in 1455. Then, during the sixteenth century, Scots began its gradual take-over.

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21 Brown, M, *The Black Douglasses : War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland 1300-1455* (Edinburgh, 2009) p 171

22 Northern Middle English and Older Scots were practically identical.

23 Fraser, W, *The Douglas Book* (Edinburgh, 1885) Vol III - see charters 103, 327, 354, 357, 360, 367, 71, 373, 375, 382

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## THE DUMFRIES COLLECTORS AND THE KING'S BOAT AT CARSETHORN, 1764-1799

Frances Wilkins<sup>1</sup>

*For a period of nearly one hundred years the senior customs officers at the port of Dumfries believed that the establishment of a king's boat at Carsethorn was the best means of stopping smuggling up the Solway Firth. These king's boats were comparatively small when compared with the revenue cutters stationed round the Scottish coasts – the nearest of these was at Whithorn. They were essentially open boats with four, six or eight sets of oars and a sail. They were manned by a commander with a crew of men, who had been bred to the sea.*

*The main source of information about the king's boats is the copy books of letters from the Board of Customs in Edinburgh to the collector and comptroller at Dumfries and the local officers' letters to the Board and to their own staff. This paper describes the relationship between the collectors and the commanders of the king's boat, during the period 1759 to 1799, for which there is the most detailed information.*

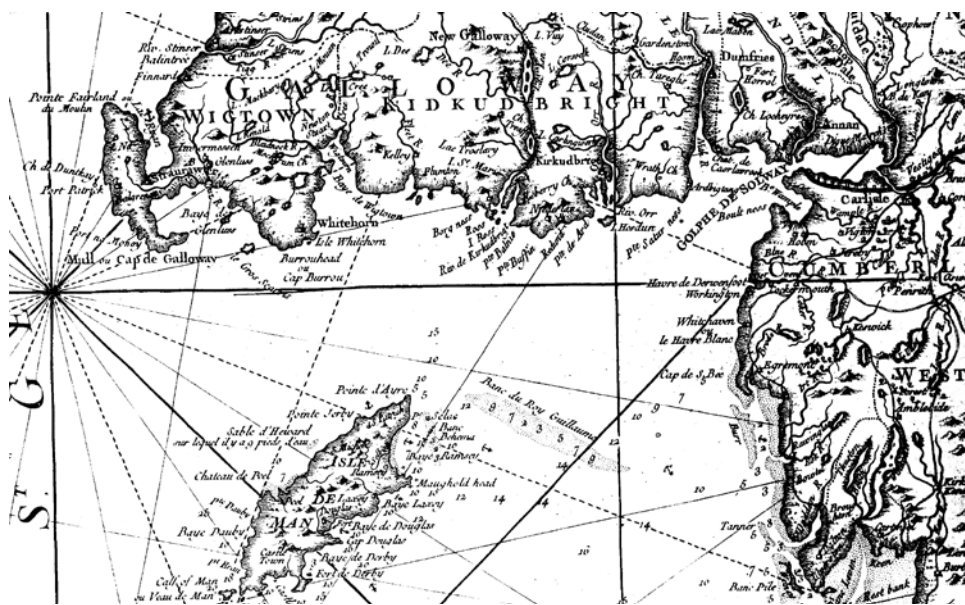


Figure 1. The Solway Firth and associated coasts from Mortier, Cartes des Isles

<sup>1</sup> 8 Mill Close, Blakedown, Kidderminster, Worcs DY10 3NQ.



<b>Dates</b>	<b>The Collectors</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Commanders of the King's Boat</b>
1759-1775	David Blair	1759 1759-1762 1764-1770 1770-1775	John McWhey William Irving William Turner William Gracie
1775-1778	Robert Maxwell	1775-1778	William Gracie
1778-1780	Wellwood Maxwell	1778-1780	William Gracie
1780-1815	David Staig	1780-1782 1782-1787 1787-1788 1788-1791 1791-1799	William Gracie No boat John Bruce Robert Carmichael Hugh McConnochy Boat disestablished

At the beginning of this period, most of the smuggling was in Manx or Irish wherries from the Isle of Man. With the Crown's purchase of the fiscal rights of that Island from the Duke of Atholl in 1765, there was a significant change. Although small ventures continued to be smuggled on board the wherries, the main runs came from large, heavily armed vessels from Europe and the Channel Islands that tended to land their cargoes in Galloway for transport to the Borders in smaller boats.

Collector Staig wrote to the Board of Customs in November 1783, February 1784 and November 1785, 'on the smuggling business'. He wrote again in August 1786:

We have given it freely as our opinion that nothing could so effectually check and prevent that trade in this part of the coast as a boat stationed at Carsethorn, manned with eight or ten desperate fellows, who had been aboard a ship of war and accustomed to the sea ... We are aware that it would be attended with considerable annual expense to establish a boat ... but, when it is considered that all the carrying business from the places of importation in Galloway is by water in boats of 10 or 15 tons, what else but force by water can prevent them? We have been informed of late that several carrying boats such as we have described have been observed passing up the Firth towards Leehouses and Sarkfoot and at the latter place we understand a smuggling company have established themselves under pretence of carrying on a fair trade. To these and other places on that part of the coast the tobacco, spirits etc. are carried and from thence through the country to the northern counties of England. This day we have had an information of a smuggler about ten days ago from Guernsey or Jersey direct to the company (McDowall & Co.)<sup>2</sup> at Sarkfoot, consisting of 100 packages of tobacco and a good deal of spirits. The vessel was about 25 tons burthen and we think most probable that the one off

2 There is further information about Robert McDowall in the section on *The Betsey* and Collusion.

Saturness [sic] the other day came from the same part of the world.

We hope your Honours will be so good as forgive the freedom we have taken in stating ... our opinion on the subject. We considered it our duty to do so.<sup>3</sup>

By the mid to late 1790s this smuggling was rare and the main problem came from the small boats bringing salt from Ireland or the Isle of Man.

### **The Commanders of the King's Boat<sup>4</sup>**

The success of the king's boat in preventing smuggling depended upon her commander: his ability to lead men, his knowledge of the local coasts, his sources of information about intended smuggling runs and his impartiality when seizures were made. At first the commanders were simply the captain of the boat on a small salary that would, in theory, be supplemented by their share of the large number of seizures to be made.

When Captain William Turner resigned in 1770, William Craik, the surveyor general responsible for the Dumfries collection to the west of the River Nith, which included his estate of Arbigland, suggested:

If your Honours were to appoint some active, clever person under the name of tidesurveyor and to advance his salary to £25 per annum it would answer the purpose much better, as the usefulness of a boat in that station will in a great measure depend upon the activity and fidelity of the person who has the command of her.

All the subsequent commanders were also tidesurveyors, which put them on an equal footing with the landsurveyors and directly below the surveyors general in the port hierarchy.

The commanders were expected to keep journals of their proceedings. These would be inspected by the Dumfries officers, whose comments could be transmitted to the Board in Edinburgh. The distance between Carsethorn and Dumfries and the role of the king's boats at sea gave the commanders a feeling of independence, which was not consistent with close supervision. As a result, they were often unwilling either to keep journals or to produce them for inspection.

In January 1791, the Dumfries officers wrote to the Board:

We confess however that we are dissatisfied with the management of the boat. If she is under our charge (as we believe she is) we are entitled to regular journals and to be satisfied that the master and hands do their duty and do not absent

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3 CE51 1/4: 2 August 1786. CE51 is the reference for the Dumfries customs and excise records at the National Archives of Scotland. Class 1 are the letters to the Board of Customs and Class 2 from the Board.

4 CE51 1/3: 3 November 1770; CE51 1/5: 25 January 1791



themselves from their station without leave, none of which is at present the case with us.

### **Their Crews<sup>5</sup>**

The commanders were responsible for recommending boatmen to the officers at Dumfries. These appointments were then forwarded to the Board of Customs in Edinburgh for ratification by the Treasury in London. Alternatively, the Dumfries officers would attempt to find suitable men and send them to Carsethorn for approval by the commander.

The main qualification for a boatman was that he had been 'bred to the sea' and had considerable experience on board sizeable boats.

In 1761, Collector Blair wrote to the Board:

There's no sailors can be got in this part of the country, who will accept of this employment while sailors' wages in the merchant service are so high. Nor do we know of any fit persons, who have been bred boatmen, to be got and if young and stout able-bodied landmen are not to be employed we are humbly of opinion that hands will be best got from the Firth of Forth or Clyde.

Collector Staig wrote in 1791: 'when hands have occasionally been wanting we have generally applied to the ports of Cumberland for them, from a persuasion that they were well acquainted with a seafaring life and with the navigation of the Firth and we have in consequence had four different hands from that quarter'.

In December 1790, Captain Robert Carmichael told Collector Staig that he wanted to fill a vacancy in his crew with someone from near Langholm, 'who had none of the qualifications required by your Honours'. The officers at Dumfries 'of course refused our concurrence in recommending him to the Board'.

On 12 January 1791, the collector sent Thomas Clow to Carmichael with a letter stating that Mr Sharp of Hoddam had recommended him 'very well ... as a sober and attentive young man'. Clow had been on three fishing voyages so that he was 'a proper person' for the king's boat. They hoped Carmichael would employ him unless 'you know any objection to his being a proper person for that employment'. To the collector's surprise, Clow returned from Carsethorn, saying Carmichael had 'declined to employ him for reasons which he has not thought it right to communicate to us or indeed to favour us with an answer of any kind to our letter'.

In fact the vacancy was about to be filled because Carmichael had applied directly

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<sup>5</sup> CE51 1/3: 17 August 1761; CE51 1/5: 12, 18, 21 (two letters), 25 January, 21, 25, 26 March, 8, 25 April, 3, 20, 24 May, 20 September 1791; CE51 2/5: 10 September, 24 October, 2 November & 15 December 1791; CE51 2/6: 3 June 1794

to the Treasury, recommending the appointment of James Underwood, a shoemaker in Dumfries who, the officers believed, had never been to sea. In March, the Board received a warrant from the Treasury for Underwood's appointment. He was interviewed by the Dumfries officers, who discovered that he could 'row an oar, rig and unrig the boat's sails and do everything that is necessary about her ... We know of no objection to his character'. On 8 April, Underwood was sent to Captain Cook of the *Prince Edward* cutter at Whithorn 'to be made trial by you'. Ten days later Underwood was ordered to Leith, where the tidesurveyor would provide the necessary training. He set off on the evening of 3 May. 'Hearing that there was an impress of seamen at Leith, he thought it the safest way to avoid the danger and he returned home without leave from your Honours and we understand he is now in Dumfries'. The Board gave Underwood a second chance. However, he 'declines returning to Leith to be instructed'.

In September 1791, Thomas Clow was warranted as a boatman at Carsethorn. John Lawson, the acting commander of the king's boat, was instructed to 'make full trial of him and report whether he appears to be qualified in every respect to manage an oar and the sails of a boat and is fit for employment'. Clow's appointment was confirmed.

Also in 1791, Robert Carmichael recommended Mungo Robb as 'a fit person' to replace Joseph Irving, who had died on board the king's boat. Robb had served on the *Prince Edward* cutter for nearly two years and the Dumfries officers reported, 'he appears to us to be a fit person to be employed as a boatman'. There is no information about the relationship between Robb and Carmichael. In 1794, Captain McConnochy complained that he had 'of late been frequently intoxicated and gave his commander abusive language'. As a result, McConnochy 'struck Robb on account of his misbehaviour'. On 7 May 1794, the boatman 'enlisted with a recruiting party, from which he afterwards got off'. The commander was told that it was 'very improper in him and that he is upon no account to strike any person under his command'.

### **The King's Boat<sup>6</sup>**

There are descriptions of the king's boats throughout the correspondence.

A new Manx boat, 'remarkable for sailing' had been seized by the revenue cruiser at Whithorn and was at Wigtown. On 10 December 1764, William Turner and three of his crew went to collect her but were delayed by 'contrary winds' and they only returned to Carsethorn on 9 January 1765. Although this boat was 'a very complete vessel of her kind yet from the sharpness of her build and drawing so much water, she was improper for the service on that part of the coast ... the sands being flat and the current strong'. She was exchanged with the boat at Kirkcudbright.

In October 1776, William Gracie, commander of the king's boat at Carsethorn, requested

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6 CE51 1/3: 15 April 1765; CE51 1/4: 12 October 1787; CE51 2/2: 17 January 1765; CE51 2/3: 24 October 1776; CE51 2/4: 18 October 1787

a foresail, topsail, four ash oars and a spy glass and a union ensign for the barge and four oars for the small boat under his command. Estimated cost: £7 7s 6d. The store house was directed to furnish the spy glass.

The carpenter, Robert Thomson, inspected the wreck of the Rothesay king's boat that had been transferred to Carsethorn in 1787. The Dumfries officers were 'quite of opinion that [she] ... was too large and drew too much water for that part of the coast'. He was ordered to build a new boat and new small boat or yawl for Carsethorn. Their details are quoted below:

King's boat:

20 foot keel, 7 foot broad, 3 foot deep

A wash streak fore and aft

Masts, yards, sails, rigging, iron keel and stern boards

Complete fitted for service £28

Small boat or yawl

10 foot long and in proportion breadth with oars £7

**Collector David Blair (1759 - 1775)<sup>7</sup>**

David Blair was appointed as collector at Dumfries on 1 June 1759, aged 39 years. William Stewart was comptroller until James Ewart, who was eight years Blair's senior, was appointed in January 1762. During the next few years, the Isle of Man dominated the smuggling scene.

The cruising boat stationed at Seafield [near Annan] under Mr Bell ought in fair weather to fall down as far as Southernness Point with the ebb tide in the day time, when the winds are westerly and Manx boats expected, and come up with the flood in the night tide, where it's most probable to meet with smuggling boats on their way to the Borders. And in the event to pursue them and give signals by firing of guns, which would alarm the officers upon the shore that they in conjunction with Mr Bell might assist each other in seizing of these boats, which we think would be a proper method to prevent the pernicious practices of smuggling in the Solway Firth.

At first, John McWhey was commander of the king's boat at Carsethorn. By September 1759, he had been replaced by William Irving, who was sent this letter by Blair:

We direct you to be more diligent than you have been since you had the command of the king's boat. There are six boats gone up to the Borders within this fortnight. Surely, if you had been at Annan Waterfoot, Lochar or the Water

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7 CE51 1/3: 25 September 1759, 25 August 1762

of Orr [sic], you must have fallen in with some of them. We expected you would have been more diligent, which would have been a means to have recommended you both to us and the Honourable Board. We direct you to be more active for the future and keep at sea, when the weather will permit.

Most of the activity appears to have been by the king's boat under the command of Thomas Bell and stationed at Seafield.<sup>8</sup> The Carsethorn boat was discontinued at some stage because in February 1762 the Board was told that the only way that ships entering the Nith could be boarded was by stationing a boat at either Carsethorn or Kelton because 'in stormy weather' Bell could not take his boat there.

We are informed this has never been Mr Bell's practice. He never has been in use to act in concert with the rest of the officers for the good of the revenue and suppressing of the smugglers, notwithstanding he has your Honours directions so to do.

### **William Turner (1764-1770)<sup>9</sup>**

William Turner was recommended to the Board 'as a person extremely well qualified and fit to command a boat, which we intend immediately to station at Carsethorn to cruise for the suppression of smuggling'. He should find eight 'able stout men' to navigate this boat. Two of these men, William Dagleish and John Ewart, served with the king's boat until they were drowned in 1782. Two other boatmen died off the Isles of Fleet in 1767<sup>10</sup> and Robert Jardine was badly wounded in 1770.

In April 1765, William Turner was described as 'a very active and vigilant officer in the execution of his duty. Although he has not met with the success that might have been expected from his diligence, having seized only ... 37 small casks of spirits'.

A Manx boat and part of her cargo of spirits was 'restored' to the smugglers in July 1765. There are no details of the subsequent enquiry but it was reported that Captain Turner and his crew had done nothing 'inconsistent with their duty'. In August 1767, the king's boat did not seize a smuggling boat because 'it was a very dark tempestuous night and a very high sea, when they made the seizure [of goods], and that what they got was at the risk of their lives'.

On Sunday, 4 March 1770, William Turner received information that some smuggling vessels were on the Galloway coast. The king's boat went to Balcary Bay, 'where they saw distinctly, at some distance, two wherries and a brig, besides some Manx boats'. Captain

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8 The activities of this boat will be described in the paper about Annan and the smuggling trade.

9 CE51 1/3: 15, 29 April, 19 August 1765, 27 April, 15 August 1767, 12 March, 3 November 1770; CE51 2/2: 15 November 1764, 17 January, 22 April, 2 May, 22 July 1765, 2 May, 14 August, 21 August, 17 September 1770, 28 March, 16 May 1775

10 No details have been found about this incident.

Turner and his crew were unable to do anything but watch 'their motions' and search for goods that had been landed, until they were attacked by 'ruffians'. This was when the boatman, Robert Jardine 'received a hurt in one of his legs'.<sup>11</sup>

According to the captain's journal, the king's boat spent June 1770 at Borron Point.<sup>12</sup> This precipitated the Board into stating in August that 'as smuggling from that Island Man to the coast of Dumfries no longer subsists' four of the boatmen, to be 'pitched upon' by the surveyor general, would be discontinued from 10 October. In September 1770, Turner went to the Board in person. There is no information about what was discussed. In early November 1770, described as commander of the old boat, Turner returned his deputation at the custom house, refusing to be 'further concerned in the service of the revenue in that capacity'. The crewman, William Dalgleish was appointed to take command of the boat until a replacement could be found.

### **William Gracie (1770-1783)<sup>13</sup>**

When William Turner resigned, Collector Blair and the comptroller recommended William Gracie, a shipmaster at Annan as 'a very proper person for that office [tidesurveyor]. They know him to be a very active industrious man and one who has been brought up in the seafaring way for the greatest part of his life. With respect to his honesty they can assure your Honours that he has always maintained the fairest character, at least that they never heard of anything to the contrary'.

There was already a strong connection between David Blair and William Gracie. Unfortunately the only detailed information comes from their account between 1763 and 1764, which was still unsettled in 1775. Several of the items in this account relate to Herries, Cochrane & Co of London.<sup>14</sup> The Blair and Gracie account suggests that the shipmaster was in London when he paid in or received money from the bank. What this

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11 On 16 January 1778, Robert Jardine petitioned the Board: for some time he had been incapable of doing his duty so that his son, John, had taken his place in the boat. He hoped that John could be paid and that he could be reimbursed his surgeon's fees. Mr Craik surveyor general 'under whose eye Jardine has always acted' had supported the application. [CE511/4: 5 June 1778; CE51 2/3 21 January, 4 February, 8 September 1778]

12 Borron Point is near Arbigland. It is unlikely that Craik was unaware of the boat's presence. It was not unknown for a boat's crew to help with the harvest in the Highlands. In theory, June was an unlikely time for smuggling runs: the light summer nights. There is another instance of an unexpected connection between Craik and the king's boat: his son, who was not a customs official, was on board when the boat was lost in 1782. Craik owned a property in Cumberland and there was a suspicion that the son was getting a 'put across' the Firth when everyone on board died.

13 CE51 1/3: 3, 16 November 1770; CE51 2/3: 24 October 1776

14 In December 1762, the Couatts Brothers of Edinburgh persuaded Robert Herries to join their London banking business. Herries had trained under his uncle in the tobacco trade at Rotterdam, where he came into contact with the Hope Brothers of Amsterdam, who funded his brandy business in Spain and France. During his early years as a banker in London, Robert Herries continued his involvement in the brandy trade, and inevitably in smuggling.

money related to or the connection between Blair and Gracie remains a mystery. There is very little information about what William Gracie accomplished during the next five years. He did not keep a journal until after October 1776.

On 26 March 1775, the comptroller, James Ewart wrote to the Board:

The collector has laid his hands on considerable sums belonging to the Crown to the extent of £600<sup>15</sup>, which he got the command of in a way unknown to the comptroller and that the collector some weeks since acquainted him that he had made a remittance £300, though he afterwards confessed he had not so done.

That previous to which confession the comptroller insisted on his making another remittance which he also said he had done to the amount of £300 and for both which remittances official letters were signed by them respectively, though by the collector's further confession neither of the remittances were made, which is confirmed upon enquiry made at the Receiver General's Office.

Collector Blair was suspended. He was told to deliver his deputation, instructions and the keys of the king's chest, the warehouse and several other places of custody to David Anderson, the acting collector. On 15 May 1775, Blair was dismissed. An inquisition into his assets held at Dumfries on 11 November 1775 discovered that William Gracie still owed David Blair £63 8s 6d, the balance of their account, and interest. Instructions were given to 'take the body of William Gracie and keep him in prison till we shall be satisfied our debt'. Gracie obtained sureties, who guaranteed that he would pay the money.

The Board concluded that James Ewart 'appears to have an earnest desire to do his duty with care and fidelity, having had the merit of discovery of the irregularity of the collector's affairs ... the neglects which he has been guilty of are passed over with your [Anderson] reprimanding him in our name and enjoining him to be more circumspect in the execution of his duty in future'.

### **Robert Maxwell (1775-1778)<sup>16</sup>**

On 26 July 1775, Robert Maxwell was appointed as the new collector at Dumfries. He was determined to improve the standard of the customs service at the port.

#### *Robert Maxwell and William Gracie<sup>17</sup>*

In August 1775, William Gracie and his crew seized the 50 ton brigantine *Good Intent*,

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15 An enquiry at Edinburgh in April 1776 on behalf of the Treasury established that Blair owed '£627 7s 6¼d monies received by him in virtue of his office of collector'.

16 CE51 2/3: 4 November 1778. NAS (National Archives of Scotland): GD18/5513 (online catalogue)

17 CE51 2/2: 22, 23, 30 August 1775, 6, 27 February 1776. NAS: E371/70/1-3

Thomas Loudon master, with a large quantity of tea and spirits on board. The boatman, William Dalgelish, was reprimanded in front of all the other officers at the custom house, for returning a bag containing 10 lb. of tea to the master. The remainder of the brandy and tea seized was guarded by the military between 15 August 1775 and 12 January 1776, when it was sold. The cost of their 'fire and candles' was £1 17s 4½d. Because William Gracie was owed £200, his share of the seizure, the sum of £63 8s 6d and interest was 'taken and seized' from Maxwell for the King.

In September 1778, George Clerk, a commissioner of Customs in Edinburgh and a member of the Board, wrote to Charles, Duke of Queensberry, who had recommended Provost Robert Maxwell for the post of collector. Clerk forewarned the Duke that Maxwell was being investigated for misconduct in the execution of his office. The Duke replied on 21 September 1778, 'if the nature of his offence is such as renders him unfit to be entrusted in the service of the Revenue, I shall regret it as bringing discredit on my recommendation as well as disgrace on himself'.

On 4 November 1778, David Anderson was appointed as acting collector at Dumfries again, because the Board had 'found cause to dismiss' Robert Maxwell collector, George Gordon, landsurveyor, Thomas Corbet, riding officer and John Graham and Alexander Brown, tidesmen. Despite James Ewart, the comptroller's 'irregularities and omissions', Anderson was instructed 'in regard of his old age and infirmity we only direct you to reprimand and enjoin him to be more careful and attentive in future and to let him know that we expect he will provide himself with a sufficient clerk in order that the business of his office may be properly conducted in time coming'. Finally Anderson was to 'use your utmost endeavours to reform the bad practices which have prevailed at the port of Dumfries'.

### **Wellwood Maxwell (1779-1780)**<sup>18</sup>

The new collector, Wellwood Maxwell, was appointed on 15 March 1779. There is very little information about his achievements during the comparatively short time that he was in post. Maxwell was a shareholder in the Douglas-Heron (Ayr) Bank and his main concern seemed to be ensuring that he would receive some reimbursement following the bank's crash in 1772. This appears to have been his only shortcoming.

### *Wellwood Maxwell and William Gracie*<sup>19</sup>

On 18 September 1780, William Gracie warned the collector and comptroller that Samuel Wilson, the tidesman at Colvend, had given him information about 'a considerable landing' at Balcary. The king's boat was setting out 'to try if they could seize any of the goods'. The Dumfries officers sent an express to Kirkcudbright 'in consequence of which several parties were sent out from thence accompanied with military'.

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18 CE51 1/4: 12 December 1780; CE51 2/3: 13 December 1780

19 CE51 1/4: 22 September 1780, 13 March 1781; CE51 2/3 18, 31 October, 9 December 1780, 6 August 1781



William Dalgleish made this statement about the king's boat's role:

The boatmen went next morning to Auchencairn and called James Wood, boatman there, out of his bed and informed him of the goods being landed, which he would not believe but said he was willing to go along with them.

They accordingly went to Balcary and William Dalgleish ... there discovered the door of a concealed cellar. Being hindered from entering the same in a violent manner, he was obliged to leave four of the other boatmen to guard the cellar till he went for a military party to Kirkcudbright, distant about eight miles.

For which place he immediately set off but went by Sir Robert Maxwell of Orchardton, who for the greater dispatch furnished him with a horse. But on his arrival he found the whole military stationed at Kirkcudbright were out to assist the revenue officers to intercept smuggled goods, except three men, who William Dalgleish brought along with him.

On his return, in place of going directly to Balcary he went by Auchencairn, where he learned that Mr Currie, surveyor general at Kirkcudbright, was with a military party. On his arrival there he found a numerous military party commanded by Lieutenant Renton, from whom he requested to be furnished with a sergeant's command, who immediately accompanied him with a party of soldiers to the concealed cellar, which being broke open William Dalgleish descended into the cellar and there seized for His Majesty's behoof and behoof of the rest of his party, and for no-one else, the whole of the goods contained in the cellar, which turned out to be 36 casks of brandy and gin and one cask wine, which seizure he accordingly accompanied to Kirkcudbright and saw fairly lodged in the king's warehouse there.

The officers at Kirkcudbright decided to return all the goods seized by the different parties as a single seizure. The boatmen at Carsethorn objected to this as 'highly injurious to their interest, as no other revenue officers but themselves had any concern' in their large seizure. In August 1781, William Gracie and the four boatmen were still trying to obtain an additional payment for the seizure.

On 14 October 1780, William Gracie accused William Dalgleish of 'hopeless drunkenness and for leaving his duty and acting as pilot to vessels which arrive at your port'. The Board took a remarkably casual approach. They were 'satisfied with his character and have no objection to his giving his assistance in cases of emergency with the knowledge of the tidesurveyor, who is to take care that the service does not suffer upon such occasions'.

Wellwood Maxwell was replaced by David Staig, without any prior warning. He wrote to the Board on 12 December 1780:

It is a step I believe very uncommon to remove a person from an office in the revenue without he has been guilty of some malversation and, as such removal is



therefore always apt to convey an idea that the person so removed has either been guilty of fraud or negligence, I write this to request that you will do me the favour to say how far you have considered me to have acted with fidelity and attention during the period I have been in office. This I hope your justice will readily comply with in order that I may have it in my power to vindicate my character in that particular, should it ever be attacked. It has been my sincere desire since I held the office to conduct myself so as to merit your approbation. How far I have succeeded you alone can judge.

The suddenness of David Staig's appointment is emphasised by this letter dated 13 December:

You are to signify to Mr Staig, if resident at your port, his appointment and that it is necessary he do attend us in order to the requisite directions being given as to his being instructed in the duties of the office preparatory to his admission thereto.

#### **David Staig (1780-1815)**<sup>20</sup>

David (King) Staig was a significant person in the town: a merchant, frequently Provost and the local agent for the Bank of Scotland. The only thing that interrupted his faithful service to the revenue was market day, when he would have to attend his banking duties.

On 22 December 1780, he wrote to the Board:

As I have a very grateful sense of your favour in appointing me to carry on the collection till further orders, I shall ever be very solicitous to execute it properly and I hope that I will be enabled to keep the books, make out the necessary accounts and under the advantage of Mr Maxwell's advice and the assistance of the person who was his clerk, whom I have engaged in the same capacity, and that I shall avoid committing any major mistake, I request that a copy of instructions per collector be sent me for my government.

#### *Loss of the King's Boat and Death of William Gracie*<sup>21</sup>

On 23 July 1782, the king's boat put to sea with all four boatmen and William Craik's son on board. She was 'totally lost and every person in her perished'. The boat was recovered on the coast of Cumberland and returned to Carsethorn with the bodies of Charles Maxwell and John Jardine, two of the boatmen, and young Craik on board. John Ewart's body was found later.

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<sup>20</sup> CE51 1/4: 22 December 1780

<sup>21</sup> CE51 1/4: 18 December 1779, 4, 14, 18 February, 31 March 1780, 25 & 30 July, 10, 24 & 28 August, 18 September 1782, 20 April, 20 May 1786; CE51 2/3 10 November 1779, 21 February, 21 December 1780, 14 December 1781, 7 August, 11 December 1782, 4 September 1783

According to William Gracie's journal, 'there has been hardly any other service performed by the boat for five years last passed than the boarding of a few coasters and now and then a ship from foreign parts'. The total value of seizures was only £150 8s 3d 'all of which seizures except one or so appears to have been made on land without the assistance of the boat, from which it is conceived that the continuing the revenue boat at Dumfries will be an unnecessary expense'.

This is an attempt to reconstruct the seizures between 1778 and 1782:

October 1779: Samuel Wilson, tidesman and William Dalglish, boatman seized 40 bags containing 3 tons 18 cwt. salt and an open boat 'with her materials'. The salt sold for £23 11s 8d.

February 1780: Charles Maxwell seized a cask containing 9 gallons rum and a horse and cart.

December 1780: Gracie and his crew seized 15 cwt. 5 qrs. salt and a Manx boat, Philip Tear master.

December 1781: a boat and a quantity of salt seized by William Dalglish and others.

6 March 1782: the boat's crew seized spirits

Although William Gracie was 'old and very infirm', it was suggested by the collector that he should be still employed as a tidesurveyor at Carsethorn. The large boat 'with such of her materials as have been recovered' would be stored in the warehouse and the small boat could be used by Gracie 'for boarding any vessels that may appear there'. Gracie died on 17 August 1783. Because his two sons were in America, his widow Agnes was paid his salary since 5 July: £2 18s 4d and for the rent of the warehouse with the large boat stored in it since 5 January 1783: 12s 4d.

