TRANSACTIONS

of the

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY

and

ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

LXXXVII

VOLUME 87 • 2013

TRANSACTIONS

of the

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY

and

ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

FOUNDED 20 NOVEMBER 1862

THIRD SERIES VOLUME 87
LXXXVII

Editors:

ELAINE KENNEDY
FRANCIS TOOLIS
JAMES FOSTER

ISSN 0141-1292

2013

DUMFRIES

Published by the Council of the Society

Office-Bearers 2012-2013
and
Fellows of the Society

President
Dr F. Toolis FSA Scot

Vice Presidents
Mrs C. Iglehart, Mr A. Pallister, Mr D. Rose and Mr L. Murray

Fellows of the Society
Mr A.D. Anderson, Mr J.H.D. Gair, Dr J.B. Wilson,
Mr K.H. Dobie, Mrs E. Toolis, Dr D.F. Devereux and Mrs M. Williams

Mr L.J. Masters and Mr R.H. McEwen — appointed under Rule 10

Hon. Secretary
Mr J.L. Williams, Merkland, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries DG1 1SY

Hon. Membership Secretary
Miss H. Barrington, 30 Noblehill Avenue, Dumfries DG1 3HR

Hon. Treasurer
Mr M. Cook, Gowanfoot, Robertland, Amisfield, Dumfries DG1 3PB

Hon. Librarian
Mr R. Coleman, 2 Loreburn Park, Dumfries DG1 1LS

Hon. Editors
Mrs E. Kennedy, Nether Carruchan, Troqueer, Dumfries DG2 8LY
Dr F. Toolis, 25 Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries DG2 7PF
Dr J. Foster (Webmaster), 21 Maxwell Street, Dumfries DG2 7AP

Hon. Syllabus Conveners
Mrs J. Brann, Troston, New Abbey, Dumfries DG2 8EF
Miss S. Ratchford, Tadorna, Hollands Farm Road, Caerlaverock, Dumfries DG1 4RS

Hon. Curators
Mrs J. Turner and Miss S. Ratchford

Hon. Outings Organiser
Mrs S. Honey

Ordinary Members
Mrs P.G. Williams, Mrs A. Weighill, Dr Jeanette Brock, Dr Jeremy Brock,
Mr D. Scott, Mr J. McKinnell, Mr A. Gair, Mr D. Dutton

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL INFORMATION

Contributions are invited on the geology, natural history, archaeology and history of South West Scotland and preference is always given to original work on subjects of local interest. Intending contributors should contact the Editors, giving details of the topic and approximate size of their paper. Much more information about the *Transactions*, including digitised copies of the entire run from 1862 onwards, with the exception of the most recent five years, is available on the Society's website, 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 information in it. Contributors are responsible for obtaining permission to use copyright material in their papers and to acknowledge this where relevant.

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.

Exchange volumes should be sent to the Editor, Elaine Kennedy, Nether Carruchan, Troqueer, Dumfries DG2 8LY. Exchange volumes are deposited with Dumfries Museum. Prior contact should be made with museum staff (telephone 01387 253374) if access is required to consult these.

Enquiries regarding back numbers of the *Transactions* should be made to the Hon. Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 2 Loreburn Park, Dumfries DG1 1LS, Tel: 01387 247297. A list of publications of the Society is given at the end of this volume. Members can assist the Society by handing in volumes that are no longer required. It follows that volumes marked as out of print may be available from time to time.

All payments, other than subscriptions, should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Michael Cook, Gowanfoot, Amisfield, Dumfries DG1 3PB. Payment of subscriptions should be made to Miss H. Barrington (see above) who will be pleased to arrange for subscriptions and donations to be treated as Gift Aid. This can greatly increase the income of the Society without, generally, any additional cost to the member.

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 the 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.

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 12, (1926) of the *Transactions*.

DUMFRIESHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY 150TH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE REPORT

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society celebrated its 150th year in 2012. To mark the anniversary the Society, which is the second oldest such society in Scotland, held a one-day conference at Dumfries & Galloway College, Crichton Campus, Dumfries on Saturday, 8 September 2012. There were over 110 people in attendance, both members and non-members.

After the President, Dr Francis Toolis, had welcomed delegates and speakers he proceeded to address the conference on the founding and early history of the Society. An article based on his address follows in this volume of the *Transactions*.

Dr Toolis summarised the activities of the Society, and the major personalities who had made such important contributions to its work over the past 150 years, illustrating his points by citing articles published in the *Transactions*. The number of local and national luminaries closely involved with the Society and the vast range of topics published in the *Transactions* is exceptional. The corpus represents a substantial contribution towards our understanding of the natural history, archaeology and history of our region.

Dr Toolis's address was followed by Dr Anne Crone of AOC Archaeology who gave an illustrated talk entitled, 'Cults Loch: an Iron Age Farming Landscape.' The excavations were part of an assessment by the Scottish Wetland Archaeology Programme of a site near Castle Kennedy undertaken by herself and her colleague, Graeme Cavers.[1] The quantity of material preserved at the site was remarkable, and the speaker demonstrated the technical difficulties of excavating fragile wooden remains in a waterlogged environment. Among the items found were a small wooden box and an ard, an early form of plough. Both had been buried intentionally in the foundations, presumably as a ritual to ensure the success or safety of the roundhouses built over them on the crannog. There followed detailed information on the structure of the crannog base, with its complex pattern of log foundations and occupation. The layout, structure, and phases of construction of the crannog having been established, excavations were undertaken on the causeway and approach trackway. The significance of a nearby promontory fort was discussed, where a geophysical study had been undertaken. There are a number of sites in close proximity to the crannog and some thoughts were presented as to the significance of this, and of the relationship of the sites to the crannog.

---

1 See Graeme Cavers and Anne Crone, (2010) 'Galloway Crannogs: An Interim Report on Work at Dorman's Island and Cults Loch by the Scottish Wetland Archaeology Programme', *TDGNHAS*, ser.iii, Vol.84, pps.199-42. (A further report will appear in a future volume of the *Transactions*. – Ed.)

David Cowley from the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) spoke about recent discoveries made by aerial photographic survey. There was an explanation of the role of aerial photography and its importance for archaeology. Distribution maps and aerial photographs were used to demonstrate just how many new sites had been discovered over recent years. However, the distribution of the sites is very much biased by the areas which have been regularly flown over, so we may be seeing an indication of where survey work has been concentrated, rather than a true distribution of site type.

The list of important discoveries is too lengthy to cite, but attention was drawn to the new discoveries at the Dunraggit henge/cursus site and the Holywood and Currystanes cursus monuments. In the past there was a concentration of survey efforts on the known Roman road structure and widening the search has led to major re-interpretations of the Roman presence in this region. Mr Cowley mentioned discoveries at Dalswinton Roman fort; Carronbridge; Lochrutton marching camp, close to the presumed Roman road from Dalswinton to Glenlochar; and Bladnoch fortlet, a discovery that has caused a re-assessment of the Roman presence in Galloway. He then examined the Roman fortlet at Bladnoch in more detail. It would have housed a permanent garrison, similar to the known fortlet at Gatehouse of Fleet and the presumed one at Stranraer. The sites at Glenlochar, where metal detector and geophysical surveys have been carried out by University of Glasgow, National Museums of Scotland and Stranraer Museum were then described.

The techniques of survey are changing dramatically. In the past there has been an emphasis on flying over known areas of interest, photographing features of potential significance.[2] Now, with the advent of airborne laser scanning and hyperspectral data it is becoming normal practice to fly over large areas, and then to study the computer analyses back in the office. This has made it possible to cover far larger areas, and has resulted in a huge expansion of our knowledge. Mr Cowley pointed out that this involved a radical change of approach and mind-set for the researcher. His talk ended with a summary of some of the challenges and issues associated with aerial photography.

Ronan Toolis of GUARD Archaeology and Dr Chris Bowles, Archaeology Officer with Scottish Borders Council, spoke about the Galloway Picts Project. Their talk, 'The Galloway Picts Project: Trusty's Hill, the Melting Pot of Rheged' described the extensive excavations at Trusty's Hill, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, undertaken by the Society in May 2012 under their direction. This was another of the activities that marked the 150th anniversary of the Society. This post-Roman hill fort was investigated during two weeks of glorious weather with the involvement of over 60 volunteers, many of them members of the Society. An article giving an interim summary report on the project follows in this volume; this is in advance of a monograph reporting the full analyses and results.

---

2 See D.C. Cowley and K. Brophy, (2001) 'The Impact of Aerial Photography across the Lowlands of South-West Scotland', *TDGNHAS*, ser.iii, Vol.75, pps.47-72. (An update of this article is planned for a future volume of the *Transactions*. – Ed.)

The talk commenced by summarising what was currently known about the site, showing its location in respect of the distribution of similar sites and discussing previous excavations. The enigmatic nature of the site with its stone carved with unexplained Pictish symbols, so far south of the homeland of the Picts, was examined in detail and an analysis of the symbols on the stone was given.

The GPS topographical survey of the fort showed the complexity of the site, and comparison was made between previous plans and the new survey. The various component parts of the fort were highlighted and attention was drawn to the rock-cut basin at the entrance, the location of the carved stone, and the internal layout. Comparisons were drawn with other sites, notably Dunadd, which exhibits similar features. There followed a detailed discussion of the excavations and the artefacts which were found.

Using the latest archaeological techniques such as radio-carbon dating, laser scanning soil micromorphology and archeomagnetism the speakers demonstrated that the site was of major significance. The evidence of the basin, the carved stone, the pottery, and the size of the site presents a convincing case for Trusty's Hill being a site of high status, comparable to the other Dark Age capitals in Scotland. The audience was left with the thought that Trusty's Hill, in all likelihood, was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Rheged.

Larry Griffin of the Wildfowl and Wetlands Trust spoke on *Triops Cancriformis*, the tadpole shrimp, which has been found at the Caerlaverock reserve. It is thought that *Triops Cancriformis*, a survivor of the Triassic period more than 200 million years ago, is the oldest living species on earth. It may have been transported to Caerlaverock by geese and in particular, Barnacle Geese. Mr Griffin explained the lifecycle of *Triops Cancriformis* and gave a summary of its history on the Solway.

In September 1907, Professor Balfour-Browne, a President of the Society, discovered *Triops Cancriformis* at Preston Merse, Southwick. *Triops Cancriformis* was noted in 1948 and again in the 1960s in similar locations. In the 1990s there was a concerted effort to rediscover *Triops Cancriformis* in the Southwick area; however, by then it was believed to be extinct in Britain with the exception of one colony in the New Forest. Its main distribution is from Spain to Sweden and east to Russia; and from North Africa through to the Middle East.

In September 2004, Dr Griffin discovered *Triops Cancriformis* at Caerlaverock. He proposed that this may have been due to a period of low rainfall with very humid afternoons and evenings. It was noted that during this period the activity of the Natterjack toad had also significantly increased at Caerlaverock. Up until 2009, there was only one pond on the Caerlaverock reserve known to contain *Triops Cancriformis*, but during 2009/10 the University of Glasgow and the Wildfowl and Wetlands Trust discovered two more ponds, and on 14 June 2011, a further site was found near to the eastern side of the channel of the Lochar.

Originally it was thought that the species may have travelled to sporadic locations in the UK on birds' feet, but eggs can take up to thirty years to hatch, and other factors must be

taken into account. In conclusion, it is thought that the distribution may be far greater than at first thought and a continued process of research and analysis is in progress.

The final event of the day was an extremely lively talk, entitled 'The Age of Our Founders' delivered by Professor Ted Cowan. An article based on the content of this talk follows in this volume of the *Transactions*.

This was a discussion of the national and local events and movements that influenced the development of the Society. The enormous energy, curiosity and inventiveness of the Victorian Age was reflected in the founding of the Society, formed out of the Victorians love of antiquity and natural history and their fervent desire to discover the world. Many local people were associated with significant discoveries, some of which were reported within the pages of the *Transactions*.

Professor Cowan described several literary figures associated with the region, examining their relationship to the Society, and showing their importance in a national context. He ably demonstrated that anyone who might think Dumfries and Galloway is a neglected backwater where nothing has ever originated is very much mistaken: a resounding message for all those present to take away from the day's conference.

In addition to the programme of lectures, there was a wide range of displays and exhibitions; stalls with books and publications; and opportunities to discover more about national organisations and local societies sharing common interest; all of which greatly enhanced the experience of the day. The conference could not have taken place without the assistance of the staff at Dumfries and Galloway College which proved to be an excellent venue, the Society takes this opportunity to express its thanks. It is would be a difficult task to credit the many people involved individually, however, the Society extends a special thanks to its then President, Francis Toolis, without whom this event would not have been the success that it proved to be.

Acknowledgement

Mark White is thanked for his extensive contribution to this report. His personal archive of the activities of the Society is a valuable resource.

THE FOUNDING AND EARLY HISTORY OF OUR SOCIETY

Dr Francis Toolis[1]

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society celebrated its 150th year in 2012. To mark the anniversary the Society held a one-day conference on Saturday, 8 September 2012. The President of the Society, Dr Francis Toolis, opened the event with a history of the early days of the Society. He recounted something of the lives of founders such as Dr Gilchrist, the second Physician Superintendent at the Crichton Royal Institution and Dr Grierson of Thornhill, whose remarkable private museum was the inspiration for the African explorer, Joseph Thomson, also a member of the Society, the man after whom the Thomson gazelle is named and the inspiration himself for Sir H. Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines*. Sir William Jardine of Applegarth, a true polymath and the author of many books, was the Society's first President. Among the later members was Samuel Arnott, one-time Provost of Maxwelltown, who wrote extensively for the Society's Transactions and was recognised in his time as a world authority on snowdrops. This is the text of the President's opening address:*

In considering an introduction to the Conference celebrating 150 years of the Society, my principal aim was to provide an insight into the minds of our founders and early members whose vision, enthusiasm and hard work is our inheritance. I went initially to the review given by the President at the time of our 50th Anniversary. His was, however, a lengthy although by no means comprehensive review, published subsequently as a monograph, making reference among other subjects to our role in the preservation of Lincluden Abbey and Devorgilla Bridge, and in major excavations such as Birrens, the first properly excavated Roman Camp in Scotland. Constraints of time have compelled me to be briefer and I have accordingly sought engagement by recalling some, and it could only be some, of the remarkable men and women who have contributed to the Society in its earlier years. I found much to engage my interest as I read through the *Transactions*, and trust that you will likewise.

The Society began officially on 20 November 1862, its purpose, as shown in the opening paragraph of the *Proceedings*, being the cultivation of Natural History and Antiquarian research. Although the inaugural meeting report of 20 November 1862 wrote only of 'gentlemen', membership was open to all, and a Miss Mitchell of Montrose became a Corresponding Member almost immediately.

The Society began after Dr James Gilchrist, Medical Superintendent at the Crichton Royal Institution, asked why successful Natural History and allied societies existed elsewhere, but not here. To remedy that, a precursor committee of himself, Dr Grierson, a Dr Dickson and a Mr Gibson met on the 6th of September, almost exactly 150 years before the date of this Conference, to draw up a circular proposing the formation of our Society. The rest, as they say, is natural and antiquarian history.

---

1 President of the Society 2010-2013; Belmont, 25 Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries DG2 7PF.

James Gilchrist, our third President, was a truly remarkable man. When only three, he and his mother were left destitute by the death of his stonemason father. His education was limited by the need to work, like his mother, on neighbouring farms. Later, he was an apprentice draper unhappily, but strove to educate himself, including self-taught Latin. He trained at first for the Ministry but eventually at the age of thirty-three entered Edinburgh Medical School in 1846, graduating in 1850. While there, he studied Botany, the love of which was to remain with him. He succeeded Dr Browne in 1857 as Physician Superintendent here at the Crichton where, in the midst of all his duties, he taught botany, geology, history and antiquities. His role in the founding of the Society was critical as also in its rejuvenation after a Dark Ages period.

Dr Grierson, our fifth President, was another remarkable man. Born in Dumfries, he studied Medicine at Edinburgh and then set up a very successful practice in Thornhill. It was there, too, that he established an extensive museum – four thousand specimens catalogued, many more uncatalogued, and more than three thousand books. He was a friend of and in regular correspondence with an astonishing number of scholars, scientists and travellers. His museum was open to all, for he was passionately committed to improving the minds of the ordinary people, and it was there that he taught and inspired many young people of the district, including by his own admission Joseph Thomson of Penpont, a member of our Society, the author of two papers in the *Transactions* and the African explorer after whom the Thomson Gazelle is named. Joseph Thomson avoided confrontations with the natives on his explorations, never killing any nor losing any of his own men to violence. His famous motto was 'He who goes gently goes safely; he who goes safely goes far.' He was a friend of J.M. Barrie and the inspiration for *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), the popular novel by the Victorian writer Sir H. Rider Haggard. Sadly, the trust Dr Grierson left after his death proved insufficient to maintain the museum and the collection was dispersed in 1965, some of it coming here to Dumfries.[2]

I found no pictures or biographical details of Mr Gibson or Dr Dickson, our first Treasurer and Secretary respectively. Mr Gibson suffers from the handicap of a common surname in this part of the world, the many other bearers of his name no doubt obscuring his certain greatness. Dr Dickson's obscurity is more easily explained because in October 1867, he resigned as Secretary, 'having accepted a situation in the Isle of Mauritius.'

Our third remarkable founder, and first President, was Sir William Jardine of Applegarth. Although not present at the 1862 meetings, Sir William must also be counted as a Founder. As an instance, at a pivotal meeting in April 1863, it was he who proposed what would become the *Transactions*, and then later, the formation of a local library and collection of antiquities and natural history specimens – what would eventually become the collections of the Ewart Library and Dumfries Museum.

---

2 See A.E. Truckell, (1966) 'The Grierson Collection, Thornhill, and its Dispersal' *TDGNHAS,* ser.iii, Vol.43.

His three weighty Presidential Addresses of 1863-65 are truly astonishing works, erudite, lucid, elegantly written ... and each an hour long. They give a clear record of the Society in the preceding year but also extend into the wider world. In a remarkably prescient passage on the extermination of wildlife by farmers and gamekeepers, he describes what later writers call the Law of Unintended Consequences – the destruction of crops by wood pigeons and field mice in numbers no longer checked by their hunted-to-extinction natural predators.

He discusses the controversy between Biblical Creation and recent scientific discoveries – James Hutton of Edinburgh, the Father of Geology, first proposed the concept of Deep Time in the 1780s and Charles Darwin, one-time medical student at Edinburgh, published his *Origin of Species* in 1859. Sir William was very much a scientist but also a committed Christian. In a marvellously Delphic passage in December 1864, he warns against the arrogance of the half-ignorant, saying:

> … if, on comparing science with your Bible, you have made out a clear case that the latter cannot be relied upon scientifically or historically … have you the zoology, botany, geology, ethnology…, study of races, manners and customs of ancient peoples? Are you a Hebrew scholar, do you know the allied languages? When you can say you are so well instructed, we may think it worthwhile to listen to your arguments.

There's a lesson there in our own times for all who stridently masquerade as the Informed.

Sir William's accounts of the field meetings of the Society portray a membership of almost depressing erudition. These were no mere recreational diversions but serious study and recording of the flora, fauna, geology, meteorology and antiquities of the region, being always aware of how much had been and might yet be lost. I lamented references to the vanished railway links that members used to visit sites. As an instance, 'many of the party took the morning train to Dalbeattie.' Or later, 'a party of 21 left Dumfries on the 1.45 pm train for Amisfield Station,' groups sometimes being met by 'charabancs.'

Sir William's background is interesting. As a rich landowner, he could have done nothing but huntin', fishin' and shootin' – all of which he did with great enthusiasm – but he studied Medicine, Anatomy, Geology and Botany at Edinburgh, going on to Paris to 'continue the anatomical studies' – scientific rather than the kind for which Paris became known in *La Belle Époque*. I had come across that same coy phrase in the life of another Dumfries doctor of the time and thought now to look further into the matter. It transpired that amongst Paris's many other attractions was the availability of cadavers for dissection. This is an excerpt from another kind of *American in Paris*:

> At noon, the cadavers were delivered to the dissecting rooms at the Amphitheatre d'Anatomie. Carts had arrived earlier, dumping the naked bodies on the pavement outside. Corpses came cheap at 6 francs. The amphitheatre was big enough for 600 students. They smoked cigars to offset the nauseating smell.

Remember that Burke and Hare were active in Edinburgh in 1827-28, supplying mainly Robert Knox, who had himself been to Paris in 1820, about the same time as Sir William. It wasn't until the Anatomy Act of 1832 that corpses could legally be donated for dissection and there was no more need for 'Resurrectionists'.

But back to Sir William. On his return to Scotland in 1821, on the death of his father, he set about assembling what would become the finest private museum and library in Britain. Over a 10-year period, he edited and issued the hugely popular *Naturalists' Library*, which brought Natural History to all levels of Victorian Society. Wikipedia lists 58 books that he wrote or contributed to, on birds, insects, fish and mammals, his greatest being the monumental *British Salmonidae*, the Salmon, with its magnificent hand-coloured plates, still one of the finest books on fish ever produced. You can purchase a copy *today* from Herman Lynge & Son of Copenhagen for £53,000 … plus VAT.

Sir William also wrote on Ichnology, the geological study of tracks and footprints, specifically paleoichnology, for it was from Corncockle Quarry on his estate that the Reverend Henry Duncan (1774-1846), he of the Ruthwell Cross and the first ever Savings Bank, obtained a slab of Permian Era sandstone showing animal prints, and in 1831 published the first ever scientific report of fossil animal tracks, having presented his findings as a paper three years earlier to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. (If only we were celebrating our *200th* Anniversary today…) In 1855, Sir William was rejected for the Chair of Natural History at Edinburgh: five years later, my alma mater rejected James Clerk Maxwell for the Chair of Natural Philosophy. I rest my case.

Sir William's younger brother emigrated to Queensland, where he and his sons, one of whom married the daughter of the King of Samoa, made such a contribution that a National Park is named after them. As a final snippet of family history, Sir Matthew Pinsent, the Olympic rower, is Sir William's direct descendant.

Back to the Society. I was intrigued to see among the list of members, Mr and Mrs Henry Gordon of Moatbrae, the parents of the young Gordon brothers whose games of pirates in the garden with their school friend, J.M. Barrie, in the 1870s, was the inspiration for Neverland and Peter Pan.

But all was not entirely well with the Society, and a great silence fell between 1868 and 1875. It is unclear what happened, but our late editor, Jimmy Williams, in a beautifully researched paper in the 2010 volume of the *Transactions* explores these missing years, principally through local press reports, some very extensive, of the Society's ongoing activities.[3] We continued to elect office-bearers and hold lectures and field outings; our last recorded such being on 11 May 1875, with an account given in the *Standard and Advertiser* the following day. However, Jimmy Williams found details of five other meetings in a surviving cuttings-book of the Society, with no dates attributed to them.

---

3 See James Williams, (2010) 'Transactions and Proceedings 1868-75: The Society's "Missing Years"', *TDGNHAS,* ser.iii, Vol.84.

What happened? It seems that Sir William himself published all the early volumes of the *Transactions*, but his health began to fail from 1866 on, and he increasingly found the winters too cold in Jardine Hall, going instead to Edinburgh or the Isle of Wight, where he died. Lack of funds rather than scientific endeavour may explain the silence. Whatever the reason, it was Dr Gilchrist who came to the rescue, formally re-instituting the Society, with the *Transactions* also resuming as Series II.

A particularly important Paper was presented in April 1880 by John Rutherford – 'Observations of the Salmon Disease', the cause of large scale losses of salmon in the late nineteenth century and continuing as sporadic outbreaks of disease today under its modern nomenclature of Ulcerative Dermal Necrosis. Rutherford described the known fungal skin mould, *Saprolegnia ferax*, but when he cut through muscle, it too was diseased with, as he described it, 'Bacteria … small, discoid bodies … embedded and moving amongst the striated muscle fibres of the fish.' Twenty-three years later, J. Hume Patterson of Glasgow University's Department of Bacteriology was to be credited with 'discovering' this. There is no cure, even today, preventive disinfection of fishing equipment being the only measure available.

In 1883-84, the Society held its first *Conversazione* or exhibition of objects of archaeological and natural history interest, followed by a series of open lectures. We also published separately *A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire & Kirkcudbrightshire.*

Session 1887-88 caught my eye for several reasons. For one thing, we bought two of Timothy Pont's maps. For another, there is an entry in the October meeting:

> In January last, a subcommittee was appointed to memorialise [to petition] the Town Council of Dumfries in reference to the converting of the basement of the Midsteeple into a shop. The Town Council did not acquiesce in the petition, but carried out their plans and materially altered the stability and security of that historic building.

On 6 January 1888, in 'Dumfries 250 Years Ago' by James S. Thomson, it is recorded that:

> The sin of talking scandal seems have been put down with a firm hand at this time, one instance being: Thomas Meik, for slandering Agnes Fleming, is ordained instanter to stand in the gorgets at the Trone till 12 o'clock, and thereafter upon his bare knees to ask her forgiveness at the Mercat Cross. [Gorgets were a kind of pillory with an iron ring for the neck.]

My favourite, however, is this:

> Catherine Purdie, for calling Bessie Harper a lewd lown, debusht, mainsworn glutton, filthy lown and thief, wabster's get, skemland stable raker, and praying ane black sight to Bessie and her bairns, to be rebuked from the body of the church.