### **John Bruce (1787-1788) and the Rothesay Boat<sup>22</sup>**

Collector Staig's attempts to re-establish the king's boat at Carsethorn were described in the introduction. At last, in 1787 he received this letter:

The service of the revenue requiring that the boat commander and boatmen stationed in the district of Rothesay should be in future stationed at Carsethorn in your district, I am to signify to you that the Board have directed them

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22 CE51 1/4: 28 September, 12 October, 13 December 1787, 19 February, 12, 18, 21, 26, 29 March 1788; CE51 1/5: 19 May 1788; CE51 2/4: 21 July, 16, 20 August, 21 September, 11, 13, 18 October, 27 November 1787, 3, 16 January, 12, 14, 16, 25, 27 February, 4, 7, 20, 31 March 1788

forthwith to remove to Carsethorn and upon their arrival there to apply to Mr Craik of Arbigland, surveyor general of the customs at your port, who will get them accommodation and they are also directed to acquaint you with their arrival.

Archibald Campbell, the tidesurveyor at Rothesay, had been given three months leave of absence 'for the recovery of his health' and the boatman, John Bruce, was appointed as temporary commander.

According to Bruce's journal, on 6 August 1787 the king's boat called at Whithorn, where John McCurdy was employed as a pilot and paid two guineas, when he was discharged at Carsethorn two days later. Bruce was reimbursed by the collector, without explaining that McCurdy was in fact a temporary member of the crew. The boatman, Andrew Taylor had been 'for some time confined in Rothesay jail' and McCurdy had been employed to help navigate the boat until his return. The other crew members were not aware that McCurdy had taken on the role of pilot, 'being all occasionally employed in steering, rowing, sounding etc.' as they progressed up the Solway.

When Collector Staig submitted Bruce's receipt to the Board, he was told 'the charge appears high' and was instructed 'to enquire into same and report'. Andrew Taylor had rejoined the boat and John McCurdy had returned home so that he was not 'readily available' to give evidence.

Now the Dumfries officers discovered John Bruce had not taken the boat to sea between 8 August and 22 September to make himself 'at least acquainted with the Firth, banks, coast etc'. Instead his first act had been to submit a list of the stores urgently required by the boat. The Board instructed the collector to provide on the 'best and cheapest terms':

A compass; a spike gunlet; one hank of twine; one hank of marline; one hank of Humbro line; a lead and line; six lbs of spun yarn; a marline spike; two scrapers; two ballast spits and a small quantity of rigging if wanted

Bruce also claimed that the arms that had belonged to the former boat were very rusty and out of repair. New ones should be supplied.

In late September 1787, the brigantine *Joanna* of Dumfries, Joseph Richardson master, from Antigua 'beat upon a bank and was in such distress ... that it was feared her and the cargo will both be lost'. John Bruce saw her hoist a distress signal and went to the *Joanna's* assistance. That evening the king's boat was 'wrecked and totally lost except a part of her rigging'. Her replacement was described under The Boat.

In January 1788, two of the Rothesay crew resigned and one died. The Dumfries officers reported that the boatmen 'do not wish to go to sea without their full complement'. They were instructed to employ 'two stout young active men bred to the sea'. Turner Dalgleish, son of William, was appointed to one of these vacancies. The tidesurveyor's leave of absence had been extended by another three months in November and again in February. This meant that John Bruce continued as acting commander.

On 19 February 1788, the Dumfries officers wrote to Bruce:

We have just now received information that the smuggling cutter *Flora* is at present on the Galloway coast. Part of her cargo has been landed at Abbeyburn and a seizure made of 47 ankers there by the Kirkcudbright officers. On Sunday night, she was seen towards dark lying off Barholm, where it is supposed a great quantity of goods must have been landed and we are of opinion that the boat's crew and tidesmen may make a considerable seizure about Balcary and Colvend. And therefore hope you will immediately upon receipt of this lose no time in setting out for these parts, taking with you James Hunter and Samuel Wilson tidesmen. And upon this occasion we particularly request an exertion of your attention and activity, having no doubt if these are exerted but a considerable seizure may be made.

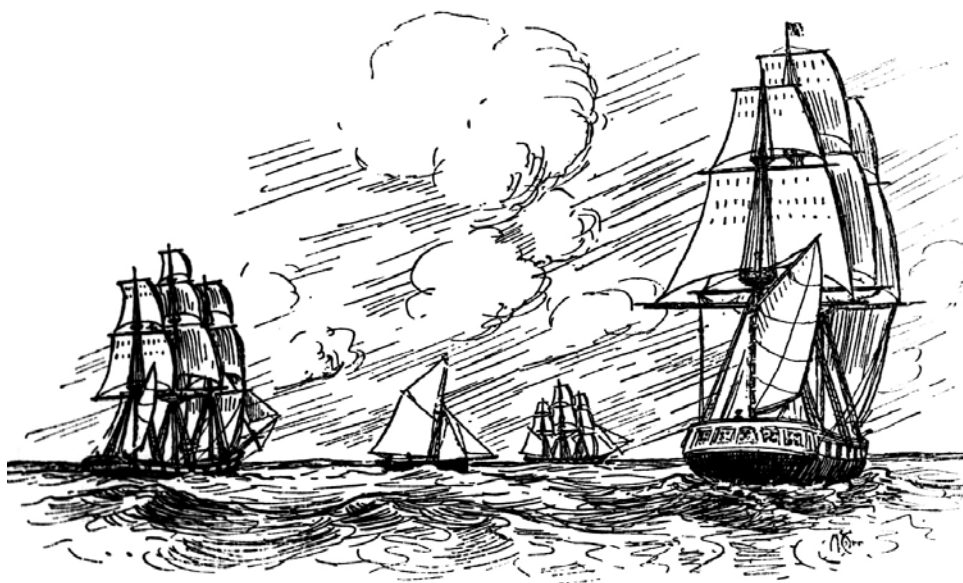


Figure 2. The *Flora* with the *Fishgard*, *Wass*, and *Nymph*, from *King's Cutters and Smugglers 1700-1855* by E Keble Martin, George Allen & Co., 1912

There were several problems with Bruce's command of the boat and on 8 March 1788 he was told that the Board had 'no further occasion for your services at present'. The enquiry into the two guinea payment for the piloting continued and by the end of the month Bruce was not only dismissed but 'you can never again be employed in the service'. He applied to the Board in an attempt to vindicate his conduct. However, the officers at Rothesay had interviewed McCurdy, who stated Bruce only gave him one guinea, although he had been asked to sign a receipt for two guineas. The Board expected that 'Mr Bruce will trouble us no more'.

**Robert Carmichael (1788-1791)***The Beginning*<sup>23</sup>

The collector anticipated Carmichael's appointment with great enthusiasm. He added this postscript to his letter to the Board dated 6 March 1788:

There has been a good deal of smuggling going on in this part of the coast and I sincerely wish Mr Carmichael would make his appearance and take charge of the boat. For if he is an active fellow, he will certainly give a check to it in our part of the Firth and benefit the revenue and fair trader.

On 24 March 1788, Thomas Twaddel, landwaiter, and Robert Carmichael with some excise officers were deforced<sup>24</sup> of a seizure of tea.

In April 1788, Robert Carmichael and the king's boat seized a boat with a cargo of salt. 'While he was in chase of the Manx boat, the crew threw the whole of her cargo overboard and he only recovered 11 bags of salt and one cask of prunes'. The seizure was made close to the English shore and the Dumfries officers hoped that Carmichael could be given an English deputation. The Board's initial response was 'it is the object of the Board that he should confine himself to his own station and the adjacent coast of Scotland, it being necessary that he should put a stop to the smuggling there, of which there has been so frequent complaints, before he thinks of proceeding further'.

On 17 April, the Dumfries officers re-stated their case:

From Carsethorn, where he [Carmichael] is stationed, he has a view of the English coast and of the Solway Firth from off Whitehaven to above Annan. There are no boats stationed upon that part of the coast and not upon that account only but on account also of the water being much deeper on the English side of the Firth than on this side of it the smugglers very much prefer going up the Cumberland coast and either smuggling their cargoes there or running them into the Borders.

Under these circumstances, if Carmichael is limited in his cruises to the Scots coast only, the smuggling may be carried on and the smugglers pass under his eye on the opposite side of the Firth to the same extent as ever. So much were we satisfied of this fact, that we charged him to make it his principle care to watch the passages up the Firth by the English channel, as being the most likely track to fall in with the smuggling trade going up to Annan Waterfoot, Sarkfoot or anywhere upon that part of the coast.

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<sup>23</sup> CE51 1/4: 6 March 1788, 4 April 1789; CE51 2/4: 15, 18, 29 April, 1, 3, 15 May 1788

<sup>24</sup> This was a common problem. Once the revenue officers had made a seizure they had the difficult task of conveying the goods to the nearest king's warehouse. The smugglers were supported by the local people who would 'deforce' the officers and reclaim their goods.

At the same time, he has not to neglect the Scots side of the water towards the Water of Orr [sic] and, if in consequence of his being in that track, he fell in with the Manx boat the other day and had not Captain Cook [*Prince Edward* cutter at Whithorn] just crept in before him, he had certainly captured the cutter taken by him and sent into Whitehaven. Both the Manx boat and the cutter taken by Captain Cook were destined for Sarkfoot [McDowall & Co.] and both were run ashore on the coast of Cumberland before they were seized. Now had Carmichael in this case been so lucky as to drive both ashore, if a custom house officer had come upon him without an English deputation, he might have carried away the prizes for which Carmichael had been watching the Firth and lying out in his open boat for four or five nights running.

To remedy this inconveniency and to guard against such disappointments, it was his wish to have an English deputation, and not with a view of departing from his station or of carrying any seizures he might be lucky enough to make to any other port than this. Considering the matter in this point of view, and being willing to give every encouragement to Carmichael as a very active officer, we cannot help recommending his having an English deputation. As he promises to sleep very little ashore in the night time, we are persuaded he will soon put a stop to smuggling by water in the limits of this port.

The last sentence suggests that the collector still had faith in Robert Carmichael. Within a few days the Board had changed their viewpoint and in August Carmichael received his deputation from London.

On 13 May 1788, the Dumfries officers forwarded to the Board a letter from Carmichael, 'representing the smallness of the present boat and praying to be allowed one lately seized by Captain Cook'. The Board responded 'direct Mr Carmichael to use his boat to the best advantage, we being determined not to increase the present establishment'.

The Board received information in early April 1789 that three vessels had loaded contraband goods at Guernsey: the *Hawk* lugger, an American brig, the *Washington* and a small black cutter. The cutter was loading teas for Ireland or Scotland. They hoped the king's boat would keep a good lookout towards Abbeyburn. The officers at Dumfries used this warning as an excuse to apply for a better boat at Carsethorn.

In our opinion he [Carmichael] will never be able to render any considerable service to the revenue with the present boat because it is impossible he or his crew can remain in the track where smuggling vessels may be expected to pass for three or four nights or a week's cruise in an open boat constantly wet and having no convenience even to prepare their provisions ...

Whether it would not be proper to furnish Mr Carmichael with a decked-cutter of 15 or 20 tons burthen with which he could lay out for a week together. The cost we suppose would not exceed £50 or £60 and perhaps an additional hand or two, which would not increase very much the establishment and which we think

inadequate at present to the purpose. We understand there is a very clever cutter of the description we have recommended for sale just now in the Cumberland coast ...

Their request was not successful.

*The Problems Start*<sup>25</sup>

On the evening of Tuesday, 19 May 1789 Robert Carmichael went to Dumfries and was there all Wednesday 'upon what private business we know not'. At 5 o'clock on the morning of Thursday, 21 May the king's boat 'fell in with a smuggling cutter' of about 6 tons, 'several of whose hands are well known to Carmichael's crew' off Skinburness. The boatmen hailed the smuggler and 'desired' her to bring to 'but no regard being paid to this the hands of the king's boat betook themselves to their oars and came up with her. She was again ordered to strike her sails, which was answered by a volley of shots from the smuggler'. James Kennedy was killed and Turner Dalglish seriously wounded.

The four remaining hands, 'judging any further contest with such desperate ruffians quite unequal, determined on running directly to Carsethorn and upon getting there one of them set off directly to us with the intelligence'. He met Robert Carmichael, coming from Dumfries.

A surgeon was sent from the town to tend Turner Dalglish and inspect James Kennedy's body. Dalglish was out of danger. 'His wounds were with slugs and swan shot. Kennedy had three or four balls through him from a blunderbuss, just at the moment he was going to board the smuggler'.

The smuggler had continued up the Firth towards the Border and it was hoped that she could be arrested on her return, the following tide. The customs officers at Kirkcudbright were alerted in case Captain Cook was in their area and the Collector of Excise at Dumfries sent an express message to the excise boat at Balcary Bay, which had 12 hands on board.

In the meantime, 'as strong a party as could be mustered' (the landsurveyor, landwaiter and some tidesmen, excise officers and a recruiting party) was sent from Dumfries by land. Near Brewhouses they found the smuggler, a large half-decked boat lying on the beach, totally stripped of her sails. The vessel was 'secured' and then the party searched for her cargo. They only found three bales of tobacco, 'the smugglers having got a start of eight or ten hours ... to their hiding places'. In theory, 'it will not be difficult to come at the names of the whole crew ... and two of the hands of the king's boat can swear to knowledge of two or three of the smugglers who fired on them'.

The Dumfries officers were convinced 'Mr Carmichael would not have been absent had

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25 CE51 1/5: 21, 24, 25 May, 11, 25 July, 8, 17, 24 August, 10, 28, 30 September, 18, 24 November, 4, 22 December 1789, 14 January, 16 February, 26 March, 11, 16 August 1790, 29 January 1791



he entertained any suspicion that there would have been such occasion for his services'. Despite this, it was ordered that Carmichael's journals should be checked to discover how many times the boat had been out without her commander.

By July 1789, there were problems between Robert Carmichael and Turner Dalglish. Because of his neglect of duty and 'other improper conduct', Dalglish was suspended by Carmichael. The landwaiter, Thomas Twaddel, had overheard some 'improper' language. Dalglish wrote to the collector 'in vindication of his behaviour'. The boatman, Joseph Mason, stated: 'he allows that he thought Dalglish was very far wrong not only in disobeying Mr Carmichael but behaving in an insolent manner to him. Although he does not recollect whether he made use of the words "by God" or not'.

Collector Staig supported Dalglish. 'As this is the young man's first offence, which has come to our knowledge, and as his father was drowned in the king's boat formerly stationed at Carsethorn and as he is the person, who was severely wounded by a shot at the time Kennedy was killed, we think it probable your Honours will for these considerations be disposed to remit some part of the punishment, which in other circumstances might have been thought right to impose'.

On 18 November, there was a second complaint from Carmichael, as a result of which Dalglish was suspended again. On 7 December, the Board directed that he should be 'restored to his place'. Now Carmichael wrote a letter, giving the collector 'additional reasons why he apprehends Dalglish should not be replaced in the boat, he having made use of very unwarrantable threatenings against Mr Carmichael'. In January 1790, Carmichael produced a copy of the petition he had presented to the Justices of the Peace 'in order to get Dalglish either sent to jail or to give security for keeping the peace'. Dalglish was replaced by John Lawson, former commander of the king's boat at Skinburness, Cumberland.

In September 1789, Joseph Dickson, tidewaiter at Ruthwell, reported that a vessel had smuggled her cargo at Powfoot and was now at Brewhouses. The collector asked Robert Carmichael to help David Douglas, the surveyor general based at Annan, detain the vessel but he was 'from home'.

Robert Carmichael was 'absent from his station without leave' from 23 June to 5 July 1790 and for several days after 8 July, 'attending upon Sir James Johnston, when canvassing the boroughs. We believe he is under many obligations to Sir James, who is his friend and patron. As he seems sensible of his error, we hope your Honours will be disposed to overlook this fault'. Yet from 5 January 1791 Carmichael took the 'very unjustifiable liberty ... in absenting himself from his station and the boat without leave. At least, no intimation of leave was made to us'.

At the end of January 1791, the Dumfries officers wrote:

If it is intended and expected that she [the king's boat] should be a severe check upon smuggling in the Firth and intercept such boats or vessels as might attempt running up to the Border or anywhere up the coast, then certainly she

is not equal to such duty. For having no kind of deck or covering, the men are constantly exposed to the surf and to the rains etc. and it is scarcely possible that they can continue on a cruise of two or three days or nights in that situation, even if they had strong reason to suspect that a smuggler was to attempt her discharge or passage on any particular tract of the Firth ... though the boat has been upon this station for some years past she has scarcely made a seizure worth mentioning.

If, on the other hand, it is only intended that the boat should take charge of the business of the river (on the mouth of which she is stationed) and board such vessels as come into it, then we must be of opinion that considerable expense might be saved to the port by diminishing the number of hands.

In August the point about the boat being open to the weather was strengthened: 'besides in the event of resistance they are quite exposed to every sort of danger'. The only mode of checking illicit and pernicious practices would be to employ 'a boat or barge of considerable more force than the one at present stationed at Carsethorn for she is quite unequal to any smuggling duty, where resistance may be expected'.

*The Betsey and Collusion*<sup>26</sup>

The *Betsey* was built at Fowey and registered at Guernsey in July 1790. She was a 9 ton double-decked 'curious-rigged' vessel, described as a brigantine, which meant that she was square-rigged with two masts, with a cargo for Robert McDowall & Co. This is the smuggling company referred to in the introduction.

On the morning of Thursday, 12 May 1791, the *Betsey* was seen by the two boatmen, Archibald Smith and Joseph Mason. 'While the vessel was near or passing them, [Mason] remarked if she was a fair trader she would most likely stop there and if she was not a fair trader she would proceed up the Firth, and she did proceed up the Firth accordingly'. Smith 'swore positively, in the hearing of Mr Carmichael, he was confident she was a smuggler'. Instead of informing the officers at Dumfries so that 'the dragoons might have been sent to his assistance upon the very first information of the vessel being seen', Carmichael reasoned that this would be absurd in the extreme and he should delay 'until he could inform them to what place they were to be directed'. Yet 'he knew she was gone towards the Border, where the Firth is very narrow and she could not be concealed'.

The king's boat arrived at Annan on the Thursday evening. There were no horses available in Annan so at 10 o'clock Carmichael sent a letter to Dumfries by express: a man on foot. This letter was received by the collector between 2 and 3 o'clock on Friday morning. He applied immediately to the commanding officer of the 3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of dragoons quartered at Dumfries for assistance.

The next day, Friday, 13 May, the *Betsey* delivered her cargo at Battlehill. The boatman,

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26 CE51 1/5: 16, 24, 31 May, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 16, 21, 22, 23, 29 June, 10, 15 July, 7, 10, 16 August, 17 September, 3, 10 October 1791; CE51 2/5: 12 July, 9, 29 August, 19 September, 11, 13, 19 October, 8, 16, 29 November 1791, 12, 31 January, 7 June and 6 September 1792

Robert Ostle, was on board the king's boat watching but could do nothing. By the time a party of 33 men with Shaw, the landwaiter and Hugh McCornock, the collector's clerk arrived, 'the tide was flowed and the vessel was gone about an hour or better, she having discharged her cargo in a few hours after she came aground'.

In the meantime, Carmichael had found 15 casks of gin and put them on board the king's boat with three of the boatmen, including Joseph Irving, who died suddenly during the night. David Douglas, the surveyor general based at Annan, and the other officers accompanied by the dragoons found 7 casks of brandy, 7 bales tobacco stalks and 13 bales tobacco, which were taken to the king's cellar in Dumfries, 'except one cask of brandy that was staved by accident at taking off the cart'.

The *Betsey* went into Whitehaven in ballast with only the master and three men on board. She was recognised and seized by the local tidesurveyor, who informed the officers at Dumfries. Because she had delivered her cargo in Scotland, the *Betsey* was resealed by Carmichael and his crew. The French crew was paid £1 6s for navigating the ship from Whitehaven. At Carsethorn she was valued at £140.

Robert Carmichael was charged by the collector with neglect of duty. He should have forewarned the Dumfries officers of the *Betsey's* presence before he left for Annan, where he should have hired a chaise at the inn and sent one of the boatmen for help. This would have taken only two and a quarter hours instead of the four and a half hours taken by the express 'in which event the military must have been at Battlehill in full time to seize the vessel lying dry and in all probability such part of the cargo as the smugglers had not got in their hiding places'.

Then on 6 June 1791, the surveyor general, David Douglas, made a 'heavy charge' against Robert Carmichael: that on Thursday, 12 May he made 'a collusive bargain with some smugglers'. He had met Robert McDowall in the street and they had agreed that if the king's boat did not seize the *Betsey*, a seizure would be 'put in their way'. There was a major enquiry. Two of the boatmen claimed that there could not have been any collusion 'because they never were separated from him [Carmichael] while in Annan but during the time he was along with George Halliday, tidesman, in search of a horse'. Robert McDowall, however, confirmed that he was in conversation with Carmichael at Annan for about five minutes on the evening that the smuggling vessel was discharged at Battlehill.

On 7 October 1791, the Board concluded that despite the fact that David Douglas had 'not made good his charge' of a collusive seizure 'a strong suspicion remains against Robert Carmichael'. They were concerned about the conversation with McDowall 'and till that is cleared up the Board cannot place any confidence in Mr Carmichael and therefore leave it to Mr Carmichael to clear up that point to the satisfaction of the Board and till that is done they cannot allow him to continue in the command of the boat and you are hereby directed to recommend a commander pro tempore, calling in Mr Carmichael's deputation to remain with you in the meantime'.

When this letter was received by the officers at Dumfries, it was discovered that Robert McDowall was in town. His second deposition was forwarded to Edinburgh and the officers 'ventured to delay putting the Honourable Board's orders into execution for a day or two'. As a result, they had not called for Mr Carmichael's deputation.

The Board concluded on 11 October 1791, 'suspicion against Mr Carmichael is strengthened by the last examination'. He was summoned to Edinburgh. Having examined Carmichael 'personally and fully', the Board were satisfied that 'his conduct was collusive'. He was dismissed and John Lawson became acting commander of the boat. The cost of David Douglas's enquiry into Carmichael's behaviour was £11 14s 5d.

### **Hugh McConnochy** [also McConnachie, MacConnochy]<sup>27</sup>

In December 1791, the Boards of Customs and Excise discussed 'the alarming state of smuggling on the west coast of Scotland, particularly in the Bay of Luce' and 'such measures as might give effectual check to this pernicious traffic'. The resultant plan meant that the Board of Customs would be responsible for 'a fitter boat than the present one to be stationed at Carsethorn and two additional boatmen appointed'.

A new boat was purchased and Hugh McConnochy appointed as the commander. He had been the mate on board the *Prince Augustus Frederick* cutter, stationed at Ayr. The additional boatmen were 'two young men, who have been bred at sea'. McConnochy was given an English deputation.

In January 1792, McConnochy made his first seizure: a lugger laden with spirits and tobacco, which he carried to Whitehaven. The collector wrote to the Board 'that it is a loss to the revenue to keep a boat the seizures made by which are carried to another part of the kingdom'. He was told to inform McConnochy that 'the cargo was intended for Scotland and the vessel having hovered with it within the prohibited district of the coast thereof there was sufficient ground for bringing the seizure to Scotland'. For some reason the collector failed to do this and the lugger was returned to the English Board of Customs in London. The collector was reprimanded 'you did wrong in not communicating [our letter] to Mr McConnochy as a rule for his conduct'.

### *McConnochy's boat*<sup>28</sup>

There was a new boat, which would need to be equipped. McConnochy's request for additional arms was approved:

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27 CE51 2/5: 29 December 1791, 12, 24 January, 8 May 1792; CE51 2/5: 1, 15 February, 1, 9, 26 March 1792

28 CE51 1/6: 3 June, 12 August, 4 December 1795, 8 March, 27 April, 18 May 1796; CE51 2/5: 31 January, 1, 22 March, 11 June, 2 October, 13 December 1792; CE51 2/6: 21 June, 10 September 1793; CE51 2/8: 13 October, 10 December 1795, 10 May, 26 August, 19 October 1796; CE51 2/9: 16 April, 12 June 1798

8 musquets with bayonets, 8 cartouch boxes, 3 cutlasses, 2 small brass blunderbusses, 1 large brass blunderbuss on a swivel

He would 'frequently have occasion to be at Whitehaven', where he was instructed to purchase 14 lb. gunpowder, 28 lb. ball for the muskets and 20 lb. ball for the three blunderbusses 'upon the best and cheapest terms'.

During the next few years this new boat required regular repairs.

February 1792: repaired at Whitehaven. The boatmen, Robert Ostle and Mungo Robb went by land 'to attend the repair of the boat and to assist in bringing her round to Carsethorn'.

March 1792: payments to Robert Thomson, ship's carpenter (£5 10s 10d) and James Haugh, gunsmith for repairs to the arms (£2 10s 10d)

June 1792: a new mainsail and foresail

October 1792: new sails

December 1792: repairs totalling £5 2s 8d

June 1793: new cables estimated at £6 14s 6d

September 1793: repairs (no details given)

June 1795: the king's boat had become 'very infirm'. Two of the boatmen took her to Whithorn to be surveyed by Captain Cook, McConnochy and the rest of the crew 'remaining on shore to watch the coast till their return'. The repairs at Wigtown cost £7 19s 1d. In future, the boat must have 'a coat of stuff once a year ... it appearing that if the giving her a coat of stuff yearly be duly attended to the boat will last much longer than she otherwise would do'.<sup>29</sup>

December 1795: McConnochy claimed the cable, ensign and pendant were 'entirely wore out'. Joseph Mitchell, ropemaker charged £5 7s for the new cable and ensign.

April 1796: McConnochy wanted a new boat 'in room of his present one, which he states to be not worth repairing'. This surprised the Board: in September 1795, the repairs at Wigtown had been approved because 'she was in good order and with the repairs given her would last for several years'. The boat must be taken to Whithorn again. As a result of Captain Cook's survey, in August the boat was sent to Kirkcudbright 'in order that the collector and comptroller of that port may

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29 The *Sailor's Word-Book* (1867) states: 'A *coat of stuff* was a term used for any composition laid on to a ship's spars, bottom etc'. There is no further information about the exact composition of this stuff but, considering the date, it is highly likely that it included tar.

comply with orders given respecting her. And Mr McConnochy is to be informed that if it shall not be found advisable to repair the present vessel the Board will think of getting a six oar boat, as formerly for the station at Carsethorn'. In October the boat was to have 'a temporary repair at Carsethorn to answer till the beginning of summer, when a thorough repair will be ordered'.

On 26 August 1796, the Board decided that the size of the king's boat should not be increased. She was 'not only crowded with the two additional men but that no especial service has been performed since their appointment'. As a result the last two boatman appointed were to be discontinued. Robert Shennan applied to keep his deputation so that he would be able to seize contraband and uncustomed goods, if the opportunity arose. Naturally 'being out of service [he] is not allowed to keep it'.<sup>30</sup>

April 1798: a set of new sails to be provided 'upon the best and cheapest terms not exceeding £9 15s 2d, the amount of the estimate transmitted from which 7½% discount for prompt payment will fall to be deducted'. The old sails should be sold.

### **Salt Smuggling from the Isle of Man and Ireland<sup>31</sup>**

The Board of Customs received an anonymous letter, dated Annan 29 November 1793:

It may be proper to mention to your Honours that it is matter of general surprise that in this quarter of the country no attention is paid to a material branch of the revenue: the salt duty. I think it may be asserted with certainty that from Dornock Burnfoot, about two miles below this burgh, to Sarkfoot, about six miles further down the Solway Firth, the Government loses in duty upon salt to upwards of £3,000 per annum.

In open boats of 6 or 7 tons, salt is constantly landed in the above district, chiefly from the Isle of Man. So open is that trade become of late that it is exposed to sale as publicly in different places along that coast, as in other parts by the fair trader...

I am told the officers of the revenue do not choose to interfere in this matter, as making seizure of it occasions much trouble and little or no profit, sometimes loss. Surely it is of consequence to look into this matter, which the writer asserts to be truth and cannot be denied. But the way to put a stop to it he shall not presume to dictate. But in the meantime as a company of Fencibles are now in this quarter

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30 CE51 1/6: 14 August 1794, 12 January 1795, 1, 15 & 21 September 1796; CE51 2/8: 26 August & 24 September 1796

31 CE51 1/6: 15 December 1794, 3 January, nd February 1795, 11 May, 17 June, 31 October 1796; CE51 2/6: 3 December 1793; CE51 2/7: 23 February 1795; CE51 2/8: 8, 25 November 1796

thereby a spirited officer might do a good deal to put a stop to it. And, if the salt seized was allowed to be sold by auction at or near the place where seized, it perhaps might be sufficient inducement to the active officer or, if not sufficient, some premium would surely be well bestowed.

The collector was directed 'you and the officers under your survey, in particular the commander and crew of the Carsethorn boat, to use your best endeavours to put a stop to the frauds mentioned'.

On 15 December 1794, the Dumfries officers wrote to Hugh McConnochy, reminding him that last time he was at the custom house they told him about information they had received 'of several small boats being up the Border with salt and other such goods'. They had 'enjoined you to be attentive in your endeavours to prevent such like in time coming. Since which time we understand several such boats have discharged in that quarter, particularly two about ten days ago, one of which after being discharged was seized at Brewhouses by ... tidesmen'.

Despite further information from the collector in January 1795 'that several boats are out just now and which are expected to return in the course of the ensuing tides with salt and other prohibited goods for the Border', McConnochy remained inactive. In February, the Board had received information about salt smuggling at and near Gretna Green in boats of 10 or 15 tons that had been there 'every week this winter'. The Dumfries officers wrote to McConnochy, 'we have again to repeat what we enjoin you to do your utmost to prevent the frauds intended'. In the meantime, they had procured information on 3 February 'that there were lately three different boats or small vessels sailed from the Border for the purpose of bringing home salt from Ireland or the Isle of Man, whose return are almost daily expected, and for which we hope you will keep a careful lookout'.

On 11 May 1796, the collector sent an express to McConnochy, describing an anonymous letter he had received about salt smuggling at Bardy and a boat expected shortly from Ireland. McConnochy 'fell in with' the boat, which was about 14 tons. Yet an anonymous letter to the Board, describing salt smuggling round Sarkfoot stated that this boat was 30 tons.

The Dumfries officers supported McConnochy:

Were the importations to the extent stated in the information, we can scarcely think that would escape Captain McConochy and his crew, who we have no reason to doubt but keeps a smart lookout and is as much at sea as the size and accommodation of his boat will admit. But it is now nearly 12 months since he brought any of them in. During the spring and summer 1795 he seized three boats: the first of the burthen of 11 tons with about 66 cwt. of salt, the second about 17 tons with 112 cwt. and the third about 8 tons with 157 cwt. salt.

In October 1796, McConochy did seize the smack *Nancy & Jean* of Larne with about 14 tons of salt. He first saw her off Maryport and she was driven ashore at Sarkfoot. He delivered the seizure to the officers at Carlisle.



### **The End**<sup>32</sup>

The end was somewhat sudden, and final. On 2 April 1799, the king's boat at Carsethorn was discontinued with effect from the next day:

It appearing that from the present state of smuggling the boat under the command of Mr McConnochy at Carsethorn is useless to the revenue, the Board appoint Mr McConnochy to be second mate of the *Royal George* cutter ... and you are to order Mr McConnochy to proceed to join the cutter.

The Board direct that from and after the 3<sup>rd</sup> inst the boat be laid aside and the crew dismissed. But as tidesmen are wanted at Port Glasgow, the Board will, upon their application and upon proper certificate of their being fit and qualified for the duty of tidesmen, appoint them accordingly.

Robert Ostle's application to be placed on the superannuation fund 'for the reasons therein mentioned' was rejected because 'the Board can make no other provision than what is offered'.

James Haugh, the Dumfries gunsmith, charged £1 11s 2d for cleaning and repairing the arms. Sir John Reid, the commander of *Prince Edward* cutter was sent: 8 cutlasses, 8 muskets, 8 bayonets and 8 cartouch boxes. Four old broken guns and 2 old pistols not worth repairing were given to Mr West, storekeeper.

It was believed that smuggling up the Solway had ended 'for all time'.

### **Abbreviations**

- NAS** National Archives of Scotland  
**CE51** The reference for the Dumfries customs and excise records at the National Archives of Scotland. Class 1 are the letters to the Board of Customs and Class 2 from the Board.

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32 CE51 2/9: 2, 15, 23 April, 16 May, 27 June 1799

## THE GATEHOUSE ADVENTURE: THE MAKERS OF A PLANNED TOWN 1760 TO 1830

David Steel<sup>1</sup>

*This paper uses a variety of original sources on planned settlements in South West Scotland and the local industrial archaeology in order to explore the progress of Gatehouse of Fleet from the early 1760s, focusing first on the early feuars in the settlement established by James Murray of Broughton near his new mansion at Cally. The paper tracks attempts to bring industry such as tanning and brewing to Gatehouse. Using legal papers in particular, evidence shows how James Murray, other landowners, his partners in the new businesses and local tradesmen all became caught up in the rapid rise and subsequent failure of the Ayr Bank in 1772. The lasting effects of the bank's failure on the local economy due to the financial burden on Murray and others is examined and we see how this led to a lack of new building, followed by the emigration of a number of the Gatehouse feuars. Development began to pick up only in 1777 when Murray promoted the settlement in the press and reduced feu duties for all new building. Cotton manufacture came to Gatehouse in 1785 with the signing of a contract between Murray and the Birtwhistle family, which led to the construction of a substantial mill. The rapid but short lived development and subsequent decline of the cotton industry and its effect on Gatehouse is examined in some detail. Finally we see how Gatehouse returned to its earlier role as a supplier of tradesmen to Cally Estate under Alexander Murray of Broughton.*

### **From Small Beginnings**

In 1766, James Blain, blacksmith at Bush, moved into his new house in Gatehouse of Fleet. Another James, James Murray of Broughton, had recently moved into his splendid new mansion at Cally. The farm of Bush no longer exists, swept away by the changes which created the pattern of farms and fields around Gatehouse which we still see today. Major landowners such as James Murray realised that if they were to maintain the lifestyle which their new mansions demanded, they had to improve their estates. They also required a pool of skilled labour to maintain their new properties, their parks and walled gardens. Galloway landowners knew, too, that if cottars were to be displaced to make way for the new farms they must do something to provide alternative accommodation. In the 1720s the first land enclosures and displacement of cottars had led to the levelling of the new stone dykes and the summoning of troops to restore order.

Gatehouse of Fleet is a planned settlement reflecting the spirit of the Scottish Enlightenment. It is reckoned that between 1730 and 1850 over 80 planned settlements were created in Dumfries and Galloway. This study looks at how one settlement, Gatehouse

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<sup>1</sup> DandASteel@aol.com

of Fleet, developed and who the people were who created the town, which was once a centre of cotton production.<sup>2</sup>



Figure 1. View over Gatehouse of Fleet from the East

James Murray inherited the Cally Estate in 1751 and employed some of the leading architects of the day to design a mansion to replace the old house at Cally. At length he settled on plans drawn up by Robert Mylne and Cally House was completed about 1763.<sup>3</sup> Murray then turned his attention to the creation of a planned settlement on the banks of the Fleet, west from the Inn of Gatehouse which already existed. The years 1763 to 1764 also saw the construction of the Carlisle to Portpatrick Military Road, which ran through the new settlement.

Initially Murray decided to build houses on long leases of 38 years and two of these leases were signed at Cally on 25<sup>th</sup> October 1763. The tenants were Samuel Ramsay, wright at Ferrytown of Cree (Creetown) and William Johnston, shoemaker in Kirkcudbright.<sup>4</sup>

2 For more information on the development of planned settlements in Dumfries and Galloway see Lorna J Philip, 'The Creation of Settlements in Rural Scotland: Planned Villages in Dumfries and Galloway, 1730-1850', *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 119 (2) 77-98 and L J Philip, 'Planned Villages in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, ser III, Vol 80, pp 105-122

3 For more information on the parks and pleasure grounds of Cally, see Nic Coombey 'The Development of Cally Designed Landscape', *TDGNHAS*, ser III Vol 82 pp 95-114

4 NAS, Murray of Broughton papers GD10/1253 and GD10/1254

However, things did not go well. Johnston protested that Robert Richardson, shoemaker had taken possession of the house and stated that ‘it was agreeable to the said Mr Murray and his doers, who had insisted upon him so to do’. Johnston protested at this ‘illegal, violent and unwarrantable taking and retaining possession thereof.’<sup>5</sup> Although the protests appear to have been in vain Murray had to pay damages of £6 to William Johnston and he decided thereafter to convert the leases to feus and, in future to offer feus to those wishing to build in Gatehouse.<sup>6</sup>

Samuel Ramsay was granted his feu in December 1766 and this set the pattern for the development of Gatehouse. Ramsay received a plot of 79 feet along the new street leading towards the bridge over the River Fleet and by the first of January 1768 was to build ‘decent dwelling houses along the whole front of his feu’. He was to pay an annual feu duty of 3 pence per foot, amounting to 19 shillings and nine pence. Robert Richardson’s feu totalled 45 ft along the street. Ramsay’s feu covered the plot which is now occupied by 2 to 10 High Street and Richardson’s covered 12 to 16 High Street. In 1767 Ramsay sold part of his feu and further plots were feued by William Inglis, merchant in Gatehouse and William McLure, labourer at Cally. In 1771 plots were feued by John Stodhart, blacksmith and Alexander Lillie, joiner. Building had progressed up to the modern Well Entry. On the other side of the street land was feued to John Walker, weaver in 1767. He may also have had an earlier lease, as feus had already been granted in 1766 to James Blain, blacksmith at Bush and James Heron, mason. The next year a plot was feued by Gilbert Livistone, mason and in 1769, Charles Selkirk, sometime schoolmaster at Barlay feued the plot which is now 27 to 29 High Street.



Figure 2. Gravestone of the schoolmaster, Charles Selkirk, in Anwoth Cemetery. Selkirk was one of the early High Street owners

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5 NAS, GD10/1259

6 NAS, GD10/1260

The formula adopted by James Murray was the same in each case and set out the principles on which Gatehouse was to be developed. The purchaser and his representatives and Mr Murray's representatives met on the plot and each plot was measured out by Mr Murray's gardener at Cally, William Dunbar. While the plots differed in length along the street, the aim was to have plots which stretched back 150 feet. Murray attached certain conditions which were incorporated in a feu charter, a document providing irredeemable ownership on payment of an annual feu duty, and signed by him before witnesses at Cally. Each plot was to be fenced off, new houses were to be built in a line with houses already built and the new owners were to build within two years of obtaining a feu. Gilbert Livistone, for instance was 'obliged to build decent dwelling houses before 1 January 1769'. If not built in time Gilbert Livistone 'should forfeit all right and title to the piece of ground'. However, 'to facilitate the said building the said James Murray thereby granted liberty to the said Gilbert Livistone and his foresaids to quarry and lead as many stones from the quarry within the said James Murray's lands called Lochans but the said James Murray restricted them from quarrying any more than might be sufficient for that purpose'. Nor were the houses to have 'forestairs, which may hurt the regularity of the intended village at Gatehouse'. The houses had to be slate roofed and with sash windows. There were to be no dunghills or 'other incumbrances whatsoever in the front of the said houses' and there was to be no burning of bricks or lime or keeping of more than a pound of gunpowder. For all this the feuars were charged an annual feu of threepence per foot of frontage. While the houses have been modified over the years, they still reflect the basic principles which James Murray laid down.

In 1769, building began along Back Street (now Catherine Street), which ran parallel to Front Street (now High Street), also starting with the old ford road as the eastern boundary. While only a couple of plots were feued to begin with on the north of the street, building proceeded along the south side of the street up to a cross street which would later join up with Front Street. The feuars included Samuel Ramsay, who obtained his new feu in December 1771. Although the plots here also stretched back 150 feet the feu was two pence per foot.

### **First Industrial Developments**

James Murray also began to encourage industries to set up in Gatehouse and land was made available at the west end of Front Street. In 1768 Murray signed an agreement with John Borrowdaile, tanner in Wigtown, George Atkinson, tanner in Temple Sowerby, John Bushby, writer in Dumfries and James Davitts. Murray agreed to provide a plot of land for 15 years at no cost, 'to erect buildings, sink tanpits and for other conveniencies and also for a garden for the manager'. The site is the modern Spar shop. If the business came to an end after 15 years Murray would pay an amount not exceeding £400 for the buildings. If the business were to continue the owners would become liable for a feu duty after a further 15 years. In 1783 the partnership came to an end, Murray paid in £400 and Davitts carried on for another 15 years, paying Murray £250. From 1798 Davitts paid an annual feu duty of £6 and James Murray and his descendants were allowed to take 'such part of the spent

bark belonging to the tannery as they shall have occasion for and incline to use in their hot houses and gardens at Cally.’<sup>7</sup>

In 1769 a brewery was established on the other side of the road from the tannery on what became known as Brewery Brae. Later title deeds for numbers 67 and 69 High Street indicate that this was the site of a Wine House feued to William Riddick of Corbieton in 1771. The aim, according to Robert Heron, who visited Gatehouse in 1792 had been ‘to supply the gentlemen of the county’ by importing wine through Gatehouse.<sup>8</sup> This was not, however, the start of a period of sustained growth in Gatehouse, for in June 1772, the Ayr Bank of Douglas, Heron and Company, which had strong local connections, failed, with serious consequences for the Gatehouse economy.

### **The Collapse of the Ayr Bank**

Douglas, Heron and Company, known as the Ayr Bank was established in 1769 and grew rapidly, opening branches in Edinburgh and Dumfries. In 1771 it took over the banking business of Alexander Johnston, Hugh Lawson and Company in Dumfries and Robert Riddick became the agent there. As S G Checkland, the historian of Scottish banking put it: ‘In the management of the Ayr Bank there operated a strange mixture of aggressiveness, euphoria and self deception.’<sup>9</sup> The official report which followed the failure of the bank was particularly critical of the dealings of James Murray of Broughton. While cash credits were to be limited to £1,000 without the agreement of all the offices, the directors of the Dumfries office on third December 1771 ‘took it upon themselves, in violation of the above rules, to authorise a loan of no less than £10,000 to Mr Murray of Broughton.’<sup>10</sup> On the 29<sup>th</sup> of October James Murray, along with John, Lord Garlies, Robert Riddick of Corbieton and John Bushby, writer in Dumfries, had already been granted advances of £2,000. £1,000 was advanced to a number of others including ‘John Borrakil in Wigtown’ and William Kirkpatrick; £500 was advanced to ‘Patrick Brown of Gaygill’ (now Gaitgil).<sup>11</sup> At a general meeting held in Ayr on 2<sup>nd</sup> November, Patrick Brown, whose wife was Janet Riddick, became a shareholder in the bank and in May of 1772 a share was transferred to

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7 NAS, GD10/1273. Contract between James Murray and James Davitts

8 Robert Heron, *Observations Made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland in the Autumn of 1792*, II, 216

9 S G Checkland, *Scottish Banking: A History 1695–1973*, p 128

10 NAS GD10/881 Papers connected with Douglas Heron and Company, *The Precipitation and Fall of Mess. Douglas Heron and Company, late bankers in Air with the causes of their distress and ruin*, Edinburgh, 1778, p 72. A memorial prepared for James Murray put his relations with the bank in a more favourable light: ‘Mr Murray who was owing Johnston Lawson and Co £10,000 upon a personal bond which he had borrowed in order to enable him to make the purchase of a considerable estate, which adjoined to the place of his residence had his loan of £10,000 continued to him by D H and co upon personal security and also got credit on cash account for £2,000 more.’

11 *Ibid.* Appendix VI. When the Bank of Scotland opened a branch in Dumfries in 1774 its first agent was Robert Riddick of Corbieton.



John Bushby. Another shareholder was Alexander Heughan, merchant, Creetown.<sup>12</sup> John Birtwhistle drover, Yorkshire, had an outstanding bill on the bank.<sup>13</sup> When the bank failed each shareholder became liable not only for the nominal £500 value of each share but also for a further £2,200 per share. The effect of the failure must have been keenly felt in Gatehouse.

Generally, building and agricultural improvement was halted, there was much unemployment and it was feared that many would emigrate. By August 1775 only 112 of the 226 partners in the bank remained solvent.<sup>14</sup>

### Emigration

Samuel Ramsay, the first recorded feuar in Gatehouse had borrowed £40 from Patrick Brown in July 1771 and £40 from Margaret Gerran, widow of Alexander Heughan, late merchant in Creetown.<sup>15</sup> Having borrowed from shareholders in the bank, tradesmen in Gatehouse were caught up in the failure of the landowners such as Patrick Brown, who had to sell Gaitgil and Barharrow.<sup>16</sup> Legal papers relating to his bankruptcy show how local businesses and individuals remained entangled in the affairs of the bank long after its failure. Margaret Heughan, for instance, was owed £448 18 shillings in 1784 but received just £69 13s 9d when creditors received a dividend in 1790. Other creditors included James Davitts, John Syme and John Tait, 'as trustee for James Murray of Broughton and others under the firm of John Thomson and co brewers in Gatehouse.'<sup>17</sup>

Murray himself had originally borrowed £9,500 from the Dumfries bankers in 1767 and used the money to buy land in Anwoth from David Maxwell of Cardoness.<sup>18</sup> Murray along with John Borradaile, George Atkinson, and John Bushby as partners in Borrowdaile, Davitts and Company, tanners in Gatehouse, had also borrowed £800 from Douglas Heron

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12 James Paterson, *Contemporaries of Burns*. The appendix contains a list of the original shareholders.

13 NAS GD10/881 Papers connected with Douglas Heron and Company, *The Precipitation and Fall of Mess. Douglas Heron and Company, late bankers in Air with the causes of their distress and ruin*, Edinburgh, 1778, appendix VIII

14 Henry Hamilton, 'The Failure of the Ayr Bank', *ECHR*, Vol 8, issue 3, p 415

15 NAS, RS 23/20/392 Bond of Samuel Ramsay recorded 30/7/1771 and RS 23/20/393 recorded 31/7/1771. These appear to be the first examples of a Gatehouse feuar recording the borrowing of money against a property, possibly showing how local people could get swept up in the credit boom connected with the development of the Ayr Bank.

16 Henry Hamilton, 'The Failure of the Ayr Bank', *ECHR*, Vol 8 issue 3, p 415

17 NAS, CS 96/3187 Division among the creditors of the late Patrick Brown of Barharrow at Martinmas 1784. Gaitgil was sold for £3,080 and Barharrow for £2,880.

18 NAS, GD10/1422 Journal and Plan of Management of the Affairs of James Murray of Broughton 1767 to 1770.



and Company. The result was that, in 1773, James Murray had to borrow £16,000 on the security of part of his estate to pay off his debts incurred by the failure of the bank.<sup>19</sup>

In May 1774, a ship named *Gale* anchored in the Fleet Estuary and a number of the early feuars, including James Heron and his family and the family of Samuel Ramsay set sail for America. Heron's house was sold for just £23 to John Thomson, the factor at Cally and Samuel Ramsay's Back Street property, also, was sold in April 1774. The property mortgaged to Patrick Brown was offered for sale by public roup in 1777. Intending purchasers wanting to see the title deeds were to apply to Patrick Brown at Barharrow.<sup>20</sup>

As a young man in the 1820s, the great American scientist and first director of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, Joseph Henry, talked to older family members about their roots in Scotland. They told him that the family had come to America from Gatehouse of Fleet and that their home had been the house in the High Street between that of the Blains and the Livistones. The Henrys had come out to America in 1775, encouraged by the glowing reports from the Heron side of the family but it is clear that life was hard for the families in the New World and Joseph Henry himself grew up in humble circumstances. Among the emigrants was Thomas Carson, brewer. In 1781 the Gatehouse brewery was offered for sale. In every case the emigrants on the vessel *Gale* stated that the reason for leaving was lack of employment.<sup>21</sup>

Some emigrants, who left about this time, would return, having made their fortune in the New World. John Carnochan, for instance, went to Georgia as a young man and had made sufficient money by the age of 22 to buy his sisters a house in Back Street in 1801. In 1828 he sent his own son, John Murray Carnochan, back to Gatehouse to lodge with his aunts. After studying medicine at Edinburgh University, John Murray returned to the United States, where he had a successful medical career.

William Neilson, who went briefly to Canada also returned to Gatehouse. He borrowed £600 from his mother and built the houses in Neilson Square and Back Neilson from 1812 onwards. In 1828, his brother Nathaniel, who had made money in Jamaica and returned to buy the Springfield Estate near Castle Douglas, lent £600 to Elizabeth McLellan, who built Fleetbank behind the Ship Inn. In 1823, William McNish, who owned the Gatehouse plantation in Great Satilla, Georgia, was recorded as the owner of Horatio Square. The property passed to his sisters, Martha and Menzies McNish and Jane, widow of John

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19 NAS, GD10/881 Papers connected with Douglas Heron and Company. Murray wanted to sell the Rerrick land but as he said in a memorandum to John Bushby (NAS, GD10/1091 Memorandum left by Mr Murray with John Bushby 23 January 1775), '... there is no great probability of any proper purchaser casting up immediately.' The memorandum, with its references to dyking and liming reflects Murray's interest in land improvement, thus: 'What remains of Fleularg, Mr Murray meant to have thrown into small parks and have sett for the accommodation of the inhabitants of Gatehouse and he would be willing, on proper terms, to furnish lime to such as take them, that the land be made more useful and valuable.'

20 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 7/10/1777

21 PRO, T47/12 List of passengers in the *Gale* of Whitehaven for New York

McCartney of Nassau in the Bahamas. Mrs McCartney also built Rosebank in Ann Street, which became the Cally factor's house when the property was sold to Mr Murray Stewart in 1854. Finally, the distinctive building in the High Street, which for many years was the Angel Hotel, was built by James Wood, who was then residing in Savannah, Georgia. Thus, while many suffered the pain of emigration, there were others whose wealth enriched the town.



Figure 3. Statue of Joseph Henry outside the Smithsonian Institution, Washington

### **Inciting the Vassals to Industry**

In 1777, James Murray took radical action to stimulate the local economy. In August of that year he placed an advertisement in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* stating his desire to encourage industrious manufacturers, shop keepers and tradesmen to settle in Gatehouse. As an inducement, 'he will be ready to grant feus to such as apply for ground for a house and garden, till the two streets are built out, and for which, in place of the feu duties that would be reasonable, he will only ask an acknowledgement of one shilling yearly for ever.'<sup>22</sup>

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22 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 12/8/1777

A D V E R T I S E M E N T S.

**T**HE great Road from Ireland running through the Gatehouse of Fleet, the conveniency of the harbour there for discharging vessels of a moderate burden, the fairs that are held yearly, and Mr Murray's right to hold a weekly market, induced him to think it a favourable place to build a village at; in which view, he caused two streets to be laid off for building upon, in such manner as to give every house the benefit of a good garden behind it, and for which he has received an adequate feu-duty.

Though this place is but in its infancy, yet the greatest part of the two streets have been feued out, and upon which a number of remarkable good houses have been built, and several useful manufactures have been established there, so that the village is now in a very thriving condition, and by far the most considerable within many miles of it.

Mr Murray, in terms of his rights, intends very soon to establish a weekly market; and as he is very desirous to have the two streets built out, so he hereby gives notice, That, in order to encourage industrious manufacturers, shop-keepers, and tradesmen, to settle at this village, he will be ready to grant feus to such as apply for ground for a house and garden, till the two streets are built out, and for which, in place of the feu-duties that would be reasonable, he will only ask an acknowledgement of one shilling yearly for ever.

For further particulars, enquire at Mr Murray the proprietor, at the Cally, or Mr Bushby, sheriff-clerk of Dumfries.

Figure 4. James Murray's advertisement for Gatehouse of Fleet,  
*Dumfries Weekly Journal* 12<sup>th</sup> August 1777

Building began again. In November 1777 Murray signed feus for three properties on the North side of Front Street and nearly all of Back Street was feued out at the new low feu duty. The Front Street plots were feued to John Clark, weaver, John McMinn, wright and James Porter, shoemaker. In Back Street the feuars included Patrick Hughan and Robert Gordon, William McMinn, shoemaker and William McKinnal, mason, as well as James McKie, James Sproat and John Newall, labourers, all on the north side of the street and John McTaggart, tailor, Thomas Clark, labourer and Samuel Crosbie on the south side.

There was a pause in building until 1781, when a feu was granted on Front Street to Janet McRobin and in 1783, to John McClure, mason. This plot would soon become the home of the cotton master, Alexander Birtwhistle. That same year, Murray feued out a plot at the north end of Bankhead Street, (later to become Victoria Street) to Samuel McKean, weaver at Drumshangan, high up the Fleet valley. On the south side of Front Street, John Hunter, baker, received a feu in 1782. A baker's business continued on the site for the next 200 years. Samuel McKean feued a plot, too, and was followed by James Kirkpatrick, joiner. This plot remained in the Kirkpatrick family until the twentieth century. Robert Kelly, wheelwright, was another feuar, as were John Gordon, Robert Bryce, William McKinnell and John McGuffog. In 1783, Murray also granted a feu to Alexander Lillie for a plot in today's Ann Street which became the Bay Horse Inn. In the same year a large area of ground to the east of the High Street and 'northward of the area intended for a market place' was feued to John McCoskrie, postmaster in Gatehouse. Lying immediately opposite Murray's own inn, one of the conditions of the feu was that McCoskrie should not 'suffer any of the houses built or to be built on the said feu to be used as an inn or public house for selling any kind of liquor or victuals whatsoever or for keeping or using post horses of any sort or denomination.' At the back of his feu he was to build houses on a line with the houses already feued out in Back Street.<sup>23</sup> Finally in 1783 'for inciting the vassals to industry,' Murray reduced the feu payments on the feus given out before 1772 to one shilling in total, backdating the reductions to 1777.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, while James Murray had laid out the town of Gatehouse, seeking to bring tradesmen into the village, whom he could call on to work at Cally, it was these masons and wrights, joined by the weavers, shoemakers and other tradesmen, who built the houses, probably living in a part of the property themselves and renting out other parts. As the town developed other craftsmen and, in due course, professionals became house owners, encouraged as Robert Heron put it 'by the haughty prospect of becoming *Lairds* in Gatehouse.'<sup>25</sup>

### **Cotton Spinning**

Not only did Gatehouse have a tannery and brewery it also had a soapery.<sup>26</sup> However, it was the manufacture of cotton which turned Gatehouse into an industrial settlement. This came about as a result of the activities of the Birtwhistles in Galloway.

The Birtwhistle family from Skipton in Yorkshire were leading participants in the cattle droving trade, buying cattle from many parts of Scotland and driving them south

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23 Referred to in NAS, RS 23/108/245 Charter of confirmation in favour of Charles McNish, 11/7/1836

24 I am grateful to those house holders who have shown me their feu charters with the endorsement signed at Cally 14/7/1783.

25 Heron, op.cit. II, p 217

26 *First Statistical Account*, 11 p 314



to the growing market in England.<sup>27</sup> The Birtwhistles' interests in Galloway increased greatly in 1783 with the purchase of the bankrupt estate of Raeberry near Kirkcudbright by William Birtwhistle for £6,700<sup>28</sup>. Looking out for new business ventures, the Birtwhistles, according to Robert Heron, approached the Earl of Selkirk with a view to building a cotton mill on the Dee but he refused and they then turned to James Murray, who was keen to develop Gatehouse further. With their extensive trading interests the Birtwhistles were well placed to fund an investment in cotton but studies of other mills in Scotland show that the fixed capital requirement to establish a large water powered cotton mill stretched the means of many investors. It also appears that it took about ten years to fully equip the early mills.<sup>29</sup>

On 16<sup>th</sup> March 1785, John Birtwhistle and his sons, Thomas and William, signed a contract with James Murray to build a cotton mill on the banks of the Fleet. The landowner's involvement was crucial as he had control over access to water. Although the mill was to be sited next to the River Fleet, it was agreed that James Murray would pay his factor £328 to construct a lade system to bring a regular supply of water from Loch Whinyeon to the mill dam of the corn Mill of Barlae. To further increase the supply of water for their mill, the Birtwhistles could also bring water from the south side of Gatehouse. However, they had to allow the tannery and the brewery sufficient water for grinding their bark and malt and for supplying the tan pits with water as well as for the tenants and inhabitants through whose properties the mill lade ran.

In the contract document, Murray declared that he intended to encourage the extension of the village of Gatehouse and to this end he bound himself to grant the Birtwhistles feu charters for houses, with garden ground behind, on the land 'intended to be allotted thereto by the plan for extending the said village.' The Birtwhistles were to pay one shilling for each plot of thirty feet and a penny for each additional foot. The feus were to be 'for the benefit of the persons to be employed by them in their said manufactory if they shall so incline.' The Birtwhistles were also granted the right 'to cast clay for bricks and to quarry and raise stones for their buildings in the nearest and most convenient places in such parts of his estate as are not within the boundary of his Policy or lands granted in feu.' Once they had feued a plot the Birtwhistles were, like other feuars, to build within two years. Thus the workers' houses duly laid out in Birtwhistle Street and Swan Street, were built of brick using the nearby deposit of clay and generally had the same large gardens as other Murray feus. Finally, the Birtwhistles were to lay out £500 in the first year and £500 in the second and to get the 'manufactory of spinning cotton and cotton twist or yarn fairly a going'.

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27 For further details on the background to the Birtwhistles see two articles by Tony Stephens, 'The Birtwhistles of Craven and Galloway; "the greatest graziers and dealers in the Kingdom"?' *North Craven Heritage Trust*, 2008 and 'The Birtwhistles of Galloway and Craven: Drovers, Industrialists, Writers and a Spy', *TDGNHAS*, ser III Vol 83 (2009)

28 NAS, CS 107/353 Robert Hunter v William Birtwhistle, purchaser of Raeberry, 1783. The court papers refer to an earlier process brought against William Kirkpatrick by Hugh Lawson and Son, merchants in Dumfries.

29 Stuart M Nisbet, 'The Making of Scotland's First Industrial Region: The Early Cotton Industry in Renfrewshire', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Vol 29 Number 1, 2009

Failure to do this would have meant their paying back the £328 expended on bringing the additional water to the mills.<sup>30</sup>

Murray entered into a contract immediately with his factor John Thomson to make the channel from the Barlae Burn up to Loch Whinyeon. But the project may have been more demanding and more expensive than anticipated as there is an estimate from miners in 1787 to make the cut through the hill to the loch.<sup>31</sup> The three Birtwhistle brothers most connected with Gatehouse, William, Alexander and Robert opened a bank account with the Bank of Scotland in Dumfries on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1785<sup>32</sup>



Figure 5. *Cairnsmore from High Flilarg* by H J Moule, Dorset County Museum.  
The mill lade can be seen in the foreground bringing water from Loch Whinyeon.

In 1785 there were just five cotton mills operating in Scotland and it was in that year that David Dale's great mill at New Lanark was opened. Birtwhistles' mill was four storeys high and measured 120 ft by 30 ft. It was valued at £3,600 in 1788 by the Sun Fire Office, reflecting the high cost of setting up a substantial mill.<sup>33</sup> In 1786 Alexander Birtwhistle also purchased a Front Street feu from John McLure and built the substantial house which,

30 NAS, GD 10/1266 contract between James Murray and John Birtwhistle of Skipton, the Rev Thomas Birtwhistle and William Birtwhistle of Balmae

31 NAS, GD 10/1267 contract between James Murray and John Thomson 18/3/1785 and GD10/1268 offer by the miners respecting the cut at Loch Whiney, 1787

32 Lloyds Banking Group, GB1830 BOS/10/32/1/3, Dumfries branch, cash account ledger 3. The cautioners were John Birtwhistle of Skipton, Rev Thomas Birtwhistle of Skirbeck, William Birtwhistle of Raeberry, Alexander and Robert Birtwhistle in Netherlaw. Alexander was not yet owner of a Galloway property.