In the 1890-91 Session, we were presented with a portrait of Dr James Mounsey, who built Rammerscales and was at one time Court Physician to Empress Elizabeth of Russia and her nephew and heir, later Peter III. Elizabeth was the daughter of Peter the Great and mother-in-law of Catherine the Great. With the death of Elizabeth in 1862 and the swift coup d'état of Catherine soon afterwards (and the strangling of her husband), Dr Mounsey, also known as 'Rhubarb Mounsey' because he brought back seeds of a medicinal rhubarb forming the basis of a laxative used right up to the 1950s, felt unsafe under Catherine's rule and came back to Lochmaben, being succeeded as Court Physician, astonishingly, by another Lochmaben doctor, John Rogerson. For the rest of his days, Dr Mounsey lived in fear of Catherine's agents because of all the secrets he knew. Elizabeth and Catherine are now both in the Peter and Paul Fortress, St Petersburg and Dr Mounsey is in Dumfries Museum, or at least, his portrait is.

We had also by then acquired and were to maintain for many years, a herbarium. In that same session of 1890-91, John Corrie discusses the folklore of Glencairn, mentioning that 'there formerly existed a curious belief that the soul flew from the mouth of the dying in the form of a bird.' Although Corrie seems unaware of this, his 'curious' belief can be traced back to early Christian art depicting the soul, at the point of death, exiting the mouth as a female figure in the *Orans* position, arms outstretched in prayer.

John Corrie returned the following year with a paper on folk riddles of Glencairn, culturally so much more important to previous generations than to us, as instanced by the Exeter Book. He quotes,'Jenny wi' the white petticoat and the red nose, the longer she stands the shorter she grows.' Of course you've guessed it – a candle.

In session 1892-93 comes the first of Samuel Arnott's twenty-six contributions to the *Transactions*. In addition to his being Secretary of the Society and Editor of the *Transactions*, he was one-time Provost of Maxwelltown. Another extraordinary man, he wrote this first paper for the *Transactions* on Plant Superstitions. Of the snowdrop he writes, 'To bring a single snowdrop into a house is considered unlucky, as it denoted a death in the within a year. This is said to have arisen from the fancied resemblance of the flower to a corpse in its shroud.'

In Session 1896-97, Richard Bell contributed an astonishing Paper based on his experience of emu and ostrich farming near Langholm and Samuel Arnott continued to contribute to the *Transactions*, but on 'The Antiquities and Children's Songs of Kirkbean' where he was then living. In Session 1903-04, he wrote again on the snowdrop, 'The Fair Maids of February,' an erudite paper giving its history, botany, varieties, diseases and place in literature. He relates the legend that the snowdrop was not created until after our expulsion from the Garden of Eden. An angel was sent to comfort Eve, mourning over the barren earth and the driving snow. The angel transformed a snowflake into the first snowdrop, saying, 'This is an earnest, Eve, to thee, that sun and summer soon shall be.'

Samuel Arnott was a figure of international importance in the area of snowdrops, the sole or joint author of several books and a prolific contributor, not only to our *Transactions*, but also to *The Garden* and *The Gardener's Chronicle*. A variety of Snowdrop, *Galanthus*

S. Arnott, bears his name. He was the subject of a memorable lecture to the Society by Professor Michael Tooley of St Andrews University in 2010, and it distresses me that Samuel Arnott's death on 17 February 1930 was marked by nothing more than a three-line announcement in the *Standard*.

James Barbour, the architect, wrote an intriguing paper, 'The Recent Fire in the Town Hall of Dumfries [20 November 1908], and a Previous Fire which Concerned the Town.' On 15 September 1742, the upper floor of the Pledge House or Prison in Union Street burned down. Earlier that day, a gipsy woman – her name was never given – had been arrested for shoplifting a pair of stockings in the High Street and incarcerated in the upper, timbered storey of the prison. She asked the jailer, before he locked up for the night and went home, to give her a small candle. Two male prisoners in for debt could move around freely within the prison but they could not rescue her or summon help soon enough to save her.

This extract of *part* of the contents of Volumes 21 and 22 shows the breadth of interest of the Members:

British Skuas
St Conal, the patron Saint of Kirkconnel
Bulblets or Bulbils on Stems of Lilies
The Capture of Dumfries by Montrose in 1646
Pond Life
Origin of the name Kirkpatrick-Durham
The Kelpie
Notes on the Sex Problem in Birds
Charters relating to Lincluden College
Dry Rot in Timber
The Scalacronica of Sir Thomas Grey
Scenes from the Northern Sagas
X-Ray Photography

The Sex Problem in Birds turns out to be a lot less exciting than the title might suggest at first read.

Many papers by members were primary research. A truly outstanding example is in Volume 23, Session 1910-11, by the Rev. Whitelaw on Communion Tokens, a giant of a paper and absolutely essential reading for anyone, *anywhere*, researching this admittedly specialist subject.

Dr Chinnock's extracts from *The Scalacronica* or Ladder of Time, a fourteenth-century history of Britain, can make poignant reading:

> In the year of grace 1360 Katherine de Mortymer, a young lady of London, was so much beloved by King David of Scotland, through acquaintance formed with her while he was prisoner that he could not dispense with her company in the absence

> of his wife, the King of England's sister, who at this time dwelt with her said brother. He [King David] rode about with her every day, which greatly displeased some of the Lords of Scotland. A Scotch varlet named Richard of Hulle at the instigation of some of the great men of Scotland feigned to speak with the said Katherine on business relating to the King. As they were riding from Melrose to Soltre [Soutra] he struck her through the body dead with a knife.

King David showed great grief at the death of his lover and had her buried at Newbotil [Newbattle].

Another impressive example of primary research is the Paper by Miss E. C. Dudgeon of Lincluden House in Session 1911-12. There had been limited studies elsewhere on the effects of electricity – in reality, magnetic fields – on plants and Miss Dudgeon conducted her own experiments. In a beautifully designed experiment, she planted eight acres of level field with four different varieties of potato in paired acres, all treated exactly the same except that one acre of each pair was subjected to four hours per day of 'Electrical Discharge'. At the end, she compared yield, size and presence of disease, showing a very clear benefit of the electrical exposure on almost every measurement, at a cost of £5.19s.6d (including 10% depreciation of the 'Oliver Lodge–Newman High-tension Electric Discharge Apparatus.') She was an inveterate experimenter, widely cited for her work; wrote in 1912 the well-received *Growing Crops & Plants by Electricity;* contributed to *Gibson's Wonders of Scientific Discovery* in 1920 and was the author of several children's books.

In a report of the Field Meeting in June 1911 at Cardoness Castle, home of the McCullochs, it was noted that the most turbulent of that family was Cutlar, regarding whom there was a saying in the Isle of Man, 'God keep the good corn, the sheep and the bullock from Satan and sin and Cutlar McCulloch.'

In the Society's Celebration of its 50th anniversary on 20 November 1912, Sir James Crichton-Browne, the son of the Crichton Royal's first Medical Superintendent and a world authority himself in psychiatry, spoke on 'The Possibilities of Societies such as Ours.' His was a particularly thoughtful, almost futurologist contribution, referring to the development within the previous 50 years of 'professionals' in universities and museums and the implications for a society such as ours. He acknowledges that, if we did no more than meet 'in pleasant and democratic social intercourse to quicken our interest in the relics, flora and fauna, our existence would be amply justified.' However, he believes we can do more, mentioning his visit to Charles Darwin, a solitary worker with no apparatus or institutional encouragement and referring also to Gregor Mendel, again a solitary worker who discovered the laws of genetic inheritance within the garden of a monastery in Brün [Brno]. Interestingly, Mendel published his work with the Natural History Society of Brün, a respected Society not unlike ours, but his stunning discovery went unnoticed by the wider world for 30 years. Think, too, of what happened to our John Rutherford and Salmon Disease.

Another member of our Society, John Shaw of Drumlanrig, had a happier fate, being recognised for his discovery that parr are not a separate species but the young of salmon, a discovery of enormous importance to the salmon industry. He presented his findings to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in December 1837. Of course, if our Society had been in existence then ... but he did become a member.

Crichton-Browne goes on to suggest it would not be extravagant to imagine that we might evolve another Mendel. Sadly, he laments that 'the inquisitive instincts [in children] that lead to the incessant questionings that are the terror of parents,' are sternly repressed in the educational system of the time, so that children 'go to school ignorant but curious, and come away ignorant, incurious and indifferent.'

The Rev. C.H. Dick of Moffat in the 1915-16 Session mentioned a breed of horse I had never heard of and which I think is now extinct – the Galloway Nag. 'Know we not Galloway Nags' says Pistol in Shakespeare's Henry IV Part I. Gervase Markham in 1620 wrote, 'In Scotland are a race of small nagges they call Galloway, which for fine shape, easie pace, pure metall and infinit toughness are not short of the best nagges that are bred in any country whatsoever.' Robert the Bruce's mount before the Battle of Bannockburn, when he was attacked by Sir Henry de Bohun, the 'littil palfrey laucht and joly' of Barbour's Edinburgh Manuscript, was said to be a Galloway Nag. These were small and manoeuvrable horses, and Bruce, armed only with a battle-axe, used this to advantage, 'and he [Bruce] that in his sterapys stud, wi' the ax raucht him a dynt.' The dynt was hard enough to split Henry's helmet and head in two.

And with that dynt, my time, too, has run. I leave it to future Presidents at future Anniversary Conferences to continue the story.

THE FOUNDING OF OUR SOCIETY 1862: CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT AND CULTURAL CLIMATE

Edward J. Cowan[1]

Breathless and blue stood Sixty Two
On the bank of Time's great ocean,
Where together the Past and Future are cast
In a whirl of wild commotion.[2]

It is truly an honour to be invited to speak on this auspicious occasion, which I see as an opportunity to reflect on some of the great achievements and some of the great achievers in Dumfries and Galloway around the time the Society was founded on 20 November 1862. A secondary theme is the relationship of most of these people with the unique landscape of the region and the influence of the environment upon them. In 1862 most of the population of the three south-western counties still depended upon the land for their material existence. A remarkable number became naturalists, while poets and writers celebrated Nature's heritage in the beauty of their surroundings. In a Christian era many were concerned with the wonder of Creation rather than with any sense of 'blood and soil' or lebensraum, with celebrating the joy of their environs rather than environmental determinism.

The region enjoys the boon of a large number of publications, many produced in the nineteenth century. It can boast probably the best Scottish local history ever published in the work of William McDowall. It has been the subject of outstanding research in our own highly respected *Transactions* while there is much to fascinate and to pique curiosity in the pages of *The Gallovidian* and *The Border Magazine*. We have excellent local history resources in our regional library collections and an invaluable assemblage of archives, which hopefully will soon be housed in much-needed new premises. Council-operated museum collections, notably in Stranraer, Kirkcudbright and Dumfries are outstanding, complemented by many independent operations and heritage centres, while local history and heritage societies abound. The region can boast a wealth of monuments, some of them thousands of years old, which, like more recent buildings and architecture, are of national significance.

In the years immediately preceding 1862 a number of events, far and near, impacted upon this part of Scotland. In 1858 the first transatlantic cable message was transmitted from Newfoundland to County Kerry. A month later the system broke down. It was eventually completed from the UK to the USA in 1866. The captain of the *Great Eastern*, which finished the task, was Sir James Anderson from Dumfries, a man with a great sense of humour, who later recalled at a burgh dinner in his honour that he and some friends saved enough money to buy Nithsdale Regatta Club's first boat, an iron vessel known

---

1 Member of the Society; ted.cowan@btinternet.com.

2 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, 4 January 1862 with acknowledgement to *Punch*.

as 'Anderson's Canister' which cost £1, paid in coppers.[3] 1858 also saw the end of the Indian Mutiny, of considerable local interest since two of Burns's sons and three of Allan Cunningham's, as well as many others from the region, had made their careers with the East India Company. In November 1858 Charles Darwin published his *Origin of the Species* much cited and discussed in future issues of the *Transactions*. Almost as influential was the launch of Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help*. A year later Queen Victoria inaugurated the City of Glasgow water supply – fifty million gallons a day from Loch Katrine. Dumfries had been connected to the Lochrutton source eight years earlier. The first Royal Navy ironclad ship was launched in 1860. (As long ago as 1827 Captain John Ross of Stranraer had vainly advocated steam navigation for the navy.)[4] The Treaty of Beijing ended the Opium Wars, a matter of great relief to local Jardines, Johnstones and Keswicks.[5] The area around Lochmaben was known as 'Little China' due to profits from the China trade, used to purchase local estates. The enormously significant economic impact of the China trade on Dumfriesshire would make an excellent dissertation topic.

The year 1861 was full of incident. Abraham Lincoln became President of the USA and the Civil War commenced, Britain supposedly remaining neutral.[6] Many Dumfries and Galloway folk whose kin had emigrated to the USA had good cause to worry. Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) inspired many Scots in his struggle for the unification of Italy. Some saw him as a second William Wallace. There were reports from Australia of a massacre of colonists by Aborigines. The British duty on paper, 'the tax on knowledge', was abolished, presaging a revolution in the newspaper and magazine industries. The major event, however, was the death on 15 December 1861 of Prince Albert and the beginning of a cult of mourning led by the Queen. For years black would be the colour of fashion as a ruler-inflicted pall enveloped the nation. Local newspapers carried numerous advertisements for black crepe.

January of 1862 was dominated by reports on Northumberland's Hartley Colliery pit disaster in which 204 men were killed. In Lancaster there were riots due to the cotton recession caused by the American Civil War. Lewis Carroll began to compose *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and Victor Hugo published the last two volumes of *Les Miserables*. Jean Joseph Etienne built the first automobile, while Dr Richard Gatling patented a new machine gun and the Beardsley Field Telegraph was used for the first time. Bismarck became chancellor of Germany. But the big news continued to come out

---

3 William McDowall, *History of the Burgh of Dumfries, With Notices of Nithsdale, Annandale and the Western Border*, (1867) 4th revised edition, with additional notes, Dumfries, 1986, 828-9. During this visit he was given the freedom of Dumfries.

4 John Ross, *A Treatise on Navigation by Steam; Comprising a History of the Steam Engine and an Essay towards a System of the Naval Tactics Peculiar to Steam Navigation, as Applicable both to Commerce and Maritime Warfare*, London 1828. Ross also published 'Steam Navigation', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, April 1827, 393-9.

5 Maggie Keswick, ed., *The Thistle and The Jade: A Celebration of 150 years of Jardine Matheson & Co*., London, 1982, *passim*.

6 The news items noted in this and following paragraphs are drawn from *The Dumfries and Galloway Standard* and the *Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser*. I am grateful to Alison Burgess, Local History Officer, Ewart Library, for her help in locating these reports.

of America. On 1 June slavery was abolished in all US territories. The bloodiest day in the Civil War proved to be the 17 September, when 23,111 died in the Battle of Antietam. The Great Sioux Uprising erupted in the autumn of the year and late December hosted the Battle of Dumfries, Virginia, 'the old God-forsaken town', founded by doonhamer, John Graham, in 1749. In the 1760s it was the second leading tobacco port in colonial America, rivaling Philadelphia and Boston.

Back home 1862 slid, skated, curled and sledged its way into January, at least in Moffat which was experiencing very cold weather. Ditching was impossible, diking and draining had ceased; masons, slaters and other trades were idle. Potatoes could not be 'unpitted'. At Chapmanton, Crossmichael, a man pulling hay from a stable loft was killed when he stepped backwards. There was a soirée at Crocketford to mark the opening of a new school, at which the audience was solemnly warned that 'No matter how able and talented a teacher they might have, his labours would not be attended with a full measure of success unless accompanied by parental training at the fireside', advice with a familiar ring to it. The papers reported that on Christmas Day just passed the business of Morton school at Thornhill was brought to a standstill when the pupils and teachers presented a festive gift, *Black's General Atlas*, to the headmaster. The teacher at Tongland was similarly honoured.

The *Standard* carried articles on 'how to choose a good potato' and on farmers' losses from weeds. There was a weekly column on 'Old Times in Dumfries', drawn from the town council minutes. Learned readers could ponder a publication of Burns's poems in Latin, for example *Scots Wha Hae*:

Commilites Wallacio
Scoti ducti Brucio
Cruento grati lectulo
Mors aut victoria.

Curling matches were religiously reported. The Curlers of Dunscore took on the Gentlemen Curlers of Tinwald on Dalswinton Loch, the 'Dunscorians' winning by four shots. There was a lecture at Newton Stewart Mechanics Institute on phrenology, the topic: 'How could a benefactor turn into a misanthrope?'

An unfortunate woman from Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming was committed to the Crichton Institution for killing her child by 'roasting it on the fire'.[7] Servant girls at Dryfesdale Manse and Wamphray Manse were accused of infanticide. There was a sensational report from Carsfad in the Glenkens where Mary Timney was accused of murdering Ann Hannah with a wooden mallet, while she was washing clothes outside her cottage. A woman testified that, when visiting the accused on one occasion, the deceased was standing nearby talking to two men. Mary Timney reportedly complained that Ann Hannah was 'ower fond o' the men. My man gangs in sometimes, and sits a bit . . . but I'll

7 This horrific treatment was a traditional method of dealing with changelings, substituted by the fairies for the human children they stole, Lizanne Henderson and Edward J. Cowan, *Scottish Fairy Belief: A History*, Edinburgh 2007, 98-9.

dae for her yet. I'll gang in and leave her a corpse some morning'. And so she did! Blood on Timney's clothes led her to the gallows in Dumfries, the last woman in Scotland to be publicly executed, 29 April 1862.[8] Later in the year the local papers regularly scrutinized the Sandyford murder case in Glasgow, the first occasion on which forensic photography was used and the first to be investigated by the Glasgow Police Force. After a trial Jessie McLachlan was condemned to death for the murder of Jessie McPherson but when her sentence was commuted to life imprisonment there was public outrage. While some rejoiced, most local opinion in the south-west seems to have favoured hanging.

In November 1862 the Wigtown and Kirkcudbright Artillery Volunteers took part in a friendly shoot-off at the Battery near St Mary's Isle. First prize was an engraving, second a field glass and third, five volumes of Benjamin Disraeli's *Works*! There was a horrendous accident in which a man was trapped under the 60-ton *Countess of Whithorn* at Garlieston. Many struggled in vain to free him but had to watch as he drowned in the advancing tide, having begged a cloth to cover his face that he might not witness the encroaching waters. A new town hall and market place were announced for Castle Douglas and shortly thereafter the foundation stone of Wigtown County buildings was laid and a vase containing local newspapers and some silver coins was buried. Kirkcudbright took possession of a new lifeboat possibly in response to the disasters of 1861, which 'blew itself in with storms at the New Year and shrieked itself out in widow's weeds in December'. That year 1171 ships and at least 465 lives were lost around Britain's coasts.[9]

* * *

By 1862 the era of Sir Walter Scott was over, though the wizard's influence still lingered, as it does today. It is not always realized that Scott totally dominated his native country, so far as culture, literature, heritage and history were concerned. He was granted an authority, respect and indeed total domination, which few writers anywhere in the world have ever enjoyed. With Robert Burns he was responsible for the greatest rebranding since the Reformation of his native country, a probably unwitting exercise, so successful that its influence is still very much with us.

Encompassing all is the brilliantly diversified landscape of the region lying along the fifty-fifth parallel from Mosspaul to the Mull of Galloway, bordered by the sea, by hills verging on mountains and by a short frontier stretch at one time known as 'No Man's Land', between the Clochmabenstane at Gretna and Kershopefoot. Nineteenth-century writers and historians were much taken with the idea of 'the genius of place', the character or defining essence, even the atmosphere, of a location. Robert Louis Stevenson was particularly attracted by 'the genius of place and moment', by 'certain locations where something must have happened'. He detected a kindred spirit in Walter Scott for whom 'the different appearances of nature seemed each to contain its own legend ready-made which it was his to call forth'. If there was no known associative story or legend then Stevenson, like Scott, was happy to supply one.[10]

---

8 See now Jayne Baldwin, *Mary Timney The Road to the Gallows*, Stranraer, 2013.

9 Malcolm G. Barber, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, London, 1977.

10 Edward J. Cowan, 'Intent on my own race and place I wrote: Robert Louis Stevenson and Scottish History' in *The Polar Twins*, eds., Edward J. Cowan and Douglas Gifford, Edinburgh, 1999, 187-214.

Bucketloads of Dumfries and Galloway verse testify that many locally felt a strong bond with, and a powerful influence from, their natural surroundings in an era when many literate men and not a few women, answered the muse's call. For example, Rev. David Landsborough (1778-1854) who was born in Dalry to become a prominent minister and naturalist wrote:

> . . . though of scenery in those childish years
> I took no note; unconsciously perchance
> I felt even then its influence on my mind.[11]

Like many others he clearly subscribed to Burns's idea of 'Nature's Social Union', convinced as he was that the Book of Nature was the gift of God.[12]

There can be little doubt that the region's greatest cultural asset was Robert Burns, the centenary of whose birth was celebrated in 1859 by Dumfries, in a manner which William McDowall considered unprecedented anywhere. The ancient burgh was festooned with decorations; there were numerous fetes. One thousand people sat down to dinner in the Nithsdale Mills.[13] The second greatest asset was the continued presence of Jean Armour who refused to return to the Ayrshire which had once treated her so cruelly, opting instead to remain in Dumfries. She survived until 1834, happily entertaining many pilgrims who arrived in search of memories. The Bard should not distract us, but there is a really good case for suggesting that Burns, or the image of him that has endured, was a doonhame creation.[14]

The galaxy of talent in this region during Scott's lifetime is too vast to mention all who were part of it. All of these men were profoundly influenced by their physical surroundings, the mountains, moors, woodlands, farmland and pastures, lochs, rivers, sea – the landscapes that they perhaps took for granted as they grew up.

* * *

Those who brought about the founding of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society were nothing if not ambitious in their vision. It is worth quoting the *Standard*'s report of the first regular meeting of the society held in the Mechanics' Institution on 6 January 1863:

> James Stark, Esq. of Troqueer Holm, presided, and there was a large attendance of members. Nineteen new members were admitted, bringing up the membership to sixty. After the disposal of other business, papers were read by Mr Fraser on *Scutelaria Minor*, a plant of the order *Labiatae*, found growing on Laggan

11 Alexander Trotter, *East Galloway Sketches or Biographical, Historical, and Descriptive Notices of Kirkcudbrightshire, Chiefly in the Nineteenth Century*, Castle Douglas, 1901, 359.
12 Julia Muir Watt, *Dumfries and Galloway a literary guide*, Dumfries, 2000, 224-6.
13 McDowall, *History*, 824. See also his *Burns in Dumfriesshire, A Sketch of the Last Eight Years of the Poet's Life*, Dumfries, 1870.
14 Enlightenment Dumfries and Galloway and the doonhame creation of Robert Burns will be the theme of a forthcoming article in these Transactions.

> Hill; by Mr Croall, a corresponding member, on the occurrence of *Anthoceras Punctatus* in Kincardineshire (read by Dr Gilchrist); by Mr Hastings, taxidermist, Dumfries, on the appearance of the Pomerania Skua, a rare species of gull, in the neighbourhood of Dumfries; by Dr Grierson, on the Nature and Origin of Species, illustrated by specimens of skins, to prove the necessity of attending to variety; by Mr W. G. Gibson, on the Antiquities of the Stone, Bronze and Iron periods found in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, illustrated by specimens and drawings. Many interesting antiquities, including several rare contributions from Dr Moffat, Lockerbie, and which will form the subject of an article at next meeting, and specimens of natural history, were exhibited and presented to the Society.[15]

Attendees who were not frightened off were invited to return on the first Tuesday of February.

There had been unsuccessful proposals to found a Dumfriesshire and Galloway Society in 1836 and 1839. Reviewing the history of the society at a *converzatione* in the Town Hall on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary in 1912, when it had 490 members, the president, Hugh Gladstone, observed that the society 'did not shout its advent from the housetops but quietly and practically set itself to add to the sum of our scientific knowledge'.[16] Winter meetings were held in the Mechanics' Institute while summer fieldwork was largely concerned with natural history. All had not been plain sailing. In session 1868-9 the secretary, A. D. Murray, reported that 'generally there has not been evinced among members so warm an interest in the success of the society as is desirable, if it is to go on and prosper'.[17] Meetings ceased altogether in 1875 but the organization was reconstituted the following year. In 1880 the society's collection of artifacts was deposited at the Observatory of the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Astronomical Society, now Dumfries Museum. The same year ladies joining the society as ordinary members were exempted from the entry fee of two shillings and sixpence. Robert Dinwiddie of New York donated his scientific library to the society. It became involved in campaigns to preserve Lincluden Abbey and Devorgilla's Bridge while sponsoring the first systematic excavation of a Roman camp in Scotland at Birrens, followed by Burnswark. The society claimed, as it presumably still can, 'to be the oldest Scottish club embracing both Antiquarian and Natural History pursuits'.[18]

Gladstone pointed to the assemblage of luminaries that had been associated with the society: Sir William Jardine of Applegarth, the first president,[19] Sir Arthur Mitchell,

---

15 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, 7 January 1863.

16 Hugh S. Gladstone, 'Presidential Address The History of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society 1862-1912', *TDGNHAS*, Series III, vol. 1, 1912-13, 18. Gladstone of Capenoch was the author of *The Birds of Dumfriesshire*, 1910 and *Record Bags and Shooting Records*, 1922, a hair-raising study which demonstrates the British aristocracy's insatiable appetite for slaughter to the point of extinction. An interesting original study is his *Birds and the War*, 1919.