33 Ian Donnachie, *The Industrial Archaeology of Galloway*, p 97

after his death was to become a bank and more recently the Bank of Fleet Hotel. In 1799 he incorporated the building which Catherine McGeoch had built behind her property at 45 High Street.

No records have yet come to light of the Birtwhistle cotton business but some idea of the challenges they faced and how they sought to overcome these may be seen from related documents. The first problem was to attract people to the new concept of factory work. According to Robert Heron, 'the poor people in the immediate neighbourhood, although numerous enough, were however, so little accustomed to anything like the regular industry of manufacture, that they could not at first be persuaded to apply to the employment, which the establishment offered, for reasonable wages'. But, apparently, 'labourers soon flocked from Ireland and other places, to perform that work which the good people about Gatehouse could not be induced to perform.<sup>34</sup> Heron stated that '300 persons are employed in the labour, of whom 200 are children;'

It also appears to have been difficult to retain the labour force throughout the year. The surviving wage book of the cotton mill at Newton Stewart shows that fewer than 50% of the workforce remained for a full year.<sup>35</sup>

Another problem facing the new mill owners was the supply of coin to pay the workers. From 1793, Alexander Birtwhistle had an account with the Bank of Scotland in Kirkcudbright but this did not satisfy his immediate needs for coin in Gatehouse.<sup>36</sup> From 1798 he had an arrangement with Mrs Sloan, innkeeper in Gatehouse, whereby he supplied her with beef and other provisions and she advanced him money to pay his workers.<sup>37</sup> It was in that year that he took over the lease of the inn at Gatehouse and 'those parts of the farm of Gatehouse of Lochends, presently possessed by James McKune', with the right to sublet the inn to Mrs Sloan.<sup>38</sup> The arrangement may have been made somewhat complicated by Alexander's tough approach to business. It was said, 'Mr Birtwhistle was not in the practice of settling accounts with any person especially where he was debtor'.<sup>39</sup> In all events, following Alexander's death, Mrs Sloan took his heir to court to settle their accounts.<sup>40</sup>

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34 Heron, op. cit. II p 219

35 Nisbet, op. cit. p112 , based on the wages book of Douglas, Dale and McCall, NAS, RH 15/1304

36 Lloyds Banking Group, ML/8/13/1 Paisley Union Bank Branch Letter Book 1788-1789. When the agent at the branch in Newton Stewart offered to send in coin, Head Office replied, 'We are not at present in need of specie it is rather a troublesome remittance.'

37 Court of Session, 1827, p 742

38 NAS, GD/1274 Minute of tack between James Murray and Alexander Birtwhistle 12/1/1798. The lease is of interest as it foresees the building of the parish church on its present site and the planting of the Stelling wood on the land leased to Birtwhistle. The scale of the inn was demonstrated in the condition that, 'The tenant was bound during the whole currency of the lease to keep and maintain a good orderly inn on the premises proper for the accommodation of the public with post chaises, horses, and all other necessaries suitable for the same.' The tenant was also, 'to allot a piece of land suitable and convenient for a market place to be used by all persons bringing cattle, horses, or other stock to the Gatehouse market.'

39 NAS, CS 42/22/72 Decreet John Birtwhistle and Curatrix v David Coupland

40 Court of Session 1827 p 742



Thomas Scott and Company, the other main cotton spinner in Gatehouse sought to solve the problem by issuing 500 of their own Gatehouse ha' pennies, the only trade token issued in South West Scotland.<sup>41</sup>

Another problem was the high cost of transporting raw materials and sending out finished goods from a remote location such as Gatehouse. Alexander Birtwhistle may have sought to save money by using his own transport. In 1794, he took legal action against John Brag, master and owner of the sloop, *Lucy*, for damaging his sloop, *Jenny*, at Gatehouse.<sup>42</sup> Heron reported that some improvements had been made to the navigation of the Fleet to make it easier for vessels to reach the town.<sup>43</sup>

Alexander Birtwhistle played an important role in the life of the Stewartry. In 1789 he was elected Provost of Kirkcudbright.<sup>44</sup> He was also a Justice of the Peace. He purchased the estate of Dundegh in the parish of Carsphairn from James Loch in 1791.<sup>45</sup> In 1795 he was one of the local landowners applying to Parliament to obtain an Act for authorising turnpikes through the Stewartry.<sup>46</sup> The same year he was elected the first Provost of Gatehouse, with James Davitts and Alexander McKean as Baillies. To celebrate the occasion, James Murray offered the Magistrates, Councillors and Burgesses 'a very elegant dinner'.<sup>47</sup> In 1796, Alexander Birtwhistle became the owner of Barharrow farm near Gatehouse, which he purchased from William Kerr, Secretary of the General Post Office.<sup>48</sup>

In 1797, with the possibility of invasion from France, the local press reported that the War Office had appointed Alexander Birtwhistle, Captain of the Loyal Gatehouse Volunteers.<sup>49</sup> The following year the press carried a report of the presentation by Mrs Birtwhistle to the Loyal Gatehouse of Fleet Volunteer Company of 'a very elegant stand of colours'.<sup>50</sup> In May 1802 the volunteers presented Alexander Birtwhistle with a fine silver cup, 'In Testimony of their Attachment and Esteem, Assuring him that should their KING and COUNTRY again require their services in a Military Capacity, they will be proud to march forth under his command'.<sup>51</sup>

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41 Ian Donnachie, *Industrial Archaeology of Galloway*, p 98

42 NAS, AC 8/2821 Alexander Birtwhistle v John Brag, 1794

43 Heron, op. cit. II 216

44 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 13/10/1789

45 NAS, RS3/680/211 Renunciation John Eiston to Alexander Birtwhistle recorded 19/08/1803. Dundegh had been sold at public roup by the creditors of the deceased John West to James Loch for £1,600 in 1776.

46 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 24/11/1795

47 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 13/10/1795

48 NAS, Disposition William Kerr to Alexander Birtwhistle recorded 28/10/1823. Sales were often recorded many years after they had taken place.

49 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 1/8/1797

50 *Ibid.* 31/7/1798.

51 Personal communication to the author



Figure 6. *Presentation of Colours to the Gatehouse Volunteers, by Mrs. Birtwhistle, July, 1798.* (Private collection)



Figure 7. 'The Wee Toun' a model of Gatehouse of Fleet about 1800, showing Front Street, Back Street and Birtwhistle Street. The Birtwhistle cotton mills, the brewery and tannery can be seen on the left.

### Cotton Mania

On his visit in the autumn of 1792, Robert Heron indicated that development in Gatehouse, as elsewhere in Scotland, had been ‘astonishingly rapid and powerful. A second large edifice for a cotton-work has been erected by Messrs Birtwhistle ... Another has likewise been built by a Mr McWilliam.’<sup>52</sup> The second Birtwhistle mill was probably built in 1791.<sup>53</sup> John McWilliam feued two plots in Ann Street. He was partner with Thomas Scott in the firm of Thomas Scott and Son, which owned Scott’s Mill. He also feued the ground in Ann Street which was later bought by William Neilson and became Neilson Square and Back Neilson and may have had a weaving business there.<sup>54</sup>

The surviving records of the Bank of Scotland branch at Kirkcudbright give some idea of the Gatehouse businesses at this period and the scale of their activities. Alexander Birtwhistle of Dundee had a cash credit of £1,000, Thomas Scott, manufacturer had a cash credit for £500, John Pape, manufacturer had £300 and John McWilliam, manufacturer, £250. By comparison James Davitts and Son, tanners had a cash credit of £400.<sup>55</sup> Alexander Birtwhistle was an esteemed customer of the bank. In 1795, the bank’s inspector noted, ‘The transactions of Mr Birtwhistle are numerous and extensive, but he [the agent] considers them safe and beneficial to the bank.’ In 1796 the inspector stated, ‘The Messrs Birtwhistle do all their business at this office and with the Earl of Selkirk’s factor are at great pains in promoting the circulation of the Bank’s notes.’<sup>56</sup>

A maker of spinning mules and jennies had settled in Gatehouse and a brass foundry had been established to provide parts for the machines. ‘Every person who can spare money enough to purchase a mule or a ginnee, and a little raw cotton to begin with eagerly turns cotton spinner. The ploughman forsakes his plough, the schoolmaster lays down his birch, the tanner deserts his tan pits, the apothecary turns from the composition of pills, and the mixing of unguents; and all earnestly commence spinners of cotton-yarn or weavers of cotton-cloth.’<sup>57</sup> The population, he said, had risen to 1500; new streets had been built and others extended. We know the names of some of those involved in these developments.

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52 Heron, op. cit. II 219

53 NAS, RS 3/600/42 Sasine of William and Alexander Birtwhistle recorded 25/5/1799. This refers to a letter from James Murray of 6/8/1791 regarding more land for a new building.

54 McWilliam’s feu charters. S D Chapman, ‘Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry 1770-1815’, *ECHR*, New Series, Vol 23, No 2, August 1970, p 263. Chapman reckoned that in 1795 the insurance value of the two Birtwhistle mills was about £10,000 and Thomas Scott and Co’s mill £8,000, comparable to other large Scottish mills.

55 Lloyds Banking Group, Bank of Scotland records, NRAS 945/1/4391 Kirkcudbright Progressive Ledger. Although the branch was opened in 1790 the ledger covers the period from 1793 to 1804. The ledger shows that the cautioners for Thomas Scott’s cash credit were John McWilliam, manufacturer, Hugh Stewart, Gaitgil and John Thomson junior, factor to James Murray of Broughton. John Pape’s account was paid off by his cautioners at the time of his failure.

56 Lloyds Banking Group, Bank of Scotland records, BOS/9/2/1/1 Bank of Scotland Branch Inspection Reports 1795-1806

57 Heron, op. cit. II p 220

The feu charters show that Front Street was fully feued by 1788.<sup>58</sup> Building had begun, too, on the western side of the river. Heron refers to a line of new houses, ‘which have been hastily run up for the accommodation of some new adventurers in the cotton manufacture.’<sup>59</sup> The evidence from the feu charters shows that the whole of the north side of Fleet Street was feued at the same time. The feu charters, which had remained at a standard rate of one shilling, had, by then, returned to 3d per foot and because of the ‘vast influx of inhabitants’ houses were said to ‘bring a great rent.’<sup>60</sup>

The first feu in Fleet Street was that of Alexander McKean, who built the Ship Inn. He was the son of Samuel McKean, the weaver at Drumshangan, who, as we have seen, owned a number of properties in the town. The plot which today comprises 25 to 29 Fleet Street was feued to John Pape, surgeon in Gatehouse. Here, Pape had erected buildings on a plot 100 ft in front and 150 ft back ‘with the privilege to the said John Pape, by proper cuts, to bring water from the loch at Goatend to the west end of the house built on the premises and to erect a wheel there to be turned by such water for the benefit of the cotton manufacture, intended to be carried on in the buildings erected on the said portion of land thereby granted in feu.’ (Which subjects after a variety of transmissions were acquired to the extent after mentioned by Samuel MacMillan, merchant in Gatehouse in the year 1799.) Although it was envisaged that John Pape’s mill would be driven by water, his seven jennies and nine mules appear to have been hand driven at the time his business failed.<sup>61</sup>

The Reverend William Thorburn, the Minister of Girthon, in his contribution to the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, echoed this sense of a community which was growing rapidly: ‘The cotton works, which have swelled it to its present size and population, promise soon to give it a rank among the towns distinguished for industry and commerce.’<sup>62</sup> He noted that there were two mule mills and two twist mills, one of which was not yet going and that there will probably be two more mills in a short time. He noted that, ‘there is also a cotton factory, in which are wove muslins and other cottons of neat pattern and good fabric.’ Overall he reckoned that some 500 people were employed in the cotton works.<sup>63</sup>

Amongst other developments which he noted: a branch of the Paisley Union Bank had been established in Gatehouse, a library had been formed, and there was also a Masonic lodge. He said that coals were brought in from Whitehaven and there was abundant garden produce from Cally. Reflecting the growing concentration of the population in the town, the parish school had also moved into the burgh.

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58 In 1788 John McMinn, smith and Henry Alexander received their feus for the last houses on the south side of the High Street and John Roy, tailor, Margaret McLure, Alexander McKie, mariner, Thomas McCaa, innkeeper, Alexander Gordon, carter and William McKinnell completed the feus on the north side of the street.

59 Heron II 235

60 *First Statistical Account*, 11, p 312

61 NAS CS 96/813 Sequestration of John Pape, 1795

62 *First Statistical Account*, 11, p 312

63 *Ibid* p 314

Heron was, however, critical of the morality of the place: ‘prostitution and breaches of chastity have lately become frequent here. Tippling houses are wonderfully numerous.’<sup>64</sup> While the Minister of Girthon noted that, ‘besides a good inn, there are about 15 houses in which spirituous liquors are sold’ he did not express the same concern about the morals of the people. Nevertheless, he did feel that a burgh police presence was necessary and noted that Mr Murray would soon be turning his attention to this important subject.<sup>65</sup> It was in 1795 that Gatehouse of Fleet was granted a royal charter as a burgh of barony.

### A Short Lived Boom

The writer of the entry for Anwoth parish in the *First Statistical Account* stated that ‘the inhabitants of the village are mostly employed in manufacturing cotton, which a few months ago was carried on with spirit and success, but like many other branches of trade is now almost given up.’<sup>66</sup> 1793 was a year of difficult trading circumstances with banks refusing to discount bills. Was this the beginning of the end of the local boom?<sup>67</sup>

In May 1795 there was an advertisement in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* for a ‘complete assortment of machinery for preparing and spinning cotton, also a quantity of cotton wool, cotton rovings and cotton waste.’<sup>68</sup>

John Pape had commenced business as a surgeon in Gatehouse in 1787. The medical practice was turning over between £50 and £130 per year. In the winter of 1791 he began spinning, with about £100 mainly in balances due to him from his patients. Following his marriage in 1794, he borrowed money from his father-in-law and brother-in-law and purchased quantities of cotton on credit. In May 1795 he filed for bankruptcy. He considered that, ‘the chief cause of his insolvency was the fall in the cotton market, for he bought a considerable quantity of cotton when it was supposed the markets were in the rise but it so turned out that the markets fell and he was a considerable loser.’<sup>69</sup> The record of his bankruptcy gives some insight into the cotton industry in Gatehouse. While he owed small sums to tradesmen in the town, his main creditor was the firm of Sharpe and McKenzie in Glasgow. He purchased some of his machinery from John Johnston, machine maker in Gatehouse. It appears that he was spinning yarn, which was then woven for making into handkerchiefs to be sold in Glasgow. We know this because a bale of goods which he had entrusted to John Henry, the carrier, to take from Gatehouse to Dumfries, was then handed over to another carrier to be taken to Glasgow but never got there. He also owned yarn which was being woven into muslin and calico. We know that he employed James McAdam as his overseer and a half year’s wages of £4 4 shillings were due to

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64 Heron, op. cit. II, p 122

65 *First Statistical Account*, 11 p 312

66 *First Statistical Account* 13 p 346

67 John Butt, *The Scottish Cotton Industry During the Industrial Revolution*, pp 124-5

68 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 19/5/1795

69 NAS, CS 96/813 p 41



George Anderson, £1 10 shillings to Catherine Pollock and £5 5 shillings to John McKie. He also owed his brother, Robert, £30 having agreed to pay him £12 per year.<sup>70</sup>

John Papple's creditors were frustrated by his lack of co-operation and he was put in prison till he could produce proper accounts. Nevertheless, they offered him the chance to buy back his household furniture and medicines 'for the sake of his family'.<sup>71</sup>

Papple told his creditors that he had owed a sum of money to John Kelly the post master. He had a 'large new writing desk', which was worth twice this sum. 'He caused John McMinn, joiner to cut the desk down the middle and he delivered the half of it to Kelly'.<sup>72</sup>

Papple's mill was advertised for sale in November 1795. The 'large and extensive feus in the Burgh of Gatehouse of Fleet, belonging to John Papple, surgeon and cotton manufacturer there, together with several articles of machinery for carding and spinning of cotton' were offered at public roup.<sup>73</sup> The best machinery was bought by the Birtwhistles. However, when the bankruptcy procedures were completed in May 1796, there was just £205 to pay debts of £1,492.<sup>74</sup> Papple himself appears to have returned to medicine, for some years in Gatehouse and later in Dumfries.<sup>75</sup>

The Birtwhistles, by this time had begun to seek new ventures in farming. From 1795, William, Alexander and Robert Birtwhistle were in partnership with John McIntyre, residing at Letterewe in Ross-shire 'in a concern for the breeding and sale of sheep and had sundry leases of land in that county'.<sup>76</sup> The extent of their investments in sheep farming can be seen from the number of leases taken on. They rented Letterewe from John McKenzie of Letterewe from 1796, Strathnashallaig from Henry Davidson of Tulloch from 1801, Meikle Gruinard from McKenzie of Cromarty, Fisherfield from McKenzie of Dundonald and Tailladale from Sir Hector McKenzie of Gairloch. At the time of Alexander's death in 1810 the brothers owned some 10,000 sheep in Ross-shire valued at £8,136 16 5d.<sup>77</sup>

While the north side of Fleet Street had all been feued out in 1794, only the first houses on the south side of the street along with the block in Boatgreen were feued in 1795. It was not till the period from 1838 to 1843 that Robert Martin Murdoch, tanner, would

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70 *Ibid* p 3

71 *Ibid* p 93

72 *Ibid* p 46

73 Dumfries Weekly Journal 24/11/1795

74 NAS, CS/96 p 94

75 NAS, GD 10/1199. In the Cally papers there is a representation from John Papple, surgeon in Gatehouse, dated 6/2/1800 in reply to a process brought by James Murray against him for fishing with a net in the Fleet estuary.

76 NAS, CS 42/20/28 Decree of declarator John Birtwhistle and tutors v William Birtwhistle and others, 1818

77 *Ibid*

complete the south side of Fleet Street, although the tannery of Selkirk and Menzies had been established at the Boatgreen in 1824.

Alexander Birtwhistle wrote his will in 1808. Unusually his death notice in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* was accompanied by a short statement: ‘Much regretted, when he built the cotton mill at Gatehouse, that place was only a small village; but from the employment which this circumstance afforded, it has increased in the course of 29 years to a considerable size.’<sup>78</sup> The inventory, prepared following his death on 5<sup>th</sup> February 1810, showed that, along with his farming interests, he was a partner with his brother William in the cotton business of John Birtwhistle and Sons. The inventory stated bleakly: ‘It is doubtful whether anything will arise therefrom to add to this estate.’<sup>79</sup> The 464 acre farm of Barharrow and the 600 acre farm of Dundough were offered for rent and the two cotton mills in Gatehouse offered for sale or rent, along with ‘37 two storey dwelling houses with excellent gardens to each for the accommodation of overseers, workers, etc., all of them at a very short distance from the mills.’ There was, too, Alexander’s elegant six bedroom mansion house, ‘situated in the centre of the front street’.<sup>80</sup> The same year, William offered the estate of Raeberry for sale, suggesting that his focus, too, was moving away from Galloway.<sup>81</sup>

The later history of Scott’s Mill and John McWilliam’s investments in Gatehouse is set out in a Bank of Scotland report. When William Mure became agent for the bank in Kirkcudbright in 1806, Thomas Scott and Co were reported to be rich. They had built extensive cotton mills and furnished them with expensive machinery. The capital for these purposes was furnished chiefly by John McWilliam. After 1806 McWilliam inherited £8,000. Of that money he deposited £3,000 with the Bank at the Kirkcudbright office. In 1807 he transferred part of his business to Ireland where he built two large mills at Bangor. Nevertheless, he allowed the £3,000 to remain with the bank in Kirkcudbright until one of his daughters was married. He then took out £1,000 of the deposited money. The sum of £2,000 remained in the bank till 1811. He then failed and the £2,000 was applied towards Thomas Scott and Co’s bills.<sup>82</sup>

In 1812 Thomas Scott and Company’s mill was sold to Thomas Wright, tanner. The property then passed to Peter Richardson, Disdow, near Gatehouse and then Gabriel Richardson, brewer in Dumfries, who advertised the building as ‘the oat, barley and flour milns newly erected at Gatehouse upon Fleet’.<sup>83</sup> The Bank of Scotland continued to

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78 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 13/2/1810

79 NAS, CC 13/4/1/40 Inventory of the personal estate of Alexander Birtwhistle of Dundough who died at Gatehouse on 5/2/1810

80 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 6/3/1810

81 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 24/7/1810

82 Lloyds Banking Group, Bank of Scotland records, Business Peculiar to Agencies 1774 -1822 GB 1830 BOS/9/1/1/3. The agent in Kirkcudbright had reported the insolvency of Thomas Scott and Co on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1811 with £7,819.11.5 owing on bills. John McWilliam and Co of Belfast had promised to pay off the bills but by June, John McWilliam had failed as had John Aitchison, the buyer of Scott’s twist and other manufactured goods sent to Glasgow.

83 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 28/10/1817.



seek the money owed them and as late as 1816 Robert Gordon, writer in Kirkcudbright, took legal action against Thomas Scott, now in Belfast and John McWilliam residing in Gatehouse, individual partners in the firm of Thomas Scott and Co., late manufacturers in Gatehouse of Fleet.<sup>84</sup> The building became a saw mill in the early 1820s.

Gatehouse of Fleet has been described by John Butt as ‘an arrested industrial development.’ It was not the coming of steam power which signalled the failure of Gatehouse’s industrial development. Individual businesses had been unable to compete on a number of fronts. They were far from the centres of supply and consumption and some had insufficient capital. John McWilliam had moved part of his operations to the north of Ireland and was caught up in the rash of failures in 1811. The Birtwhistles appear to have been winding down their cotton operations for some time and focusing on new opportunities in farming, the industry which they knew best. A bank inspector’s report for 1809 describes Alexander Birtwhistle as ‘cattle dealer in Gatehouse’<sup>85</sup> The sale particulars of 1810 show that, in the larger mill, the second floor was empty and the fourth floor was ‘given over to apartments for turners, joiners, blacksmiths, founders and machinery makers with tools complete’ and in the smaller mill one floor had six mule jennies and the other two floors were empty.<sup>86</sup> Also, when Alexander died, his son John was too young to take over and his uncles did not take it on themselves. When he came of age, Alexander’s son, John, saw himself as a country gentleman. In the 1820s, for instance, he was renting Ardwall House near Gatehouse, pursued, however, by his creditors.

When John Birtwhistle’s properties were put in the hands of trustees for his creditors in 1825, the mills were then leased to Wastel Cliffe.<sup>87</sup> The mills were again advertised in 1828. At that time there was an overshot water wheel, ‘30 ft high and nearly 7ft wide.’ Two boilers had been installed to provide heat to the building. The advertisement drew attention to the low wages in Gatehouse: ‘Card room workers and piecers may be engaged in the town on very moderate terms’.<sup>88</sup> In 1829 it was reported that Cliffe had reduced the wages of those employed in his works by 30% and that ‘the mill is now going night and day.’<sup>89</sup>

The Factory Inspector’s report of 1840 found 174 workers employed in the mill, then operated by James Davidson, of whom 64 were under 18 but none under 13.<sup>90</sup> It was in that year that the mill suffered a serious fire.<sup>91</sup>

The writer of the *New Statistical Account* praised Messrs Davidson, who were employing

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84 NAS, CS34/15/104 Decree Robert Gordon against Scott and Co

85 Lloyds Banking Group, Bank of Scotland records, BOS/9/2/1/2 Bank of Scotland Reports of Inspections 1807-1809. The reports show, however, that Alexander Birtwhistle remained an important client of the bank.

86 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 17/4/1810

87 NAS, RS3/1386/273 Trustees for the creditors of John Birtwhistle of Dundee, recorded 2/11/1825

88 *Glasgow Courier* 20/5/1828. I am indebted to Dr Stuart Nesbit for this reference.

89 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 11/4/1829

90 Parliamentary Papers 1840, X, *Report on Regulation of Mills and Factories*, Appendix, p 121

91 *Dumfries Times* 20/10/1840

some 200 people in the early 1840s ‘ particularly when we reflect on the comparative difficulties under which, from their isolated and remote situation, they labour, both as to the purchase and carriage of the raw material and the disposal and sale of the manufactured article.’<sup>92</sup>

The Birtwhistle mills and properties in Birtwhistle Street and Swan Street were finally sold by the heirs of William Birtwhistle to H G Murray Stewart in 1853<sup>93</sup>

### **New Directions, Cally Estate under Alexander Murray and his Factor Alexander Craig**

In 1811 Alexander Murray, having come of age, intimated his intention to carry out work on his estate. It was his intention ‘ to lay out money in inclosing, subdividing, planting and draining lands, in erecting farm houses and offices and in making canals and embankments for the improvement of the entailed estates and to repair, improve and enlarge the mansion house of Cally and to improve the garden and pleasure grounds adjoining thereto’. With his energetic factor, Alexander Craig, who he appointed in 1801, Murray embarked on a large programme of improvements, which are recorded in detail in the Sheriff Court records of improvements on entailed estates in the Stewartry.<sup>94</sup>

Field dykes were built, as were ha-has and sunken fences. Large quantities of trees were purchased from James Credie’s nursery. In 1800 land in Ann Street, which had been feued to Nathan Richmond in 1779 was sold to James Credie, gardener at Cally. In 1804 Credie had a cash credit of £400 with the Bank of Scotland.<sup>95</sup> The nursery business continued till his son David Credie’s death in 1849. There is also some evidence of prospecting for minerals at this time. In 1812, for instance, there was an advertisement for 4 miners for Ruscoe Mine.<sup>96</sup>

Work began on the building of the high boundary wall round the Cally Park. William Black was paid £1,122 9 shillings to build a wall to enclose the park ground at Cally from the sunk fence west of Cally House to the proposed new line of the turnpike road through the farm of Enrick. Murray wanted to take the main road away from his policies near to Cally House. In 1817 Black was paid £420 to continue the wall from Enrick along the new turnpike road to the old road at Drumwall and, in 1823, following the building of the new road out of Gatehouse, John McGill was paid £324 15 shillings and six pence for completing the wall from the bottom of Drumwall to the avenue head.

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92 *New Statistical Account*, Girthon, p 302

93 NAS, RS3/2666/209 Disposition to H G Murray Stewart recorded 11/1/1854

94 NAS, SC16/64 Improvements on entailed estates

95 Lloyds Banking Group, Bank of Scotland records, BOS/10/83/1/2 Bank of Scotland Kirkcudbright branch Progressive Ledger No 2 p102. Credie’s cautioners were Alexander Craig, factor to Alexander Murray and John McClure, feuar in Gatehouse, showing again how the Cally factor assisted local businesses.

96 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 7/4/1812

In 1812 the fine new farm house was built at Enrick and in the same year, James Faed put in a threshing mill at the farm and the following year he put in a threshing mill at Girthon Kirk farm. By 1819 he had erected a further seven mills on the Cally Estate and it was in that year he married Mary McGeoch, the daughter of the tenant at Girthon Kirk and settled at Barlay Mill. It was here that the famous Faed family of artists was born.<sup>97</sup>

The Cally Estate was also behind moves to establish a savings bank and friendly society in Gatehouse. The Gatehouse of Fleet Bank of Savings Friendly Society was set up on 5<sup>th</sup> December 1814 with Alexander Craig as governor.<sup>98</sup> Craig was related to Henry Duncan of Ruthwell and, on 30 December 1814, the Bank of Scotland received a letter 'saying that Mr Craig has set a going a Friendly Society at Gatehouse, something on the plan of the Ruthwell Parish Bank and desires five percent on such money as the Gatehouse Friendly Society shall deposit with the Bank.' The bank agreed to the request on 4 January 1815.<sup>99</sup>

There was also a hint of Gatehouse's future role as a holiday and retirement destination. In 1816 Thomas Birkett's house in Fleet Street was offered for rent furnished. 'This lodging will afford excellent accommodation for a family wishing to retire to a romantic village near the sea.'<sup>100</sup> In 1831 Roseville in Ann Street was offered as a property 'situated in a most beautiful country, close to pleasure walks and drives.'

The Cally accounts for expenditure on the entailed estate in 1823 show an expenditure of £2,567 18shillings and 7pence for a 'new cut for the River Fleet from the Minibut rock through Boreland to Ardwall Burn.' They also show the engineer James Jardine's estimate of £4,846 and 12 shillings.<sup>101</sup> The cutting of a canal allowed larger vessels to come up the Fleet but it was not till 1836 that the new harbour at Port McAdam was built.

In 1828 Murray announced plans to bank up the river to reclaim about 200 acres of land, build new farm buildings and build a new road and swing bridge, across the Fleet and in the following year he declared his intention of enlarging the mansion of Cally<sup>102</sup>

For Murray, Gatehouse had, by this time, returned to what his father had intended in the 1760s, a place which could supply the skilled craftsmen and labourers required to maintain and improve his large estate. Gatehouse had gone through a number of stages of development. Whilst the boom years of cotton production were very short and there

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97 NAS, SC 16/64/3, 4 and 5 Threshing Mills built by James Faed: Enrick 1812, Girthon Kirk and Rainton 1813, Culcaigrie, Drumwall and Low Clauchan 1814, Murrayton 1815, Little Barlay 1817, Park of Tongueland 1818, Culroech 1820 and Kirkandrews 1821

98 NAS, SC 16/28/7 Gatehouse of Fleet Bank of Savings Friendly Society. It was thought that if a savings bank was set up in Gatehouse on the lines of the Ruthwell bank it would turn the idle to industry, make a poor rate unnecessary and be better than an ordinary Friendly Society. The Gatehouse Society lasted till 1849.