17 Gladstone, 'History', 21.

18 Gladstone, 'History', 16.

19 Christine Jackson and Peter Davis, *Sir William Jardine: A Life in Natural History*, London and New York, 2001.

antiquary, Dr Thomas Grierson founder of Thornhill Museum, Dr James Gilchrist, antiquary and geologist, William M'Diarmid, naturalist, William Lennon, entomologist, John Shaw, ichthyologist responsible for discovering that parr are young salmon, Patrick Dudgeon, geologist and astronomer, James Shaw, schoolmaster at Tynron,[20] Thomas Aird, poet, ornithologist and newspaper editor, William McDowall, local historian, J. H. Thomson, author of *The Martyr Graves of Scotland*, Sir Herbert Maxwell, society president and man of letters, Sir James Crichton-Browne, society president and psychiatrist, Dr David Sharpe, entomologist and Joseph Thomson, explorer. Many of these men enjoyed national and international reputations while based mainly in Dumfries and Galloway.

Sir James Crichton-Browne attended Dumfries Academy while his father was superintendent of Crichton Royal. He remained a loyal devotee of Dumfries throughout his life. He was a close associate and admirer of Charles Darwin. It fell to Crichton-Browne to lead off the speeches on the occasion of the society's jubilee in 1912, speaking on the potential of local societies in celebrating the 'enormous extension of public interest in historical and scientific questions'. Local societies were, in reality, the feeders of national societies, 'but they sometimes digest their own provender with excellent effect', extending scientific boundaries, often through the effort and perseverance of individuals, in proof of which he cited the work of the Peckhams in Wisconsin who had discovered tool-using wasps. Societies were not only the guardians of the built environment; they were places for 'pleasant and democratic social intercourse'. He was not a great admirer of schools which, he thought, killed curiosity: 'children go to school ignorant but curious and come away ignorant, uncurious and indifferent'. As a remedy he advocated Nature Study. He was also strongly supportive of the establishment in Dumfries of a proper museum, 'no less useful to a town than its churches, circulating libraries and gasometers'.[21]

Next up was Sir Herbert Maxwell of Monreith, a truly prolific writer and one of the best-known essayists of his day. His subject was archaeology and its practitioners, who were once regarded as feeble antiquaries but who 'now stood in the same relation to historians as witnesses do to counsel'; their function, though most modern archaeologists would seriously dispute his assertion, was to produce evidence in support of history. He recalled participating in a somewhat unrewarding excavation of a crannog. An old lady observing his efforts summed up matters admirably: 'I think they maun hae been puir folk an' a' carefu' that leeved here. They hadna muckle gear and what they had they took awa' wi' them!' Maxwell was the only commentator to specifically mention history in either 1862 or 1912, which is surprising in view of the substantial presence of the subject in the *Transactions*. He rejoiced in the modern Galloway countryside and its bustling towns, remarking that 'we should do ill to forget those who fought and died to secure us this heritage':

---

20 *A Country Schoolmaster James Shaw Tynron, Dumfriesshire*, ed., Robert Wallace, Edinburgh, 1899.

21 Sir James Crichton-Browne, 'Possibilities of Societies Such as Ours', *TDGNHAS*, Series III, vol. 1, 1912-13, 42-52.

Long years of peace have stilled the battle thunder:
Wild grasses quiver where the fight was won;
Masses of bloom, lightly blown asunder,
Drop their white petals on the silent gun.

He could not have known that two years later the fighting and dying would recommence as 'the silent gun' became the murderous weapons of World War One.[22]

The final contribution came from G.F. Scott-Elliot who celebrated Darwin's achievement and went on to present a paean to modern scientific advances. One caveat was that he considered the rise of jargon was obscuring the findings of research.[23]

By the time of the Society's anniversary in 1912 hindsight suggests that the region was rather losing its way, its greatness seemed all in the past. Publications about local celebrities, individuals perfectly worthy in their own right, do not really impress in their descriptions of local heroes one and all.[24] There was an awareness that the counties of Dumfries and Galloway shared something of a common history, heritage and identity but the region's title represented a cumbersome mouthful, as arguably it still does. In its earlier issues *The Gallovidian*, valiantly but vainly, attempted to popularize the designation 'Galfresia, the new compound word to signify the three southern counties of Scotland, Dumfriesshire, Wigtownshire and the Stewartry'.[25] However there was still real local pride in the achievements of local people, past and present, which helped to confer a sense of identity upon the region's inhabitants, some attempt to recover the lustre of a place that centuries before had been a province or even an independent kingdom under the Lords of Galloway, an area noted for the ferocity of its warriors and for its independent-mindedness but which now was losing out to the urban communities of the central belt. There was pride in the rapid expansion of Dumfries and some of the smaller towns in the 1860s, but many of the region's parishes reached their maximum population levels in the census of 1861, commencing a downward spiral, which has continued to the present day.

* * *

Some of those who grew to maturity in the first fifty years or so of the society's existence have already been mentioned.[26] Sir William Jardine (1800-1874) the society's first president

---

22 Sir Herbert Maxwell, 'Principles and Purpose of Archaeology', *TDGNHAS***,** Series III, vol. 1, 1912-13, 52-56.

23 G.F. Scott-Elliot, 'Natural History - Some Advances in Fifty Years', *TDGNHAS*, Series III, vol. 1, 1912-13. 56-8.

24 For example, Kelso Kelly, *Galloway Men of Mark*, Newton Stewart, 1919; James Reid, *Some Dumfries and Galloway Men*, Dumfries, 1922.

25 'Editorial Notes', *The Gallovidian*, No. 1 vol. 1, Spring, 1899, 37.

26 There is no space to mention all of them. For a list of the great and the good see the invaluable *Where the Whaups Are Crying: A Dumfries and Galloway Anthology*, ed., Innes Macleod, Edinburgh, 2001. 390-92. For the last 40 years Innes has been at the forefront of research and publication on the history of Galloway.

was a widely respected naturalist specializing in ichthyology and ornithology. He was editor of the forty-volume *Naturalist Library*. Everyone who has ever dipped into Galloway's rich history is familiar with *History of the Lands and their Owners in Galloway* (1870-79) by Peter H. McKerlie (1870-79). He was born in Edinburgh to a Wigtownshire family and although he spent a good deal of time in Galloway he did not actually live there. As a young man he had a spell on the Cavan family's sugar plantation in Barbados. He then secured an administrative post in the Admiralty. McKerlie first published on the Scottish regiments. Although *Lands and their Owners* has come in for a good deal of criticism it remains an ambitious work which demanded considerable research.[27] A local hero with a worldwide reputation was James Clerk Maxwell of Glenlair, Parton (1831-1879). Maxwell remained deeply attached to Galloway throughout his life. Albert Einstein famously wrote that 'one scientific epoch ended and another began with James Clerk Maxwell'. His experiments with electromagnetism made possible radio, radar and television. His earliest experiments with light and colour, carried out at Glenlair, spawned legions of applications, among them colour TV. He was, by all accounts, a modest man and a genuine original.[28]

One luminary, nowadays undeservedly overlooked, was John Ramsay McCulloch (1789-1864) born at the Isle of Whithorn, a man with some claim to be regarded as the first professional economist. He was the first editor of the *Scotsman* newspaper of which John McDiarmid, editor of the *Dumfries Courier*, was a founder. McCulloch contributed numerous articles to the *Edinburgh Review*, mainly on political economy; a particular study was the theories of David Ricardo. He also edited the works of Adam Smith and he went on to produce massive encyclopaedic works on statistics, economics and geography. He never forgot the Machars. At the end of his huge *Dictionary Geographical, Statistical, and Historical of the Various Countries, Places, and Principal Natural Objects of the World* he included a lengthy entry on Whithorn and the Isle, 'which is comparatively secluded; but in purity of air and water, mildness of climate, dryness of soil, cheerfulness and salubrity, it is superior to most bathing-places on the Scottish coast'. He admitted that the entry was somewhat lengthy, but:

> Not being of the number of those who care nothing for the place to which they belong, we may, perhaps be excused, if, towards the close of this lengthened and laborious survey of so many countries and places, we have lingered for a moment over scenes once familiar, and still well remembered. The associations which the mention of this locality calls up are all "redolent of joy and youth" and are too soothing and pleasing to be instantly dismissed.[29]

---

27 E. Marianne H. M'Kerlie, *Two Sons of Galloway, Robert M'Kerlie 1778-1855 with his reminiscences and journal, Peter H. M'Kerlie 1817-1900*, Dumfries, 1928,107-35.

28 Basil Mahon, *The Man Who Changed Everything: The Life of James Clerk Maxwell*, Chichester, 2003. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the tireless efforts of the late Sam Callander of Parton to increase awareness in Galloway and elsewhere of Maxwell's astounding achievements.

29 John Ramsay McCulloch, *Dictionary Geographical, Statistical, and Historical of the Various Countries, Places, and Principal Natural Objects of the World* 2 vols. London 1841, vol. 2, 1066 (Available Online). Watt, *A Literary Guide* also quotes this revealing passage, 327.

A close associate of McCulloch was the publisher Thomas Murray (1792-1872), of Gatehouse of Fleet, to whom in his capacity as Stationery Office Comptroller the economist awarded several publishing commissions. Murray's best known and most influential publication, at least locally, was his *Literary History of Galloway* (1822 and 1832) which built upon Andrew Symson's *Large Description of Galloway* (1684), and paved the way for William Mackenzie's two volume *History of Galloway* (1841) and John Nicolson's *Historical and Traditional Tales* (1843), in conferring a literary and historical identity upon the province.

Almost every Annandale vista reminded Thomas Carlyle of his historical and family heritage, the landscape preserving endless illustrations of the past. He was aware that the blood of 'the wild, natural, almost animal man of the lawless border country of Annandale' ran in his veins. He traced influence from John Knox, as well as James Renwick and Richard Cameron, the Hillmen of the later covenant. In 1825 he wrote inviting Jane Welsh to visit Hoddam Hill:

> I will show show you Kirkconnell churchyard and Fair Helen's grave. I will take you to the top of Burnswark, and wander with you up and down the woods, and lanes and moors. Earth, sea and air are open to us here as well as anywhere. The Water of Milk was flowing through its simple valley as early as the brook Siloa, and poor Repentance Hill is as old as Caucusus itself. There is a majesty and mystery in nature, take her as you will. The essence of all poetry comes breathing to a mind that feels from every province of her empire.[30]

Tom once told his brother Alick that 'Word that all is well in Annandale, though written with the end of a burnt stick, is better to me than all the wit of poets'.[31] It was therefore a great shock to him that, after completing the exhausting re-write of volume one of *The French Revolution,* he returned to his birthland seeking sustenance and solace only to discover that everything appeared spectral. 'Hades itself could not have seemed stranger; Annandale was also part of the Kingdom of Time'. On the same visit he told Jane that he visited the Milk Well, source of the Middlebie Burn, 'and noted the little dell it had hollowed out all the way, and the huts of Adam's Posterity built sluttishly on its course; and a Sun shining overhead, ninety millions of miles off; and Eternity all round; and Life a vision, dream and yet fact, — woven, with uproar, on the Loom of Time!'[32] Rivers and burns, or streams, fascinated Carlyle. He once wrote that the Scaur Water came brawling down, 'the voice of it like a lamentation among the winds'. [33]

---

30 James Anthony Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of the First Forty Years of His Life 1795-1835*, 2 vols. London, 1903, Vol. 1, 310.

31 J. M. Sloan, *The Carlyle Country with a study of Carlyle's life*, London, 1904, 167; an illustrated 2nd edition is now available ed., Mary Hollern with an introduction by Ian Campbell, Glasgow, 2010.

32 John D. Rosenberg, *Carlyle and the Burden of History*, Cambridge Mass., 26.

33 Sloan, *Carlyle Country*, 221.

When he eventually completed *French Revolution* he returned again to the Middlebie Burn for balm:

> . . . the old brook . . . still leaps into its cauldron here, gushes clear as crystal thro' the chasms and dingles of its Linn; singing me a song, with slight variations of score, these several thousand years . . . I look on the sapphire of St Bees Head and the Solway mirror from the gable-window; I ride to the top of Blaweary and see all round from Ettrick Pen to Helvellyn, from Tyndale to Northumberland to Cairnsmuir and Ayrshire: *voir c'est avoir* [to see is to possess]: a brave old earth after all; — in which, I am content to acquiesce without quarrel . . . One night I rode thro' the village where I was born. The old 'Kirkyard Tree', a huge knarled ash, was rustling itself softly against the great Twilight in the North; a star or two looked out; and the old graves were all there, and my Father's and my Sister's: and God was above us all.[34]

The foregoing has rightly been described as one of the most beautiful passages in all of Carlyle's letters, but there are numerous similar evocations in Tom's correspondence. His letter of 1818 to his father, James Carlyle, announcing that he was giving up on the teaching profession was prefaced by a description of his long walk to Edinburgh through a landscape which matched the desolation of his inner turmoil. Burnswark, Eskdalemuir, Eskdale itself, Glenderg, upper Ettrick Water, Meggat and Yarrow in mist, rain and approaching darkness, to Peebles and so to the capital.[35] In brighter moments he celebrated 'rustic Annandale, with its homely honesties, rough vernacularities, safe, innocently kind, ruggedly motherlike, cheery, wholesome, like its airy hills and clear-rushing streams'.[36] From Repentance Hill the panorama extended from Hartfell to Helvellyn and from Criffel to Christianberry Crags, 'a green unmanufactured carpet' covering the circle of his vision, fleecy clouds and the azure vault above him and the pure breath of his native Solway blowing wooingly through all his haunts, such a view, wrote Carlyle 'as Britain or the world could hardly have matched'. As Froude noted, Carlyle's 'exquisite little sketches… placed not merely a natural scene before you, but the soul of the man who looked upon it'.[37] It was through his environment – a word coined by Carlyle[38] — that he began to truly discover himself. It was there that he heard the toll of the bell from Hoddam Kirk on Sundays, 'strangely touching to him, like the departing voice of eighteen centuries'. In the echo of that bell Carlyle detected a persistent theme which would obsess him for the rest of his life. Namely that, in the words of the folk-song, 'Time brings a' things tae an end'. And yet, paradoxically, Time preserves and predicts as well. The Past is ever-Present. Such

---

34 James Anthony Froude, *Thomas Carlyle A History of his Life in London 1834-1881*, 2 vols. 4th edn. London 1885, vol.1, 110.

35 *Carlyle Letters Online* 2 September 1818 *The Collected Letters* vol. 1 1812-1823, 138-141. For other evocative reflections (among many) on landscape, history, memory and being, see Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, eds. K. J. Fielding and Ian Campbell, Oxford, 1997, 237-8, 393.

36 Sloan, *Carlyle Country*, 157.

37 Sloan, *Carlyle Country*, 142, 157.

38 I owe this suggestion to my colleague Dr Ralph Jessop of the University of Glasgow.

realisations fed directly into Carlyle's idea and understanding of History in which James Carlyle and his kin (yea even to the umpteenth generation) stand shoulder to shoulder with Abbot Samson, Oliver Cromwell, Frederick the Great and the Comte de Mirabeau.

Samuel Rutherford Crockett (1859-1914) could never have matched Carlyle's profound historical understanding but he attempted, in his novels, to replicate for Galloway Scott's literary creation of the Borders. His Cameronian grandparents ensured that his childhood was idyllic as they filled his head with the heroic exploits of the Covenanters and indulged his love of nature and the countryside. Samuel was educated at Lauriston (Clachanpluck), Castle Douglas and Edinburgh University where he supplemented his bursary by occasional journalism. He eventually studied divinity and in 1886 became Free Church minister in Penicuik, naming himself Samuel Rutherford Crockett after the great covenanting minister of Anwoth and author of *Lex Rex*, regarded as one of the most seditious and subversive treatises of the seventeenth-century.[39]

In assembling *Raiderland* [40] he sought to create a legendary landscape in which he blatantly spliced his own stories with the traditions, history and heritage of Galloway. Before long his success was reflected in postcards and advertisements celebrating 'Raiders Country'. Crockett was a literary phenomenon in his own day with impressive sales worldwide. He wrote of heroes and troubled men, independent women and precocious children, with sympathy, humour and respect. Crockett conspicuously put Galloway on the map like no-one before him. The 'de luxe' edition of *The Stickit Minister* included Robert Louis Stevenson's poem, *To S.R. Crockett*, all the more poignant because the poet died the following year, 1894. Stevenson's ultimate tribute to Crockett is moving, indeed haunting, as it somehow encapsulates the very essence of Galloway and of Sam himself while invoking the appeal of landscape, time and people which the foregoing discussion has attempted to describe in celebration of the 150th Anniversary of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society:

> Blows the wind to-day, and the sun and the rain are flying,
> Blows the wind on the moors to-day and now,
> Where about the graves of the martyrs the whaups are crying,
> My heart remembers how!
>
> Grey recumbent tombs of the dead in desert places,
> Standing-stones on the vacant wine-red moor,
> Hills of sheep, and the howes of the silent vanished races,
> And winds, austere and pure! [41]

May the next century and a half be as successful as the first!

---

39 An excellent thorough study of Crockett is Islay Murray Donaldson, *The Life and Work of Samuel Rutherford Crockett*, Aberdeen, 1989. See also Andrew Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, Amsterdam, 2007.

40 S. R. Crockett, *Raiderland: All About Grey Galloway Its Stories, Traditions, Characters, Humours*, London, 1904.

41 Included in *Songs of Travel*, 1895; and *The Collected Poems of Robert Louis Stevenson* Edinburgh, 2003).

EXCAVATIONS AT TRUSTY'S HILL, 2012

Ronan Toolis[1] and Christopher Bowles[2]

The Pictish inscribed stone at Trusty's Hill is unique in Dumfries and Galloway and has long puzzled scholars as to why this was carved here and if it is indeed genuine. As part of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, the Galloway Picts Project was undertaken in 2012 in order to recover the evidence required to understand the archaeological context of the inscribed stone and the significance of Trusty's Hill within Early Medieval Scotland. The following paper is intended simply as an interim summary report, in advance of a monograph reporting the full analyses and results (Toolis and Bowles forthcoming).

Introduction

Trusty's Hill, located just outside Gatehouse of Fleet (Figure 1) is unique amongst the hillforts of Galloway in that it contains a Pictish inscribed stone, depicting a 'z-rod and double disc' symbol and a 'sea beast and sword' symbol (Figure 2). These Pictish carvings have, until now, made Trusty's Hill perhaps one of the most enigmatic archaeological sites in Scotland.

The site is first mentioned in the Anwoth parish account of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* as 'one of those vitrified forts which have lately excited the curiosity of modern antiquaries', which further notes that 'on the south side of this fort there is a broad flat stone, inscribed with several waving and spiral lines, which exhibit however no regular figure' and 'near it likewise were lately found several silver coins; one of King Edward VI; the rest of Queen Elizabeth' (Gordon 1794, 351). The recognition of the carvings, but not their form, suggests an unfamiliarity with Pictish carvings being studied in northern Scotland by contemporary scholarship (Henderson 1993, 13). The carved stone may also have been obscured by vegetation or lichen at this time indicating the stone, and perhaps the fort, had been forgotten during the intervening period between the deposition of the late medieval coin hoard and the eighteenth century. The dawn of antiquarian interest referenced in the *Statistical Account* no doubt influenced local individuals to seek out sites like Trusty's Hill in the landscape.

The carved symbols were first drawn by John Stuart, who also first recorded that the hill went by the name of Trusty's Hill (Stuart 1856, 31). Stuart doubted whether the horned figure at the bottom was nothing more than a recent addition to the other carvings (*Ibid*.). Local knowledge of the stone during the nineteenth century must have been considerable, as there is a substantial amount of graffiti adorning the stone from this period.

---

1 Member of the Society; GUARD Archaeology Ltd, Bilston Glen Business Centre, 6 Dryden Road, Loanhead EH20 9LZ.

2 Member of the Society; Scottish Borders Council, Council Headquarters, Newtown St Boswells, Melrose TD6 0SA.

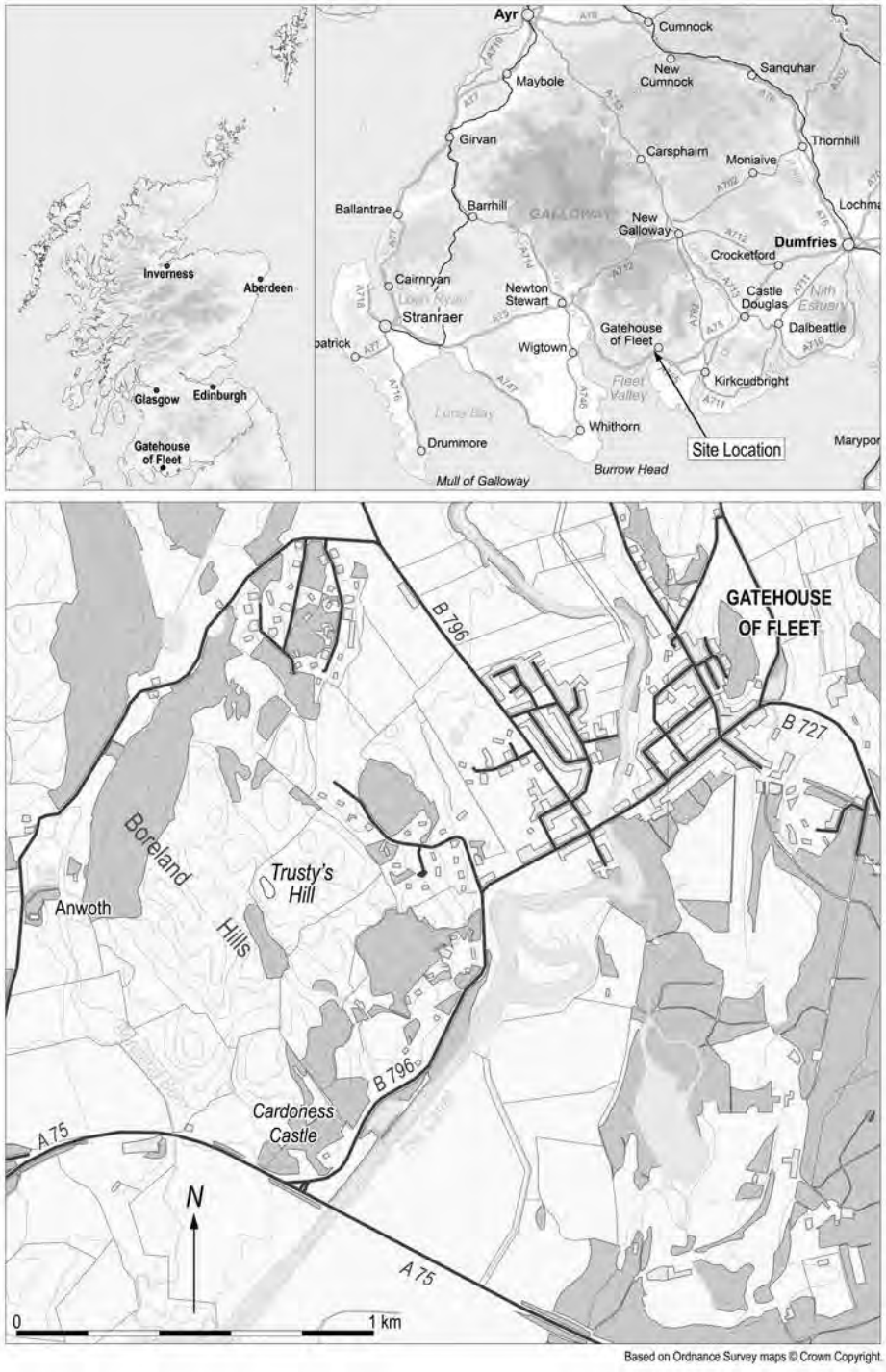

Figure 1. Site location.

Survey of the site was first undertaken around 1850 by the Ordnance Survey for the First Edition 6-inch (1:10560 scale) map. However, while the basic shape of the fort is recognisably correct, much of the finer detail is missing. The subsequent 1:2500 plan of the site by the Ordnance Survey in the 1890s is even less detailed, the surveyors appearing to have abandoned the premise of a small hilltop citadel in favour of a larger oval enclosure.

The first detailed plan of the site was in fact made around the same time in the 1890s by Frederick Coles, assistant curator at the National Museum of Scotland, who recorded un-mortared stonework around the summit but noted that according to 'accurate observers' the walls were regular and compact and exhibited vitrification 40 or 50 years previously (Coles 1893, 173-4). Of most interest to Coles were the 'Dolphin' and 'Sceptre and Spectacle Ornament' carvings; he concurred with Stuart in dismissing the lowest figure as of recent origin (Coles 1893, 174). The hill is still known locally as the 'Deil's Specs', and this name and the suggestion of 'spectacles' may have been common by the time Coles made his observations. Coles made other interesting notes: that he could not find the cup and ring marks said to be near this sculpturing and that the antiquity of the name, Trusty's Hill, could be dismissed as the invention of a certain Allan Kowen, who fifty years before had rented a small croft near the foot of the hill and founded the legend about 'Trusty' (*Ibid*.).

The Pictish symbols at Trusty's Hill are included in John Romilly Allen and Joseph Anderson's survey of *Early Christian Monuments in Scotland* (Allen and Anderson 1903, 477-478), who classify the z-rod and double disc symbol and dolphin symbol as Class I (Allan and Anderson 1903, 92). They were the first to note the protective cage of iron bars

Figure 2. Pictish inscribed stone.

that still protects the carvings today (Allen and Anderson 1903, 478). The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) Inventory of Monuments in Galloway largely repeats this information (RCAHMS 1914, 15).

Interest in Trusty's Hill was maintained by the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society (Reid 1930; Reid 1952) before it attracted the attention of C.A. Raleigh Radford, the first of a new generation of post-war archaeologists to comment on the stone. He considered the horned head to have been retouched in modern times but thought the form to be old (Raleigh Radford 1953, 237). Crucially, Raleigh Radford pointed out the similar relationship of the Pictish symbols at Trusty's Hill to two other non-Pictish forts, Dunadd and Edinburgh Castle Rock, which either contain or lie in proximity to Pictish symbols. Based on the reference in the medieval life of St Kentigern to a stone erected to mark the spot where King Leudon fell, Raleigh Radford postulated that these carvings commemorated Pictish leaders who had fallen in attacks on these fortresses (Raleigh Radford 1953, 238). He classed the symbols as Class II, and considered them late seventh or early eighth century AD by analogy with likely Pictish raids in southern Scotland in the decades following the battle of Nechtansmere (Raleigh Radford 1953, 239).

The first known excavation of Trusty's Hill was directed by Charles Thomas in 1960, following encouragement from R.C. Reid (Thomas personal communication). R.C. Reid, then one of the editors of the *Transactions of the DGNHAS*, had long advocated the excavation of Trusty's Hill (Reid 1930, 367; 1952, 163-164). Thomas, working to a shoe-string budget over two rain-soaked weeks, was nevertheless able to confirm the presence of vitrified ramparts around the summit. His excavations also encountered evidence for occupation, notably animal bones, charcoal and the lower half of a rotary quern. However, no evidence was encountered that could date the occupation of the fort, demonstrate the status of its inhabitants or explicitly link the occupation of the fort with the carvings (Thomas 1961). Despite this lack of conclusive evidence, Thomas interpreted two widely separate phases of occupation to the site on analogy with other western British hillforts. The first phase, in Thomas's scheme, was attributed to the first century AD while the second phase was ascribed to the post-Roman period based on similarities with nuclear (or nucleated) forts such as Dunadd and Dalmahoy (Thomas 1961, 66-68). Thomas concurred with Raleigh Radford in attributing the carvings as commemorating a fallen Pictish leader responsible for the fort's fiery demise (Thomas 1961, 60). However, he considered the Pictish symbols to be Class I, late sixth or early seventh century AD, based on the apparent improbability of Pictish raiders coming so far south post-Nechtansmere (i.e. after 685 AD). Thomas also postulated that the excessive floriation of the z-rod and the insertion of its central portion between the bars of the double disc's 'waist' was closer to 600 AD than 500 AD (Thomas 1961, 68-69).

In the years following Thomas' excavations, discussions of Trusty's Hill focussed on stylistic comparison with other Pictish symbols rather than the archaeological context that Thomas established. Isabel Henderson, in dismissing early Pictish occupation of Galloway, considered the Pictish symbols at Trusty's Hill to be a late Class II 'perversion' (Henderson 1960, 50) based on stylistic analysis of northern Pictish symbols, and which therefore could be 'safely dismissed as an outlier' (Henderson 1967, 114). Wainwright also

considered the Pictish symbols at Trusty's Hill, like those at Edinburgh, to be strays outside the main distribution of Pictish stones in his arguments against Pictland stretching south of the Forth–Clyde (Wainwright 1980, 36-44). Anthony Jackson went even further, dismissing the carvings at Trusty's Hill, as well as at many other sites, as dubious owing to their uncommon symbols (Jackson 1984, 37). Richard Oram, in his argument against Pictish settlement in Galloway, again questioned the Pictish authenticity of the carvings and refused to discount the possibility that they are relatively modern forgeries (Oram 1993, 15). These largely dismissive commentaries between the 1960s and 1990s meant that Trusty's Hill was not accorded the same attention as other contemporary sites in southern Scotland such as the Mote of Mark, Whithorn, Dumbarton Rock, Govan or Edinburgh Castle.

By the end of the 1990s, a growing emphasis in Scottish archaeology on Pictish studies and the understanding of the archaeological contexts of carved stones allowed scholars to consider Trusty's Hill once again. At the turn of the millennium, Lloyd Laing observed that since the symbols appear to have been cut at the same time, they must pre-date Stuart's mid-nineteenth century drawing by some duration for him to have considered them genuine (Laing 2000, 10). Laing commented that this would project any forgery, as postulated by Oram and Jackson, to a period when interest and knowledge of Pictish symbols was virtually non-existent. He accepted that the carvings should be seen as ancient, though whether they were Pictish or not was another matter (*Ibid*.). Laing argued that, apart from the horned head and sword which might be Iron Age, the other symbols at Trusty's Hill were inspired by relief carvings on a Class II monument and that they were executed by someone who had seen Class II Pictish Stones but had not remembered them correctly (Laing 2000, 11).

As he considered it unlikely that Class II stones pre-date the mid-eighth century AD, and that the majority are ninth century AD, Laing therefore rejected the explanation of a Pictish raiding party for the carvings at Trusty's Hill, preferring instead that the symbols commemorated a marriage between a Pict and a Galloway noble, perhaps an Anglian, (*Ibid*.). However, while Craig Cessford admitted that the raiding party theory for the carving of Pictish symbols outwith Pictland had attained the status of a 'factoid', and considered a variety of other explanations, he concluded that this theory was still the most likely (Cessford 1994, 81-86).

The possibility of solving part of the mystery was aroused by a relatively recent survey of the Pictish inscribed stone, which had apparently discovered previously unnoticed ogham (Fraser 2008, 64-65). The identification of ogham on a stone bearing Pictish symbols potentially mirrored the combination on inscribed stones in north east Scotland, such as Kirriemuir and St Vigeans (Fraser 2008, 7 & 64-65) and the Brodie Stone in Elgin (Laing 2000, 10). However, the resolution of this survey, hampered in part by the iron cage that protects the stone, meant that the inscription could not be translated (John Boreland personal communication; Katherine Forsyth personal communication).

The continuing revelations of the stone, and the need to better understand its context, led to new questions being asked about how Trusty's Hill fits into our wider knowledge of early medieval Britain. As part of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Dum-

friesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, the Society launched the Galloway Picts Project in 2012. The aim of the project was to recover, for modern analysis, the artefacts, environmental and dating evidence not recovered during the previous excavation in order to provide an archaeological context for the Pictish carvings on Trusty's Hill. Adherence to a detailed research design and methodology, agreed in advance with Historic Scotland, was required as a condition of Scheduled Monument Consent. The hope from the outset was that new information would be found to elucidate why Pictish symbols were inscribed at this small hillfort in Galloway, so far from the Pictish heartlands of north east Scotland, and if the inscribed symbols are indeed genuine.

Results

The Galloway Picts Project got underway with a new Global Positioning System (GPS) topographic survey of Trusty's Hill by RCAHMS. This produced for the first time a detailed measured plan of this Scheduled Ancient Monument: a necessary preparation for the subsequent excavation to allow accurate recording of the trenches and any features discovered. The topographic survey updates the measured sketch plan that Thomas produced during the previous excavation, providing the most accurate plan of the site to date (Figure 3).

The subsequent archaeological excavation, comprising four separate trenches, was undertaken by 65 volunteers in collaboration with GUARD Archaeology Ltd (Figure 4) between 20 May and 2 June 2012. The identification number attributed to each trench adhered to Thomas' system. Therefore Trench 2 was excavated to examine the circular depression at the entranceway, Trenches 4 and 5 to examine the eastern and western sides of the central summit enclosure respectively and Trench 6 to examine the rock-cut ditch at the northern side of the site (Figure 3). The total area exposed measured 74.6 m², which represents 2.6 % of the entire hillfort. However, as the conditions of Scheduled Monument Consent stipulated, the Galloway Picts Project team were only permitted to excavate half of the deposits exposed and therefore only approximately 1.3% of the site was excavated.

The 2012 excavations nevertheless reached a greater depth than the 1960 excavations, demonstrating that the occupation deposits encountered by Charles Thomas in Trench 4 in 1960 overlay the collapsed rampart and may perhaps be better characterised as post-destruction deposits, while the stone rampart encountered in Trench 5 in 1960 was in fact the interior rubble collapse of the rampart rather than the rampart itself. The recovery of a significant number and quality of artefacts from the backfill of Trenches 4 and 5 also demonstrated that the 1960 excavation had not recovered the full artefactual assemblage contained within the deposits it encountered. However, this was almost certainly due to the scarce resources and torrential rain that the 1960 excavation endured throughout its duration. On the one day that rain occurred during the 2012 excavation, it was exceedingly difficult to observe artefacts in the now sticky dark soil deposits, even when sieving. Fortunately, the 2012 excavation was conducted in predominantly sunny dry conditions, which, together with greater volunteer and professional supervisory resources and the employment of a large dry sieving table for almost all of the excavated soil deposits, maximised the recovery of artefacts. Other than topsoil, the only excavated soil deposits not sieved on

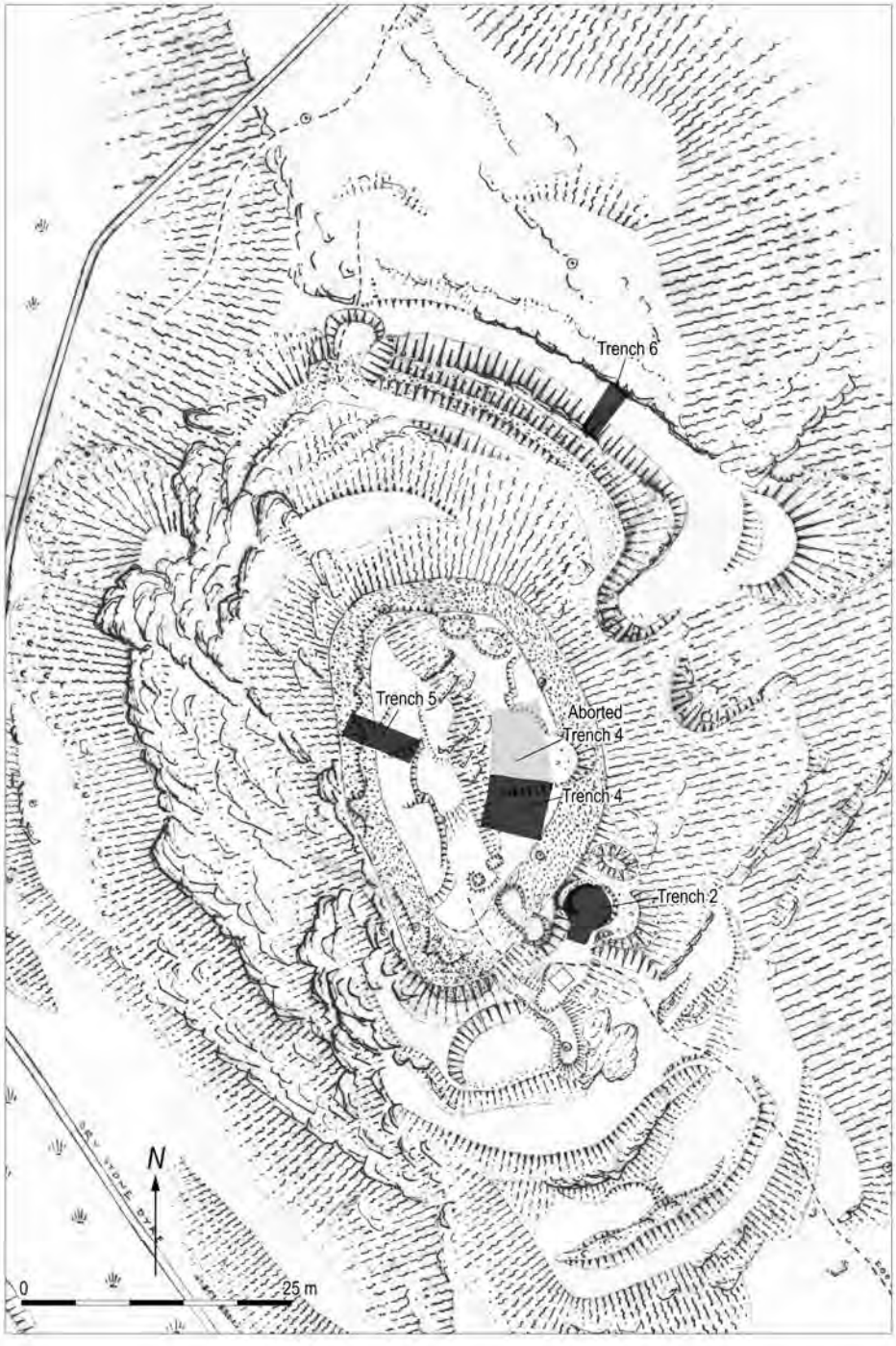

Figure 3. Topographic plan of Trusty's Hill overlaid with 2012 excavation trenches.
Copyright of RCAHMS and DGNHAS.

Figure 4. Volunteers excavating the vitrified rampart and associated occupation deposits in Trench 4.

Figure 5. Dark soil layer abutting the interior side of rampart in Trench 4.

site during the excavation were those deposits taken for palaeo-environmental assessment. The subsequent process of wet-sieving, sorting and assessment recovered several important artefacts, including clay mould fragments and a glass bead fragment, again maximising the recovery of artefacts from the 2012 excavation.

The majority of the artefacts were recovered from Trenches 4 and 5, on the east and west sides of the central summit respectively (Figure 3). The stratigraphy of contexts within both of these excavation trenches was remarkably consistent. In both cases, the collapsed rubble of the ramparts, which was as far as Charles Thomas' excavations had reached, sealed a dark soil layer that abutted the rampart (Figure 5). This dark soil sealed the collapsed interior stone faces of the rampart, which in turn sealed an underlying construction layer. The construction layer was shown to underlie the rampart core and formed the primary fill of a rock-cut shelf along the perimeter of the summit (Figure 6). Soil micromorphological analysis of the construction layer in Trench 5 revealed that this was a deliberate dump of materials, where accumulation was rapid. Furthermore, trampling was not evident, indicating that this material had been imported deliberately to provide a level base for the construction of the rampart. Several occupation deposits, stratigraphically earlier than the construction of the rampart, were also apparent within the interior side of Trench 4.

The charcoal rich dark soil layers that abutted the interior faces of the rampart in Trenches 4 and 5 were particularly rich in finds. Ample evidence was discovered for domestic

Figure 6. South facing section through rampart collapse and underlying construction deposits in Trench 5.

occupation, such as animal bones (predominantly cattle but also including sheep/goat and pig), and a spindle whorl. But the greatest component of the site's assemblage related to industrial activity. Evidence for leather working came from a socketed three pronged iron tool of an early medieval type and a variety of rubbing stones, for smoothing and adding suppleness to leather items. There was also strong evidence of high status metalworking. This took the form of clay moulds, crucibles, heating trays, furnace lining, hearth bottoms, a possible crucible stand and a stone anvil. X-ray Fluorescence (XRF) analysis of the non-ferrous metalworking debris has revealed traces of gold, silver, copper and lead. An iron metalworking file and smithing debris were also recovered as were a number of fire-flints, which may be related to igniting furnaces. Furthermore, isotope analysis of a lead strip recovered from Trench 4 revealed that it originated from Southern Upland lead ore suggesting exploitation, and perhaps control, of local metal sources. Interestingly, a samian pottery sherd, dating to the first/second centuries AD, had evidently been re-used on the site. The imported Roman sherd had been rubbed down on one edge, a common practice on native sites and sometimes associated with metalworking often at periods later than the Roman period (Campbell 2011). This sherd of samian ware was recovered from the dark soil deposit in Trench 5 that provided an Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) radiocarbon date of 533-643 AD (Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre SUERC-41598).

In addition to the evidence for industrial activities, the artefacts also provided a glimpse of high status material culture. Part of a middle Iron Age glass bead was recovered from the construction layer in Trench 5, likely a residual artefact from the earliest occupation of the site. Early medieval high status metalwork was encountered in the form of an Anglian influenced, copper alloy horse harness mount. The object was ornamented with Germanic style II birds' head decorations around a central setting, and included probable leather remains preserved on the reverse in the region of three copper-alloy attachment lugs. This can be dated to the late sixth to early seventh century AD on stylistic grounds. A decorative thistle-headed iron pin was also recovered. Two bands of incised decoration, comprising diagonal lines bounded by a horizontal line on each side, encircled the swollen round-sectioned shank of this pin. X-rays of the pin revealed traces of copper alloy inlay within the incised decoration. The head form, swollen shanks and decorative style indicate a comparable early medieval date to the horse harness. In addition to the ornamental metalwork, there was also evidence for more mundane metal objects such as a dish-headed iron mount and an iron vessel handle fragment. While there was no evidence for locally made ceramic vessels, a rim sherd of a small E-ware jar, imported from western France in the late sixth or seventh centuries AD, was among the most important discoveries made during the excavations. Analysis of organic residues on the interior side of this E-ware sherd indicates traces of animal fat. Finally, it is worth noting that a significant quantity of sling stones was recovered from the eastern interior of the summit near the collapsed ramparts in Trench 4 indicating the inhabitants' desire to defend themselves.

The finds recovered from the Trusty's Hill excavation included organic material that points to various activities and structures. The charcoal assemblage from the summit was dominated by large amounts of hazel and oak, but with significant amounts of ash also present, perhaps suggesting structural remains. However, the evidence for metalworking

activities may indicate that some of this charcoal derived from the remains of fuel from forges and furnaces. In addition, minor amounts of alder, birch and willow, a small carbonised cereal grain assemblage (barley and oats) and hazel nutshells were recovered. A fragment of hazel charcoal from the dark soil deposit in Trench 4 provided an AMS radiocarbon date of 536-646 AD (SUERC-41592), while another hazel sample from the construction layer beneath the rampart in Trench 4 provided an AMS radiocarbon date of 529-623 AD (SUERC-41597). A fragment of hazel charcoal from the matrix of the rampart on the western side of the summit provided an AMS radiocarbon date of 536-646 AD (SUERC-41600). However, a similar sample from the construction layer beneath the rampart in Trench 5, provided an AMS radiocarbon date of 513-378 BC (SUERC-41599). A portion of alder charcoal from the base of the rampart, again on the western side of the summit, also provided an AMS radiocarbon date of 515-381 BC (SUERC-41601).

In addition to the carbonised organic materials, the partial excavation of the ramparts on the east and west sides of the summit also revealed consistent evidence for the timber sub-structure of the rampart in the form of large upright post-holes and voids. It was observed that the distance of 1.6 m between two post-voids in the rampart on the east side was similar to the distance between small scoops evident in the topographic survey of the rampart along the north west side of the summit (Figure 3), indicating that the evidence for the ramparts' internal timber structure exposed in Trenches 4 and 5 can be applied to the remainder of the unexcavated rampart.

The evidence of in situ vitrified stone from the core of the rampart on both sides of the summit, along with the observation of vitrified stone in an exposed scarp on the north side and the spread of collapsed vitrified stones across the rock-cut basin on the south east side of Trusty's Hill, indicates vitrification along the entirety of the summit rampart. The un-burnt outer stone face of the rampart on the east side had collapsed separately prior to the burning of the rubble core (Figure 7), as had the inner stone face (Figure 8). Soil micro-morphological analysis of the charcoal rich dark soil abutting the interior side of the rampart core on the east side of the summit concluded that this was trampled and lightly vegetated, but not an occupation floor or ground surface, before it was sealed by the rapid collapse of vitrified rubble from the rampart core.

In contrast to Trenches 4 and 5, the excavation of Trench 6 did not recover any new archaeological evidence. Indeed, it was difficult to reconcile the single uniform deposit encountered within the rock-cut ditch with the record of stratified deposits exposed during the 1960 excavation.

The excavation of Trench 2, on the other hand, did encounter deposits consistent with the previous work undertaken by Charles Thomas. The earliest stratigraphic feature cutting the natural greywacke bedrock within Trench 2 was a rock-cut basin. Only the eastern half of this feature was excavated and exposed (Figure 9). The primary fill deposit within this rock-cut basin comprised a heavily waterlogged, very soft, dark brown organic silt, 0.2 m deep, with frequent inclusions of wood, unburnt and cremated animal bones, charcoal, vitrified stone and rounded pebbles and cobbles. The primary objective of excavating Trench

Figure 7. The un-burnt collapsed outer stone face of the rampart in Trench 4.

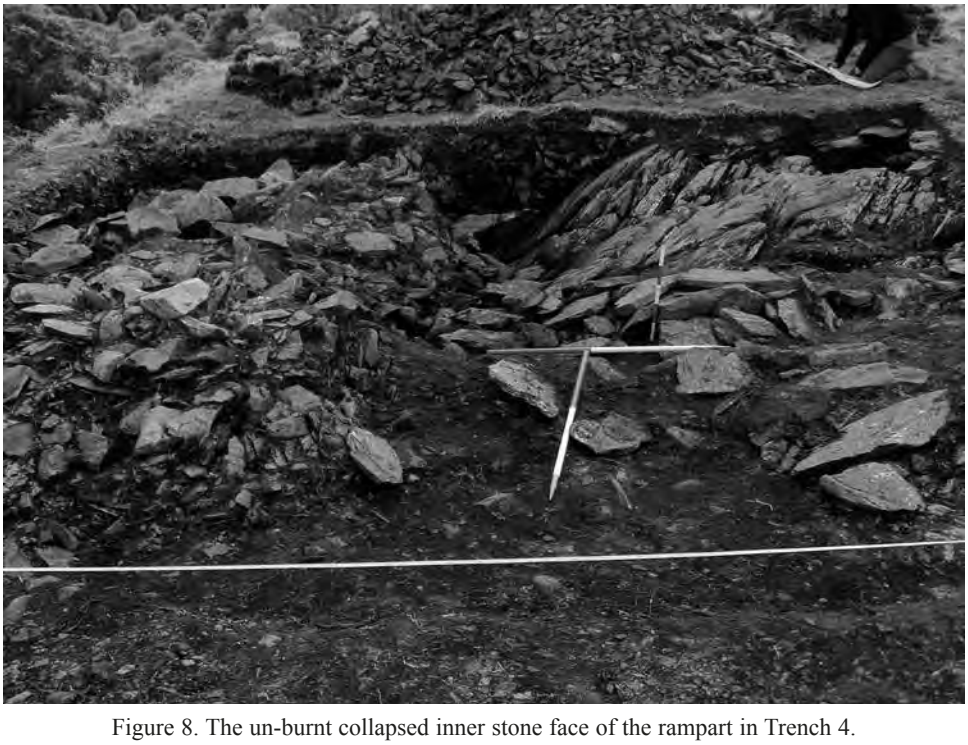

Figure 8. The un-burnt collapsed inner stone face of the rampart in Trench 4.

2 was to enable excavation of this primary waterlogged soil deposit. Several soil samples and fragments of wood were recovered for archaeo-botanical analysis. Study of the wood revealed that this was mainly hazel, with some oak and a small amount of willow also present. The wood remains suggest that some form of wattle structure may have been present, with oak stakes and possibly hazel poles providing the uprights, while hazel and possibly split willow were woven between them. A fragment of hazel wood provided an AMS radiocarbon date of 661-773 AD (SUERC-41590). Arranged along the break of slope curving along the top of the southern perimeter of the rock-cut basin were large rounded granite boulders and angular greywacke stones. This arrangement of stones appeared to continue west, outwith the break of slope of the rock-cut basin, where it formed a straight east/west aligned edge, towards the entranceway to the central summit of Trusty's Hill.

Figure 9. The south east facing section of the rock-cut basin in Trench 2.

The final stage of the 2012 fieldwork at Trusty's Hill focussed on the Pictish inscribed greywacke outcrop near the entrance to the summit. The iron cage protecting the stone was removed to allow cleaning (Figure 10) and a laser scan survey by the Centre for Digital Documentation and Visualisation (CDDV). The results of this new laser scan survey offer a comprehensive depiction of the Pictish inscription and other carvings for the first time (Figure 11). The scan corrects several discrepancies from previous depictions, such as the z-rod and double disc symbol which do not interweave as incorrectly depicted previously (Allen and Anderson 1903, 477-478), but intercut each other across the lower bar of the double disc. The laser scan also demonstrates that there is in fact no ogham along

Figure 10. Pictish inscribed stone after cleaning.

Figure 11. Laser scan survey of inscribed symbols at Trusty's Hill, 2012. Copyright of DGNHAS.

the southern edge of the inscribed stone, again as incorrectly depicted previously (Fraser 2008, 64-65). The new laser scan also revealed that the horned head, thought by some to be original (Cessford 1994, 85-86), clearly cuts nineteenth-century graffiti and is therefore of nineteenth-century origin. Furthermore, new analysis confirms that there does not appear to be a physical reason why the symbols must be modern as they do not overlie any of the modern carvings. Crucially, the precise form of the z-rod and double disc suggests that its carver was sufficiently familiar with Pictish symbol conventions to capture some 'canonical' details of the form. However, certain deviations simultaneously suggest that this person was either unskilled in the Pictish idiom common above the Forth, or was contemporary with and attempting to emulate developments in Pictish symbols found on later Class I or even Class II stones.

Discussion

While specialist analysis has still some way to go before it is completed, it is clear that the evidence recovered from the 2012 excavation has considerably enhanced the archaeological context of the Pictish Carvings at Trusty's Hill and corroborated much of Thomas's earlier interpretations.

The RCAHMS topographic survey demonstrates that Trusty's Hill comprises a fortified citadel around the summit of a craggy hill with a number of lesser enclosures looping out from the summit along lower lying terraces (Figure 12). It recognisably conforms to the definition of a nuclear fort (Stevenson 1949, 190-191; Alcock et al. 1989, 206), perhaps developing from the class of 'courtyard' forts apparent in Galloway (Truckell 1963, 95). It seems reasonable to conclude from the upstanding elements of the fort alone that the form and layout of Trusty's Hill is consistent with a type of fortified, hierarchical, high status secular settlement that emerged in Scotland during the early medieval period. The survey also depicts subtle clues to the destruction of the fort in the form of evenly spaced hollows where timber uprights were probably burned in situ. The process of fortification and destruction evident in the RCAHMS survey highlights the exceptional preservation of contexts within the site.