99 Lloyds Banking Group, Bank of Scotland records, GB 1830 BOS/9/1/1/3. Business Peculiar to Agencies, 1774-1822

100 *Dumfries Weekly Journal* 14/5/1816

101 NAS, SC 16/64/6

102 NAS, SC16/64/7

was little new building after 1795, the Cally Estate provided much local employment for a number of years.

### **Abbreviations**

**ECHR** Economic History Review  
**NAS** National Archives of Scotland  
**PRO** Public Record Office

## THE DECLINE OF LIBERALISM IN DUMFRIESSHIRE: WAS IT THE STANDARD WOT DONE IT?<sup>1</sup>

David Dutton<sup>2</sup>

*In its editorial on 14 December 1963 the Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser declared, 'The fact must be faced, Liberalism in Dumfriesshire is on its deathbed and nothing short of a miracle will revive it.'<sup>3</sup>The evidence for such a statement was strong. In the by-election occasioned by the elevation to the peerage of the sitting member, Niall Macpherson, and whose result had just been declared, the Liberal party, fielding a candidate in the constituency for the first time since the General Election of 1945, had secured a derisory 4,491 votes and forfeited its deposit. This figure, suggested the Standard, was 'amazingly small'. 'No juggling of the figures can produce a single crumb of comfort for the Liberals.' The party's candidate, Charles Abernethy, and his supporters had 'put everything they had into the campaign, but however strong Liberalism in Dumfriesshire may have been in the past the by-election figures show that the new generation of voters are thinking along different lines'.<sup>4</sup> A week later, following the publication of two critical letters in its correspondence columns, the newspaper felt it necessary to defend itself against the charge that it had itself contributed to the Liberal party's predicament because 'it did not throw its whole weight behind the Party, as in the old days'. A newspaper's primary function, the Standard argued, is 'to give a fair and unbiased account of the news, particularly in the controversial field of politics'. If, then, the Dumfriesshire Liberals were looking for a scapegoat for the result of the poll, 'they must look elsewhere. We have no intention of accepting the role.'<sup>5</sup>*

*The newspaper's effort at self-defence was somewhat disingenuous. It was not usually averse to expressing its own preferences at election times and, during the recent by-election campaign, had very clearly declared that the Liberal candidate had no realistic chance of success. In response to a statement by the Scottish Liberal party that 'the forthcoming contest will be, as it always has been in this constituency, between Conservatism and Liberalism, the Standard pointed out that in the six elections since 1931 it was Labour that had always provided the main opposition and that this would again be the case at the by-election.'<sup>6</sup> Yet the position was, in fact, somewhat more complicated. Liberalism had been a major force in the constituency 30 years earlier. Indeed, Liberal candidates had been successful in the General Elections of 1922, 1923, 1929 and 1931. Even more strikingly,*

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1 In a celebrated headline following the General Election of 1992 – 'It was the Sun wot won it' – the *Sun* newspaper claimed credit for the unexpected victory of the Conservative party under John Major, giving rise to a debate over the electoral influence of the contemporary press.

2 Member of the Society; Tobermory, Sandy Lane, Locharbriggs, Dumfries DG1 1SA

3 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* [hereafter, *Standard*], 14 Dec. 1963. Extracts from the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* appear by kind permission of Mr Iain Pollock, Deputy Editor of the newspaper.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Standard*, 21 Dec. 1963

6 *Standard*, 23 Nov. 1963

*ever since 1931 Dumfriesshire had been represented in parliament by three successive MPs who had all borne the title 'Liberal' in their party designation.*

The confusion had begun with the political and economic crisis of August 1931. That emergency led to the formation of the so-called National Government – a coalition (though the term was seldom used) of the Conservative and Liberal parties together with a small number of Labour MPs, led by the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald. Originally conceived as a short-term emergency expedient to protect the currency and enact measures to bring the country's budget deficit under control, the Government decided in the autumn to go to the country to seek a 'Doctor's Mandate' to tackle the balance of payments crisis. This decision, carrying with it at least the possibility of the introduction of tariffs to restrict imports, had serious implications for a party for which a commitment to free trade had long been a defining characteristic. Liberal MPs now began to differ in their attitudes towards the continuation of the National Government. A small group around David Lloyd George immediately withdrew their support. The remainder divided broadly, but not yet precisely, into followers of Sir Herbert Samuel (who was about to replace Lloyd George as the party's official leader) and Sir John Simon. The former continued to offer guarded support to the government, while reserving their right to dissent should its policies prove unacceptable to their Liberal consciences; the latter had fewer reservations, and a group of around two dozen MPs agreed to form themselves 'into a body to give firm support to the Prime Minister as the head of a National Government and for the purpose of fighting the General Election'.<sup>7</sup> 'We shall', Simon informed MacDonald, 'call ourselves Liberal Nationals.'<sup>8</sup>

In the constituencies, however, these divisions – and their long-term significance – were far from clear. The words 'Liberal' and 'National' were often juxtaposed to describe any candidate who was supporting the National Government, a position which embraced, albeit with varying degrees of enthusiasm, the vast majority of Liberal candidates except those following the lead of Lloyd George. Thus, even Samuel, in his address to the voters of Darwen in Lancashire, employed the description 'Liberal and National candidate'.<sup>9</sup> Though lists existed to differentiate the various camps, these were not precise and some names were recorded as both Samuelites and Simonites. Samuelites were more likely than Simonites to face a Conservative opponent in the coming election, but again this was not an invariable rule. In any case, in no constituency did Liberal stand against Liberal and the average voter could be forgiven for assuming that the present disagreements were no more than a further example of the factionalism that had sadly characterised the party's ranks since the celebrated Asquith-Lloyd George split of 1916. As recently as July, by which time Simon and two other Liberal MPs had already resigned the party whip in the House of Commons, the *Standard* had insisted that the parliamentary Liberal party had 'shown a really remarkable unity when one takes into consideration all the circumstances of a very difficult position'.<sup>10</sup>

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7 *The Times*, 6 Oct. 1931

8 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Simon MSS, SP68, fol. 163, Simon to MacDonald 5 Oct. 1931

9 R. Douglas, *History of the Liberal Party 1895-1970* (London, 1971) p 222

10 *Standard*, 1 July 1931

The situation in South-West Scotland well illustrated the potential for electoral confusion. In the constituency of Galloway the sitting Liberal MP, Cecil Dudgeon, had signed Simon's resolution to the Prime Minister, but almost immediately he took the decision to stand down as Liberal candidate in order to take up the fight on behalf of Oswald Mosley's New Party, the ideologically indeterminate vehicle which helped to project Mosley from mainstream politics into the dark hinterland of fascism. In Dudgeon's place the Galloway Liberal Association selected Edward Maitland Campbell, a committed free trader. Campbell declared his support for the National Government, but with 'certain reservations'. In these circumstances the local Unionists (Conservatives) felt justified in putting up their own candidate, John McKie, to stand against him.<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, McKie was able to use the words of the Liberal National, John Simon, in support of his campaign against his own Liberal opponent. 'There would be in some constituencies', he admitted, 'candidates who were prepared to label themselves Free Traders pure and simple.' But Simon had made it plain that 'anybody not prepared to accept Mr MacDonald's programme in its entirety without any reservations, qualifications or equivocations had no right to label himself as a Nationalist candidate'.<sup>12</sup>

In adjoining Dumfriesshire the Liberal cause, nominally at least, was in the hands of the sitting MP, Dr Joseph Hunter. Hunter had first been elected as recently as 1929, but, an extremely popular figure, he had previously served for more than twenty years as Medical Officer of Health and police surgeon for the burgh of Dumfries, as well as holding a number of other medical appointments in the Dumfries area. His Liberal credentials were, it seemed, impeccable. He had spearheaded the party's campaign in the constituency in 1924 when the official candidate was in South Africa as part of a parliamentary delegation and he was himself persuaded by Lloyd George to enter national politics, following a visit by the Liberal grandee to Dumfries in 1925. Hunter had become director of Lloyd George's celebrated 'Land and Nation League' in England and Wales and, after his election to the House of Commons, became the Liberal party's Scottish whip. But Hunter had been taken seriously ill in early July 1931, resigned as Scottish whip the following month and took no personal part in the General Election in October, leaving his wife to campaign on his behalf. His absence was significant. Hunter could not be questioned as to his precise position within the Liberal party's ranks in the way that many other candidates up and down the country were. His written words therefore offered the only statement of his views. 'I wish to serve no party interest, but to help in maintaining a stable and strong Government pledged to keep a balanced Budget, to maintain and improve our national credit, to restore our balance of trade and to combine a full and free life for the people of the country with the security and integrity of the constitution.' Hunter was conspicuously reticent on the question of free trade, but the *Standard*, admitting now that the divisions within the Liberal party were more serious than it had previously suggested, had no hesitation in placing him firmly in the Samuelite camp. Hunter was one of those 'who support the National party and are prepared to consider tariff proposals without committing themselves to their advocacy'.<sup>13</sup> This interpretation seemed to be confirmed when, on the eve of the

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11 *Standard*, 14 Oct. 1931

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Standard*, 10 Oct. 1931



poll, Samuel himself sent Hunter a telegram of good wishes for electoral success. 'It is essential to the country's welfare', wrote Samuel, 'that the National Government should be confirmed in authority with full power to take all the necessary measures that are needed in the present emergency.'<sup>14</sup>

By this time, however, Hunter's wish to be spared Conservative opposition at the polls had produced some clarification of his views on the key issue of tariffs. At an emergency meeting of the Dumfriesshire Unionist Association on 15 October one delegate suggested that Hunter's position with regard to tariffs was 'rather vague'. In the past the Member had 'always been a strong Liberal Free Trader and denounced tariffs, denounced Protection and denounced anything that they as Conservatives considered was in the interests of the country'. But J.I. McConnel, chairman of the association's general council, and P.M. Forrest, chairman of the Dumfries Burgh Unionist Association, were able to offer reassurance. They had interviewed Hunter in London and were 'very much struck' by the position he took up. The MP had admitted that he was not a 'hundred per cent tariff man'. But, if the National Government decided in favour of tariffs, he would accept this decision. In a subsequent letter to McConnel, Hunter went further. 'In all matters of high policy I will follow the Prime Minister and the National Government in any proposition they think necessary to recommend for the national welfare.'<sup>15</sup> With such assurances the Unionist Association agreed not to put forward a candidate of its own.

In all the circumstances, national and local, the electoral outcome in the two constituencies was entirely predictable, with the Liberal Hunter in Dumfriesshire and the Unionist McKie in Galloway emerging victorious. The assessment of the *Standard*, with its long tradition of supporting the Liberal party, emphasised at the time by the fact that its editor since 1919, James Reid, was also president of the Dumfriesshire Liberal Association, was revealing. Hunter's victory was a matter for quiet satisfaction but scarcely one of surprise. In Galloway, however, the defeat of the Liberal candidate was essentially his own fault:

Mr Campbell threw away his chances of success by his equivocal attitude in regard to the National Government. He persisted in putting Free Trade in the forefront as if that was the question before the country ... Throughout the campaign he placed support for the National Government in a minor and secondary position. The electors of Galloway, like the electors all over the country, insisted on making it the leading issue and in supporting only those candidates who did the same ... Mr Campbell lost thousands of votes by insisting on thrusting party issues into the forefront.<sup>16</sup>

But at least it appeared that a mainstream Liberal had been returned for Dumfriesshire, an impression that was confirmed when the still ailing Hunter was able to attend the meeting of the Liberal party at which Samuel was unanimously chosen as leader in succession to

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14 *Standard*, 24 Oct. 1931

15 *Standard*, 17 Oct. 1931

16 *Standard*, 31 Oct. 1931

Lloyd George and to dine that evening with Samuel, Sir Donald Maclean and other Liberal luminaries.<sup>17</sup> The *Standard* claimed to regard the continuing divisions within Liberal ranks as a matter of regret, especially as it judged that what separated the Samuelite and Simonite factions was 'as trivial as the theological differences that separated the Burghers and the Anti-Burghers of Scottish Presbyterianism'.<sup>18</sup> But what the paper failed to appreciate or, if it did, failed to bring to the attention of its readers, was that the divisions within the Liberal party were leading towards irrevocable separation and that Hunter was moving towards membership of the Simonite camp. In the months following the General Election the Liberal Nationals took on many of the characteristics of a separate political party. Gestures of reconciliation from the mainstream party were consciously shunned, as the Simonites rejected the Liberal whip and accepted that of the Conservative-dominated government. Before the end of November the group had emphasised its autonomy by setting up a series of committees to consider specific areas of policy. Then, early in the New Year, a unanimous decision was taken to form a council and executive to represent Liberal National opinion in the country as a whole. The Liberal National Council was established in July 1932 to serve as a 'rallying point' for rank and file Liberals who wished to give 'whole-hearted support' to the National Government. Steps were also taken to raise the funds that would be necessary to finance candidates at future elections.

With its own growing commitment to the National Government, the *Standard* was, without ever admitting it, also moving towards the Simonite camp. The newspaper had no doubt that it was the duty of Liberals to participate in the government. After all, what was the alternative? 'On the one side there is the opportunity presented to Liberal statesmen of having a hand in shaping policy; on the other side there is simply barren criticism in the face of overwhelming odds.' The *Standard* took further comfort from the fact that a government containing men 'of advanced political ideas' such as the Prime Minister would not produce legislation of a 'reactionary character', such as might be expected of a purely Conservative administration.<sup>19</sup>

The divisions within the ranks of British Liberalism at the level of policy began to clarify when the government introduced its Import Duties Bill at the start of 1932. This might have been enough to provoke the resignation of Free Trade ministers but for the novel suggestion of the War Secretary, Lord Hailsham, that on this issue individual members of the government should be allowed the liberty to differ, thus suspending the conventional doctrine of collective cabinet responsibility. That the Simonites should file into the government lobby was a matter of no surprise. But two MPs, hitherto listed as Samuelites – J.A. Leckie, the Member for Walsall, and Joseph Hunter – also supported the government. The reaction of the *Standard* was instructive. Instead of condemning the MP for betraying the sacred Liberal principle of Free Trade, the paper praised him for his integrity. He had given a promise to support the government in any measures it deemed necessary and was doing just that:

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17 *Standard*, 7 Nov. 1931

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Standard*, 4 Nov. 1931

Dr Hunter honoured the pledges which he gave at the election, though at a heavy cost. Like many other Liberals, he was prepared, for the sake of maintaining the unity of the National party, to abandon the rigid adherence to Free Trade which has been a canon of Liberalism for three-quarters of a century. At the General Election it was thought that a temporary experiment in tariffs might be made in order to cope with the emergency. It was on that understanding that Dr Hunter pledged himself to support the Government. When the plans were produced and were found to contain, not a temporary experiment, but, as Mr Chamberlain [Chancellor of the Exchequer] triumphantly announced, the end of Free Trade in Britain, a less scrupulous man than Dr Hunter might have decided that he could not support the government on that issue. That he determined to stand by his word ... showed a nice sense of honour that is rare in politics ... The votes which Dr Hunter gave in support of the Import Duties Bill are to be interpreted as the fulfilment of his pledges, and not an expression of his political faith.<sup>20</sup>

When in August 1932 the government concluded the Ottawa Agreements, introducing a form of imperial preference, the fragile coalition began to fall apart. Samuelite ministers now resigned from the government in defence of free trade, though the group continued, for the time being, to sit on the government's side of the House of Commons. The Liberal Nationals, by contrast, continued to offer the government their full support. But the position of the Samuelites soon became anomalous. Bombarded with complaints from up and down the country, Samuel had eventually to admit that he and his supporters could no longer occupy places on the government benches and, in October 1933, they crossed the floor of the Commons to take up a formal stance of opposition. Hunter was one of a handful of assumed Samuelites who declined to follow Samuel's lead. The *Standard* downplayed the significance of his decision. He was not one, the paper claimed, 'counted either among the followers of Sir Herbert Samuel or of Sir John Simon'.<sup>21</sup>

For Maitland Campbell, the defeated Liberal candidate in Galloway, these developments showed that his reservations over supporting the National Government at the time of the General Election had been fully justified. 'More and more the Government has allowed itself to be dominated by the Tories. The Prime Minister, Mr Thomas,<sup>22</sup> Sir John Simon and Mr Runciman<sup>23</sup> had become willing servants of the Tory majority in the House of Commons.'<sup>24</sup> The *Standard*, however, begged to differ, insisting that 'a real effort has been made to treat problems from the point of view of national interest and not of party advantage'. Despite the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Conservatives in the House of Commons, it was striking that many of them were also complaining that insufficient attention was being paid to their views and opinions.<sup>25</sup> The ending of the National Government, the *Standard*

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20 *Standard*, 27 Feb. 1932

21 *Standard*, 18 Nov. 1933

22 J.H. Thomas, National Labour Dominions Secretary in the National Government

23 Walter Runciman, Liberal National President of the Board of Trade in the National Government

24 *Standard*, 30 Sept. 1933

25 *Ibid*

declared, would be a 'profound mistake' and a return to party government something which 'the country does not desire'.<sup>26</sup>

Apart from significant parliamentary divisions over the Import Duties Bill and the Ottawa Agreements, there was, in fact, little tangible evidence of Hunter's evolving political stance. He made his first appearance in the constituency after the election and his first political speech for eighteen months at the Dumfries Liberal Club on 28 April 1932, using the opportunity to deny rumours that he had defected to the Conservatives.<sup>27</sup> But his health was still delicate and most of his time was spent in London. In the House of Commons, moreover, he remained silent. As a whip in the 1929-31 parliament, this had been a matter of convention; in that of 1931-5 it was a matter of some concern. Despite being an accomplished and much sought-after speaker at Burns celebrations, Hunter lost all confidence in public speaking after his illness and, at the time of his death in July 1935, had still to deliver his maiden Commons speech:

Before his health broke down under the strain, public speaking cost him no previous anxiety. He would engage in his medical duties all day, and then when the last consultation was over he would jump into his car and drive off to some meeting. He would think out a suitable opening on the way, and once on the platform he was completely at home. His speeches, beautifully phrased, were lighted up with touches of humour ... After his breakdown in health, public speaking became something of a terror to him.<sup>28</sup>

In the circumstances it was scarcely surprising that rumours grew that Hunter intended to relinquish his parliamentary seat and resume his medical career. He and his wife moved their home back to Dumfries at the beginning of 1934 and an announcement about his future was confidently predicted in the London press. The *Standard*, however, wrote of 'particularly ill-informed paragraphs' and, without citing its authority for saying so, insisted that Hunter had 'definitely decided to stick to politics and to Parliament'.<sup>29</sup> Then, after what had been well-kept secret negotiations, it was finally announced at the end of May 1934 that Hunter had accepted appointment as National Organiser of the Simonite group of MPs, thus clarifying the ambiguous position he had held within the ranks of British Liberalism since 1931.<sup>30</sup> Crucially, Hunter now succeeded in taking the local Liberal party along with him. At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Dumfriesshire Liberal Association on 23 May, Hunter made a full statement of his position in parliament and his intentions for the future. His assurance that, in the work he was about to undertake, he would maintain 'the friendliest relations with all Liberals' could only have reflected his personal standing and popularity rather than the political stance he had now clearly adopted. Nationally, relations between the two Liberal factions were becoming increasingly acrimonious. After

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26 *Standard*, 7 March 1934

27 *Standard*, 30 April 1932

28 *Standard*, 27 July 1935

29 *Standard*, 23 May 1934

30 *Standard*, 26 May 1934

his address the MP was asked a number of questions and then withdrew while members of the committee discussed the situation. 'At the end it was decided that the committee should acquiesce in the step that Dr Hunter was about to take.'<sup>31</sup> This decision was important. Not only did it allow Hunter to continue to represent his constituency without challenge. More significantly, Liberalism in Dumfriesshire transmogrified seamlessly into Liberal Nationalism without even the need to change name. In the absence of an alternative source of the Liberal creed, the local association continued to style itself the Dumfriesshire Liberal Association.<sup>32</sup>

Following the announcement of his formal entry into the Liberal National ranks, Hunter embarked upon a series of speeches throughout the constituency. Support for the National Government, he insisted to an audience in Dumfries, 'did not make him one bit less of a Liberal than he ever was nor one bit less of a Radical than he ever was'. It was ridiculous to say that a man ceased to be a Liberal because he associated in a co-operative endeavour with others whose principles had in the past been different.<sup>33</sup> In November he secured the attendance of the Liberal National leader, Sir John Simon, at the Drill Hall, Dumfries. This was followed over the next few months by meetings at Annan, Lockerbie, Lochmaben, Moffat, Sanquhar, Langholm, Gretna, Eastriggs and Torthorwald. All these meetings were arranged under the joint auspices of the local Liberal and Unionist committees and at each Hunter was accompanied by a fellow MP, either Conservative or Liberal National. The *Standard* was enthused. Although the physical and mental strain on Hunter had been 'pretty heavy', 'his friends have noted with great pleasure that Dr Hunter was speaking with his old vigour and fluency'.<sup>34</sup>

Such optimism was misplaced. Hunter was taken ill while travelling in a London taxicab on 22 July 1935 and died in Charing Cross Hospital less than 48 hours later. Preliminary discussions appear to have taken place between representatives of the Conservative and Liberal National parties immediately after Hunter's funeral and, though an autumn General Election was widely anticipated, a by-election was fixed for September. Inter-party agreement on the choice of a candidate proved easier than at many by-elections during the life-time of the National Government. As early as 3 August the *Standard* was able to report that both parties were likely to support the claims of Sir Henry Fildes, former Liberal MP for Stockport, whose availability had been ascertained at the time when Hunter was considering a return to medical practice.<sup>35</sup> The newspaper took the opportunity to rehearse the key arguments of the Liberal National cause, while undermining those of the mainstream Liberal party:

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31 *Ibid.*

32 It was not, in fact, until 1949 that the Dumfriesshire Liberal Association formally affiliated to the Scottish National Liberal Organisation.

33 *Standard*, 15 Sept. 1934

34 *Standard*, 13 March 1935

35 *Standard*, 3 Aug. 1935. It was some indication of the confusion inherent in British Liberalism at this time that Fildes had recently been approached by the mainstream Liberal party in Stockport to stand again for his old constituency. Stockport Central Library, papers of the Stockport Liberal Association, B/NN/2/10, various meetings of the executive committee, 1935.

It is surprising how the old lines of party division have become obliterated. The problems about which Liberals and Conservatives used to fight have nearly all been solved, most of them on agreed upon lines. Even Free Trade no longer excites any enthusiasm, except among a very few, for the man in the street does not feel the burden of tariffs. What other divisions are there?<sup>36</sup>

Before the end of the month the Dumfriesshire Liberal Association had adopted Fildes as its candidate 'without a dissentient voice'. The *Standard* conceded that not all Liberals in the county were united in support of the National Government, 'but those who could not see their way to fall in with the majority absented themselves from the meeting'. When the local Unionist Association met the same afternoon, some opposition was voiced to supporting a Liberal candidate, but in the end the members agreed to endorse Fildes at the by-election, reserving their position in relation to any future contests. The *Standard* was quick to emphasise that a genuine Liberal had been selected to succeed Dr Hunter: 'Sir Henry Fildes is first and foremost a Liberal, with a just pride in all that the Liberal party has accomplished in the past and in all that Liberalism stands for now.'<sup>37</sup> After a campaign dominated by a combination of international and local agricultural issues, Fildes was returned to parliament with a majority of more than 5500 over his Labour and Co-operative opponent, John Downie.

The most significant feature of the political transformation of the county was the effective elimination of the mainstream Liberal party. One correspondent, D.S. MacDonald of Moniaive, wrote to the *Standard* on behalf of those Dumfriesshire Liberals 'who are dissatisfied with the present Government – and there are many such – but who do not approve the policy of the Labour party', urging that they abstain from voting in the by-election. 'How can Liberals give a vote of confidence to the National Government when for almost four years that Government has pursued a most illiberal course in practically every direction?'<sup>38</sup> MacDonald rejected completely the *Standard's* contention that Simon and his followers were themselves fully committed Liberals who differed merely in terms of tactics from their erstwhile colleagues. 'They have cut themselves off from the national organisations of the Liberal party and have set up an independent organisation of their own. They have consistently spoken and voted against proposals emanating from the official Liberal party, and indeed from their actions it is difficult to distinguish them from their Conservative colleagues. In these circumstances they can hardly claim to represent Liberalism.'<sup>39</sup>

Yet the figures suggest that many traditional Liberals continued to give their votes to the Liberal National candidate and Fildes increased his majority in the General Election in November in another straight fight with Labour. Downie tried to use the recommendations of Lloyd George's Council of Action to detach Dumfriesshire Liberals from their traditional allegiance, but with only limited success. As the *Standard* commented, 'misleading leaflets

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<sup>36</sup> *Standard*, 3 Aug. 1935

<sup>37</sup> *Standard*, 24 Aug. 1935

<sup>38</sup> *Standard*, 28 Aug. 1935, letter from D.S. MacDonald

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*



were distributed in thousands throughout the constituency, and may have had some effect in adding a few hundreds of votes to the Labour total. But the trick failed. The great bulk of Liberals were not fooled and they succeeded in securing the triumphant return of Sir Henry Fildes.<sup>40</sup>

Nationally, the General Election was nothing less than a disaster for the Liberal party, now reduced to just 21 seats in the House of Commons, only three of them in Scotland. ‘Whether in terms of votes or seats, whichever way Liberals attempted to analyse the results, there was only gloom to be seen.’<sup>41</sup> The *Standard* joined in what was almost a wake:

To those who remember the glorious days of Liberalism before the war, the results of the General Election last week must cause deep sorrow and humiliation. That section of the Liberal party which claims to be the linear successor of the party of Asquith and Campbell-Bannerman and Gladstone could find only 150 candidates ... Nor did fighting on so small a front bring the success which a concentration of effort should have secured.

By contrast, ‘the fate of the National Liberals has been different. Of the ten candidates put forward [in Scotland], seven have been elected.’<sup>42</sup>

Notwithstanding this analysis, the period after the 1935 General Election witnessed the only significant effort to reassert traditional Liberalism in the constituency before the outbreak of the Second World War. The banner of resistance against the hitherto silent take-over by Liberal Nationalism was raised in Langholm. In mid-June 1936 more than 200 Liberals gathered in the grounds of Arkleton, home of Captain Walter Scott-Elliot, himself recently elected as a vice-president of the county Liberal association. Wilfrid Roberts, Liberal MP for Cumberland, was the guest speaker. Scott-Elliot announced that the demonstration was ‘not in support of the so-called National Liberal Party’. On the contrary, those gathered were highly critical of the National Government and they were there ‘to make a protest against Dumfriesshire being in the hands of the so-called National Liberals’. The *Standard* accepted Scott-Elliot’s right to express such views but criticised the way in which he had done so. ‘Those who oppose the actions of the Liberal Association should do so, in the first instance at least, at a meeting of the association, where those who think differently can defend their case.’<sup>43</sup>

Over the months that followed, during which time the Langholm Liberal Association cut itself adrift from its parent association and sought direct affiliation to the Scottish Liberal Federation, Scott-Elliot and the editor of the *Standard*, James Reid, conducted a lengthy and increasingly acrimonious debate, partly on the public platform and partly in the columns of the newspaper. The *Standard*’s tone became increasingly lofty. In the great days of Liberalism, it suggested:

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40 *Standard*, 16 Nov. 1935

41 C. Cook, *A Short History of the Liberal Party: The Road back to Power* (London, 2010), p 121

42 *Standard*, 20 Nov. 1935

43 *Standard*, 17 June 1936. Though the Liberal National party did not formally change its name to ‘National Liberal’ until 1948, the latter title was already widely used in the 1930s.



There were wide differences of opinion, but these were expressed and maintained without separation until something fundamental arose, like the Home Rule issue. Liberalism in its best days always opposed tests and shibboleths, proscriptions and expulsions. These were repugnant to the true spirit of Liberalism. There remained, however, the obligation of loyalty to the principle of corporate action. Captain Scott-Elliot, since he accepted office in the Dumfriesshire Liberal Association, has never shown that loyalty ... There is still plenty of Liberalism in Britain, but it does not find expression through those who claim to be the heirs of the great traditions of the Liberal party.<sup>44</sup>

Now, however, Scott-Elliot voiced an alternative interpretation of the Liberal divisions that had existed since 1931, to which the readers of the *Standard* had not hitherto been exposed:

Liberalism in Langholm ... is as strong as ever, but in Dumfries and throughout the rest of the county there are large numbers of potential leaders, what I might call a set of funny, timid old gentlemen, who have deserted and gone over to the Tories and now call themselves National Liberals ... National Liberalism is sheer humbug ... National Liberals are Tories in disguise.<sup>45</sup>

Scott-Elliot, however, played into his critics' hands when, in 1937, he began to appear on Labour platforms, initially with the intention of championing the cause of a Popular Front of left-of-centre opponents of the National Government. Thwarted in this ambition, he soon nailed his colours firmly to the Labour mast, a rapid conversion which left him open to the charge that his own political convictions were of no real substance. He now complained that the *Standard*, which he branded a National Liberal newspaper (something which the newspaper itself had never explicitly admitted), was failing to cover speeches made by the constituency's prospective Labour candidate. It could, however, be relied upon to report Sir Henry Fildes' every word.<sup>46</sup> Not surprisingly, the *Standard* preferred to describe its political stance in its own words:

... the *Standard* stands, as it has always done, for Liberalism, not slavishly following the lead of any political party or party leader, but striving to make an independent contribution to political thought. Because in the exercise of that independence we do not find it possible to follow the lead of Sir Archibald Sinclair,<sup>47</sup> particularly in these difficult and anxious days, when the safety of the nation and Empire transcends all mere party considerations, we are accused of being no longer Liberal. Such accusations leave us undisturbed, because the views that we hold are shared by a large and increasing number of people in whom Liberalism is the breath of their political life.<sup>48</sup>

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44 *Standard*, 6 Feb. 1937

45 *Standard*, 17 April 1937

46 *Standard*, 19 Feb. 1938

47 Sinclair had become leader of the Liberal party following Herbert Samuel's loss of his Darwen constituency in the General Election of 1935.