Radiocarbon dating and a single glass bead fragment recovered from the west side of the summit indicates initial occupation of Trusty's Hill around 400 BC. However, it is unlikely that the summit rampart originated at this time, as an early sixth to early seventh century AD date was obtained from the construction layer beneath the rampart on the east side and another early sixth to early seventh century AD date was taken from the vitrified rampart itself on the west side. Rather, it is more likely that the Iron Age material found within the foundation trench of the vitrified rampart in Trench 5 is residual, probably having been swept up from the interior of the site and laid out as a bed of material for the timber frame and stone core of the rampart. The Iron Age occupation of Trusty's Hill appears to have been followed by a hiatus of some centuries. Bayesian analysis suggests that the hill was re-occupied, subsequently fortified with a timber-laced rampart around its summit and then destroyed, between the late fifth and early seventh centuries AD. Thus, the early medieval occupation of Trusty's Hill can be securely fixed to around the sixth century AD. The radiocarbon dating results correspond quite closely with the vast bulk of the artefacts, such as the E-ware pottery sherd and the metalwork and crucible sherds which predominantly date to the same late fifth to early seventh century AD period. That is not to say that there were not several phases of building or development during the sixth century occupation of the hill. While largely unexamined in 2012, the outer ramparts, as would be expected in comparison with other similar sites, may well represent a piecemeal development of the site subsequent to the construction of the summit rampart. However, given the comprehensive destruction of the summit rampart and absence of occupation subsequent to this, it is highly unlikely that the outer ramparts were constructed after the destruction of the summit rampart.

Interestingly, the dating evidence recovered from the 2012 excavation broadly accords with Charles Thomas' interpretation of two phases of occupation; that of an original Iron

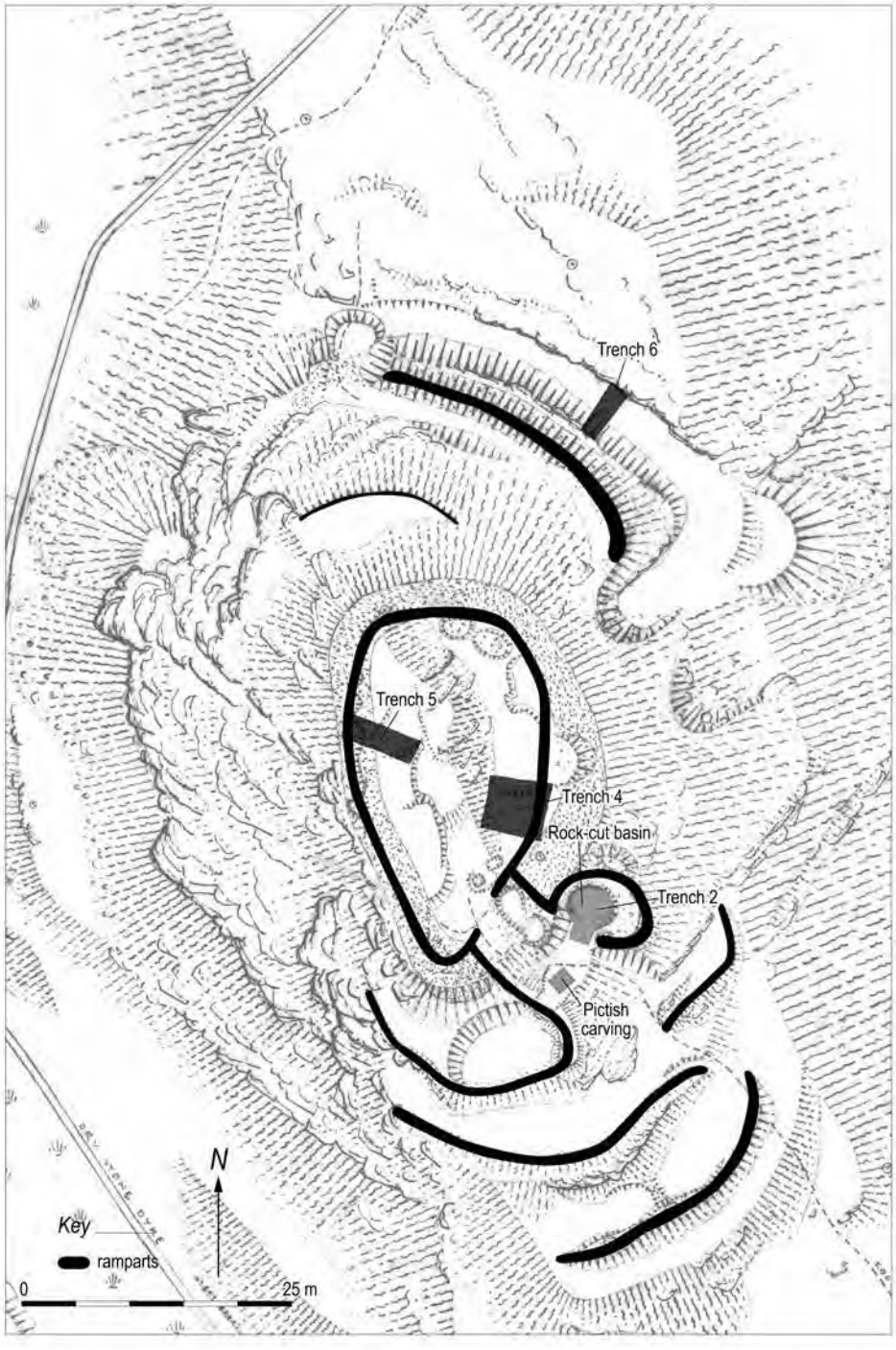

Figure 12. Nucleated Fort layout of Trusty's Hill. Copyright of RCAHMS and DGNHAS.

Age site re-occupied in the fifth to early seventh centuries AD (1961, 66-68). The likely date of the destruction of the ramparts at Trusty's Hill, in the early seventh century AD, broadly corresponds with the likely date for the destruction of the Mote of Mark (Laing and Longley 2006, 23-24) and raises the possibility that the destruction of these two fortified sites was the result of a single campaign of warfare across the entire region, instead of discrete episodes of localised conflict.

The consistent stratigraphy apparent on the eastern and western side of the summit represents securely stratified archaeological contexts for the artefact assemblage, spanning the period from prior to the construction of the timber-laced ramparts to their destruction. The dark soil from which most of the artefacts were recovered, however, separates the un-burnt collapsed interior stone face of the rampart from its burnt and vitrified rubble core collapse, indicating that this layer and its artefacts were trampled in during a prolonged phase of destruction. While the final deposition of the artefact assemblage therefore derives from the destruction of the summit, it is almost certain that these objects ultimately derive from the occupation of the summit prior to this destruction. The assemblage, despite the limited excavation of Trusty's Hill (just over 1% of the total area), and the necessary focus on earlier trenches, points to a socially elite occupation of Trusty's Hill. The E-ware sherd indicates that the inhabitants of Trusty's Hill had access to luxury goods from the Continent during the sixth to seventh centuries AD. Furthermore, the range and quality of metalworking evidence suggests that Trusty's Hill was an important metalworking centre with access to significant local resources and craftworkers. The thistle-headed pin is particularly impressive as finely crafted, decorated iron pins are rare, probably due to the immense amount of metalworking skill required to produce these. Though the form of head, swollen shank and decorative bands of the Trusty's Hill pin can all be paralleled in pins from other early medieval sites, including a mould for a near identical copper alloy thistle-headed pin found at the Mote of Mark (Laing and Longley 2006, 61), it is the rare choice of iron as a material which makes it special. Whether produced at Trusty's Hill or imported from elsewhere, the Anglian zoomorphic harness fitting is also a fine example of the highly accomplished craft skills of artisans at the time. An important component of the overall artefact assemblage is the exceptional range of objects and debris associated with metalworking itself. From crucible and mould fragments to anvils and hammerscale, one gets a sense of a continuously active smithy producing a wide range of goods from the mundane to the beautiful and all in the service of the social and economic relationships of Trusty's Hill's inhabitants.

The quality of the material assemblage appears to be comparable with other high status sites in south west Scotland, such as the Mote of Mark, Whithorn, Tynron Doon and Buiston Crannog (Laing and Longley 2006; Williams 1971; Hill 1997; Crone 2000), and royal sites in Northern Britain such as Dunadd, Dumbarton Rock and Edinburgh Castle Rock (Campbell and Lane 2000; Alcock and Alcock 1990; Driscoll and Yeoman 1997). Initial work appears to confirm that the faunal bone assemblage from Trusty's Hill also fits a pattern seen at the Mote of Mark and Dunadd where cattle is the (heavily) dominant taxa with sheep/goat and pig of less importance. The faunal remains imply access to cattle herds and the acquisition of animals from a variety of sources. The reliance on cattle in early medieval high status diet and economies is a widely known phenomenon in western Britain and Ireland (Alcock 2003, 113).

The status of Trusty's Hill and its inhabitants is perhaps best exemplified by its spectacular destruction. Experiments have shown that the vitrification of timber-laced ramparts took experience, substantial man-power and a great deal of time to accomplish (Childe and Thorneycroft 1938, 53-55; Ralston 1986, 38; Ralston 1995, 66). The evidence from Trusty's Hill points to a considerable effort and co-ordination to completely eradicate the fort's defences. Given the enormous number of timbers within the rampart core, it is likely that each upright would require individual attention. Indeed, the collapse of the inner and outer stone faces of the rampart was probably a deliberate attempt to expose the ramparts' core and increase draughts to the flames engulfing the interior timbers. The scale and method of setting the ramparts alight at Trusty's Hill unequivocally demonstrates the spectacular and systematic, symbolic and practical destruction of the defences. The vitrification in the ramparts, and the required level of coordinated and prolonged destruction, point to the status the fort and its inhabitants once held. But this act also perhaps indicates the wide sphere of influence that centred on the site.

The destruction of the ramparts at both Trusty's Hill and Mote of Mark would have been highly visible from the wider landscape for a considerable period of time. While there is an argument for this spectacle being done by the residents themselves, perhaps as a ritual 'killing' of the site at the end of its occupation, this does not seem credible. The more convincing explanation, given the concerted, systematic and sustained process required, the magnitude of resources and the historical parallels, is that Trusty's Hill's fiery demise was the result of its capture by assailants. The close dates for the destruction of Trusty's Hill and the Mote of Mark suggests this may have been during a period of warfare across the region, rather than an isolated event of local conflict. It is worth noting in this regard that the extension of Northumbrian hegemony to Galloway, and the Anglian occupation of sites such as Hoddom and Whithorn, were occurring at this time in the early seventh century AD. While there is no contemporary historical evidence for the Northumbrian expansion into Galloway being violent, Trusty's Hill is a visceral reminder that early medieval power politics often came with sword and flame.

However, the hill, the Pictish carvings and their histories may have been remembered in the area long after the last inhabitants of the hill fled or were killed. The radiocarbon date of 661-773 AD taken from the lowest fill of the rock-cut basin opposite the Pictish carvings demonstrates that the use of this feature continued into the later seventh to eighth centuries AD, after the destruction of the fort. On excavation, it was apparent that this was not a guard-hut as Thomas proposed (Thomas 1961, 66). Instead, it would be more correct to describe it as a rock-cut basin that collected surface water, as Thomas himself observed. The basin's form and location in relation to the remainder of the settlement – outside the central summit enclosure and opposite the Pictish carvings at the entranceway – indicates that its purpose was not simply functional. It is perhaps more likely that it served a votive or ceremonial purpose, as part of a ritualised entranceway to the summit of the fort prior to the destruction of the timber-laced ramparts. The radiocarbon date from the primary fill of the rock-cut basin suggests that it was of sufficient importance to merit continued use long after occupation of the hillfort had ended. Indeed, the record of a hoard of silver coins of Edward VI and Elizabeth I being found near to the carvings may suggest continued use of this votive 'well' until as late as the sixteenth century (Gordon 1794, 351).

The analysis of the new laser scan of the Pictish inscription reveals that the symbols at Trusty's Hill are genuine and authentic. The Trusty's Hill carvings demonstrate familiarity with even minor details of the Pictish artistic tradition but are nevertheless not fully part of the mainstream. The carvings were probably made by a local Briton familiar with Pictish art but confident enough to create their own symbols. While the symbols appear to be well outside the main concentrations of symbol stones, it is worth mentioning that the transmission of symbols need not involve direct travel to the far north and east of Scotland. Indeed, portable high status metal objects from the Norrie's Law Hoard found in Fife and the Whitecleuch Silver Chain found in Lanarkshire contain broadly similar symbols to those found at Trusty's Hill. It has already been suggested that the metalworkers at Trusty's Hill had access to Anglian derived portable objects, and a similar connection to material culture from the north can certainly not be ruled out. Furthermore, comparisons can be drawn with the only two other Pictish inscribed stones known outside Pictland. While one of these, found in Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh, was self-evidently not in situ, its location was at the foot of Edinburgh Castle Rock from which it almost certainly derived. The summit of Edinburgh Castle Rock has been confirmed by archaeological excavation as being a high status settlement during the early medieval period (Driscoll and Yeoman 1997, 43-45), corroborating the historical evidence that this was Din Eidyn, the royal stronghold of the Gododdin, the kingdom of the Britons of south east Scotland. The other Pictish carving known outside Pictland is located at Dunadd, the royal stronghold of the early Scots Kingdom of Dalriada. Dunadd is especially comparable with Trusty's Hill. The nucleated fort layout of Dunadd, with an upper citadel and lower precincts, is similar to Trusty's Hill. The nature of the material assemblage recovered from the 2012 excavation of Trusty's Hill is closely comparable with Dunadd. But perhaps most importantly, the association of a rock-cut basin and Pictish carvings within the entranceway to Trusty's Hill's summit is an apposite comparison. This is remarkably similar to the surrounding context of the Pictish carving at Dunadd, where the inauguration stone, on which the Pictish inscription of a boar is carved, is associated with a small rock-cut basin and located at the entranceway to the summit enclosure. If this is what marks out Dunadd as of royal predominance over other forts in Argyll, this may also mark out Trusty's Hill in the same way over other forts in Dumfries and Galloway.

Unlike other early medieval northern British kingdoms where the chief settlement is known (Dunadd for Dalriada, Din Eidyn for Goddodin, Dumbarton Rock for Strathclyde and Bamburgh for Bernicia), there is no corresponding historically attested 'capital' for the Solway region. The kingdom of Rheged was a historical political entity during the sixth and early seventh centuries AD. Its famous kings Urien and Owain appeared to have held sway over the Solway and into Cumbria, the Scottish Borders and north Northumberland. The chronology and history of Rheged, coupled with the firm archaeological evidence at Trusty's Hill, certainly marks this site as a strong contender as a royal centre from which Urien and Owain struck out. Indeed, it may have been memory of this lineage that brought about the severe destruction of the fort, possibly at the hands of Northumbrian conquerors. But the fragile environmental evidence from the rock cut-basin suggests that the conquest of local 'hearts and minds' was not successful.

The social memory of Trusty's Hill's story may have been kept alive in one form or another for many centuries after its destruction. This could have been cemented by the ruins of the fort, as well as by the unique Pictish carvings themselves. However, none of the early medieval oral history that likely developed around it has survived. While the carvings were powerful enough to invite votives to be left nearby during the later medieval period, the local nickname, the 'Deil's Specs', may be evidence for a more negative symbolism invoked during the post-medieval period. The negative views of the symbols and the fort during this post-reformation period may have broken centuries old traditions associated with Trusty's Hill.

Conclusions

Not only is it clear that Trusty's Hill was occupied between the fifth and seventh centuries AD and that the Pictish symbols carved at the site are genuine, but the archaeological context of the Pictish inscribed stone is closely comparable with Dunadd. This may imply that Trusty's Hill too was a royal stronghold of an early medieval kingdom in Scotland. The Pictish inscription, the evidence from the entranceway and the summit of Trusty's Hill points to ambitious inhabitants who very much saw themselves as intimately connected to political, social and economic powers that were being developed across northern Britain.

The kingdom of Rheged is remembered only in scant historical sources and early medieval poetry. Historians and antiquarians have long thought that Rheged existed somewhere in Cumbria, Lancashire or Dumfries and Galloway, although the firm archaeological evidence to support this was lacking. The discoveries from Trusty's Hill, along with the evidence from Whithorn, Mote of Mark, Kirkmadrine, Tynron Doon and perhaps Ardwall Island provides clear archaeological evidence for a hierarchical pattern of secular and ecclesiastical sites in Galloway between the fifth and early seventh centuries AD, which enjoyed far-flung contacts and trade with Gaul and the Byzantine Empire. The extent and quality of this evidence is unmatched elsewhere in southern Scotland and north west England, and corroborates the historical sources for a kingdom that was, albeit briefly, pre-eminent amongst the kingdoms of northern Britain during the late sixth century AD. From the evidence so far, Galloway and Trusty's Hill are emerging as the most likely backdrops from where powerful kings like Urien of Rheged and his son Owain 'Bane of the East', briefly dominated southern Scotland and northern England during the Dark Ages.

Acknowledgements

Access to the site and permission to excavate was kindly provided by Alexander McCulloch. Financial and in-kind support for the Galloway Picts Project was provided by the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Mouswald Trust, the Hunter Archaeological Trust, the Strathmartine Trust Sandeman Award, Gatehouse Development Initia-

tive, John Younger Trust, the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Galloway Preservation Society and GUARD Archaeology Ltd. The archaeological fieldwork was undertaken by Alistair Livingston, Ron Forster, Kenny and Pat Wilson, Margaret and Andrew Shankland, David and Alison Steel, Alison Clark, John and Heather Clark, Brian Jones, Ronald Copeland, Rachel Yorke, Beverley Vaux, Grace Macpherson, Karen Campbell, Nigel Joslin, Glenis Vowles, Tony Brotherton, Heather Barrington, Francis and Eileen Toolis, Keith Hamblin, Henry and Laura Gough-Cooper, Sheila Honey, Gayle Reedman, Robert Gordon, Jeremy Brock, David Hannay, Cara Gillespie, Deirdre Carlisle, Vicki Dowdell, Elizabeth Ormerod, Mary Cousins, Douglas Snell, Sheree Buchanan, James Steel, Adia Bey, Vanda Tomeszova, Lukas Krejei, Margaret Lister, Cecilia Franklin, Aubrey Chatham, Ciorsten Campbell, Alistair Livingston (Snr), Macroy Spenser, Rhys Coffey, Barry Dale, Laurie Johnston and the Advanced Higher History pupils of Douglas Ewart High School. The excavation of Trench 2 was supervised by Iraia Arabaolaza and Maureen Kilpatrick; Trench 4 by Beth Spence and Ronan Toolis; Trench 5 by Chris Bowles and Maureen Kilpatrick and Trench 6 by Scott Wilson. The GPS topographic survey was undertaken by John Sherriff, Ian Parker, Adam Welfare and George Geddes of RCAHMS. Laser scanning was undertaken by Colin Muir and Alan Simpson of CDDV. The removal and reinstatement of the iron cage protecting the Pictish carvings was undertaken by James Boam. The post-excavation wet sieving and sorting of samples was undertaken by Scott Wilson, Beth Spence and Aileen Maule of GUARD Archaeology. Analysis of the soil thin section micro-morphology was undertaken by Laura Hamlet of Stirling Analyses for GeoArchaeology at Stirling University. Archaeo-botanical analysis was undertaken by Susan Ramsay. Bayesian analysis of the radiocarbon dates was undertaken by Derek Hamilton of SUERC. Analysis of the lithics was undertaken by Torben Ballin. Analysis of the worked stone was undertaken by Beverley Ballin Smith. Analysis of the ceramics was undertaken by Ewan Campbell of the University of Glasgow. Analysis of the faunal assemblage was undertaken by Karen Deighton. Analysis of the laser scan survey results was undertaken by Katherine Forsyth and Cynthia Thickpenny of the University of Glasgow. Conservation of the metalwork was undertaken by Will Murray of the Scottish Conservation Studio. Analysis of the metalwork was undertaken by Gemma Cruickshanks, Alice Blackwell and Fraser Hunter of the National Museums of Scotland. Isotope analysis of the lead strip was undertaken by Vanessa Pashley and Jane Evans of NIGL. Residue analysis of the E-ware sherd was undertaken by Ben Stern of Bradford University. The illustrations were prepared by Gillian McSwan and Fiona Jackson. Technical and logistical support was provided by Aileen Maule, Bob Will, John Kiely, Jen Cochrane and Joan O'Donnell of GUARD Archaeology. Advice and support for the project was received from Ewan Campbell, Ian Ralston, Charles Thomas, Francis Toolis, David Steel, John Williams, Michael Cook, Ken Smyth, David Devereux, John Atkinson, Pauline Macshannon, Robin Turner, Lyn Wilson, John Pickin, Jane Brann, Andrew Nicholson, Gordon Cook, John Malcolm, Alistair Robertson, Pauline Megson and Noel Fojut. The excavation was directed by Ronan Toolis and Chris Bowles.

References

Alcock, L and Alcock, EA, 1990, 'Reconnaissance excavations on Early Historic Fortifications and other royal sites in Scotland 1974-84: 4, Excavations at Alt Clut, Clyde Rock, Strathclyde, 1974-75', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 120, 95-149.

Alcock, L, Alcock EA & Driscoll, ST, 1989, 'Reconnaissance excavations on Early Historic Fortifications and other royal sites in Scotland 1974-84: 3, Excavations at Dundurn, Strathearn, Perthshire, 1976-77', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 119, 189-226.

Alcock, L, 2003, *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550-850* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

Allen, JR and Anderson, J, 1903, *The early Christian monuments of Scotland: a classified, illustrated, descriptive list of the monuments, with an analysis of their symbolism and ornamentation* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

Anderson, J, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* Vol. 1 (Balgavies: The Pinkfoot Press), 13-38.

Campbell, E and Lane, A, 2000, *Dunadd: An early Dalriadic capital* (Oxford: Oxbow Books).

Campbell, L, 2011, *A study in culture contact: the distribution, function and social meanings of Roman pottery from non-Roman contexts in southern Scotland*. Unpublished PhD, University of Glasgow.

Cessford, C, 1994, 'Pictish Raiders at Trusty's Hill?', *TDGNHAS* 69, 81-88.

Childe, V G and Thorneycroft, W, 1938, 'The Experimental Production of the Phenomena Distinctive of Vitrified Forts', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 72, 44-55.

Coles, F, 1893, 'Motes, Forts and Doons of Kirkcudbright', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 27 (1892-93), 92-182.

Crone, A, 2000, *The History of a Scottish Lowland Crannog: Excavations at Buiston, Ayrshire 1989-90* (Edinburgh: STAR).

Driscoll, ST and Yeoman, P, 1997, *Excavations within Edinburgh Castle in 1988-91* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

Fraser, I (ed.), 2008, *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland* (Edinburgh: RCAHMS).

Gordon, H, 1794, 'Parish of Anwoth', in Sinclair, J (ed.) *The Statistical Account of Scotland* XIII, 343-352 (Edinburgh: William Creech).

Henderson, IM, 1960, 'The Origin Centre of the Pictish Symbol Stones', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 91 (1957-58), 44-60.

Henderson, IM, 1967, *The Picts* (London: Thames & Hudson).

Henderson, IM, 1993, 'The Making of the Early Christian Monuments of Scotland', in JR Allen and Hill, P, 1997, *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town 1984-91* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd).

Jackson, A, 1984, *The Symbol Stones of Scotland* (Stromness: The Orkney Press Ltd).

Laing, L, 2000, 'The Pictish Symbols at Trusty's Hill, Anwoth, Kirkcudbright', *Pictish Arts Society Journal* 14 (1999), 10-12.

Laing, L and Longley, D, 2006, *The Mote of Mark: A Dark Age Hillfort in South-West Scotland* (Oxford: Oxbow Books).

Oram, R, 1993, 'The Mythical Pict and the Monastic Pedant: the origins of the legend of the Galloway Picts', *Pictish Arts Society Journal* 4 (Autumn 1993), 14-27.

Raleigh Radford, CA, 1953, 'The Pictish Symbols at Trusty's Hill, Kirkcudbrightshire', *Antiquity* 27, 237-239.

Ralston, I, 1986, 'The Yorkshire Television vitrified wall experiment at East Tullos, City of Aberdeen District', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 116, 17-40.

Ralston, I, 1995, 'Fortifications and defence' in M Green (ed.) *The Celtic World* (London: Routledge).

RCAHMS, 1914, *Fifth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway, Vol II, County of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright* (Edinburgh: HMSO).
Reid, RC, 1930, 'Trusty's Hill Fort', *TDGNHAS* 14, 366-372.
Reid, RC, 1952, 'Dunragit', *TDGNHAS* 29, 155-164.
Stevenson, RBK, 1949, 'The Nuclear Fort Of Dalmahoy, Midlothian, And Other Dark Age Capitals', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 83 (1948-49), 186-198.
Stuart, J, 1856, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (Aberdeen: The Spalding Club).
Thomas, C, 1961, 'Excavations at Trusty's Hill, Anwoth, Kirkcudbrightshire, 1960', *TDGNHAS* 38, 58-70.
Toolis, R and Bowles, C, forthcoming, *The Lost Kingdom of Rheged: the Dark Age Royal Stronghold of Trusty's Hill, Dumfries & Galloway*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books).
Truckell, AE, 1963, 'Dumfries and Galloway in the Dark Ages: Some Problems', *TDGNHAS* 40, 89-97.
Wainwright, FT (ed.), 1980, *The Problem of the Picts* (Perth: Melven Press).
Williams, J, 1971, 'Tynron Doon, Dumfriesshire: A History of the Site with Notes on the Finds 1924-67', *TDGNHAS* 48, 106-120.

RECENT INVESTIGATIONS AT CARZIELD ROMAN FORT, KIRKTON, DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

Warren R. Bailie[1]

This paper presents the results of a recent watching brief and investigations conducted at Carzield Roman Fort, Kirkton, Dumfries and Galloway. This work was directed by the author on behalf of Scottish Power Energy Networks (SPEN) and Scottish Water during improvements to domestic services within the fort area. The investigations on three service trenches (Trenches 1-3) revealed new evidence on the fort's occupation and internal layout. The archaeological deposits included cobbled surfaces and ditch and gully features. The assemblage included Samian Ware, Black-burnished Ware, numerous metal objects including a javelin head and hobnails from a calceus Roman shoe. Building material included a fragment of an imbrex roof tile and a fragmented hypocaust tile from a bath house. The environmental analysis revealed evidence of wattle-and-daub structures in the rampart area of the fort as well as evidence of arable food resources. The AMS date range for the deposits dated was cal AD 2 to 257 (at 2 sigma calibration; 2 σ hereafter) with the exception being an Early Iron Age date of 847 to 767 cal BC (at 2 σ). This earlier date, although a result of re-deposition in Roman layers, is indicative of redeposition of material from earlier human activity in the vicinity of these excavations. The median value for the Roman dates is 18-214 cal AD (at 2 σ). The date range coupled with the artefactual evidence reaffirms the Roman occupation of the fort in the Antonine period with some evidence of occupation prior to and following this occupation, based on this most recent work and previous analyses.

Introduction

There were two phases of work conducted at Carzield Roman Fort (NMRS: NX 98 SE 8.00; SAM ref 673) (Figure 1) in close succession between 3rd October and 4th November 2011. This report sets out the combined results of the watching briefs and hand excavations undertaken by GUARD Archaeology Limited on behalf of Scottish Power Energy Networks (SPEN) and Scottish Water (Figure 2). The investigations falling under the SPEN project were conducted under Scheduled Monument Consent (Case ID: 201103706) from Historic Scotland. The area investigated on behalf of Scottish Water was along a road through the fort which was not part of the scheduled area and therefore did not require consent although a watching brief was still required by Dumfries and Galloway Council.

The SPEN investigations involved a watching brief of the erection of seven new poles and the hand-excavation of two trenches, Trench 1 measured c. 51.2 m in length and Trench 2 measured c. 23 m in length, both measuring 0.4 m wide and c. 0.6 m deep. These trenches were located on the western ramparts of the fort and the rear garden of Glebe House. The

1 GUARD Archaeology Limited, 52 Elderpark Workspace, 100 Elderpark Street, Glasgow G51 3TR.

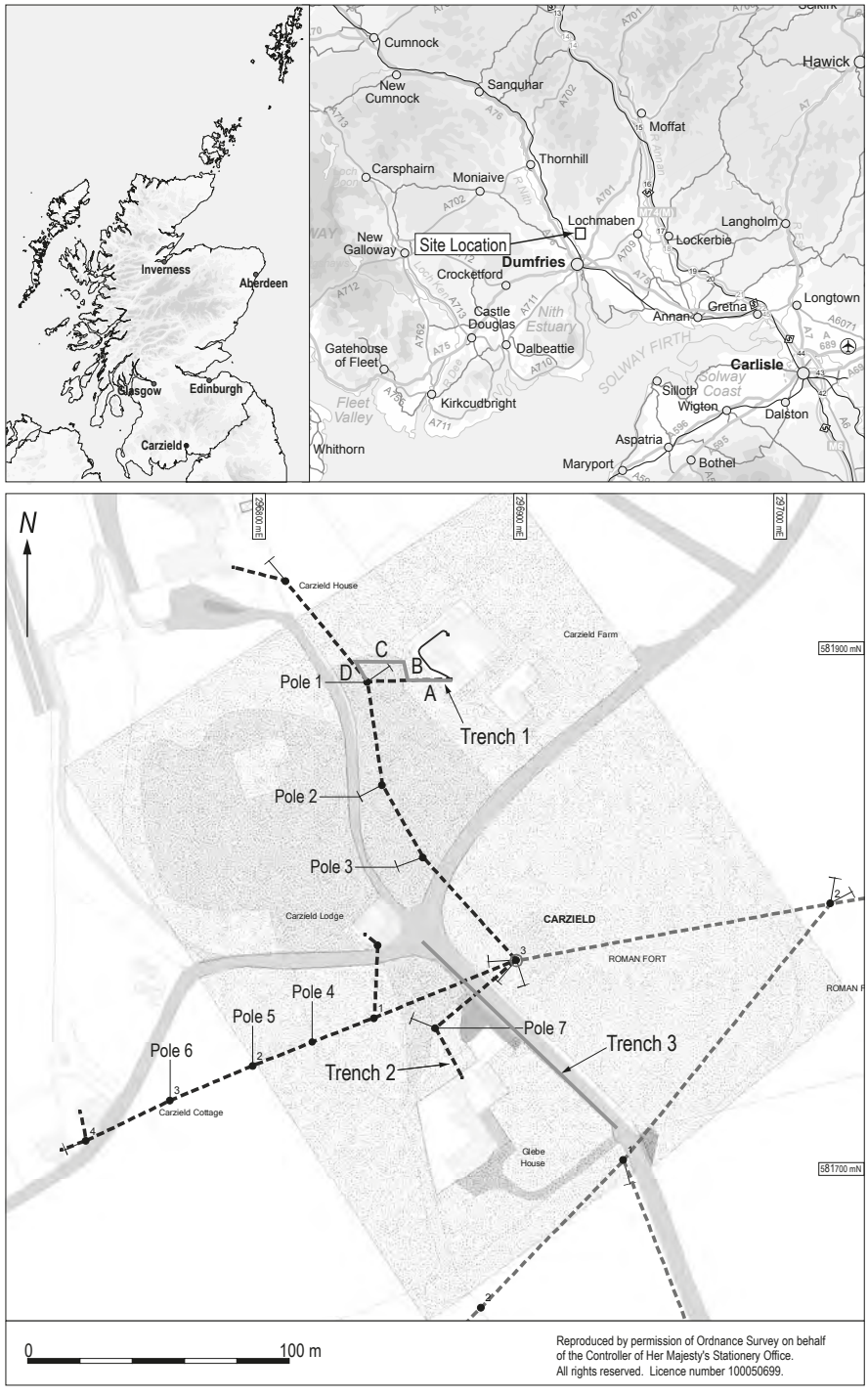

Figure 1. Site location.

Scottish Water investigations involved a watching brief of the machine excavation of a 90 m section of pipe-trench (Trench 3) leading north along the road into the fort; this trench measured 0.3 m wide and 1 m deep.

Archaeological Background

Excavations in 1939 revealed that Carzield Roman Fort was a cavalry fort built and occupied during the Antonine campaign (c. AD 139-143). The excavations also revealed the form of the fort, in particular the existence of a stone-built barracks and timber stable in the south-eastern quadrant of the fort and the presence of a rampart and ditch system around the fort with internal road system present within the fort dividing it into six defined areas of use. There was evidence of two structural periods of use on the intervallum road but it was not concluded whether this represented a re-occupation or simply refurbishment (Birley 1938-40, p 68). The excavators noted that the central administrative blocks were likely to have been damaged by a later tower site and farmstead location (Birley & Richmond 1939-40). The finds from the 1939 excavations included three statuettes, an extensive pottery assemblage, two spear-heads, an axe-head, and as mentioned by Truckell in his appendix to Henig's 1969 article, a small bronze seal box. The statuettes deposited at the Burgh Museum (now Dumfries Museum) in 1947 by Birley were identified as: a statue of 'Dionysios' of probable Italian origin; a coarser figurine of the garden and crop fertility godlet 'Priapus' suggesting possible cultivation at Carzield (Truckell 1969). The pottery assemblage from the 1939 excavations showed a complete absence of Flavian pottery (Gillam 1949-50) with most of the material from the Antonine period, but one piece of pottery was dated to later in the century (Gillam 1949-50).

Subsequent investigations revealed the position of the bath house at Carzield and a possible civilian settlement annex in the mid-1950s (Truckell 1955; 1956). A small annex is clearly visible along the eastern side of the site in aerial photographs. This was followed by further investigations into rubbish pits at the site in late 1940s, the 1950s and up to the late 1960s and 1970s (Williams 1977). The material recovered from the rubbish pits included large amounts of pottery as well as a double disc brooch, an iron ring with intaglio inset, a silver cloak-fastener, a pin and a wheel-shaped disc with spokes. The double-disc bronze brooch, enamelled in red and blue, was described as a '…remarkable hybrid of undoubted N. W. European manufacture and was probably made in Southern Scotland or Northern England (Henig 1969).

Truckell states that the site of Carzield, '… has yielded objects of art of surprisingly good quality and forming a surprisingly large group for a small permanent fort of this type.' (1969, p. 109).

On the basis of the previous investigations it was deemed likely that the proposed phases of hand excavation and watching brief investigations on behalf of SPEN and Scottish Water would reveal traces of the internal layout and could also reveal elements of the northern barracks and potentially the western rampart and ditch system.

There have been extensive changes in terms of development within the limits of the fort since its occupation in the Antonine period. This is likely to affect the potential for survival of Roman remains in certain areas of the fort. The first of these documented changes was the establishment of a medieval farmstead and tower in the central area of the fort. Little detail is known of the tower, its scale, its function or how long it may have been in use, but remains were noted by Birley & Richmond on their 1939 map of the fort. Although no cartographic source shows a tower at this location, the settlement of 'Carryill' is first depicted as a small settlement on Pont's map of 1595, and a small settlement of 'Careel' is also later shown on Roy's Map of 1755. In the nineteenth century (OS 1st Edition 1855) a settlement still existed here either side of the main road through the fort with the main houses of 'The Manse' to the south-west and what was to later become 'Carzield House' dominating the north-west part of the settlement. By the end of the nineteenth century (OS 2nd Edition, Sheet 9, 1897) most of the settlement has disappeared leaving the Manse (later to become Glebe House) and Carzield House with a building, a former coach house serving Carzield House, in the location of what was to become Carzield Farm and Carzield Lodge at the entrance to Carzield House. All of which exist to the present day, albeit in modified forms with associated garden landscaping.

Objectives

The project objectives were to hand excavate and monitor all ground-breaking works associated with recent proposals by both SPEN and Scottish Water within Carzield Roman Fort to the satisfaction of Historic Scotland (Trenches 1 and 2) and Dumfries and Galloway Council (Trench 3). In conducting these investigations the main objective was to establish the presence or absence of archaeological features within the scheduled area and to ensure their preservation by record prior to destruction.

SPEN Methodology

The work conducted on behalf of SPEN involved the hand excavation of two trenches (Trench 1 c. 51.2 m in length and Trench 2 c. 23 m in length, both measuring 0.4 m wide and 0.6 m deep). This involved the removal of turf and topsoil down to the first archaeological horizon or subsoil layer and excavation of any features revealed or to the required depth of the trench where no archaeology was encountered. In addition the removal of poles and stays was conducted on up to seven poles as part of the fieldwork and was undertaken under archaeological watching brief conditions. No archaeological deposits were encountered in any of the pole locations.

Scottish Water Methodology

The work conducted on behalf of Scottish Water involved the monitoring of a machine excavated trench measuring 90 m long, 0.3 m wide and 1 m deep. This involved the removal of turf, topsoil and tarmac down to the first archaeological horizon or subsoil

layer or to the required depth of the trench where no archaeology was encountered. Any archaeological deposits uncovered were preserved by record prior to the excavation of the pipe-trench to the desired 1 m depth.

Results

The results will be discussed collectively, bringing together the results from both the SPEN and Scottish Water investigations. The results of the trench investigations will be described in order of trench number and the deposits will be described in stratigraphic order. Significant archaeological deposits and artefacts are illustrated in Figures 3 to 10 and the AMS dates are presented in table format in Table 1.

Trench 1

The route of Trench 1 was positioned in such a manner as to avoid garden features and tree roots in the Carzield Farm and Carzield House grounds; this created a zigzag arrangement across the Carzield Farm and Carzield House garden areas (Figure 2). For ease of discussion the four lengths of trench will be referred to as Trench 1 A, B, C and D.

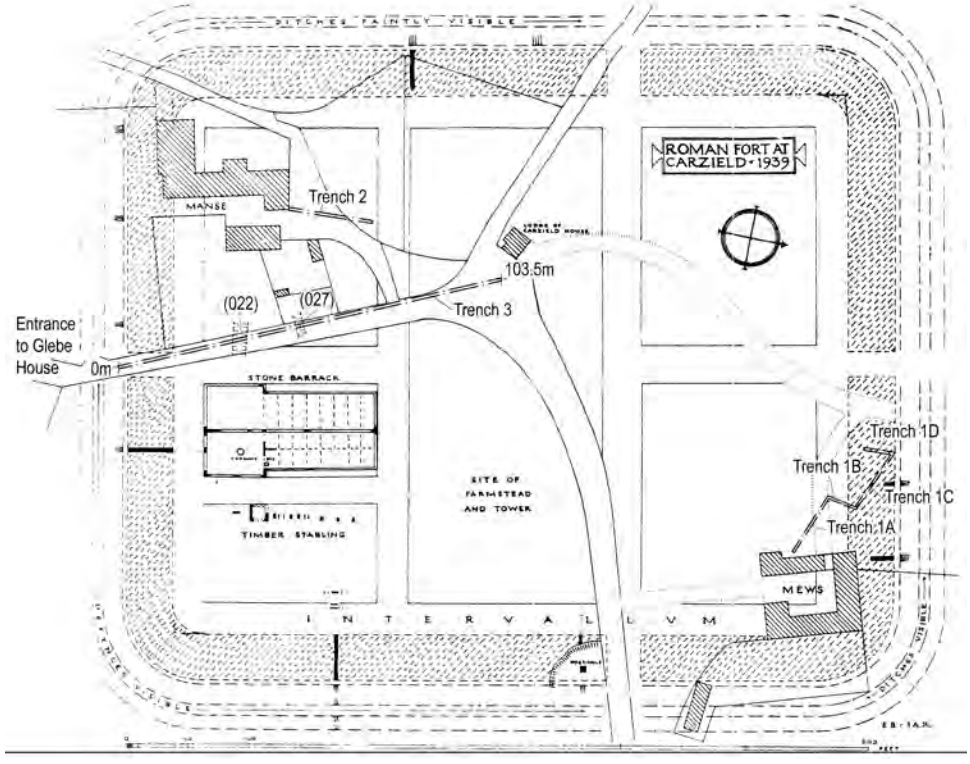

Figure 2. The Roman fort at Carzield, Birley and Richmond (1938-40), with Trenches 1-3 overlain.

Trench 1A

This length of trench was orientated east to west and measured 18 m by 0.4 m in plan. The earliest feature uncovered in this trench was a possible cobbled surface (049) which was found at between 13 m and 15 m west of Carzield Farm house. This cobbled surface consisted of a rough line of larger sub-angular cobbles. These large cobbles formed a border at the west edge of a surface extending east and consisting of oval pebbles. This surface extended east below a mid-brown gravelly silt layer 048 (Figure 3). This layer extended east and west beyond the limits of the cobbled surface and was in turn overlain by gravelly silty clay 028 to the east and was also cut by ditch 033 to the west. The lowest visible fill 023 of this ditch was dated to 1865 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 72-235 at 2 σ); this ditch will be discussed further in the context of Trench 1B. Deposit 028 was a probable levelling layer pre-dating a nineteenth/twentieth century coach track made up of contexts 030, 029, 027 and 026. The lowest of these layers 030 consisted of loosely compacted rubble fill of broken red-brick of nineteenth to twentieth century date (Crowley) and sandstone fragments. Also recovered from this layer was part of a nineteenth century beer/ale bottle (Murdoch).

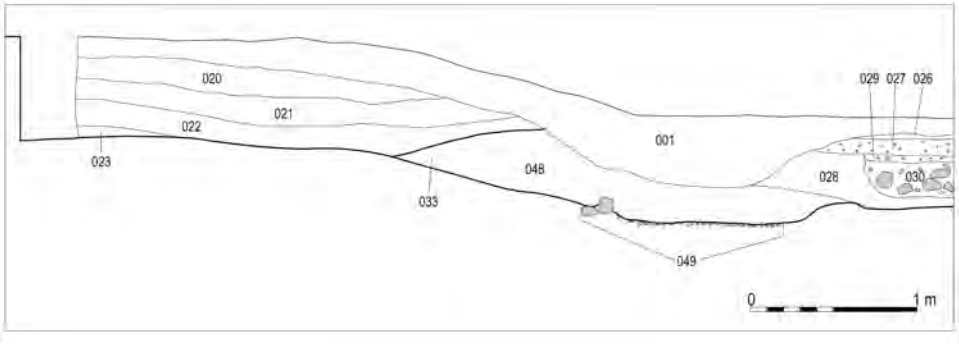

Figure 3. South facing section of Trench 1A showing ditch 033, surface 049 and track surface 026, 029 and 030.

Trench 1B

This length of trench was orientated north-north-west to south-south-east and measured 7.2 m by 0.4 m in plan. This part of the trench revealed 25 separate contexts which included a 5 m wide ditch 033, and three smaller possible parallel linear features 036, 034 and 035 (Figure 4). One layer of firm mid-grey silty clay 032 predating these features dated to 1910 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 18 to 214 at 2 σ). (SF 117) recovered during the excavation of this deposit was identified as a javelin head with the blade in a fragmentary state and the tip and much of one side lost (Figure 9). The socket of the javelin head was broken open, but traces of a central fold-line survived and wood remains were observed within the socket. The blade measured 44mm in length, 23 mm wide and 3 mm thick (Hunter). Analysis of the sample taken from this layer revealed the presence of hazel, oak and willow strongly suggesting the presence of a burnt wattle structure (Ramsay). Above this lay firm dark brown silty clay 031 with occasional gravel; two sherds of pottery (Figure 10) dating to

between the turn of the Millennium and the middle of the second century cal AD were recovered from this layer (SFs 118 and 119) (Ballin Smith). A post-medieval triangular cast iron sheet (SF 25) and a wrought iron punch (SF 026) (Figure 9) of probable post-Roman date were also recovered from this fill (Hunter). The archaeobotanical analysis revealed a similar assemblage to that observed in 032 but with the addition of blackthorn (Ramsay). A fragment of hazel from deposit 031 was dated to 1925 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 2-139 at 2 σ). This layer was cut by a possible linear feature 035, which was orientated north-east to south-west.

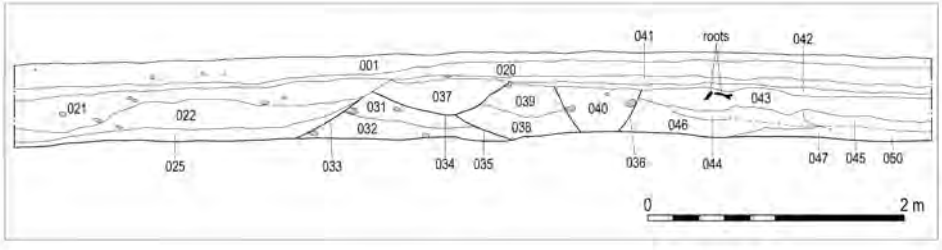

Figure 4. North-east facing section of Trench 1B.

Another stratigraphically early layer consisted of greyish orange sandy clay 047 which lay towards the north-west end of the trench. This was overlain by light greyish orange sandy clay 046 and was also overlain by very dark brown sandy silt 050, which may be an additional linear feature.

The north-east to south-west orientated linear feature 036 measured 0.7 m wide, and was 0.35 m deep within the limit of the trench. The sole fill consisted of mid-greyish brown gravelly silty sand 040. Oak and hazel were present suggesting a possible former wattle structure (Ramsay), hazel charcoal from this layer was dated to 1895 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 50 to 220 at 2 σ). This was sealed by a thin deposit 042 which consisted of mid-greyish brown sandy clay. This was then cut by two features: a stake-hole 024 and a linear feature 034.

The 0.1 m diameter stake-hole 024 measured 0.23 m deep. The fill consisted of very dark brown sandy silty clay 025. The sample revealed two fragments of alder charcoal (Ramsay) and this was dated to 2639 ± 35 years BP (847 to 767 cal BC at 2 σ), an Early Iron Age date. The north-east to south-west orientated linear feature 034 measured up to 1.07 m wide and 0.28 m deep and the fill consisted of mid-greyish brown silty clay 037. This was sealed by a thin deposit of dark grey brown sandy clay 041. This layer was cut by ditch 033 to the south-east, and as previously mentioned, this ditch also cut layer 048 in Trench 1A.

The north-east to south-west oriented ditch 033 extended across the corner of Trench 1A and B and measured approximately 5 m wide with a depth of up to 0.5 m within the limits of the trench. There were three ditch fills observed; (023, 022 and 021). The first of these stratigraphically consisted of mid-orange brown fine sediment sandy clay 023 with occasional gravel. Two square-section iron nails of Roman date (SFs 106 and 124) (Hunter) were recovered during the excavation of this deposit 023. The analysis of the

sample revealed hazel, oak and willow charcoal as well as two grains of indeterminate cereal (Ramsay). A fragment of willow from this deposit was dated to 1865 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 72-235 at 2 σ). Above this lay a fill consisting of firm mid-orange brown gravelly silty clay 022; one small piece of slag (SF 100) was recovered from this deposit. The analysis of the sample revealed the presence of birch, hazel and oak with a grain of wheat and one other indeterminate cereal (Ramsay). Wheat is generally scarcer and considered a luxury commodity that may have been traded rather than grown here (Dickson & Dickson, 2000). The upper fill of this ditch consisted of firm dark brown silty clay 021. The six artefacts recovered from this fill included two pieces of Samian Ware pottery (Figure 10) (SFs 097 and 098, not drawn), two square section iron nails of Roman date (SFs 102 and 103), a rectangular-sectioned fastening bar or strap (SF 123) measuring 28 × 13 × 3 mm with a circular perforation measuring 5 mm in diameter close to the rounded end (Hunter) and one clay pipe stem fragment (SF 104). The two Samian sherds derive from a vessel manufactured in the central Gaulish Les Martres-de-Veyre workshop (Terrisse 1968; Picon and Vauthey 1975) during the early to mid second century AD (Campbell). The samples from this layer revealed the presence of birch, hazel, oak and willow with one grain of six-row barley also recovered, which is commonly found on sites dating from the Bronze Age through until the medieval period in Scotland (Ramsay). One fragment of the hazel was dated to 1905 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 23-215 at 2 σ).

The upper layer of the ditch was sealed by firm dark orange-brown silty clay 020. This deposit measured up to 7 m north to south, measuring up to 0.12 m thick. This layer was overlain by dark brown silty clay topsoil 001.

Trench 1C

This length of trench was orientated east to west and measured 18 m × 0.4 m in plan (Figure 2). There were three layers observed during the excavation of this trench. The lowest layer consisted of firm orange-brown silty sand 052. Above this lay loosely compacted reddish brown silty gravelly clay 051 with occasional large rounded stones. This was overlain by topsoil layer 001 which consisted of dark brown silty clay measuring up to 0.18 m thick. There were no archaeological deposits uncovered within the limits of the trench.

Trench 1D

This length of trench was orientated north-west to south-east and measured 8 m by 0.4 m in plan (Figure 2). The same three layers recorded in Trench 1C were observed in Trench 1D. There were no archaeological deposits uncovered within the limits of the trench.

Trench 2

This trench was orientated north-north-west to south-south-east and measured 23 m by 0.4 m in plan, extending across the rear lawn area of Glebe House (Figure 2). Overlying the subsoil layers was a possible bedding layer of yellowish brown sandy silt 018. The sample revealed alder and oak fragments as well as some possible coal cinder (Ramsay).

A small fragment of clear glass found in 018 was too small for identification (Murdoch). A fragment of the alder from this deposit failed in an attempted AMS date. The alternative oak charcoal used provided an AMS date of 1840 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 80-247 at 2 σ). Set into this deposit were the remains of a cobbled floor 016 and an associated minor wall footing 017 (Figures 5 and 6). These two structural deposits lay between 10 m and 14 m from Glebe House and were shown to extend north-east and south-west. The 0.3 m by 1.4 m surface (016) consisted of very compacted cobbles. The wall footing 017 measured up to 0.45 m in width and 0.15 m high consisting of firmly set large rounded stones. Overlying these constructs was dark brown silty clay 015 with frequent inclusions of pebbles, mortar and sandstone. A 60 mm long nail (SF 90) recovered from this layer was interpreted as of possible ancient date given the level of corrosion present (Hunter). Also recovered from this layer were a number of fragments of reddish orange sandstone, probably former components of the surface 016 or wall 017. Fragments of animal bone representing cattle, sheep/goat and hare were identified from 015 (Smith) with glass from 015 dating from the early to mid-eighteenth century (Murdoch). A fragment of white fireclay fabric drain pipe of nineteenth to twentieth century date was also identified from this layer (Crowley 2012). Animal bone recovered from context 014, compacted sandy silt with occasional mortar and frequent sandstone fragments, which overlay 015, was identified as sheep/goat (Smith 2012). Glass bottle shards from 014 were dated to the nineteenth century (Murdoch).

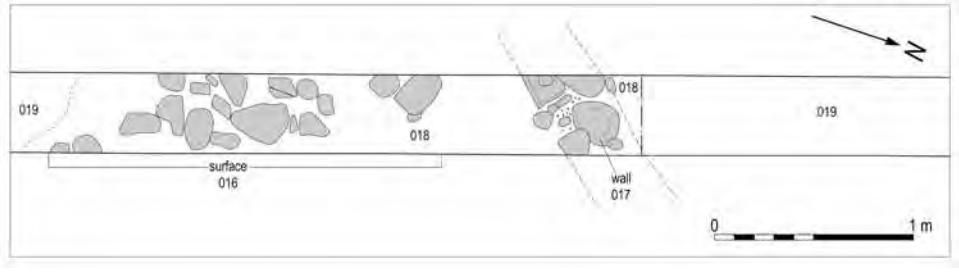

Figure 5. Plan of possible surface 016 and wall footing 017 in Trench 2.