48 *Standard*, 18 March 1939

Early in 1938 Scott-Elliot was adopted as Labour candidate for the Lancashire constituency of Accrington.<sup>49</sup> His defection took much of the impetus out of the revival of independent Liberalism in Dumfriesshire, but the Langholm Liberals' example played a part in encouraging the Liberals in neighbouring Galloway to re-group after their failure to field a candidate in the 1935 General Election. A meeting in Maxwelltown, recently transferred to the Galloway constituency, in February 1939, was 'to those of us who have the temerity to call ourselves Liberals – yes, just plain Liberal, and not Simonite or Liberal National ... the healthiest bit of political news in south-west Scotland for some considerable time'.<sup>50</sup> But, as always, the *Standard* was well placed to have the last word:

That once great party has shrunk to a small Parliamentary group. Their record at the polls is indeed humiliating. Since the General Election there have been 62 by-elections, and of these Liberals contested only ten, and did not gain a single seat. This lack of success should induce some serious reflection as to whether the present policy of the Liberal Party is right. Much as we desire to see the Liberal Party become once more powerful, we see no hope for it so long as it simply endeavours to outdo the Labour Party in vituperation of the Government and particularly the Liberal section of it.<sup>51</sup>

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The coming of war in September 1939 inevitably transformed the political landscape. Liberals and Liberal Nationals served alongside one another in Churchill's all-party coalition government after May 1940, blurring distinctions and giving rise to abortive wartime discussions about the possibility of nationwide Liberal re-unification.<sup>52</sup> On 18 May 1945, with victory over Germany secured, Churchill wrote to the leaders of the Labour, Liberal and Liberal National parties, offering them a choice between remaining in the coalition until the end of the conflict against Japan or else withdrawing immediately so that a General Election could be held in July. Only Ernest Brown, since 1940 leader of the Liberal Nationals, selected the first option. In Dumfriesshire the *Standard* maintained its pre-war stance, criticising the stated intention of the Liberal party to make 'a big effort' at the election, while praising the Liberal Nationals for deciding 'in their wisdom' to

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49 After the delay caused by the Second World War, Scott-Elliot was duly elected as Labour MP for Accrington in the General Election of 1945. He rose to junior office but opposed the nationalisation of steel and did not stand for re-election in 1950. In what was, by any standards, a curious political odyssey, he appeared on a platform with Niall Macpherson, the National Liberal MP for Dumfriesshire, during the 1951 General Election campaign. In a distinct change of tone, the *Standard* (24 October 1951) now wrote of 'a man of great experience and deep sincerity'. Scott-Elliot achieved more fame in death than in life following his murder and that of his wife by their butler, Archibald Hall, in December 1977, a story which attracted considerable attention in the tabloid press.

50 *Standard*, 4 March 1939, letter from D.S. MacDonald

51 *Standard*, 4 March 1939

52 I. Hunter, 'The Final Quest for Liberal Reunion 1943-46', *Journal of Liberal Democrat History*, 32 (2001)

continue to support the Prime Minister.<sup>53</sup> The newspaper was outraged by rumours that the Langholm Liberals had adopted Flying Officer Ian McColl as prospective Liberal candidate for the constituency. ‘The audacity, not to say effrontery, of the Langholm Liberal Association in adopting a candidate for the whole of Dumfriesshire is amazing.’<sup>54</sup> In the event, McColl claimed to have been invited to stand by ‘many good Liberals in all parts of Dumfriesshire’. He condemned the Liberal Nationals as ‘mere appendages – neither Liberal nor truly national – of the Conservative Party’, who were ‘trying to exploit Mr Churchill’s leadership’.<sup>55</sup>

Meanwhile, Dumfriesshire Liberal Nationals, still clinging to the title of the Dumfriesshire Liberal Association, met on 6 June and unanimously re-adopted Sir Henry Fildes for the coming contest. To general surprise, however, the Dumfriesshire Unionists, meeting on the same day, voted by 56 to 48 not to oppose Fildes, but also not to give any official backing to his candidature. Disappointed by this outcome, Fildes withdrew from the contest, leaving the Liberal Nationals with an urgent need to find a new standard-bearer.<sup>56</sup> Their choice fell upon Major Niall Macpherson, whose credentials seemed impeccably ‘Liberal’. His uncle had been Liberal MP for Ross and Cromarty for 25 years and his father was still chairman of the Inverness-shire Liberal Association. At his adoption meeting Macpherson used the descriptions ‘Liberal’ and ‘Liberal National’ almost interchangeably, but it was clear that his own commitment was to the latter group. Some of those present voted for an amendment to support McColl, prompting the chairman to declare, somewhat disingenuously, ‘I am rather afraid that there are some people who have come to this meeting who actually should not be here at all’.<sup>57</sup>

Much of the ensuing campaign focussed on the competing claims to the mantle of authentic Liberalism of Macpherson and McColl, with the *Standard* tending to dismiss the chances of the Labour candidate. ‘As an exponent of politics, Mr Dunwoodie does not rank very high.’<sup>58</sup> There might be many present, Macpherson told an audience in Annan, who were, like himself, ‘proud to be Liberals’ and proud of the Liberal tradition. ‘But it was better that they should have as a representative one who would have some voice in the Government.’<sup>59</sup> The *Standard* confirmed that ‘first and foremost’ Macpherson was a Liberal. ‘But he belongs to that section of the party’ – the continuing use of the singular form was striking – ‘which is standing by, and will continue to stand by, our incomparable Prime Minister.’<sup>60</sup> By contrast, McColl insisted that he could not discern any difference between a Liberal National and a Conservative, while the Liberal party’s distinguished recent recruit, William Beveridge, speaking on McColl’s behalf at St George’s Hall, Dumfries, declared that the Liberal Nationals ‘had no relation to the Liberals whom he

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53 *Standard*, 10 Feb. 1945

54 *Standard*, 24 March 1945

55 Ewart Library, Dumfries, box 10, McColl election leaflet, 1945

56 *Standard*, 9 June 1945

57 *Standard*, 16 June 1945

58 *Standard*, 30 June 1945

59 *Standard*, 23 June 1945

60 *Standard*, 30 June 1945

represented at all'.<sup>61</sup> In turn, the *Standard* warned its readers that a party like the Liberals 'with so little cohesion and so much independence condemns itself to futility'.<sup>62</sup> while Macpherson attempted to turn the characteristic Liberal argument of the 1930s, that only they upheld true Liberalism, on its head. Commenting on the remarkably radical proposals in their manifesto, 'he considered that the Independent Liberals had lost all right to call themselves Liberals because they were advocating a policy that must lead to Socialism'. Only the Liberal Nationals could be relied upon to pursue traditional Liberal values.<sup>63</sup>

In the event Macpherson, with no Unionist opponent, retained the seat for the Liberal Nationals with a comfortable 4,077 majority over his Labour opponent. For the official Liberal party McColl secured just 5,850 votes. Nationally, however, the result was a disaster for the Conservatives and their allies, with Labour securing a majority of 146 seats over all other parties combined. Neither form of Liberalism could draw much satisfaction from the results. Only 11 unequivocal Liberal Nationals were returned to Westminster. Although their performance was somewhat stronger in Scotland than in England, Ernest Brown, defeated at Leith, was among the casualties. The position of the mainstream Liberal party was, if anything, even worse. Just 12 Liberal MPs made their way to the new House of Commons and the party in Scotland was wiped out, with Archibald Sinclair narrowly beaten in an agonizingly close three-way contest in Caithness.

Across the country Liberals and Liberal Nationals had to consider their future. For the latter the need was particularly pressing, granted that the National Government which had given them their primary *raison d'être* was now a thing of the past. Most concluded, at least in private, that they could not go on as an independent party. In this situation several Liberal National associations, including that in Dumfriesshire, began to explore the possibility of reunion with what were still, despite his electoral defeat, commonly called the Sinclair Liberals.<sup>64</sup> These moves evolved into a national process following an open letter from Ernest Brown to the *Glasgow Herald* in May 1946. 'A reunited party', suggested the *Standard*, 'has some hope of survival, and indeed of progress. Continued disunion can only end in extinction.'<sup>65</sup> In response, Macpherson produced an anodyne list of ten principles around which, he believed, all Liberals could coalesce.<sup>66</sup> The *Standard* offered support and so too, more surprisingly, did Ian McColl, defeated Liberal candidate at the General Election.<sup>67</sup> A meeting convened on 24 April 1946 by the Dumfriesshire Liberal Association agreed to set up a committee, representative of the two Liberal factions in the county, 'to

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61 *Standard*, 27 June 1945

62 *Ibid.*

63 *Standard*, 4 July 1945

64 Clement Davies had been chosen as leader of the parliamentary Liberal party, but was not formally appointed to the wider post of party leader, not least because of a mistaken expectation that Sinclair would soon return to the House of Commons.

65 *Standard*, 20 March 1946

66 *Standard*, 27 March 1946. See also *Liberal Magazine*, July 1946

67 *Standard*, 3 April 1946. In 1949 McColl was selected as Liberal candidate for Greenock with the full support of the local Unionist association. 'So he has learned some wisdom from his experience in Dumfriesshire', commented the *Standard*, 4 February 1950.

revise the constitution of the association and to submit to a meeting to be held in the near future proposals for the future policy and activities of the association'.<sup>68</sup>

Only slowly did the editorial columns of the *Standard* reveal the basis upon which it considered reunion feasible. The Labour government, it suggested on 29 June, was pushing socialist schemes as fast as it could. And, as 'Liberalism is diametrically opposed to Socialism', it was the duty of Liberals to oppose it. 'All Liberals who agree on this ought therefore to unite and fight for Liberal principles, the greatest of which is belief in the liberty of the individual.'<sup>69</sup> By the end of October the newspaper's message had become much clearer:

The Liberal Nationals ... are showing themselves more realistic and consistent. They recognise that the really important thing is to defeat the Party to whose principles they are utterly opposed, and in order to secure this desirable end they hold that Liberals, 'while maintaining their independence as a Party, should be prepared to cooperate with all other political forces whose primary aim is the same'.<sup>70</sup>

In practice, of course, this meant electoral partnership with the Conservatives, something which the mainstream Liberals were unable to accept.

Granted the parlous state of independent Liberalism in Scotland, it was not altogether surprising that it was the Liberal Nationals who tended to set the agenda of reunion discussions north of the border. Negotiations came much closer to success than those taking place in London. Indeed, Liberal headquarters became concerned that their chief negotiator in Scotland, Lady Glen-Coats, chairman of the Scottish Liberals, was being outmanoeuvred by her Liberal National opposite number, James Henderson Stewart, MP for East Fife. When, however, negotiations at a national level broke down, those in Scotland, including Dumfriesshire, soon petered out and the quest for reunion was abandoned.<sup>71</sup>

Liberal Nationals turned quickly to their other option, a more formal and regularised arrangement with the Conservatives. By March 1947 the outline of a deal was in place and the Woolton-Teviot Agreement was formally announced in May, allowing for the fusion of the two parties' organisations at constituency level. In Dumfriesshire the two parties held back from this step – one which in many cases led quickly to the disappearance of the Liberal National tradition, if not necessarily its name. In October 1947 the Dumfriesshire Liberal and Unionist Associations announced instead that they had decided to form a joint committee to support the candidature of the sitting Liberal National MP at the next General Election. 'Both Associations urge their branches to engage in the fullest cooperation, although it is stressed that the two Associations maintain their separate identities.'<sup>72</sup> The Dumfriesshire

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68 *Standard*, 27 April 1946

69 *Standard*, 29 June 1946

70 *Standard*, 30 Oct. 1946

71 Hunter, 'Final Quest', p 15

72 *Standard*, 25 Oct. 1947

Liberal Association itself finally took the decision in September 1949 to affiliate to the National Liberal Organisation of Scotland.<sup>73</sup> It was thus as a National-Liberal-Unionist that Macpherson sought and secured re-election to parliament at the General Elections of 1950, 1951, 1955 and 1959. In the absence of an independent Liberal candidate, Macpherson enjoyed comfortable majorities over his Labour opponents. In parliament he formed part of the Liberal-Unionist group, the name adopted by those MPs selected by joint constituency associations under the terms of the Woolton-Teviot Agreement. That group maintained a theoretically independent existence, occupying its own bench in the Commons and holding regular weekly meetings when parliament was in session. But the Liberal-Unionists never collectively withheld their support from the Conservative government during its 13 years in power and Macpherson himself gained junior office in the governments of the late 1950s and early 1960s, having previously served as vice-chairman of the Scottish Unionist Transport Committee.<sup>74</sup>



Figure 1. Major Niall Macpherson MP, later 1st Baron Drumalbyn  
(Courtesy of the Ernest Fawbert Collection)

Over this period the close association between the sitting member and the *Standard* was maintained. Macpherson was, as the paper still insisted at the time of the General Election of 1950, 'a good Liberal'.<sup>75</sup> He was certainly a conscientious constituency MP who held his regular surgeries in the *Standard's* offices in Dumfries. Speaking after the declaration of the 1951 poll in front of the *Standard* office, and accompanied by James Reid, still in his

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73 *Standard*, 3 Sept. 1949

74 *Standard*, 24 Dec. 1952

75 *Standard*, 8 Feb. 1950

late 70s the paper's editor, Macpherson thanked the paper 'which has always stood firm'. It 'does not hide its views. It is not its job to be unbiased, it is its job to be fair. We rejoice that we have got papers like the *Standard* to keep the flag flying.'<sup>76</sup>

For its part the *Standard* continued to blur the distinction between Liberal Nationalism and Liberalism, while missing few opportunities to denigrate the electoral efforts of the independent Liberal party. When Jack Maclay, National Liberal MP for Montrose Burghs and chairman of the party's parliamentary group, visited the constituency in October 1948, the *Standard* styled him 'a Liberal leader'.<sup>77</sup> At by-elections each lost Liberal deposit was greeted, if not with glee, at least with a renewed statement of the futility of their endeavour. When the party decided to field more than 450 candidates at the 1950 General Election, the *Standard* was deeply critical, warning – accurately as it turned out – that the 'chief effect' of this development would be to split the anti-socialist vote to the sole benefit of the Labour government.<sup>78</sup> The result of the Liberals' 'pride and over-weening confidence' was an unmitigated disaster:

That delusion has been rudely shattered by the electors. Out of that great army only a small handful have survived the battle. Few of them took even second place, and so far as the vast majority are concerned they had their places in the melancholy procession of candidates who forfeited their deposits.<sup>79</sup>

By the early 1960s Macpherson's political designation appeared increasingly anomalous and it became the subject of criticism in the correspondence columns of the *Standard*. 'Most people in the constituency', suggested one reader, 'will remain as confused as ever as to what all these names mean.' If Macpherson and his supporters could not point to a single political issue on which their views differed from those of an orthodox Conservative, 'let them be honest, call themselves Conservative and stop misleading the voters'.<sup>80</sup> Even the *Standard* recognised that it was now time to accept reality:

The real question is whether conditions which prevailed in the 'thirties' are applicable to the 'sixties'. Here in Dumfriesshire it would be difficult to find even a handful of the old National Liberals. With few exceptions those who have not joined the Grimond group have chosen the Tory team.<sup>81</sup>

An independent Dumfriesshire Liberal Association had been re-created shortly before the General Election of 1959 and the body that had clung so tenaciously to this title belatedly became the Dumfriesshire National Liberal Association. Yet did this latter organisation still have a viable existence? Its membership had fallen, according to one report, to just seven members. 'This almost defunct association', argued one correspondent, writing under

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76 *Standard*, 27 Oct. 1951

77 *Standard*, 13 Oct. 1948

78 *Standard*, 15 Feb. 1950

79 *Standard*, 25 Feb. 1950

80 *Standard*, 12 Oct. 1963, letter from Sheila Sutherland

81 *Standard*, 5 Oct. 1963



the pseudonym 'ex-National Liberal', was kept in existence 'for no other reason' than to nominate Macpherson as its candidate.<sup>82</sup> Yet, in the autumn of 1963, amid rumours that the beleaguered Conservative government might soon go to the country, Macpherson, shortly before the announcement of his own peerage, declared that he would once again fight the election as a National-Liberal-Unionist.<sup>83</sup> Only his elevation to the upper chamber meant that 'what many people regarded as a political anomaly [could] be removed'.<sup>84</sup> Macpherson's successor stood as a straightforward Conservative, while the last remnants of the National Liberal party in Dumfriesshire soon disappeared.

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There was, of course, no single cause of the decline of Liberalism in Dumfriesshire, or anywhere else in Britain. That process, moreover, was in many ways well advanced by the time of the split in the party's ranks in 1931-2. Yet it is difficult to escape the conclusion that, in its political reporting and editorial comment, the *Standard* was at least a contributory factor. No doubt discerning voters in the constituency fully understood what happened to the nature of their parliamentary representation in the 1930s. Some would not have relied solely on the *Standard* for their information. Yet the fact remains that this newspaper, with its well-established Liberal-supporting credentials, provided the most detailed coverage of local politics that was available. Not only did it offer consistent support to the Liberal National cause, generally insisting that this was the *Liberal* cause, but it systematically, if subtly, misrepresented what had happened. By 1935, at the latest, there were two separate parties in Britain bearing the name 'Liberal', each with its own structure, organisation, bureaucracy and leadership. The one moved into ever closer alliance and alignment with the Conservatives, from whom it never significantly distanced itself in policy or voting behaviour in parliament. In the *Standard's* presentation, however, Liberals and Liberal Nationals remained estranged parts of the same movement, whose differences were essentially tactical. The Liberal Nationals were thus authentic spokesmen of traditional Liberalism, worthy of the support of Liberal voters who, after all, had no other Liberal candidates to endorse between the General Election of 1931 and the by-election of 1963, apart from the half-hearted challenge mounted by independent Liberalism in 1945. While the Dumfriesshire Liberal Association, presided over until 1947 by the same man who was also editor of the *Standard*, transmogrified into the Dumfriesshire Liberal National Association without openly declaring the change by amending its name, the scope for voter confusion was considerable. A pattern of political allegiance and voting behaviour was lost, which could not simply be recovered when the National Liberals disappeared and the Liberals re-entered the political battleground at the time of the 1963 by-election. If it was not the *Standard* 'wot done it', it had certainly played a not inconsiderable part.

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82 *Standard*, 20 July 1963, letter from 'Ex-National Liberal'

83 *Standard*, 5 Oct. 1963

84 *Standard*, 26 Oct. 1963

## ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA

JOSEPH TRAIN, ROBERT MALCOLMSON AND THE COLLECTION OF  
FOLKLORE FOR (SIR) WALTER SCOTT AND JAMES HOGGDavid F. Devereux<sup>1</sup>

Following the publication in Volume 84 of the *Transactions* of letters in The Stewartry Museum collection which evidenced the early literary relationship of Joseph Train (1779-1852) with (Sir) Walter Scott<sup>2</sup>, a further letter from the same collection illuminates the process by which Dumfriesshire and Galloway tales and traditions were collected and transmitted to Scott in Edinburgh.

The letter was written from Newton Stewart by Joseph Train to Robert Malcolmson of Kirkcudbright on 3<sup>rd</sup> February, 1819<sup>3</sup>. The full text is reproduced below.

Dear Sir

Mr Scott has not favoured me with any literary communication since I wrote you last otherwise I would have been proud to have intimated the same to you. Indeed I am informed that for some time past he has given up nearly all literary correspondence even with his oldest and most intimate friends in consequence it is supposed of wishing to avoid mentioning in any manner the celebrated Novels of which he is universally suspected to be the author but I rest confident that both you and myself will receive our merited reward some day.

The third series of the Tales of My Landlord already in the Press is I am informed to consist of Gallovidian Tales. If the work was not finished before your collection was received perhaps some of your stories may appear in that publication.

There is a Mr Smith a Brewer here going into Edinburgh in about 3 weeks from this date. Captain Denniston of Creetown is writing some old stories to send with a few Traditions of my own gathering by this conveyance and if you could add anything to the parcel it would be very obliging to me as it would give me an opportunity of wishing to introduce you to a direct communication with Mr Scott.

Campbell the New Novel lately published is the work of Mr Aikman (late proprietor of the Edinburgh Star) a gentleman with whom I am intimately acquainted. It is certainly a work of considerable merit.

Excuse haste but believe me to be

Dear Sir

Most Sincerely

J Train

Scott's highly popular Waverley Novels series were originally published anonymously, although, as Train states, Scott's authorship was generally suspected. He did not acknowledge this publicly until 1827. As Train also indicates, the third series of Scott's *Tales of my Landlord* was published in 1819. The reference to the novel *Campbell* by Andrew (?) Aikman is obscure.

1 Fellow of the Society; The Stewartry Museum, St. Mary Street, Kirkcudbright, DG6 4AQ

2 Devereux, David F, 'Two Letters from Joseph Train Relating to his Early Literary Career and Collaboration with (Sir) Walter Scott', *TDGNHAS*, ser III vol 84 (2010)

3 The Stewartry Museum, accession number 5422/01, donated by Mrs M. Alexander, in August 1973

Train's letter confirms that Denniston, Malcolmson and Train himself were supplying accounts of local folklore to Scott in early 1819 for possible publication or adaptation by Scott. Note also that Denniston and Train were collaborating in sending their offerings together as one parcel by the same carrier.

Captain James Murray Denniston, was the son of a tailor in Gatehouse-of-Fleet. He served as Town Clerk in Creetown and was a Justice of the Peace. He rose to hold the rank of Adjutant in the Galloway Militia, hence his military title. Through Joseph Train, he met Walter Scott while stationed with the Militia in Edinburgh. Like Train he was a collector of Galloway traditions and stories. He published *Legends of Galloway* in 1825 and his best-known work *The Battle of Craignilder* in 1832<sup>4</sup>.

The Stewartry Museum holds a collection of manuscripts by Robert Malcolmson including a note book for this period, in which he copied his letters to Train together with the folklore gathered for Walter Scott. By good fortune, a copy of the letter, which prompted the reply from Train quoted above, was found in this book<sup>5</sup>. Dated, 14<sup>th</sup> December, 1818, Malcolmson's letter refers to previous correspondence with Train and expresses his pleasure with, 'the high terms in which you have spoken of my communication', and he promises to make 'further exertions in your service'. Then he continues:

I am afraid however my ardour in this business will soon cool if I do not receive a letter from Mr Scott's own hand acknowledging the receipt of my communication. Such a letter would be a powerful stimulus to future exertion in collecting the stories I sent you. I have frequently to make use of Mr. Scott's name, else I should not have succeeded so well. The name of such a man has a magical effect. Many to whom I applied for stories, appeared at first somewhat inaffable, but no sooner did I mention that I was employed by the celebrated Scott, than they became communicative, and showed a willingness to serve me.

The popularity of Scott's literary output in our region is clearly attested in this letter. What is not clear is whether Malcolmson ever received the letter he sought from Scott. Nevertheless he continued to send material through Train as the letter book includes copies of four further letters addressed to Train, dated February and September 1819, and April and July 1820, each with 'stories' for onward transmission to Scott. However the last copy letter in the book is dated February 1821 and is addressed not to Joseph Train, but to the poet and novelist James Hogg:

Sir

For some time past I have amused my leisure hours in collecting traditions for Sir Walter Scott, whose various works have contributed so much to delight and edify the public. But, much as I admire the productions of that extraordinary genius, I feel equally anxious to serve the author of "The Queen's Wake", who has followed so long and so gracefully in the steps of his celebrated friend. The following traditions are given exactly as they were related to me. I am aware that they abound with faults and inelegancies of diction, but as I do not write for the press, I think I may fairly claim your indulgence. It is needless to add

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4 See *Dumfries and Galloway: a literary guide* by Julia Muir Watt, Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, Information and Archives (2000), for a detailed account of Denniston's life and literary output

5 The Stewartry Museum, accession number 1641, donated in 1882 or 1883 by a Dr. MacGowan of Bristol, through George Hamilton. Dr. MacGowan was presumably related to Robert Malcolmson through his marriage to Patricia McGowan (see below).

more. If my stories meet your approbation you shall hear from me again. Hoping you will favour me with a few lines on receipt of this.

I remain

Your obedient humble servant

Robert Malcolmson

In the absence of any evidence, we might risk speculating that Malcolmson was still a little disappointed that Scott had not directly acknowledged his contributions through Train, and therefore decided to offer his 'traditions' directly to Hogg instead. A copy of Hogg's response, dated 31 May 1821, can be found in Robert Malcolmson's note book held in the Hornel Library, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright<sup>6</sup>. In this, Hogg acknowledges receipt of a letter and apologises for not replying to an earlier letter from Malcolmson (possibly the letter quoted above). Hogg states that, although he found the material of interest, he was unable to use it as his book *Winter Evening Tales* (1820) had recently been published and he had no plans to publish a further collection.

A minor literary figure in his own right, Robert Malcolmson was born in Kirkcudbright in 1792 or 1793, the son of Samuel Malcolmson, innkeeper of 'The King's Arms' or 'Heid Inn' in Kirkcudbright's High Street. A poem of his was published in the *Liverpool Courier* in 1806, and another in the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* in 1810. Thereafter he was a regular contributor to the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* from 1813 to 1815. He wrote a reply to *The Galloway Herds*, a lampoon on the clergy of the Kirkcudbright Presbytery in the years 1820 and 1821, attributed to Samuel Sturgeon and eventually published in 1909<sup>7</sup>. He contributed to the *Dumfries Magazine* in 1826 and provided information for the Rev William Mackenzie's *History of Galloway*, published in 1841. In 1829 he married Patricia McGowan and the couple thereafter lived off a small annuity of hers. Tragically, he drowned in Kirkcudbright Harbour in 1848<sup>8</sup>.

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6 Hornel Library, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, MS 18/11. Published in *The Collected Letters of James Hogg*, Volume 2, by James Hogg, Edinburgh University Press (2006)

7 *The Galloway Herds*, attributed to Samuel Sturgeon, Thomas Fraser, Dalbeattie, (1909)

8 See *The Bards of Galloway* by Malcolm McL Harper, Thomas Fraser, Dalbeattie (1889) for an account of Malcolmson's life

## ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA

A MEDIEVAL HUNTING LEASH MOUNT FROM PALNURE,  
DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONStuart Campbell<sup>1</sup>

In 2010 Mr J A Spencer recovered a medieval hunting leash mount whilst metal detecting at Palnure. He reported his find to the Treasure Trove Unit at the National Museums Scotland via Stranraer Museum. In March 2011 the leash was allocated to Stranraer Museum, one of a number of recent allocations to Dumfries and Galloway Museums service by the Treasure Trove process.

Although fragmentary pieces of these leash fittings are not uncommon metal detector finds it is unusual to see an example which is complete. Indeed, it is perhaps only recently that such complete fittings have been fully recognised as being from dog leashes. Broadly similar examples have been found at Winchester (Rees, et. al., 2008, 232-3) and Marchwood, Hampshire (Collins, 2011, 148) while a particularly impressive example from Cirencester is held by the British Museum.

The fitting itself is of a simple and functional design. The main body is a stout, cast bronze ring to which all other parts are firmly attached. At one end (Figure 1.) there are two separate leash attachments which still hold the remains of the leather leashes. These are made from a single piece of sheet metal looped around the central ring and fastened to the leash with three rivets each; rather than both being for the same animal, it seems likely that this attachment was designed for the huntsman to control two dogs at the same time. This reflects what appears to have been a standard practice in medieval European hunting, pairing the dogs as ‘couples’, and it is this feature which indicates that this leash was intended for hunting, although it is clear many hunters made do with a simple rope (Cummins, 1988, 23-4). On the opposite side there is a sub-circular ring attached to the main body of the piece by a short bolt; this side of the fitting would have connected directly to the leash held by the huntsman. Although now corroded fast this ring originally would have rotated freely around the bolt, allowing – with the exception of the huntsman’s leash – the whole fitting to rotate around its central axis. The benefit of this action is immediately apparent to anyone who has ever walked a dog, for by rotating around the line of the leashes the fitting prevents the leads on both sides from tangling or getting caught. Even to this day, such a device might be familiar to any dog owner, yet this example is much more than a functional device.

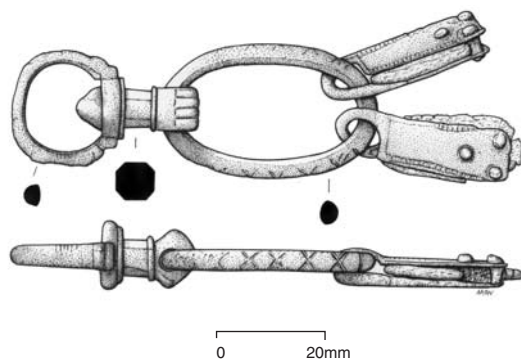


Figure 1. Mount with swivel ring on left and two leash attachments to the right.

1 Treasure Trove Unit, National Museums Scotland, Chambers St., Edinburgh EH1 1JF

This is made obvious by a simple examination, for the fitting is decorated on almost every surface. The central oval ring is decorated with a series of engraved crosses, while the two leash attachments have engraved decoration around the borders and rivets. Most impressive is the D-shaped ring at the other end. Where the ring terminates at the fitting for the bolt it is designed to resemble the heads of wild beasts clutching the bolt in their mouths. (These are now much corroded and are best seen as photographed in Figure 2.) Where the bolt itself attaches to the central loop it has been modelled to resemble a human fist grasping the loop. This latter is an important detail for it allows the leash fitting to be closely dated; visual puns of this sort are a common feature on 12<sup>th</sup> century Romanesque metalwork but the use of a human fist appears on only one other example of such a leash fitting, that from Cirencester, now in the British Museum. This latter example is elaborately decorated and art historical comparison allows it to be dated to the mid 12<sup>th</sup> century (Zarniecki, 1984, 250). In a British context then, the Palmure leash fitting dates to what is perhaps the highpoint of medieval hunting culture, when one-third of England was under forest law (Young, 1979, 149-50).



Figure 2. Close up of the bolt and swivel ring, showing the beast head and miniature fist clutching the ring.