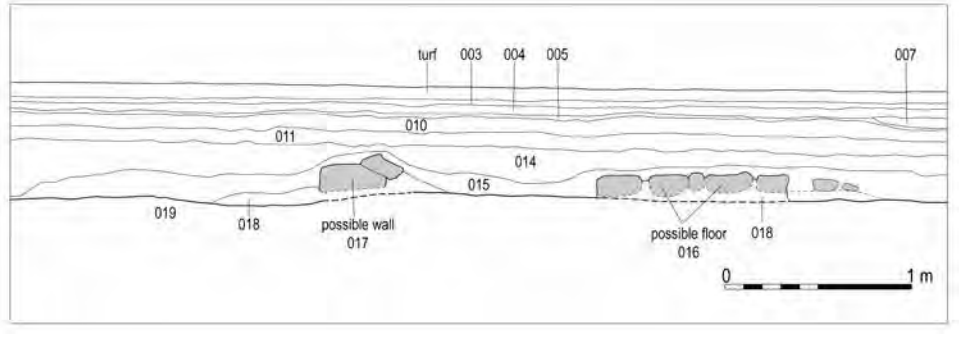

Figure 6. West-south-west facing section at 10-15m along Trench 2 from Glebe House, showing possible surface 016 and wall 017.

There were a series of six other compacted yard build-up layers and one former nineteenth to twentieth century gravel track 007. Finds recovered from these layers included roof tile and red-brick fragments of nineteenth and twentieth century date (Crowley), Glass shards of nineteenth century date (Murdoch) and animal bones were identified as sheep, goat and rabbit (Smith 2012). Also recovered from above the track was a long tack of uncertain date with a lentoid section shaft and a triangular-sectioned head (SF 21).

Trench 3

There were a number of archaeological features/deposits uncovered during the monitoring of this 90 m long, 0.3 m wide and 1 m deep section of water-pipe trench along the road leading into the south-east side of the scheduled area (Figures 1 and 2). The baseline for the recording of the trench extended for 103.5 m. The trench was excavated in spits till the intended depth of 1.0 m was reached. Any archaeology encountered before reaching this level was recorded in plan, by photograph and pro-forma context sheet before being removed by machine, where appropriate, and recorded in section. Among the 39 contexts recorded the features included the remains of four separate areas of cobbled surface. Below the surfaces there were two ditch features extending north-west and south-east, there were also three cut features and one spread (Figures 7 and 8). A number of finds recovered for further analyses included numerous metal fragments, fragments of tile and several pieces of burnt clay. The details of the findings from hand-excavations and recording will be described in detail below.

Natural Layers

There were a number of natural layers of sandy silt and gravel (008, 009, 010, 011, 012 and 019) in the trench and these were encountered from approximately 0.4 to 0.5 m below the current ground surface to the base of the 1 m deep trench, in areas where no archaeological deposits were present (Figure 7).

Cut Features and Cobbled Surfaces

The first of these was a ditch-cut 022 which extended north-east and south-west beyond the trench edges. This was found at approximately 30 m from the south-east end of the trench (Figure 7). The ditch measured 1.7 m wide at the base of the trench and 3.3 m wide at the top break of slope with a depth of 0.6 m, again within the limits of the trench. There were a total of four fills observed, the first of which was compacted fine sediment mid-grey brown silty sand 023. The archaeobotanical analysis revealed the presence of alder, birch, oak, hazel, cherry and willow, as well as 12 grains of six-row barley, two grains of wheat and two grains of indeterminate cereal (Ramsay). The material found was interpreted as consistent with dumped remains of hearth waste, the firewood having come from locally available woodland sources; six-row barley was the staple cereal crop grown during the Iron Age in Scotland. This deposit measured 0.2 m thick within the limits of the trench, up to 2 m north-west to south-east, and extending more than 0.3 m beyond the trench edges. There were a total of 76 hobnails and two flat-headed tacks (SFs 6-12, 29 and 1a-1r)

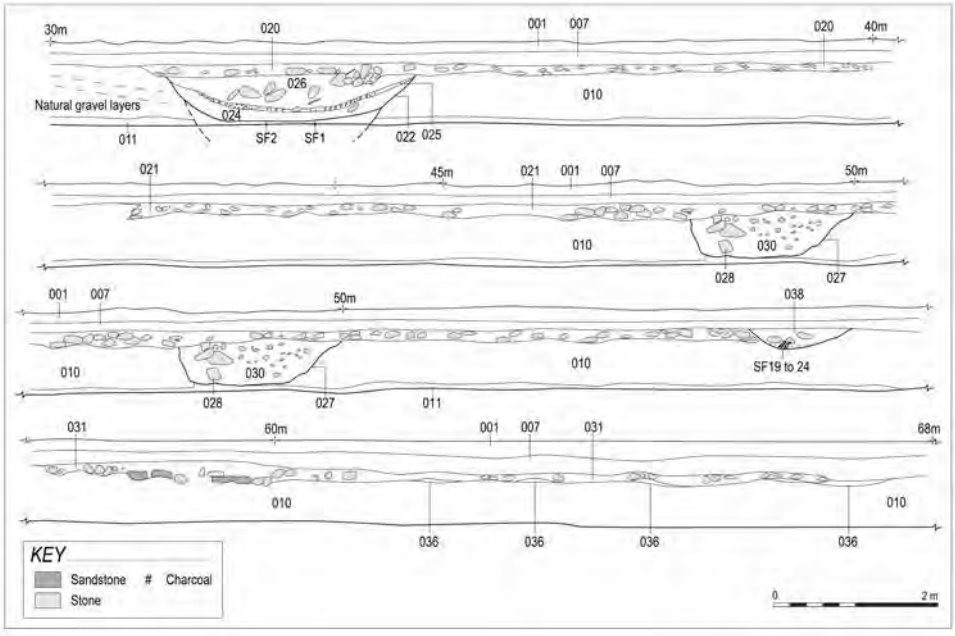

Figure 7. North-east facing section of Trench 3.

recovered from 023 from an area c. 150 × 200 × 30 mm at the base of the trench, but the core of the hobnails formed a sole with a curved edge, some 150 × 80 mm of which was exposed; a further tack from the overlying layer 024 had probably been disturbed. Some adhering layers of mineralised leather measuring 10-12 mm thick were observed (Hunter). There was evidence that the shoe had been repaired with particular note made on one of '…three rectangular flat-headed tacks which were clearly inserted into a set of existing (round headed) hobnails' (Hunter). The hobnails are thought to represent the remains of a discarded 'calceus' Roman shoe (Figure 9). One small corner fragment of a Roman imbrex roof-tile (SF 002) was also recovered from layer 023 as well as three fragments of off-white sandy lime mortar with inclusions up to 5mm in diameter (Crowley). Fragments of alder and a cereal grain from 023 were dated to 1910 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 18-214 at 2 σ) and 1825 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 85-257 at 2 σ) respectively. Above this layer lay a 0.24 m thick, firm grey yellowish brown silty sand 024 with light grey mottling and occasional gravel. The analysis of a sample from this context revealed an assemblage of alder, birch, hazel, and oak with six hulled six-row barley grains (Ramsay). One of the barley grains was dated to 1845 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 80-243 at 2 σ). This deposit measured 3.3 m north-west to south-east and extended more than 0.3 m beyond the trench edges. The next layer stratigraphically was firm dark orange sandy gravel 025 which measured 20 mm to 80 mm thick. The upper most fill of the ditch 026 measured up to 0.4 m thick and consisted of mid-grey brown silty gravel, with moderate amounts of rounded stones measuring up to 0.1 m by 0.25 m by 0.3 m in dimension. This layer immediately underlay a cobbled surface 020 which measured 9 m north-west to south-east and extended beyond to the north-east and south-west (Figure 8). This was made up of rounded cobbles bedded into a mid-grey clay matrix with occasional small angular fragments of sandstone across the surface.

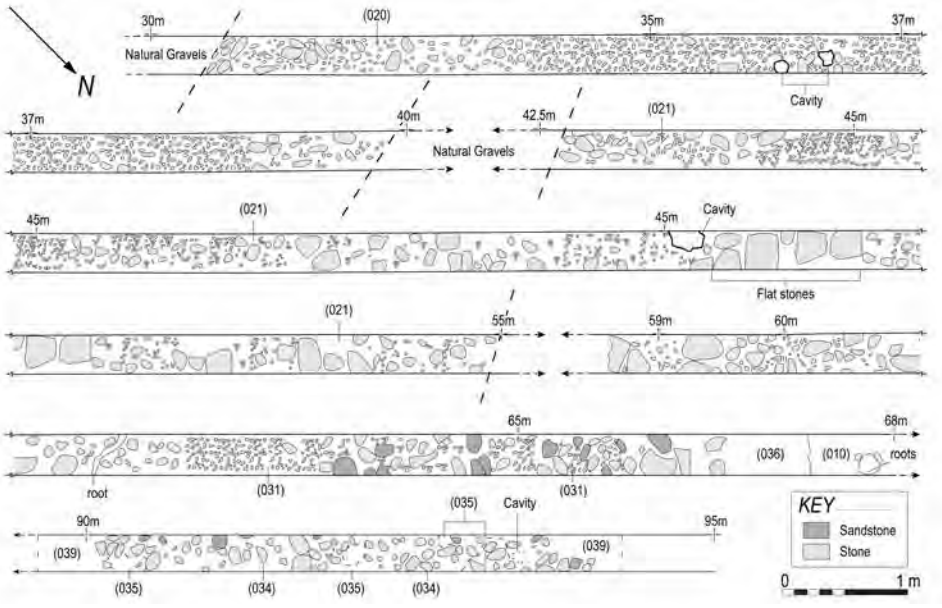

Figure 8. Plan of cobble layers in Trench 3.

The next cut feature was a possible ditch-cut 027 which lay at approximately 50 m along the length of the trench baseline. This ditch measured 1 m wide at its base, 2.15 m wide at the top break of slope and up to 0.54 m deep. This ditch extended beyond to the north-east and south-west and was filled by three deposits 030, 028 and 029. The first of these consisted of loosely compacted dark greyish brown sandy gravel 030 with occasional rounded stones. The charred remains of hazel and oak were identified during the analysis of this deposit (Ramsay) which may be indicative of a former wattle structure. A fragment of the hazel charcoal was dated to 1870 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 69-233 at 2 σ). The other deposits 028 and 029 were contained within this fill. They both consisted of loose dumps of squared sandstone blocks and are likely to be the same deposit. Overlying this ditch feature was a cobbled surface 021 which measured 11.8 m north-west to south-east (Figure 8) and up to 0.25 m thick. The cobbles ranged in form with a notable concentration of particularly large sub-angular cobbles above the position of the ditch 027 at approximately 50 m along the trench. One spread of loose dark brown silty clay 038 with frequent cobbles overlay this surface. A large fragmentary orange fabric ceramic tile (SFs 019 to 024) was recovered from this spread. This was interpreted as a flue tile which would have originally been part of a hypocaust heating system, probably in a bath house (Crowley). Two sherds of black fabric pottery (Figure 10) were recovered from this deposit during sample processing; these are from a probable storage jar emulating Black Burnished Ware 1 products of south-east Dorset, manufactured during the early to mid second century AD (Campbell). The archaeobotanical analysis revealed an assemblage of hazel and oak suggesting the possibility of a former wattle structure in this location (Ramsay). A fragment of the hazel charcoal from this deposit was dated to 1870 ± 35 years BP (cal AD 69-233 at 2 σ).

Two additional areas of cobbled surface were recorded further north-west. The first of these consisted of cobbles and angular sandstone blocks 031 making up a robust surface set in a matrix of sandy clay 036 (Figure 8). This surface measured 8 m north-west to south-east, up to 0.12 m thick and extended beyond the trench edges to the north-east and south-west. A fragment of red coloured clay recovered from cobbling 031 for analysis was burnt and reduced on one side (Crowley). The final surface observed 034, consisted of cobbles and sandstone pieces set in mid-brown silty clay 039. The surface measured 4 m north-west to south-east, up to 0.1 m thick and extended north-east and south-west. There were pockets of very compacted bright yellowish orange silty sand 035 between the cobbles. This material may be burnt / fired clay which has been ground for in-fill between the stones.

The remaining cut features lay in the vicinity of the projected bottom break of the slope of the inner ramparts of the Roman Fort at the south-east end of Trench 3. The first of these 004 measured 1.16 m north-west to south-east and 0.52 m deep. The basal fill consisted of 90% rounded stones with loose dark grey silt in-fill between the stones. Above this lay firm fine yellow greyish brown silty sand 014 with one isolated charcoal concentration. Approximately 1 m south-east of this feature lay the remaining two cut features (003 and 005). These two features appeared to be part of the same construction cut. Combined, the two cuts measured 1.4 m north-west to south-east with a depth of 0.6 m; this may have been a construction cut for a wall. There was a possible intrusion 006 towards the surface which represents the possible robbing-out of the construction cut.

All features and surfaces in Trench 3 were sealed by firm light greyish brown gravelly silt 007 which was present almost entirely throughout the trench length. Overlying this layer was either topsoil 001 or tarmac and hard-core 013.

Specialist Reports

The following reports are summaries of those compiled by the specialists. The full reports are lodged with the site archive in the National Monuments Record of Scotland.

Radiocarbon Dating by SUERC (Table 1)

The AMS date range for the deposits dated was cal AD 2 to 257 (at 2 σ) with the exception being an Early Iron Age date of 847 to 767 cal BC (at 2 σ). This earlier date, although a result of re-deposition in Roman layers, is indicative of earlier human activity in the vicinity of the fort. The median value for the Roman dates is 18-214 cal AD (at 2 σ). The wide date range coupled with the artefactual evidence therefore reaffirms the Roman occupation of the fort in the Antonine period.

Lab ID	Feature/deposit	Species	Radiocarbon age BP	d^{13}C (‰)	1σ calibrated age ranges	Relative probability	2σ calibrated age ranges	Relative probability
SUERC-40944	C 018: Bedding layer for cobbles and possible wall footing 016 and 017, Trench 2	*Quercus (Charcoal)*	1840 ± 35	-26.3	131-222 cal AD	68.20%	80-247 cal AD	95.40%
SUERC-40438	C 021: Upper layer of ditch 033, Trench 1 A and B	*Corylus (Charcoal)*	1905 ± 35	-26.9	60-131 cal AD	68.20%	23-215 cal AD	95.40%
SUERC-40443	C 040: Date for linear feature 036, Trench 1B	*Corylus (Charcoal)*	1895 ± 35	-26.0	58-137 cal AD	68.20%	28-39 cal AD 50-220 cal AD	2.2 % 93.2%
SUERC-40442	C 032: Date for deposit from which Javelin head was recovered, Trench 1 B	*Corylus (Charcoal)*	1910 ± 35	-25.4	56-130 cal AD	68.20%	18-214 cal AD	95.40%
SUERC-40441	C 031: Early deposit in Trench 1B	*Corylus (Charcoal)*	1925 ± 35	-25.9	30-37 cal AD 52-125 cal AD	4.6% 63.6%	37-30 cal BC 22-11 cal BC 2 cal BC to 139 cal AD 156-169 cal AD 195-209 cal AD	0.5% 1.0% 91.8% 1.0% 1.1%
SUERC-40440	C 025: Date for stake-hole 024, Trench 1B	*Alnus (Charcoal)*	2639 ± 35	-26.7	822-791 cal BC	68.20%	894-873 cal BC 847-767 cal BC	3% 92.4%
SUERC-40439	C 023: Lowest visible fill of ditch 033, Trench 1B	*Salix (Charcoal)*	1865 ± 35	-25.4	86-109 cal AD 117-177 cal AD 190-213 cal AD	15.3% 38.6% 14.3%	72-235 cal AD	95.40%
SUERC-40450	C 030: Fill of ditch 027, Trench 3	*Corylus (Charcoal)*	1870 ± 35	-25.5	82-140 cal AD 150-170 cal AD 194-210 cal AD	45% 12.5% 10.8%	69-233 cal AD	95.40%
SUERC-40451	C 038: Spread from which hypocaust tile and Roman pot sherds were recovered, Trench 3	*Corylus (Charcoal)*	1870 ± 35	-25.8	82-140 cal AD 150-170 cal AD 194-210 cal AD	45% 12.5% 10.8%	69-233 cal AD	95.40%
SUERC-40444	C 023: Lowest visible fill of ditch 022, Trench 3	*Alnus (Charcoal)*	1910 ± 35	-25.7	56-130 cal AD	68.20%	18-214 cal AD	95.40%
SUERC-40448	C 023: Charred grain from deposit 023, ditch 022, Trench 3	*Hordeum vulgare sl (Charred grain)*	1825 ± 35	-23.5	136-230 cal AD	68.20%	85-257 cal AD 301-318 cal AD	92.9% 2.5%
SUERC-40449	C 024: Charred grain from secondary fill of ditch 022, Trench 3	*Hordeum vulgare var vulgare (Charred grain)*	1845 ± 35	-24.0	129-220 cal AD	68.20%	80-243 cal AD	95.40%

Table 1. Radiocarbon dates for Carzield Roman Fort.

The Iron from Carzield by Dr Fraser Hunter

Although a range of iron and some lead was recovered from the two excavations, the vast majority came from post-Medieval contexts. Only the small amount of finds which are typologically or stratigraphically likely to be Roman are considered here.

Most striking is the javelin head found within possible rampart material. It is in poor condition, with the socket broken open and the tip lost, but would originally have had a slender tip similar to examples from Newstead (Curle 1911, pl XXXVII nos 2-3, 5-6, 13, 22); the type was in common use on auxiliary forts. It was deposited with at least part of the shaft still inserted in the head.

Ditch [33] produced a fragment of a fastening bar or strap, distorted by removal, and four typical Roman nails, with square-sectioned shanks and square, flat heads. Two were intact and two broken, the intact ones being 26 and 96 mm long, but the sample is too small to draw any conclusions; they are commonplace finds on Roman sites.

In Trench 3 the evaluation came across the remains of an intact shoe in the fill of (023) in feature [022], although only part of it fell within the trench. The leather had rotted, except where preserved in iron corrosion, but the hobnails were largely in situ. There had been some disturbance, with a cluster of nails in an area c. 150 × 200 × 30 mm, but some 150 x 80 mm of a sole with a curved edge was exposed. 76 hobnails and two flat-headed tacks were recovered from (023), all from the same area; a further tack from the overlying layer (024) had probably been disturbed. The clustering, quantity and extensive leather traces indicate this was a single shoe, probably a calceus, although too little was exposed to allow useful comparisons (cf. Curle 1911; Robertson et al. 1975, 68-82; van Driel-Murray 2001). The vast majority of the hobnails are of a single type, typically 14-16 mm in length with a domed head c. 9 mm in diameter. Two have a markedly lower domed head, and one hobnail was much smaller; it is likely these all represent repairs. This is supported by other evidence of repairs: the three rectangular flat-headed tacks, one clearly inserted into a set of existing hobnails. It is likely that this was an old, worn shoe when discarded.

The thickness of the leather (based on nails with clenched tips) was typically 10-12 mm, but on one nail was at least 16 mm. The corrosion products regularly showed multiple leather layers, most commonly four or five. Such nailed shoes with multiple layers in the sole to cushion the feet were typical of the Roman period. The nailing pattern seems to be simple rows rather than anything more complex.

Catalogue

SF 025 Cast iron sheet. Heavy flat fragment, triangular as it survives with rounded asymmetrical tip, one side broken. X-ray indicates it is cast iron, and thus post-medieval. 110 × 75 × 5mm. From top of (031), 59-60 m from Glebe House entrance.

SF 026 Wrought iron punch with broken tip. Rectangular section tapers slightly from rounded head, burred from use. Its good condition in contrast to securely ancient iron on the

site suggests it is probably post-Roman. L 95, head 22 × 13, shank 17 × 12 mm. From spoil at SE edge of (031).

SF 117 Javelin head, the blade very fragmentary; tip and much of one side lost, while a corrosion blister gives the misleading impression of a thickened surviving tip. No midrib. Socket broken open, but traces of a central fold line survive. Wood remains within socket. L 95; socket L 51, D internal 10.5, external 13; blade L 44, W 23, T 3 mm. Project 3261, Tr. 1, section B, c. 032 (layer in rampart).

SF 123 Rectangular-sectioned bar terminal, bent, end slightly rounded, with circular perforation (D 5 mm). 28 × 13 × 3 mm. Project 3261, Tr. 1, c.021 s.006 (fill of Roman ditch [033]).

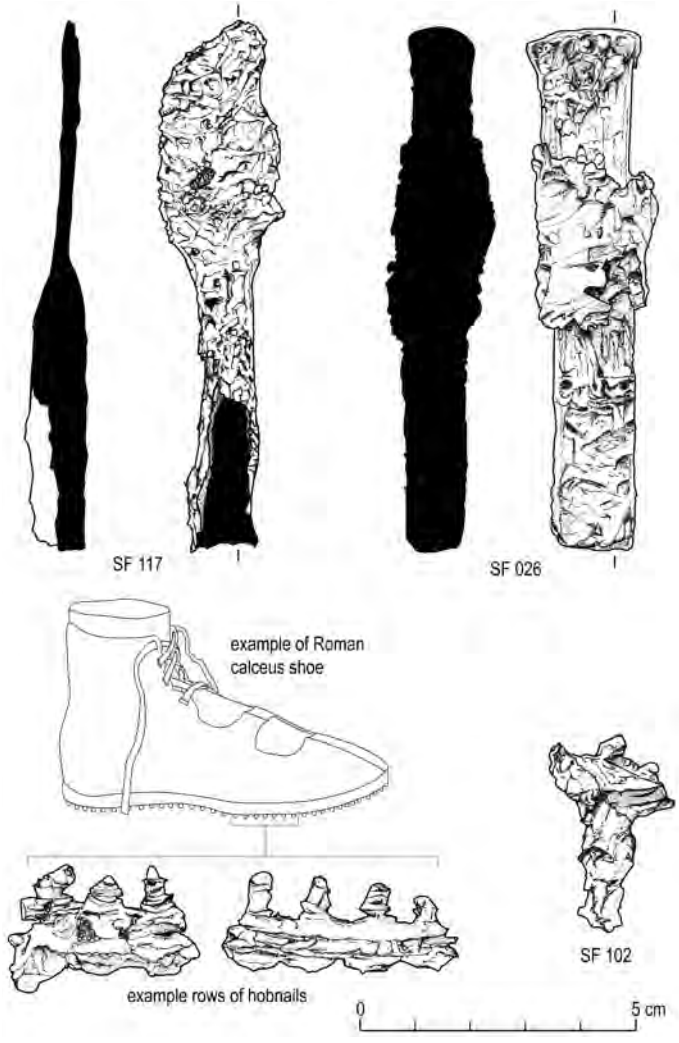

Figure 9. Iron finds.

The Roman Pottery Analysis by Dr Louisa Campbell

The collection consists of two Samian sherds deriving from a vessel manufactured in the central Gaulish Les Martres-de-Veyre workshop (Terrisse 1968; Picon and Vauthey 1975) during the early to mid second century AD. The first sherd (097) derives from the rim of a Drag 37 decorated bowl (Figure 10). Most of the exterior slip has been abraded from all outer edges of the sherd and several deep chips are evident on the rim exterior. A plain undecorated band, measuring 1.7 cm and common to Drag 37 bowls, is evident immediately below the rim. A small sample of the decorative pattern remains immediately below the plain band; however, regrettably, it measures only 5 mm and is so badly damaged by the extensive surface and slip erosion that the pattern is impossible to decipher with any degree of confidence, though it is likely to include the familiar curvature of ovolos common to this vessel form. Therefore, it is not possible to confirm the identity of the potter who manufactured the vessel, though it is most likely to derive from the workshop of known craftsmen at Les Martres-de-Veyre (Stanfield and Simpson 1958), perhaps even the potter Cettus whose wares are known to have been produced at the site from c. AD 135-165 (Tyres 1996; 2008). The second sherd (098) is a fragment of body sherd which is devoid of surface layers on either the interior or exterior and, therefore, no slip remains. The fabric corresponds with the Drag 37 Samian bowl from the Martres-de-Veyre sherd (097) above and most likely derives from the same vessel.

Both sherds were recovered from Context (021) in Trench 1B, one of three fills of a ditch [033] oriented north-east to south-west which lies on a similar orientation to the Roman fort ramparts.

Local Pottery from Carzield, Dumfries by Beverley Ballin Smith

Two sherds of handmade courseware pottery in a grey/buff fabric were recovered from the context 31 of the excavations. SF 118 is a body sherd comprising a light-weight fabric which was heavily grass-tempered. Quartz temper was also added to the clay in the form of sand and gives the pottery a slightly sandy feel. Other rock temper is noted but is not identified. The burnt exterior surface of the sherd and the adherence of food deposits suggest it was part of a cooking vessel. Weight 2.6 g and thickness 7-8 mm.

The second sherd, SF 119, is a base sherd, flat but with a slight curve between it and the wall of the vessel. The pot broke at the join between the base and vessel wall. Analysis of this sherd and comparison with SF 118 indicate it is of the same light-weight, grass and sand-tempered fabric. The external surface of the sherd is heavily abraded, worn and quite possibly burnt away as grass-temper impressions can clearly be seen. The interior of the sherd is also burnt and has adhering food deposits. Weight 9.9 g and thickness c. 8 mm, estimated diameter of base 100 mm, with c. 13 % of the diameter surviving.