Both the Palmure mount and the Cirencester example raise important questions regarding the level of decoration employed in their construction. In purely functional terms the decoration adds nothing to the utility of the object and amounts to a considerable expenditure of effort by the craftsman, and a commensurate expenditure in fiscal terms by those who commissioned the piece. The value and rationale for this decoration lies elsewhere, by providing an object to be displayed and admired in a highly controlled social setting. To the medieval mind hunting was more than sport and certainly far more than the procurement of meat. The discipline and virtues it taught made it a civilising force, one of the liberal arts which were the preserve of a cultured individual. From the chase to the kill to the final ritualised butchery, the hunter inhabited a cultural sphere which constituted, 'a moral imperative to act in a certain way even while no one is looking, but especially when all eyes are upon you ... it exemplifies an internalised regime of discipline ... where violence in act and impulse is regulated and ennobled by self-imposed subordination to an ideal.' (Marvin, 2006, 123). As importantly, it allowed the participants to display the virtues of physical courage and skill at arms in a social setting which emphasised courtly prowess and manners (Rooney, 1993, 78). And this was very much a social

setting, the hunter crossed into a world of 'participatory theatre', part game and part spectator sport, guided in their actions by a cultural and moral framework (Cummin, 1988, 9). The metaphors and similes from which hunting drew its rationale had wide understanding in medieval societies, and it is clear that those who hunted comprised part of the intellectual elites who both wrote and read the literature of the day; a proper understanding and appreciation of the rhetoric and allusions deployed by writers demanded a detailed understanding of hunting practice and culture (Cummins, 1988, 9).

Amongst the myriad arts of medieval hunting from hawking to archery, to hunt *par force des chiens* (by strength of hounds) ranked supreme and had particular resonance in aristocratic ideals by emphasising control and direction over both the human and animal realms (Marvin, 2006, 6). In this sense objects like the swivel leash were accoutrements or props within this wider spectacle. They reflect the value and status of the animals themselves, for a good hunting dog was the product of both good pedigree and of thorough training, a source of pride and object of affection (Cummins, 1988, 23-4). Moreover the hounds and their accoutrements would be central to the climax of the hunt, the 'breaking up' of the deer on the spot where it fell, an act part practical butchery and part performance art where the hounds would be rewarded with their portion of the kill (Marvin, 2006, 100). Objects like the Palnure fitting were very much part of this spectacle, their ornate nature invoking the status both of the hunter and the animals which wore them while the decoration evoked both the frenzy of the hunt and - in the details of the miniature human fist - the controlling relation between animal and human which underwrote and justified the spectacle.

In both practical terms and in the ideals which it inspired hunting was very much - though not always - the preserve of a cultured elite. To hunt in this manner was also a straightforward badge of status as it required both the fiscal and social means to maintain the required retinue, both animal and human. Whatever the sanguinary thrills of the chase and what - to modern eyes at least - may seem an ennoblement of simple slaughter, both the ideal and practice of hunting provides a picture far from the illiterate and brutal aristocracy with which the cliché of the period often provides us.

However it does also raise another question; the parallel used to date this object is a signal piece of Romanesque artwork, an art historical category often used as shorthand for Norman. The historical sources on which the above interpretation relies are also largely French or English in origin. From a Scottish perspective this raises questions about Norman colonisation and acculturation, an issue which has particular significance in Galloway where conventional historical narratives have viewed the absorption of Galloway into the Scottish Crown as a hostile takeover - violently resisted - with the Norman aristocracy as the armoured vanguard of an enforced change. It must be said that too much has been made of this sort of thing, not least in the tendency of museums to label any objects of this period as Norman, thereby presupposing their cultural use and significance. It is also to fall prey to a view and assumption of cultural types and cultural interactions which modern historians have rejected. In reality, the integration of Galloway into the Scottish Crown was a long, drawn-out process, involving not the elimination of the native aristocracy but accommodation and acculturation on both sides (Oram, 1993). What stands out more than anything perhaps is that, in spite of the archaeological prevalence of motte sites, just how 'native' the Galwegian aristocracy remained (ibid, 144). In this context there is the probability that this object was not the property of a Scoto-Norman incomer, but of a member of the native aristocracy. It is clear that many contemporaries saw no inherent conflict between a Gaelic and Scoto-Norman identity; men like Alan of Galloway saw no inconsistency between his Scoto-Norman heritage and his duties as a Gaelic warlord (Stringer, 1993). In this sense Galloway was part of a Gaeltacht stretching north and west through the Irish Sea lanes, yet also part of a kingdom increasingly open to European influence. It is telling that the best parallel for the Palnure leash comes not from Norman England but from Finlaggan, the Islay seat of the Lordship of the Isles, the de facto capital of an unruly proto-kingdom both culturally and politically distinct from the mainland Scottish Crown. Excavations at Finlaggan recovered the remains of at



least three of these leashes, part of a material culture which mixes Anglo-Scottish objects with those of a distinct maritime Gaelic culture (Caldwell, personal communication). The appearance of these leashes in Islay is a useful reminder how malleable the mainstream European ideal of knighthood could be in the maritime west, a fact also attested by the historical record (Neville & MacDonald, 2007), but also how readily 'native' Scottish families could take to European norms to express their indigenous status.

In conclusion, the shared cultural ideals such objects embodied comprised a common understanding between different cultural groups within the Scottish kingdom. This may have a particular significance for Galloway where these different groups would live and interact on a daily basis. Objects such as the Palnure fitting demonstrate not acculturation but common experience and knowledge which transcend these boundaries of politics and culture: unexpected connections on the journey from Cirencester to Finlaggan via Palnure.

### Acknowledgments

I am grateful to John Pickin at Stranraer Museum for the suggestion and encouragement to write this note and also for funding the illustration by Marion O'Neill. Thanks go to colleagues, Dr David Caldwell, for drawing my attention to the Finlaggan examples and for discussing his excavations at Finlaggan and to Lyndsay McGill, for reading and commenting on this note.

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## REVIEWS

***Kirkpatrick Fleming: On the Borders of History*** by Duncan and Sheila Adamson. Dumfries: Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 2011. x + 208pp. £15.00, ISBN 978-1-907931-05-5 (hardback)

This is in every way an impressive book, covering in detail the history of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish from the earliest times. It is the latest volume of the Ann Hill Bequest, and is of the same high standard as the other publications in this series.

The authors have, primarily, focused on the inhabitants of the Parish. Kirkpatrick Fleming's church and school, for long the twin centres of activity for the population, receive due consideration and among the appendices are lists of the ministers and head teachers who have served the community. As a rural parish, agriculture and its associated trades have always produced occupations for the people. Such estates as Springkell and Mossknowe provided employment for many. The histories of the families who owned these estates are fully explored, with several rather notorious episodes recounted. Associated with Kirkpatrick Fleming are several tales of legend and romance. The ballad of Fair Helen of Kirkconnel is known worldwide and Robert the Bruce's Cave has a considerable reputation.

Perhaps the true value of this volume is its provision of a chronicle of the people of Kirkpatrick Fleming over the centuries, from the Stone Age to the present day. External factors have influenced this story. A very notable appendix is the Roll of Honour of the Parish. Recorded are the names of the local inhabitants who fell in the two World Wars, and those who suffered wounds during the earlier conflict. Also described are the activities and difficulties experienced by the population on the Home Front during these years.

Besides the traumas caused by the World Wars, such occurrences as the construction of the railway system, changes in agricultural techniques and recently motorway travel, have all had an effect. However, the community still thrives.

The authors must be congratulated on their work of assembling such a vast amount of information into this compact and accessible form. Colourful endpapers reproduce Victorian Ordnance Survey maps of parts of the Parish. The numerous illustrations of people, places and events, right up to the present day, complement the text admirably, and the comprehensive index makes locating specific topics effortless. This publication provides an important historical record in an exceptionally well-presented format.

Alex McCracken.

***The Men of the North: The Britons of Southern Scotland***, by Tim Clarkson. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2010. vii + 230pp. £20.00, ISBN 978-1-906566-180 (paperback)

This well-written and extensively researched book by Tim Clarkson presents a narrative history of Southern Scotland from the end of Roman Britain to the Norman Conquest, based largely on literary sources. The Britons of Southern Scotland, the indigenous descendants of the Iron Age tribes first described by Roman writers, have received comparatively little attention in the study of early historic Scotland in comparison to the Scots, Picts, Angles and Vikings. This may be due to the perception that their role was minimal in the development of the nation.

The book's Introduction provides a very useful description and critical assessment of the literary sources which are the foundation for the study of this period. This comprises histories, annals, king lists and poetry, many of which come from Welsh sources, where the memory and prestige of the British kingdoms of Southern Scotland and Northern England survived longest. The book is then split chronologically into 10 chapters, beginning with an account of the impact of the Roman Empire on the people of North Britain on either side of Hadrian's Wall, and ending with a reflection on the absorption of British identity into the Scottish nation and the disappearance of the Brittonic language as a result of 'Gaelicisation' in church and state by 1200. Much of the narrative focuses on Strathclyde, Stirlingshire, the Lothians, the Borders, Cumbria and Northumbria leaving our own region a little on the sidelines, but that simply reflects the availability of source material rather than any omission on the author's part.

The British kingdoms north of Hadrian's Wall were well established when the political structure of Roman Britain began to break down after 400. Around Edinburgh the territory and name of the Iron Age tribe of the Votadini survived through the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries to reappear as the British *Y Goddodin* in the famous poem by Taliesin of that name. The author makes a convincing case on practical grounds to argue against the prevailing view that the poem describes a long-range attack by a Votadinian war band on Catterick, usually identified as the 'Catreath' in the poem. Rather he suggests the action took place on the Tweed at the southern limit of Votadinian territory and on the borders with the British kingdom of Rheged and Anglian Bernicia. This certainly fits better with Taliesin's mention that Catreath was within Urien of Rheged's domain. Urien's contemporary was Rhydderch Hael, King of the Strathclyde Britons with his power centre at 'Alt Clut' – the 'Rock of the Clyde' – Dumbarton Rock. This was to be the most important and longest surviving kingdom of the Men of the North. Govan replaced Alt Clut as the capital in the later 9<sup>th</sup> century, shortly after which time the distinctive Govan school of sculpture appears.

The early ecclesiastical history of Dumfries and Galloway is described with reference to the 5<sup>th</sup> century Latinus stone near Whithorn and the three 6<sup>th</sup> century Kirkmadrine stones, and of course Whithorn. Following the results of recent excavations, the monastic settlement seems to have commenced from 500, associated with Ninian, whose missionary work amongst the Picts may have been exaggerated by Bede for propaganda reasons after Whithorn was absorbed into the Kingdom of Northumbria around 700. Similarly, the religious centre at Hoddum was at its zenith around 800 when populated by Northumbrian clergy but it originated as a British site traditionally founded by Kentigern, around 600.

The location of Rheged is another particular point of interest for our region. The *Historia Brittonum* records one Urien besieging Lindisfarne in the later 6<sup>th</sup> century. This is the same Urien of Rheged celebrated in the poetry of the Welsh poet Taliesin. The Kingdom of Rheged has been assumed to have occupied both sides of the Solway with its centre at Carlisle. This has been based solely on a much later reference in Hywel ab Owain's 12<sup>th</sup> century poem. Place names such as Dunragit, Rochdale and others have also been linked with the name Rheged, but all are difficult to interpret accurately. The author prefers instead to seek its location in those 'blank' areas which are not clearly part of a known kingdom, of which our region is just one of several in South Scotland. In his lecture to the Society in April 2010, Dr Michael McCarthy reaffirmed his argument for locating Rheged on Dunragit and the Rhinns, with a close association with Whithorn and the port at the Isle of Whithorn. This would not be incompatible with Clarkson's view.

The westward expansion of Bernicia / Northumbria in the later 7<sup>th</sup> century pressured the British Kingdom of Strathclyde and probably brought the fall of Rheged. The Northumbrian bishopric at Whithorn was established by 731 and in the 740s Northumbrian control was extending into Ayrshire from Galloway. The weakening of Northumbrian power in the South-West from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century

following the beginning of Viking raids, allowed the Strathclyde Britons to extend their territory into Dumfriesshire and Cumbria. By 927, the River Eamont near Penrith appears to be the southern boundary of the Strathclyde Britons. Here, Owain King of Strathclyde and Constantine, King of Alba/Scots, submitted to or made some form of treaty with Athelstan, King of Wessex (and Mercia). In Galloway place name evidence suggests a mix of Anglian and British lordships with Norse settlement on the coast centred on Whithorn and Kirkcudbright, by the early 10<sup>th</sup> century,

Athelstan's subsequent campaigns in 934 against Owain and Constantine reasserted his dominance in Southern Scotland, but this was challenged by a Viking/Strathclyde/Scots alliance. The alliance was defeated at the Battle of Brunanburh in 937, the site of which is uncertain, but the author argues that Burnswark, Dumfriesshire is the most likely location.

The alliance of Edmund, Athelstan's successor with Malcolm I, King of Alba, allowed Edmund to campaign in Strathclyde / Cumbria in 945 and probably also attack the Solway coast. Although the Strathclyde kingdom survived it may have been controlled by Malcolm I as a fiefdom. Strathclyde was eventually absorbed into the Scottish kingdom over the next 150 years. With the succession of Alexander as King of Scotland in 1107, his brother David (later David I) was given control of the former kingdom, including parts of Dumfriesshire, with the title 'Cumbrensis regio Princeps' - 'Prince of the Cumbrian region'. His control did not extend further west into Renfrew, Ayrshire or Galloway, which may have been controlled by Gall Gaidhil lords, and in this context Fergus, Lord of Galloway, emerges in the later 1120s.

In presenting a history of the 'Men of the North' inevitably the author has had to bring in their neighbours – Scots, Picts, Hiberno-Norse, Northumbrians etc.. - so much so that this book can also be read as a general history of Southern Scotland for this time. As such it is a valuable reference work for a complicated period, short of sources. It provides the broader historical background for more specific studies of our own region, which has seen a high level of research interest and publication over the last 25 years, particularly through the stimulus of the Whithorn Trust and all those historians and archaeologists associated with it.

David F Devereux.

***Art in Madness: Dr. W. A. F. Browne's Collection of Patient Art at Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries*** by Maureen Park. Dumfries: Dumfries and Galloway Health Board, 2010. xvi + 268pp. £25, ISBN 978-1-899316-69-4 (hardback). (Available from the Ewart Library, Catherine Street, Dumfries DG1 1JB and from John Smith and Sons Bookshops, University of Glasgow, Fraser Building, 65 Hillhead Street, Glasgow, G12 8QF)

'TO WAKE the Soul by tender Strokes of Art,  
To raise the Genius and to mend the Heart.'

Whether the Crichton Royal Institution's Physician Superintendent, Dr William Browne, ever read these lines by 18<sup>th</sup> century poet, Alexander Pope, we'll never know, but used as a chapter introduction in a recently published book about the Crichton's patient art collection, they certainly seem to sum up what Dr Browne was trying to achieve. *Art in Madness* by Maureen Park explores the collection of art work produced by patients at the highly regarded Dumfries 'lunatic asylum' during Dr Browne's time there. A lecturer in art history at the University of Glasgow, Dr Park's book is the result of research undertaken for her PhD thesis on the Crichton Art collection. As such, it is academic in tone but also makes a fascinating read for anyone interested in the Crichton's history, the treatment of mental illness and art therapy.

In the early chapters, Dr Park tells the story of the Crichton's establishment by Elizabeth Crichton after her original plan for a college or university for impoverished scholars failed. The forty acre site on the Mountainhall Estate was bought in 1834 and the asylum was completed in 1838, the year which also saw the arrival of Dr Browne, headhunted by Mrs Crichton from an asylum in Montrose. According to Dr Park, Mrs Crichton read Dr Browne's forward-thinking book *What Asylums Were, Are, and Ought to Be* and travelled by coach from Dumfries to Montrose in March 1838 to make him an immediate offer. Dr Park says the Crichton's first Physician Superintendent would have been aware of the 'heavy responsibilities' his new position carried: 'He was to take charge of one of the largest asylums in Scotland; provide care for more than a hundred patients, regulate and record all treatment; employ and supervise staff; supervise the maintenance of the hospital building and grounds; and report regularly to the asylum trustees.'

Life at the Crichton is vividly detailed in the book which offers an insight into Dr Browne's ground-breaking methods of moral as well as medical treatment which included art. Dr Park writes: 'Fine art was more than a mere distraction: it served to revive former tastes and interests, stimulated new pursuits and often allowed disparate members of the asylum community to share in the appreciation of its beauty.'

In May 1983, former Dumfries and Galloway Health Board archivist, Morag Williams, discovered a large, leather bound volume of artwork, entitled *Art in Madness by W.A.F. Browne*, in the cabinet of the Physician Superintendent's office at the Crichton's Johnston House. It contained 134 works of art which were remounted and restored in 1989. The subject matter ranges from views of towns and countryside landscapes, copies of famous paintings, natural history studies and other mental institutions. Dr Park's book goes on to reveal more about the artists behind the work in the collection, patients including Isabella Weir, the wife of an Edinburgh wine merchant who suffered from 'mania with delusions upon religious topics'; Williamina Bowden, a gentlewoman of 'irritable and obstinate temper' who suffered from 'acute mania'; Arthur Tennyson, younger brother of Alfred, Lord Tennyson who suffered from the 'effects of tobacco, spirits and epilepsy'; John McTaggart Davidson, a Merchant Navy captain suffering from 'mania brought on by the solitude of ship life' and many others.

The second part of book contains colour illustrations of the new catalogue of Dr Browne's art collection in which Dr Park has built on Mrs Williams' original catalogue. Dr Park concludes: 'The Crichton art collection is a testament to Browne's commitment to moral treatment, his dedication to patient care and his belief in the therapeutic powers of art.'

Carol Hogarth.

NOTICE OF PUBLICATION<sup>1</sup>

***The Frontiers of Imperial Rome*** by David Breeze. Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books, 2011. 272pp. £25.00, ISBN 978184884427-8 (hardback)

‘At its height, the Roman Empire was the greatest empire yet seen with borders stretching from the rain-swept highlands of Scotland in the north to the sun-scorched Nubian desert in the south. But how were the vast and varied stretches of frontier defined and defended?’

Many of Rome’s frontier defences have been the subject of detailed and ongoing study and scholarship. Three frontier zones are now UNESCO World Heritage sites (the Antonine Wall having recently been granted this status - the author led the bid), and there is growing interest in their study. This wide-ranging survey will describe the varying frontier systems, describing the extant remains, methods and materials of construction and highlighting the differences between various frontiers. Professor Breeze considers how the frontiers worked, discussing this in relation to the organisation and structure of the Roman army, and also their impact on civilian life along the empire’s borders. He then reconsiders the question of whether the frontiers were the product of an overarching Empire-wide grand strategy, questioning Luttwak’s seminal hypothesis.

This is a detailed and wide-ranging study of the frontier systems of the Roman Empire by a leading expert. Intended for the general reader, it is sure also to be of great value for academics and students in this field. The appendixes will include a brief guide to visiting the sites today.’

***The History of the Colvend Coast: In Napoleonic and Victorian Times*** (The Colvend Chronicles Volume One) by John Gillespie. Andover: Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 2011. 278pp. £19.95, ISBN 9781860776687 (hardback)

‘The Colvend Coast ... lies between the historic Dundrennan and Sweetheart Abbeys; in an area recognised nationally as being of outstanding natural beauty. This volume, which is the first of a planned series, covers the Napoleonic and Victorian periods and describes the social history of the Northern Solway; and East Galloway in particular. It covers aspects like churches, schools, sports, militia and communications, as well as farming, forestry, migration, shipbuilding at Kippford, and the granite quarries in Dalbeattie.

Hundreds of individuals are mentioned and the book will be of special interest to local historians and genealogists. There is also a gazetteer of all the dwellings.’

***Nithsdale at War*** by Isabelle C. Gow. Catrine: Stenlake Publishing Ltd., 2011. 112pp. £16.00, ISBN 978-1-84033-549-1 (paperback)

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<sup>1</sup> Notice of publication of work relating to the interests of the Society and the remit of the *Transactions* is welcomed. Please send this to the Editor.

***The Life & Times of David Currie of Newlaw*** by Frances Wilkins. Kidderminster: Wyre Forest Press, 2011. £5.00 (booklet)

‘Describes the trials and tribulations of an eighteenth century merchant/landowner against the background of the Kirkcudbright tobacco trade, the smuggling trade and the slave trade. David Currie was bankrupted by his association with John Park of Ayrshire and Roscoff in France and John Christian, former cashier of the ill-fated Douglas-Heron (Ayr) Bank et. al. in a slave trading scheme based on the Island of Dominica in the West Indies. In an attempt to raise money, he borrowed £400 from the Mull of Galloway Smuggling Company, who in return rented his land at Balcary Bay.’

***A History of Dumfries & Galloway in One Hundred Documents (1600-1850) Part II*** by Frances Wilkins. Kidderminster: Wyre Forest Press, 2011. £10.00 (booklet)

Both booklets are available from: Frances Wilkins, 8 Mill Close, Blakedown, Kidderminster, Worcs. DY10 3NQ. Email: frances@franscript.co.uk

***Castledykes Park Dumfries*** by Alison Anne Fairn. Dumfries: Southwest Scotland Decorative and Fine Arts Society, 2011. £3.50 (booklet)

***The Ecclefechan Carlyle Society Series*** from The Grimsay Press

This press publishes ‘print on demand’ reprints of ‘... books of interest to family, local and social historians. Many of these will be reprints that are difficult or impossible to obtain through the usual channels. These reprints will often be augmented with additional materials, such as a new or expanded index, to make them more accessible, but many retain the text appearance of the original.’

The Ecclefechan Carlyle Society series contains, for instance, *Kirkcudbright: Fifth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway Volume II County of the Stewartry; Dumfriesshire: The Seventh Report with Inventory and Constructions in the County of Dumfries; Chronicles of Lanercost, 1272-1346* (Maxwell); *The Scottish Gallovidian Encyclopedia* (Mactaggart); *The Growth of a Scottish Burgh: A study in the early history of Dumfries* (Shirley) and *Maxwelltown: Some Memories of an old Scotch Burgh* (Elder).

The Grimsay Press, 57 St Vincent Crescent, Glasgow G3 8NQ Web: thegrimsaypress.co.uk

***The Friendly Invaders*** by John Scoular, Tom McCreath and Jack Hunter. Stranraer: Stranraer and District Local History Trust, 2011. £4.00 (booklet)

‘The lives of Wigtownshire folk were much affected by various groups of strangers who temporarily lived among them during WW2. Evacuees from the Glasgow area, servicemen and women, prisoners of war all spent time in Wigtownshire.’

This, and a range of other publications of the Stranraer and District Local History Trust, is available from: The Secretary, Stranraer and District Local History Trust, Tall Trees, London Road, Stranraer DG9 8BZ Web: www.stranraerhistory.org.uk



***And the Band Played On*** by Christopher Ward. London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 2011. 274pp. £20.00, ISBN 978-1-444-70794-6 (hardback)

‘On 14th April 1912 the Titanic struck an iceberg on her maiden voyage and sank. Fifteen hundred passengers and crew lost their lives. As the order to abandon ship was given, the orchestra took their instruments on deck and continued to play. They were still playing when the ship went down. The violinist, 21 year-old Jock Hume, knew that his fiancée, Mary was expecting their child, the author’s mother.

One hundred years later, Christopher Ward reveals a dramatic story of love, loss and betrayal, and the catastrophic impact of Jock’s death on two very different families. He paints a vivid portrait of an age in which class determined the way we lived - and died. An outstanding piece of historical detective work, **AND THE BAND PLAYED ON** is also a moving account of how the author’s quest to learn more about his grandfather revealed the shocking truth about a family he thought he knew a truth that had been hidden for nearly a hundred years.’

***RMS Titanic “The First Violin”: The story of the great liner’s bandsman John Law Hume*** by Yvonne Hume. Catrine: Stenlake Publishing Limited, 2011. 112pp. £14.95, ISBN 9781840335217 (hardback)

‘According to survivor testimony, the band played on as the Titanic sank and the musicians went down in folklore as heroes. This book tells the story of John (Jock) Hume, the youngest band member and ‘The First Violin’. Beginning before the disaster with the circumstances that put him on board, it follows his story through the sinking, then picks up the tale of the bitter court battles that followed after as the mother of Jock’s unborn child fought for financial help. The fascinating tale of how a talented young musician found himself inextricably linked with the fate of history’s most famous, most luxurious and most tragic ship is told by his descendant Yvonne Hume from family papers and contemporary photographs.’

## OBITUARY

JAMES BANKS  
1914 - 2010

James Banks, who died on 28th November 2010, was for many years a prominent and energetic member of the Society, being President from 1971 to 1974. He was born in 1914 at Wishaw, where he attended the High School before going to Glasgow University, where he took a degree in botany, followed by Jordanhill Teacher Training College from which he graduated in 1939. War intervened and he was directed to the Clyde Mills Iron Works where he worked in the laboratory, during this time marrying his wife Florence in 1942. After the war he returned to teaching, first at Trinity Academy in Edinburgh, then in 1952 to Aberdeen Grammar School. Eventually he came to Dumfries in 1959 as Principal Teacher of Biology at Dumfries Academy, later being promoted to Deputy Rector, which post he filled till his retirement in 1979.

He joined the Society in 1960 not long after his arrival in Dumfries and was soon involved in organising the excursions which in those days were several in number and all by bus. He also for many years operated the slide projector at meetings, only giving up this work in 1995 when he was 81. He once told the story about a meeting of the Society held in the Ewart Library on an evening when he also had to attend a teachers' meeting. He set up the projector to be operated by the speaker, went to the teachers' meeting and returned to the Society's meeting just in time to receive a 'vote of thanks to the operator'.

His interest in botany was not merely theoretical; he was also a keen gardener until failing health precluded this, specialising in the cultivation of roses and then changing over to dahlias. In March 1965 he gave a talk to the Society on, 'The Structure of Plants and their Cultivation'. This included a description of the propagation of roses by budding, for which purpose he grew briars in his garden. In 1971 he became President and held this office until 1974 when his presidential address was on the subject of 'Palaeo-ethnobotany'. He later spoke to the Society on his travels in the Mediterranean, in March 1987 on the subject of 'Malta' and in November 1991 on 'Historic Andalusia'. As a Fellow of the Society he continued his active support until only a few years ago when he gave up his attendance at Council meetings. However, he continued his interest in reading on scientific and historical subjects. He also undertook research into the history of the farm at Scarknowe near Shotts which had been the home of his ancestors, and after which he named his house.

In 2010 he moved to a nursing home in Wishaw where he died on 28th. November 2010. His wife had predeceased him and he is survived by his sons Tom, Bill and Chris. In his passing the Society has lost a valuable member.

Alex Anderson.

## PROCEEDINGS

8 October 2010

**Annual General Meeting**

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS**

**Morag Williams,**

**In Their Footsteps: Three Local Personages**

The speaker, retiring President and Health Board Archivist on the Crichton site for 26 years, chose three local personages in whose footsteps she had followed in some way. The first was Elizabeth Crichton née Grierson (1779-1862), who had spent her early years in Mouswald Parish at Rockhall until her marriage, while Morag Williams lived in Mouswald Village, also until she married. Both had strong connections with Mouswald Church. The Grierson family, as landed gentry, merited privileged seating there and the family's burial enclosure is located on the south-west side of the church. Elizabeth Crichton left a remarkable legacy to psychiatry in the form of her bestowal of Crichton Royal Hospital by means of trusteeship of the fortune of her husband, Dr James Crichton. She remains the greatest benefactress to the mentally ill that this country has known. The fact that her original desire, the establishment of a university in Dumfries, was realised 170 years later proves that dreams do come true, even if posthumously.

The second subject, James Gilchrist (1813-1885), is less well known but also a very worthy individual. In his early years in the parish of Torthorwald, he and his mother faced great poverty and hardship after the death of his father and young sister from Tuberculosis. Nevertheless, by dint of perseverance and intensive evening study he progressed from Dumfries Academy (reached on foot daily) eventually to Edinburgh University (institutions also attended by the speaker), from which he graduated in Medicine at the age of 37. He served two periods on the staff at Crichton Royal, firstly as medical assistant 1850-1853 and then as physician superintendent 1857-1879. He continued the enlightened caring regime desired by Mrs Crichton from the outset. During this time, the hospital buildings expanded and the first farm, Brownhall, was purchased. He was often seen guiding the convalescent patients on geological and botanical field trips. Concerts, some held in his own residence, were a feature of his years of service. He was a founder member of DGNHAS and served the society as president 1874-78, contributing 24 papers to the *Transactions*. He was twice married and had two high-achieving sons by his first wife. The Gilchrist Conference Room within Easterbrook Hall was, on Morag Williams' recommendation, named after him.

The third choice of study was Robert Corsane Reid (1882-1963), whose forebears held illustrious positions nationally and internationally: his grandfather was Sir James Reid, a member of the Supreme Court of Justice in the Ionian Islands; his father was an advocate and Queen's Remembrancer for Scotland; and his uncle was Robert Threshie Reid, Q.C. and M.P. for Dumfries Burghs, known as Earl Loreburn of Dumfries. R.C. Reid was educated at Cheltenham and Trinity College, Cambridge, after which he was called to the Bar. His promising career on the national scene was cut short because of a youthful injury to one leg and the onset of problems with his eyesight. He was another personage with strong Mouswald connections. He inherited the family estate at Mouswald Place, encompassing the farms of Mouswald Banks and Cleughbrae. He returned with his wife Helen to live at Cleughbrae in 1920, and Mouswald Place was sold in 1925. He gave sterling service in local government as county councillor for Mouswald and Torthorwald 1929-1958. The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by Glasgow University in 1958. Dr Reid recommended the young Alfie Truckell as curator for Dumfries Museum. Despite great opposition, he was the power behind the establishment of Gracefield Arts Centre, in recognition of which a bronze head of Dr Reid by Benno Schotz is lodged at Gracefield. His contribution to the Society was unequalled. He had a passion for archaeology, archival research, history and genealogy, serving as Secretary, Editor of the

*Transactions* (to which he contributed 140 papers) and President (1933-1944). The Ewart Library holds 196 volumes of his self-indexed manuscripts. He penned a publication entitled 'Mouswald Kirk' to mark the rededication of the church in October 1929. It was in that church that a memorial service for him was held in April 1963. As President, Mrs Williams had for the previous three years been involved in vetting applications for funding for archaeological research projects to the Mouswald Trust, set up by Dr Reid. In his presidential address, he recommended membership of the Society: 'Antiquarians are not old fogies and both history and pre-history should make some appeal to a secondary school teacher! It has always been surprising to me that so few of the teachers in our secondary schools have shown an interest in our activities.'

22 October 2010

**Dr Richard Jones, Department of Archaeology, Glasgow University  
New Investigations of Roman to Mediaeval Archaeological Sites in Dumfriesshire**

Excavation remains the standard means of exploring the heritage of the Region, but over the past half-century has been supplemented by other approaches, best seen in RCAHMS's 1997 volume on East Dumfriesshire, which integrated the excavation record with information drawn from survey, notably aerial photography. New archaeological sites have been discovered in this way, and new information gained on known sites. Now, geophysical prospection, already known as 'geophysics' to viewers of the television programme *Time Team*, is adding its contribution, particularly in relation to a new project in Dumfriesshire, SHARP - the Solway Hinterland Archaeological Remote Sensing Project.

The principal geophysical instrument, the magnetometer, detects subtle changes in the Earth's magnetic field as it passes over buried structures or features. SHARP used single-sensor magnetometers capable of surveying up to one hectare per day but at Dalswinton worked briefly with a German team employing a sixteen-sensor array pulled behind a vehicle and capable of surveying two hectares per hour. The other geophysical workhorse used was resistivity, which detects archaeology by measuring changes in electrical resistance caused by buried structures. Lastly, SHARP employed ground-penetrating radar on a small scale, its attraction being the sectional view it provided, complementing magnetometer and resistivity findings.

SHARP now aims to apply geophysics to Roman and medieval sites known from aerial photography and/or excavation, extending out to each site's environs where no previous archaeological information is available i.e. moving from site to landscape level. Experience on the Antonine Wall shows that Roman military installations respond well to this approach and, since 2008, SHARP has explored a 3.2ha area within and outside the Roman siege camp at Burnswark and carried out a detailed survey of the Flavian forts at Dalswinton (Bankhead). Encouraging results have been obtained from the earlier aerial photographic interpretation of two successive forts, the second at right angles to the first, together with annexes. For the medieval period, SHARP has focussed on two former motte and bailey sites, Torthorwald and Lochmaben Peel, with mixed results. Superimposed upon the effects of post-medieval and modern agriculture in the field SW of Torthorwald stone tower were the remains of both the broad medieval enclosure ditch and built structures on either side of it.

5 November 2010

**Professor James Floyd, Heriot-Watt University  
Architectural Heraldry in Dumfries & Galloway**

The origins of heraldry lie in the 12<sup>th</sup> century when knights wearing a full face helmet needed to be readily identifiable in battle and at tournaments. A Coat of Arms, which must include at least a shield,

is borne by only one person at a time and, as heritable property, passes on to the heir, typically the eldest son. The Lord Lyon King of Arms, an appointment with judicial rank, has the power to grant a Coat of Arms to anyone with Scottish descent or connections. He and his officers maintain the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland, exact payment for the Treasury for the granting of arms, and pursue misuse of non-registered arms in Scotland.

William the Lion (1165-1214) was one of the early Scottish kings to bear the red lion rampant within a double *tressure* (narrow border) on a gold shield as the emblem of the Scottish crown. Variations over the centuries in the design of the Royal Arms of Scotland can be seen on the Midsteeple in Dumfries and the Pend at Whithorn. Both have been conserved by Historic Scotland using special potassium silicate paints, which allow the stone to breathe, with gold leaf used for the gold charges. The current version of the Royal Arms of the United Kingdom, dating from the start of Victoria's reign in 1837, can be seen on the County Buildings in Wigtown and vary slightly when used in Scotland or England. In Scotland, the red lion rampant (Scotland) appears in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> quarters of the shield (top left and bottom right as seen by an observer) with the three lions or leopards (England) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> (top right) quarter and the Irish harp in the 3<sup>rd</sup> (bottom left) quarter. Four mottos are used, two representing Scotland ('*In Defens*' and '*Nemo Me Impune Lacessit*') and two representing England ('*Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense*' and '*Dieu Et Mon Droit*'). When used in England, nationally and worldwide (for example on embassies), the Scottish and English quarterings are counter-changed, with England in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> quarters, Scotland in the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter and Ireland in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, as before. The County Buildings in Wigtown also carry an older, Stuart version of the Royal Arms, bearing the monogram CR (*Carolus Rex*) of Charles II, and dated 1678, which pre-dates the building and must therefore have come from some earlier structure. This is termed an 'orphan' panel, in contrast to a 'widow' panel which is a Coat of Arms left behind on a building when the original owner of the arms has moved on elsewhere. Examples of the English quartering of the Royal Arms can often be seen in Scotland, however, such as on the former Post Office in Annan and on the (now removed) 'By Royal Appointment' panel on the former Gates factory at Heathhall.

Local Authorities have been enthusiastic users of Coats of Arms on Municipal Buildings and they reflect changes in the organization of Local Government in the region. The arms of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries, featuring the Archangel Michael slaying the dragon, can be seen on the Council buildings in Buccleuch Street, along with the rallying cry '*A Lore Burne*', etched on the glass door. The arms of the Royal Burgh of Annan relate to the Bruce family, while those of Annandale and Eskdale District Council also incorporate the golden fleece of Langholm. The arms of Sanquhar use a crest of a demi-dragon, borrowed from the Crichtons, together with their family motto of 'God Send Grace'. The seal of the Royal Burgh of Kirkcudbright, carved on the wall of the Museum there, shows St Cuthbert with St Oswald's head on his lap. The welcome sign at Dalbeattie incorporates charges from the arms of the Maxwells of Munches, a local family, and carries the motto '*Respice, Prospice*' (look back, look forward). New Galloway uses the boar from the arms of the Gordon family while Castle Douglas Town Hall has a crowned and winged heart with two *mulletts* (stars) and the motto 'Forward', taken from the family of Douglas of Castle Douglas and used in the town's arms. The arms of Stranraer are of very early date (1673) and not surprisingly feature a ship.

Throughout the Region, there are many examples of Family and Corporate Heraldry. Somewhat surprisingly perhaps for almost the southernmost town in Scotland, the magnificent quartered arms of the North of Scotland and Town and County Bank, an Aberdeenshire bank formed by merger in 1908, can be seen on the north corner of Bank Street and Irish Street. This is a 'widow' panel and uses *Petra Sancta*, a system of engraved lines and other markings to indicate particular colours, suggesting that these particular arms were never intended to be depicted in colour on this building. The arms of the Scott family appear on the Buccleuch and Queensberry Hotel, Thornhill; and The Douglas Arms, Castle Douglas, also has a lovely armorial sign, unfortunately marred by the surrounding clutter of road signs.

Churchyards throughout the region reveal many examples of heraldry. Kirkpatrick of Closeburn's arms have a crest of a hand holding a dagger, dripping blood and carrying the motto '*I'll Mak Siccar*', recalling the final blow delivered to the Red Comyn in the Church of the Greyfriars in Dumfries. St Michael's Church and Churchyard are particularly rich in heraldry: for instance, the marble memorial to Sir Thomas Reid in the church porch. An example of a lady's arms, using a diamond-shaped lozenge rather than the more masculine and war-like shield, can be seen on the memorial to Ann Kennedy of Knockgray. Unlike city memorials, rural gravestones stand in clean, clear air and are thus commonly covered with lichens, which can sometimes mask and erode the carved features on the stone and will ultimately lead to its destruction.

19 November 2010

**Rebecca Boyde, Archaeology Scotland**  
**Archaeology of Beer and Brewing**

Barley is the standard grain of modern beers because it is easier to malt i.e. allow to germinate by soaking in water and then halting germination by drying in warm air. In the past (and still with a few present-day beers), wheat was used but rye, millet and sorghum can also serve as grains, with sugar, wormwood, dogwort and bog myrtle added as optional flavourings over time. The Incas brewed beer from an early form of maize. Hops were introduced to the British Isles from Belgium in the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries: previously the drink was known as 'ale'.

In addition to the pleasure beer provides, anthropologists see it as playing a wider social function of creating and strengthening group bonds, and it is no accident that it is found at feasts worldwide. Beer was, and in some places still is, not only a drink but also an important source of carbohydrate and a valuable foodstuff, providing vitamins released by breakdown of its cellulose. It remains a dietary staple in places like the Northern Cameroons.

In the malting process, the grain is steeped and then the swollen grain is spread on a floor. Malted grain has rootlets on the end and archaeologists, seeking evidence of beer-making, look out for this kind of detail. There might also be traces of a floor or level space where turning and raking would have taken place to maintain an even temperature, or of a kiln used to dry the grain and stop germination. The next stage of milling cracks the grains to allow extraction of the sugars: Peruvians actually chew the grain at this stage and then spit it out! Saliva assists fermentation. Mashing at a temperature of 62 to 67 degrees C and sieving produces a sugar-rich liquid called wort, which can be drunk at this stage or allowed to ferment. The sieved mash can be used as a cattle feed or to make malt loaves. The brewing process itself can vary in duration. In Africa, the pap that results after 24 hours is fed to babies to ease digestion. In Ethiopia, the drink is ready in 5 days. By contrast, Lambic is a very distinctive Belgian beer brewed for 8 months, using a mixture of barley malt and unmalted wheat.

The Sumerians appear to have been the first to make beer, in the 4<sup>th</sup> Millennium BC: archaeochemical studies found the earliest chemical pattern for beer on a shard from modern-day Iran. The Sumerians even had a hymn to the Goddess of brewing and, in their hieroglyphics, a triangle on a clay tablet seems to have been used as a sign for beer. Archaeologists have discovered that meadowsweet, found as a residue in a Bronze Age beaker, extended the shelf life for weeks. Other archaeological finds relating to brewing include malting floors; a Mesopotamian strainer; grinding stones, pestles and mortars from Africa; a quern from Skara Brae, where water drains were revealed; a wooden fork found at Prestonpans; a 17<sup>th</sup> Century wooden tankard from the West Highlands; and barrels or flagons used for storage – a 'krug' (cf. German bierkrug: beer mug) was recovered from the salvaged Mary Rose. Traquair House had drains, wooden stirrers and other equipment in good

condition from a past brewery and, fortunately, brewing was re-established there in 1965 in the old brew house. Sadly, the once widespread tradition of transporting beer barrels by horse-drawn wagon is no more.

3 December 2010

THE JAMES WILLIAMS LECTURE

**Innes MacLeod**

**Strolling Players, Minstrels & living People: Entertainers in Dumfries & Galloway**

This lecture, the successor to the Cormack Lecture, was given in honour of the late, longstanding editor of the *Transactions*. The speaker had known James Williams well, being a contributor of several papers to the *Transactions* and, in his former role of Regional Extra-Mural Activities organiser for Glasgow University, having invited James Williams to conduct classes.

Although the lecture began with mention of the Strauss Orchestra which, en route to Edinburgh and Glasgow, had stopped off in Dumfries in 1838, the main period presented was the 1860s to 1870s. The establishment of the railway network permitted top flight, professional London performers to dominate the Scottish scene (although plenty of amateur companies performed locally in towns and villages). There was a whole street theatre in everyday life as a galaxy of itinerants passed through Dumfries, Castle Douglas, Gatehouse of Fleet, Newton Stewart and Stranraer, with acrobatic turns, Punch and Judy shows, musicians of all kinds and human curiosities. The idea of white men blacking up as Negro minstrels emerged out of the New York theatres in the 1830s, and the vogue for Black and White Minstrels attracted big audiences. (Thomas Carlyle was fond of such entertainment).

The speaker, a collector of over 700 music sheet covers of the period, presented a succession of these exquisite and brilliantly-coloured lithographs. Retailing at 3 shillings each, they were expensive in their 1860s heyday - and even more so today. John Brandard and Alfred Concanen were celebrated creators of these covers, which were bought for their beauty, not for the music they contained. The themes were varied, ranging from the Crimean War, the Abyssinian Expedition and the American Civil War to royal weddings, trains and railways stations, and were very popular. By the 1880s, music covers began to display satirical themes, the illustrator Concanen, for instance, betraying his contempt for Oscar Wilde.

Dumfries had no music hall, but many stars of the British circuits, household names of the period, played in the Mechanics' Hall and Theatre Royal. Arthur Lloyd, star of Music Hall, performed in Dumfries, Castle Douglas and Stranraer in 1861, 1862, and again in 1898 and 1899. He composed some 200 songs and became wealthy, partly because there was a good income from the sale of covers. Another celebrated artiste was Harry Gordon, who went to great lengths to include local colour in his performances. The Great Vance, cockney singer and dancer, received top billing when he visited the area in the 1860s and 1870s. Chang, the Chinese giant said to be over 7 feet tall, was a popular singing sensation and a great scholar. His wife accompanied him, both appearing in marvellous costumes which were captured in a beautiful Concanen music sheet cover.

The Theatre Royal in Dumfries was doing well in the 1860s and 1870s. Individuals could lease it and make this profitable by running it in tandem with performances in Edinburgh, Glasgow or Whitehaven. They would provide the actors, the costumes and the sets. An abbreviated Shakespearian play would be delivered in the first half and in the second a frolicking farce, verging on vulgarity, might take place. The London Star Company, choosing Kirkcudbright as a base, performed throughout Galloway in the early 1870s, often giving their plays a local touch: hence Boucicault's *The Streets of New York* became *The Streets of Kirkcudbright* - or there was *The Fair Maid of Castle Douglas*!



21 January 2011

**Michael Allen Paterson**  
**The Chelsea Physic garden**

The speaker, Curator of Chelsea Physic Garden from 1973 to 1981 and later Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens in Ontario, began with the secession in 1617 of the Apothecaries from the Grocers' Company and their incorporation by royal charter of James VI & I as The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London. By the 1630s they had their own Livery Hall, complete with a laboratory, a demonstration of the seriousness of their plant research as an educational tool for students and members. For instance, it was vital to know the difference between deadly nightshade and woody nightshade!

Finance in the troubled 17<sup>th</sup> Century was, however, a problem, but, in 1673, they acquired 3.5 acres of land at Chelsea for rental at £5 per annum. The location by the river was important for travel to the site. Famous people over the centuries have visited: one such was the diarist, John Evelyn, in 1680 and another, Linnaeus, the renowned Swedish botanist. One early ill-judged move was the planting of 4 cedars of Lebanon in 1683: as they matured, little room was left for other planting although they did become part of the iconography of the site until they succumbed to the choking London smoke, the last one being removed in 1903. Even in the early 1950s, before the Clean Air Act of 1956, precious orchids in the Garden were lost to the smog.

Earlier, the Garden had flourished under Sir Hans Sloane. He was a doctor in his own right, an avid collector of plants and founding benefactor of the British Museum. He also introduced drinking chocolate, initially sold as a medicine by apothecaries, to Britain. In 1712, he purchased Chelsea Manor House, subsequently passing the £5 freehold to the Apothecaries in perpetuity, provided that they maintained it as a Physic Garden. There is a statue of him in the Garden, and nearby Sloane Square, Sloane Street and Hans Place are named after him.

He appointed Philip Miller, a Scot, as Curator and under his care it became an outstanding botanic garden. Miller is credited with fostering interest and tutoring such luminaries as Sir Joseph Banks, the explorer, and Forsyth of *forsythia* fame, who succeeded Miller. But later financial troubles led to a Government Inquiry in 1893 to determine the validity of a Botanic Garden in London. A favourable result led to the funding of the charity by churches in London, a situation that appertained for 100 years. Nowadays, a Board of Trustees maintains the Garden, allowing it to continue to provide plant-based education. In 1973, the late Queen Mother planted a tree to mark the tercentenary of the Garden, an event to which the speaker was not invited, although already appointed as its Curator. The tree died. The following year his wife, Penelope, planted a new one, which prospered. Justice prevailed, one might claim.

4 February 2011

**Luke Moloney**  
**Peter Pan Moat Brae Trust and Walter Newall**

The speaker, an architect in Dumfries, reviewed the history of Moat Brae, so named because a moated castle had existed on the site of the present-day Assembly Rooms (a Walter Newall building). The streets in the vicinity of Moat Brae - George Street, Irving Street, Castle Street, Charlotte Street and Gordon Street - were laid out as a Georgian New Town, the work being begun by Robert Burn and subsequently carried on by Newall on land feued by John Clerk Maxwell to Robert Threshie of Barnbarroch who already had a town house nearby.

After Robert Threshie, the house was later owned by another solicitor, Henry Gordon, whose two sons befriended J.M.Barrie. It was their playing at pirates in the garden that was the inspiration for Peter Pan and Neverland. After the Gordons, however, the house ceased to be a family home, as intended by Newall, and became a nursing home instead, until sold to a developer in 1997. It was left abandoned, allowed to deteriorate and was heavily vandalised. It was subsequently acquired by Loreburn Housing Trust. The Trust proposed to demolish this Grade B listed building, but was deterred by the ensuing public outcry. The Moat Brae Trust was established to resurrect this important house and garden - important in both architectural and literary terms - and has since acquired the property, subject to financial settlement with the Loreburn Trust.

Moat Brae's present state is heart-breaking. Everything that could be smashed was smashed, holes in the roof had allowed water to pour in and had given access to pigeons, and dry rot had taken hold. Yet despite the spoilation, the fine stone staircase; the circular gallery looking down to the ground floor saloon; the splendid 'cake-icing' plasterwork and the handsome public rooms exuded charm. James Simpson OBE, architect and conservationist, declared that the house could be saved and that it was worth saving, just as Auchinleck House in Ayrshire and Tinwald House locally had been rescued.

Now that the house is no longer under threat of demolition, the Peter Pan Moat Brae Trust, with a band of volunteers, has been busy clearing the house and garden. An even greater task is raising the enormity of funding required to purchase the house from the Loreburn Trust (£75,000) and to progress the subsequent costly restoration and establishment of a viable and high quality international tourist attraction (maybe £4million). At the heart of the many interesting proposals for the use of the restored house will be a role in keeping with the house's Peter Pan history.

18 February 2011

**Professor Jim Crow, School of History, Classics & Archaeology, Edinburgh University**  
**Roman Frontiers in Northern Britain and in the Eastern Empire.**

The speaker, a specialist in Roman and Byzantine archaeology, began with the Cendere Köprüsü Bridge in modern-day Turkey. Constructed in the late 190s AD, it is one of the best-preserved Roman bridges in the world and was built in honour of Septimius Severus, an emperor born in Leptis Magna (modern-day Libya) of mixed Italian and Punic or Libyan ancestry, to mark his great campaigns. There were originally 4 columns, 9-10 metres high: on one side, two were dedicated to Severus and his second wife, the remarkable Empress Julia Domna; on the other side were two dedicated to their sons, Lucius Septimius Bassianus Caracalla and Publius Septimius Antoninus Geta. Geta's column was later removed after his murder by Caracalla, who ordered the *damnatio memoriae* of his brother – the erasure of his name from all inscriptions. Roman Emperors travelled extensively in the course of their campaigns and activities within the Empire. Severus went as far east as Iraq and, a decade and a half later, campaigned in Britain. He is known to have reached north of the Forth, perhaps even into Aberdeenshire, as evidenced by a chain of marching camps, before dying at Eboracum (York) in 211.

In Britain, the Romans were dealing with tribal groupings and maintained the frontier by a series of walls, the most important being Hadrian's Wall, and with legionary fortresses at York, Chester and Caerleon. In south-west Germany, 'Limes' (*Leemays*) were created as barriers in the form of a sequence of forts, not as formidable as Hadrian's Wall, but successful nevertheless. On the other hand, in an area of Asia Minor called Commagene, where a series of well-established kingdoms had existed since the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, the Romans conquered these gradually by Romanisation and 'suasion', leaving a legacy of roads which, in the mountainous parts, had shallow steps, and a

legionary fortress at Malatya. Until the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century AD, barrier walls were unnecessary in Eastern Turkey because the Romans had relatively peaceful dealings with the Parthians, successors to the Persians, and had Armenia as a buffer state between the Empire and Persia. But with the overthrow of the Parthians by the expansionist Sassanid Dynasty, a long war ensued and, from the time of the Emperor Diocletian (284-305), intense military presence was necessary. The Romans took direct control of client states such as Palmyra, a Syrian Desert oasis grown rich on the silk and spices trail, and built legionary fortresses and a chain of forts along the frontier road from the Euphrates to Damascus. The last great wall, the Anastasian Wall, was a 56km defence against the new threat from Huns, Slavs and Bulgars and was built to the west of Constantinople in the late 5<sup>th</sup> Century. Gibbons called this wall, now little known in the West, the Final Frontier. As a poignant footnote, South Shields Museums hold a tombstone dedicated in Latin and Aramaic to the memory of Regina, a British freedwoman whose husband was Barates, a Palmyran and, touchingly, the local Asda car-park contains a replica inscription.

4 March 2011

### **Members' Night**

#### *An Unexpected Encounter in Tropical Queensland*

Dr Dale, a retired Medical Microbiologist at Dumfries and Galloway Royal Infirmary, found himself crossing a River Annan in Queensland's Cape York Peninsula. Research revealed that the river had been explored and named in November 1865 by John Jardine, born in 1807 at Spedlins Tower, Templand, the fourth son of the sixth Baronet of Applegarth, Sir Alexander Jardine. In 1835, John Jardine took a commission with the 1st Regiment of Dragoons, marrying two years later. In 1839, he sold his commission and sailed in the *Dryade* with his wife for Australia, arriving in Sydney in January 1840. In the subsequent decades, he was a 'squatter', was bankrupted, became a commissioner and magistrate in New South Wales and latterly Rockhampton in the newly-established state of Queensland, and fathered ten children.

In 1863, he was appointed Commissioner of crown lands and police magistrate at Somerset on the tip of the Cape York Peninsula by Sir George Bowen, Queensland's first Governor. His reports to the governor contain fascinating accounts of the aboriginal inhabitants, fauna and flora of the area, the health of its settlers and meteorology. In November 1865, he headed south down the coast on the steam paddle ship *HMS Salamander*. It was whilst on his passage that John Jardine made the first exploration by a European of a river a few miles to the South of the Endeavour River. The following year, his report of this exploration appeared as a paper to the Royal Geographical Society of London and it was in this report that the name 'Annan' was proposed, together with 'Esk' for a smaller river joining the Annan from the south a few hundred yards before it enters the Coral Sea. Having explored what was to become Queensland's River Annan, he returned to Rockhampton to resume his former duties as commissioner and magistrate. He died in 1874, survived by his wife, five sons and two daughters.

He and his family are highly regarded by Queensland's historians as early pioneers of the European colonisation of Northern Queensland. Several of his sons were awarded fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society for their role in the exploration of the region, and Queensland has both a National Park and a river named in the family's honour. Of interest to members of the Society is the fact that John Jardine was the younger brother of the Society's founding President, the seventh Baronet of Applegarth and eminent natural historian, Sir William Jardine.

*The Orkney Islands*

Alastair Gair, a Castle Douglas dentist, who has been visiting Orkney since the 1980s, gave the Society an archaeological tour of the archipelago's 6,000 years of human history, proving the telling statement: 'if you scrape Orkney it will bleed archaeology.' No trace prior to the Neolithic period survive, but in the Knap O'Howar is to be found the oldest surviving stone building in Northern Europe, dating back to 3,500BC, with evidence suggestive of occupation for one thousand years. It has a 6,000-year-old quern stone and centrally-situated hearth. The Barnhouse settlement, discovered near the Stones of Stenness in 1984, again has the typical central hearths except for one house, which has two. The best-known site, Skara Brae, was buried by sand for millennia and revealed only in 1850. There are six earth-covered houses there and even a workshop. A complete house is open for the public to view, with stone furniture such as a dresser and beds, covered passages and central hearths.

There is a concentration of Neolithic ceremonial monuments in the Stenness area: the Standing Stones of Stenness with its twelve stones; the Ring o' Brodgar, originally comprising sixty stones and the third largest stone circle in the British Isles; Maeshowe, the largest and most impressive of Orkney's chambered cairns, which date back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium BC, has a high vaulted burial chamber and three side chambers. It also has Viking graffiti, and its looting in about the 12<sup>th</sup> Century is recorded in the Orkneyinga Saga. In Hoy, there is the Dwarfie Stane, perhaps the only rock-cut tomb in the U.K and the home, in legend, of a dwarf in Norse sagas.

After a quiet archaeological period in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BC, burnt mounds dating from 1,000BC onwards have been found. Notable remains from the Iron Age are the Brochs, examples being the Broch of Gurness and the Broch o'Borwick – which has not yet been fully excavated. The Broch of Deerness used to be considered a monastic site but is now thought a settlement site.

About 800 AD the Vikings began to make their impact on Orkney. Cubbie Roo's Castle, also mentioned in the Orkneyinga Saga, is said to be Scotland's earliest stone castle and was built by a Norse chief in 1150. The martyrdom of St Magnus at Egilsay defines the Norse period, his body being brought to St Olaf's church while St Magnus's Cathedral in Kirkwall was being built by masons from Durham Cathedral, which was being built at the same time. At Orphir, there is the Drinking Hall owned by Earl Haakon and a circular 12<sup>th</sup> Century church. The Earl's Palace at Birsay is a fine Renaissance building of 1568.

During the Napoleonic Wars, only three Martello Towers were built in Scotland, one being at Longhope in Hoy to protect the harbour and British convoys. Maritime archaeology is represented by the wreck of the *Iona*, which has been left in its beached situation and a block ship from the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War at Scapa Flow. The Italian Chapel, created by Italian prisoners of war in two Nissen huts in the period 1943-45, is a remarkable and beautiful memorial from the dark days of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

19 March 2010

**Rosemary Green**  
**A Life with Otters**

The speaker and her husband are internationally recognized for their important contributions to the study of otters in the wild. She was born on a farm in Essex and lived an idyllic rural life with parents who fostered her interest in wildlife. At sixteen, she joined the Essex Field Club and met Jim, her future husband, and some life-long friends in the natural history field. University followed

and then a spell of teaching in a technical college, during which time her husband completed a Ph.D. in the study of otters. They were then employed by the Vincent Wildlife Trust to carry out the first national survey of otters in Scotland – otter numbers had been declining, an observation first made, paradoxically, by Otter Hunts.

This survey became the standard by which other European national surveys were judged. It covered 4,636 sites all over Scotland and took two years of travel (by campervan) and many walks across often remote and daunting terrain. After this first survey of Scotland, from 1980 onwards the two of them worked with newly formed otter groups on the continent, carrying out a preliminary survey in western France and training surveyors from several countries. Close contacts with continental colleagues have been maintained since. The Scottish national surveys were repeated every seven years, with the speaker and her husband doing the second in 1986-7 and the third in 1992-4.

Between surveys, they worked on the first successful otter radio tracking programme. This was a shoestring affair with only the two of them making the transmitter packs, catching the otters and undertaking a gruelling schedule to track the otters. A radio-isotope study was carried out at the same time, providing a back-up method of tracking the otters' movements. Radio-tracking was also used in 1989-1991 to study the impact of marine fish-farming on otters on the west coast.

As otters increased in range and population density, it became apparent that there was a need for a facility to rehabilitate orphan and injured otters. Rosemary and her husband already had licences to trap and relocate otters that were causing damage at fish farms, so it was considered that they were best placed to undertake this work. From 1985 to 1999, they took in and cared for 143 otters, most of them being rehabilitated and released back into the wild. When this work started, they were living in Perthshire but, needing more space for a growing number of otters, they bought a farm on the Cree in 1987, and set up a programme to assist the return of otters in England. Other work on the captive otters has included behavioural studies, establishing normal biological parameters in healthy animals and other veterinary research. Increasingly, work has been devoted to trying to mitigate the impact of engineering and other human activities on otter populations and studying this impact. A current project relates to otter road mortality, trying to understand where and why otters are killed by traffic.

9 April 2011

CASTLE DOUGLAS MEETING

**Professor Roger Crofts, Geosciences Schools, Universities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen**

**Do You Know Scotland's Earth History?**

Scotland has an intriguing and complex earth history. Indeed, it has greater diversity in its rocks and landforms than anywhere of the same size in the world. Less than 250 years ago, claims that the earth was only 6,000 years old were widely accepted - nightfall preceding 23 October (Julian calendar) 4004 BC as the date of its creation was one famous calculation by the Calvinist Church of Ireland Archbishop Ussher. Only the persuasive observations of James Hutton, commonly termed 'the Father of Modern Geology', dispelled that notion with the memorable and accurate phrase that, *'I see no vestige of a beginning, no prospect of an end'*.

There are several key elements of Scotland's geological history. Firstly, the oldest rocks are very ancient, dating from around 3,500 million years ago. Secondly, the early parts of Scotland began life in the southern ocean near to the South Pole and gradually moved northwards. Third, Scotland is not one country geologically: it comprises 6 different parts. Next, Scotland and England joined together

around 400 million years ago with a great continental plate crash causing major effects through the country. During its journey from the southern hemisphere to its present position, Scotland has experienced every possible climate from the hottest to the coldest and from the driest to the wettest. More recently, with the opening of the North Atlantic Ocean, Scotland parted company with North America from 65 million years ago with a series of large volcanoes and accompanying lava flows. In recent geological times, Scotland has been covered by ice at least 5 times, resulting in many changes to the landscape and landforms. In the last few thousand years, parts of the country have continued to rise relative to the sea and others have sunk.

For the future, we can expect more flash flooding and slope movement, as the coast both retreats and builds outwards. And should the ocean water conveyor belt stop as a local consequence of global warming, then we could have another ice age at least. In the longer term, we will continue to move apart from North America and to feel the consequences of Africa colliding with Europe.

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