Both sherds are from the same vessel, a cooking pot. The light, relatively well-made and grass-tempered pottery was probably made from clays from the floodplain of the River Nith. In his paper on the Iron Age of south-west Scotland, Banks (2003, 31) indicates that there is a low level of either artefact recovery or survival. Two enclosure sites at

Hayknowes Farm, Annan and The Boonies in Eskdale produced a small quantity of local pottery in association with other artefacts, and in the latter case, Roman finds. The pottery was considered to be medieval (the former) and possibly contemporary with Roman activities (the latter). Pottery was also found at the hill fort of Burnswark in Annandale. The paucity of finds and especially any pottery assemblage of any significant numbers from the area prevents against a more detailed comparison of form, function and date.

The pottery was recovered from context 031 a dark-brown silty clay in Trench 1B, which lay above another silty clay layer context 032. This latter context was dated to cal AD 18 to 214 (at 2 σ). It included metal artefacts and the presence of a burnt wattle structure was noted (see Hunter and Ramsay). The presence of the pottery in the layer stratigraphically above 032, along with post-Roman and post-medieval artefacts suggests a level of disturbance. However, a fragment of hazel from this deposit was dated to 1925 ± 35 years BP, cal BC 2-139 cal AD (at 2 σ). These overlapping dates and the pottery characteristics do not conflict with each other. It is likely that the pottery derived from context 031, but was disturbed later. The pottery was most likely manufactured locally for use locally between the turn of the millennium and the middle of the second century cal AD.

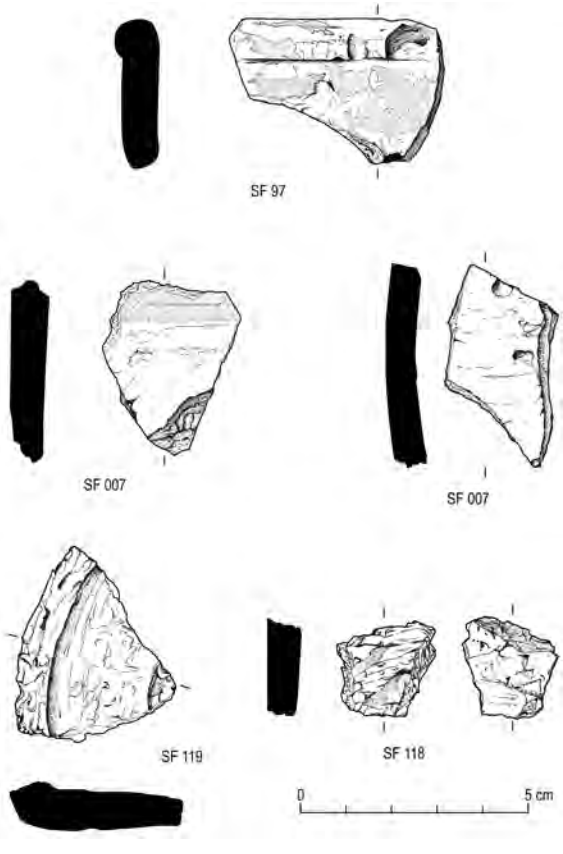

Figure 10. Pottery finds.

Building Material Report (Trench 3) by Naomi Crowley

Trenches 1 and 2 produced wholly post-medieval material whereas Trench 3 produced a small assemblage of 9 fragments of Roman tile, 1 post-medieval tile fragment, 2 unidentified very small tile fragments, 3 fragments of mortar and a fragment of burnt clay.

Trench 1

The coach track in Trench 1 and the topsoil above it produced material dating to the nineteenth to twentieth century.

Trench 2

In Trench 2 the various build-up layers and yard surfaces for Glebe House and the former Manse produced a range of building material dating to the nineteenth to twentieth century.

Trench 3

(i) Roman tile

Contexts 38 and 21 produced 8 fragments of flue tile in a red micaceous fabric with moderate quartz inclusions and occasional red iron oxide inclusions. Two of the fragments join and it is likely that the other fragments come from the same tile. The fragments have coarse sanding on the exterior and interior surfaces indicating the tile was formed around a mould. There is a small groove on the interior surface of two of the fragments from the mould. The tile pieces are 65 mm thick and form part of the plain side of a box flue tile, approximately 130 mm wide. This tile would have originally been used as part of a hypocaust heating system probably in a bath house. The fragments are abraded and are residual in these layers. Context 38 is a shallow deposit overlying context 21, one of the 4 cobbled surfaces discovered.

Context 23, the lower fill of ditch 22, produced an abraded fragment of curved roof tile or imbrex with a thickness of 10-12 mm. It is in a reddish brown coloured sandy fabric.

(ii) Fired clay

Context 31, one of the cobbled surfaces, produced a fragment of red coloured clay with light clay streaks and specks. The fragment was burnt and reduced on one side.

(iii) Mortar

Context 23 also produced 3 fragments of off-white sandy lime mortar with inclusions up to 5 mm.

Although the assemblage is small, it includes fragments of Roman tile. These have been reused or are residual but would have come from the buildings in the fort.

Botanical Report by Susan Ramsay

The following archaeobotanical report details the processing, analysis and interpretation of carbonised botanical remains recovered from samples taken during excavations at Carzield Roman Fort, Kirkton, Dumfries.

Trenches 1 and 2

There is potential evidence for the presence of structural remains in the earliest features from Trench 1B. Charcoal assemblages consisting of oak, hazel and willow charcoal are strongly suggestive of wattle structures or panels that have been destroyed by fire. Oak was often used to provide strong upright posts to support woven hazel and/or willow panels. If these assemblages were from hearth waste, a more mixed assemblage with birch and alder would be expected.

In contrast, the fills of the wide ditch [033] are more indicative of dumped hearth waste, although they too contain a preponderance of oak and hazel charcoal. However, the presence of traces of other charcoal types and occasional carbonised cereal grains suggests at least some of that charcoal came from a hearth that was used for drying grain prior to grinding into flour. The variety of fuel is consistent with collection from locally available woodland sources. Oak is often absent from hearth waste from the Iron Age onwards in Scotland as much of the major oak woods were cleared for agriculture (Ramsay & Dickson, 1997; Dickson & Dickson, 2000) and scrub woodland on poorer ground was used to provide firewood. The dominance of oak in these charcoal assemblages suggests that oak was plentiful in the local woodlands and so available for fuel, rather than being prioritised for construction purposes.

The traces of carbonised cereal grain that were recorded are not really sufficient to enable any conclusions to be drawn about agriculture in the area. Six-row barley was present together with a single grain of possible wheat. Six-row barley is commonly found on sites dating from the Bronze Age through until the medieval period in Scotland. Wheat is generally much scarcer and considered something of a luxury commodity that was often traded rather than grown in the local area (Dickson & Dickson, 2000).

The presence of uncarbonised wood (SF 092) on this site is unusual, considering the site itself is not waterlogged. Without a radiocarbon date it is impossible to tell if this wood may be Roman in date but the nature of the soil and the lack of other uncarbonised botanical material, other than modern seeds, suggest that this wood may be relatively modern in date. The presence of possible coal cinder in context (018) is again evidence for more recent activity on this site.

Trench 3

The charcoal from the ditch fills is consistent with the dumped remains of hearth waste, with the firewood having come from locally available woodland sources. The only possible

evidence for wood used for construction came from the charcoal spread (038) that overlay cobbled surface [021]. The charcoal assemblage from this context was comprised solely of hazel and oak, which is often an indication of the presence, or more correctly destruction, of a wattle-work structure. Oak was often used to provide strong upright posts to support woven hazel panels. However, the quantities of charcoal involved are relatively small and so this suggestion must be considered as tentative.

Small quantities of carbonised cereal grain suggest cereal processing may have been undertaken on site. The presence of six-row barley is to be expected on any site of this period in Scotland as it was the staple cereal crop grown during the Iron Age in Scotland. However, wheat is much scarcer, and although it is not possible to rule out local cultivation, it is also feasible that it represents a commodity that was brought in from more southerly parts of Britain. There was no evidence for carbonised crop weeds or chaff with the grain, which suggests that fully cleaned grain was being dried prior to final grinding into flour for use. The wheat grain from Carzield was not sufficiently well preserved to identify to species but emmer wheat (Triticum dicoccum) has been identified from several Roman sites of Antonine date in central and southern Scotland (Dickson & Dickson, 2000).

Animal Bone Assemblage by Catherine Smith

As the animal bone assemblage was very small indeed and some of the fragments were in a poorly preserved condition it is not possible to satisfactorily answer all the questions that might be asked of the material regarding date and contribution to the diet. It can only be stated that cattle were probably, and sheep/goats, certainly, kept and in all likelihood eaten in the vicinity of the site. In addition, rabbit may have been eaten, although this is not certain due to the burrowing and intrusive nature of the animal; the bone may have come from an animal which died naturally. However it seems more probable that the hare bone came from an animal whose meat was actually consumed at the site although the bone itself bore no evidence of butchery.

Regarding the possible date of original deposition of material, anatomical size of the animals and butchery style and tools are often used as indicators. At this site only one fragment, the distal sheep/goat humerus (SF 063) was well enough preserved to suggest that it was probably modern (nineteenth/twentieth century) on the basis of its relatively large size. It was almost certainly associated with the modern farm rather than the Roman fort.

It could be speculated that finds from the demolition layer (015) beneath the early modern yard surface (014) might contain earlier, possibly Roman material, but there was little or no evidence for this as (015) contained only a sheep/goat tooth, fragments of a large ungulate vertebra and a hare metatarsal, all of which could equally well have been deposited in the nineteenth century or had been redeposited from a much earlier period. There was no evidence from the bone assemblage that horses had been present and thus the presence of Roman cavalry was sadly not confirmed by the admittedly slight faunal evidence.

Glass Assemblage by K R Murdoch

This small assemblage of glass from Carzield consists mainly of shards of utilitarian bottles. Only one shard from SF 020 may be from a finer piece of tableware. The condition of the glass is mainly good and most of it appears to be nineteenth-century with one or two eighteenth-century and early twentieth-century items. Many of the shards were too small or lacking in detail to form an idea of function but the following retained enough for comment.

The small pharmaceutical bottle SF 001 dates to the early twentieth century. External screw threads do not appear on utilitarian bottles until the 1870s and bottles moulded completely in one operation not until the early twentieth century. The brown colour of this bottle was probably an indication the contents should not be taken by mouth as are the ridged or fluted sides, a warning to blind people.

SF 120, a part base from a beer or ale bottle in black glass is of a typical mid-nineteenth century form. The outer surface has an 'orange peel' effect which was caused by the mould in which the bottle was blown being at too low a temperature.

The lip from SF 074 is also typical of a mid-nineteenth century form.

Glass wine bottles followed a quite radical evolution from their introduction around 1630 in England (slightly later in Scotland) and dating by shape is relatively straightforward. The base ring shard from SF 089 is of a profile which only occurs from about 1730-1740 in what are described as mallet-shaped bottles. These were replaced in the later 1740s by a form which was a squat cylinder and the curve through the base ring much more abrupt. The other probable wine bottle shards in SF 089 have a stable corrosion layer on their surface. This is an indication that the local pH value of the soil was sufficiently high (i.e. alkaline) to attack the glass. Consequently the good condition of most of the bottle glass in the assemblage indicates its nineteenth century or later date.

The artefacts represented by the shards in this assemblage are typical of the sort of material which turns up on contemporary sites. The nineteenth century saw a rapid expansion in the variety of utilitarian containers for all sorts of purposes.

Post-Medieval Pottery Assemblage by Bob Will

The pottery provides an indication of the range of pottery available in the late-eighteenth century through to the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries and covers the main range of fabrics and vessels available. The vessels include fine tablewares and more utilitarian storage jars and bowls. Although the sherds were generally quite small, one of the sherds could be identified from the maker's mark as Belfield of Prestonpans. One sherd of possibly post-medieval stoneware was also recovered but again it is very small. The whiteware assemblage includes examples of salt-glaze, creamware and pearlware which demonstrate how the pottery industry developed in the late-eighteenth century with the search to develop a process of manufacturing white earthenware. Each development did

not replace the earlier one and they all continued to be made to some extent. The redwares are interesting because as well as the more common bowls and storage jars there is a slip-decorated plate and jar. While this technique is well known and was used from the post-medieval period, it is not an industry that has been investigated, probably due to the fact that it consisted of small local potteries.

Discussion

Trench 1

The archaeological deposits and features uncovered during these investigations are consistent with Birley and Richmond's layout of Carzield Roman Fort (1938-40). More specifically, the linear features in Trench 1 are all orientated on the same north-east to south-west alignment as the known line of the north and north-western ramparts of the fort. The deposits found in the lower stratigraphy of this trench may be former occupation layers or the denuded material from the ramparts. The linear features are likely to be the remains of small ditches or gullies which may have extended along those ramparts with the single stake-hole 024 perhaps hinting at a palisade that extended along its summit. This may be related to the suggestion of a wooden parapet with crenulations along the rampart (Birley & Richmond 1938-40). The dating of the stake-hole provided an Iron Age date despite being stratigraphically later than other layers with dates from the first to second century AD; this may be down to root intrusion which was prolific, especially in Trench 1B. It does still however hint at an Early Iron Age presence at this location for this re-deposition to have occurred. The finds recovered from the lower deposits in Trench 1 included an iron javelin head (javelin) from 032. The javelin, although in poor condition, with the socket broken open and the tip lost, would have originally had a slender tip similar to examples from Newstead (Curle 1911, pl XXXVII nos 2-3, 5-6, 13, 22); this type was in common use on auxiliary forts. It was deposited with at least part of the shaft still inserted in the head (Hunter). Two sherds of a coarse grey-buff fabric pottery, 'dating to between the turn of the millennium and the middle of the second century AD' (SFs 118 & 119) (Figure 10) from (031) (Ballin Smith) are indicative of local pottery production at this time.

The remains of the cobbled surface 049 at the western end of Trench 1A may correspond to the projected intervallum roadway on Birley & Richmond's Map of 1939 around the inner edge of the ramparts of the fort. With only 0.4 m by 1.05 m of this cobbling exposed within the limits of the trench the full nature, extent and orientation remains uncertain. One alternative interpretation of this construct is that it is the remains of a revetment at the base of the inner rampart; without further investigation neither interpretation can be substantiated.

The 5 m wide ditch (similar to a ditch mentioned by Birley as 17 feet wide) 033 was also orientated north-east to south-west, the same orientation as the ramparts on the north-western side of the fort, and the stratigraphically earlier linear features previously discussed. This ditch cut a layer that overlay the cobbled surface 049, and one of the layers 041, sealing the earlier linear features, making it one of the latest features encountered in

this trench, aside from the nineteenth/twentieth century coach track. The ditch sides had a very gentle gradient and although the base was not encountered within the 0.6 m depth limit of the trench, the fills were almost horizontal in their deposition suggesting that the trench has either revealed the layers of a shallow wide-profile ditch or these layers encountered are just the upper gently sloping fills of a much deeper ditch, which may steepen towards its base. As this ditch post-dates most other features and deposits encountered within the trench limits a likely interpretation is that it represents a modification of the ramparts at this point in the fort. The two dates for the ditch place it in the date range of 23-235 cal AD (at 2 σ) confirming the fills as Roman. Finds from the upper layer of the ditch 021 consisted of a total of six artefacts, these included two pieces of Samian Ware pottery (Figure 10) (SFs 097 and 098), two square section iron nails of Roman date (SFs 102 and 103), a rectangular-sectioned fastening bar or strap (SF 123) measuring 28 × 13 × 3 mm with a circular perforation measuring 5 mm in diameter close to the rounded end (Hunter) and one clay pipe stem fragment (SF 104). The clay pipe stem fragment in the same layer as sherds of Samian Ware is indicative of the potential for contamination, especially in the upper levels of the ditch which are close to the present ground surface and are also subject to quite prevalent root disturbance. The sherds were quite well rolled and abraded suggesting they had been moved around quite a lot before their final deposition in the ditch layer 021. The samples analysed for this layer revealed the presence of birch, hazel, oak and willow. This assemblage is strongly suggestive of wattle structures or panels that have been destroyed by fire (Ramsay).

The nineteenth/twentieth century track that once served the Carzield House coach house (now Carzield Farm) was constructed using red-brick as a basal hard-core layer, overlain by two different grades of gravel with stone chippings making up the uppermost surface. The two upper layers were particularly compacted suggesting substantial use for a significant period of time.

Trench 2

The hand excavations in this trench revealed successive compacted yard layers composed of a mix of cobbles, pebbles and gravel as well as the remains of a cobbled surface and wall footing of Roman date. This is based on the date acquired for an oak fragment from the bedding layer of the cobbles and wall footing. When the positions of these structural deposits are compared to the projected layout of the fort according to Birley & Richmond (1938-40) it becomes apparent that they may correspond to one edge of an additional stable block. This assumption is made on the basis that the pattern in the south-east corner of the fort, established through previous excavations, was repeated in the south-west corner. Dixon and Southern (1992) note that the stable dimensions stated by Birley and Richmond of 30 square feet (2.7 m²) is a '…meagre space allowance … excused on the grounds that the horses were probably only very small, possibly 12 to 13 hands …' The keyhole nature of Trench 2, measuring only 0.4 m wide and 0.6 m deep, did not permit further investigation to establish possible stable divisions. Had Trench 2 been extended and widened, further investigation of the possible stable block may have revealed additional divisions to address Dixon and Southern's hypothesis.

The remains of the Roman constructs (016 and 017) were overlain by a number of compacted pebble and gravel yard layers. A number of large cobbles and sandstone fragments were also recovered during the exposure of the cobbling and possible wall; this is reminiscent of the mention of one of the road surfaces being covered by '...burnt rubble ... including much broken sandstone' (TDGNHAS 1948/9). From the overlying yard layers an assemblage of glass, pottery and CBM (ceramic building material) dating from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century was recovered (Murdoch, Will and Crowley). Making up this assemblage were ceramic fragments, glass, tile, mortar, red-brick, unidentified iron objects, lead strips and animal bone fragments. The artefacts reflect the use of this area of the former Manse and current Glebe House as a yard and a farm track over the past two centuries. A track surface 007 appeared to extend south-west across the rear of Glebe House grounds to meet with an existing track that continues along the south-western boundary wall of Glebe House. This track is visible on the Ordnance Survey 25-inch-to-1-mile map of 1855, shown along the south-west side of the Manse grounds with a further section of track extending towards the junction to meet the main Carzield House entrance. As the route of the track is broken where the rear Manse grounds are shown, the track is likely to pre-date this edition. The track does not appear to extend beyond the note of 'Wells' to the south of Glebe House; the track may therefore once have been a communal access route to the wells. Another well is noted north-east of the main road opposite 'The Manse'. Although no previous map to this edition shows sufficient detail to be certain, there is no corresponding track or road shown on Roy's Map of 1755, meaning that this track must have been constructed between 1755 and 1855.

Trench 3

The watching brief revealed the remains of four separate areas of cobbled surface (Figure 8), three of which may coincide with the position of a projected barrack block on the south-west edge of what would have been the main Roman road through the fort. The most north-westerly of the surfaces 034 lay within what would have been the central area of the fort and appeared to be more refined in its construction. Below the surfaces there were two ditch features extending north-west and south-east, a similar orientation to the short axis of the fort. Between the surfaces there were three cut features and a spread overlying surface 021. Fragments of tile recovered from this spread were identified as a hypocaust flu tile from the under-floor heating system of a Roman bath-house (Crowley). The two sherds of grey fabric pottery (SF 028) were identified as from a probable storage jar emulating Black Burnished Ware 1 products of south-east Dorset, manufactured during the early to mid second century AD (Campbell) which is again in keeping with previous conclusions made on the period the fort was in use. Campbell states that, 'The wares have a known distribution in Devon, Cornwall and West Dorset as well as London so it is interesting that the sherds have been recovered so far north' (2012).

The hand excavations and recording enabled a more detailed observation of the archaeological deposits before their destruction along the path of the new water pipe installation. The investigations revealed successive robust cobbled surfaces composed of a mix of cobbles, sandstone fragments and sandstone blocks, reminiscent of that encountered in Trench 2 behind Glebe House. When the positions of these structural deposits are

compared to the projected layout of the fort (Figure 2) according to Birley & Richmond (1938-40) it becomes apparent that they may correspond to surfaces within one of the buildings in the fort, possibly an additional barrack block. This interpretation is inferred on the basis that the pattern in the south-east corner of the fort, established through previous excavations, was repeated in the south-west corner.

The surface towards the north-west end of the trench 034, situated in what would have been the central area of the fort, was notably different to the other surfaces in its appearance and composition. Unlike the other three surfaces, which were quite undulating, these cobbles were relatively level with a particularly robust upper surface. The main factor which distinguished this surface from the others visually was the inclusion of a very bright yellowish orange in-fill between the cobbles. This finely ground material is likely to be borne of burnt/ fired clay which has been ground to create a fine consistency. This has then been used to help bind the cobbles creating a visually and physically distinctive surface. The location of this surface within the central area of the fort may be some indication as to why the surface is as distinctive, since this is where the principia or main administration block may have been, an area within the fort where those of highest status would have been accommodated. This may be confirmed through further investigations, although the location in the main road means that this is unlikely to happen, unless further services are to be amended in the future.

The line and dimensions of the most south-easterly surface 020 appeared to correspond to a kink in the roadside hedge-line and field wall on the north-east side of the road. It is uncertain, but this may indicate that this surface extends to the north-east beyond the current road edge. There are no apparent above-ground indications of the surface extending any distance into the adjacent field, but the kink in the boundary hedge and wall do match well with the surface's north-west and south-east edges and dimensions leading from the trench.

In addition to the surfaces uncovered there were a number of cut features. These included two ditches which extended beyond the trench edges to the north-east and south-west, a similar orientation to the short axis of the fort. Both of the ditches underlay cobbled surfaces and their function is uncertain. They may be the remains of ground-works carried out on the fort area before the construction of the surfaces and buildings. Ditch 022 lay below the south-east edge of the surface 020 and in section the cobbled surface was shown to slump over its position. More than 76 metal hobnails (SFs 001 and 006 to 012) and two flat-headed tacks were recovered from 023, all from the same locale. In addition, an imbrex roof-tile fragment (SF 002) was recovered from the base of this ditch. There were no indications on the surface of the cobbles 020 that there was an underlying ditch. In contrast, on surface 021, the cobbles immediately overlying the ditch 027 were notably different, being larger, flatter and more squared in form. This indicated that the cobbles were deliberately differentiated over the position of the ditch. This may suggest that the ditch had a function in relation to the surface, perhaps acting as a drain to allow water to escape below and away from the cobbled surface. Without further investigations beyond the limits of the narrow 0.3 m wide trench the possible interpretations for the ditches cannot be substantiated.

The other cut features (003, 004 and 005) lay towards the south-east end of the trench at around 13 m along the baseline. These features are located in the position of what, according to Birley & Richmond (1938-40), would have been the bottom break of slope of the ramparts along the south-east side of the fort. It is possible that they are the remains of wall or revetment features that may have been located here to shore up the inner edge of the defensive banks.

Conclusions

It is generally accepted that Carzield and other forts in south-west Scotland appear to have been abandoned by AD 158 (Wilson 2010), although there have been suggestions that occupation may have continued beyond that date (Hodgson 2009A, 188). The date range provided by the AMS dates from these investigations cannot be refined to a point where they answer this question. What they do show, with the exception of the stake-hole fill 025, is that there is a definitive phase of activity sometime between cal AD 2 to 257; the median value for the Roman dates is 18-214 cal AD (at 2 σ) confirming the feasibility of the Antonine period occupation, concluded from numerous previous investigations. The artefactual evidence from these same layers is also consistent with an Antonine occupation here. The Roman pottery assemblage recovered, although not extensive by any means, is of a sufficient quantity and quality to be identified as typically Antonine. The javelin head and the remains of the calceus shoe give a wider date range as both were in use for a long period. There are those few artefacts, one of which was a pottery sherd of later second century, among Antonine material mentioned by Gillam (1949-50) which does suggest that the possibility of a later revisit by the Romans, confirming Hodgson's suspicions (2009A), however slight the evidence. One of the main research recommendations from ScARF (2012) in section 5.8 (Research recommendations) in relation to Roman archaeology in Scotland is to study these older assemblages for evidence of local pot production and also to look at supply patterns. The latter is particularly relevant in the case of Carzield with pot sherds from vessels with origins in Devon and Cornwall (Campbell).

The recent investigations have revealed that, in spite of the disturbance from the medieval period onwards, through to recent historic development and the intrusion by modern services, evidence of the Roman occupation survives here. It is particularly surprising that the modern road did not impact further on the underlying cobbled surfaces and ditches or that garden landscaping in the case of Carzield Farm (formerly Carzield Coach House) did not remove all traces of the Roman layers. The archaeology in the areas investigated is literally below the surface, sealed by a thin film of modern turf or tarmac. This recent work has therefore highlighted the sensitivity of the remaining Roman occupation levels at Carzield Roman Fort. For this reason any ground-works within and in the environs of this fort should be monitored with great vigilance in the future.

The work here has not fully resolved the questions of the fort's layout but has certainly shed some light on previously unknown archaeological deposits and surfaces which warrant further research and potential investigation. Despite the sometimes frustratingly narrow trenches and at times near impossible contortions needed to record the lowest

deposits; these recent investigations have shown that large areas of excavation need not be necessary to locate archaeological deposits and to allow limited interpretation. However, the conclusions drawn here would benefit from further, perhaps in the first instance, non-intrusive survey to establish the full extent of the surfaces and ditches found. This would ensure a fuller record and understanding of the archaeology in Carzield Roman Fort.

Acknowledgements

GUARD Archaeology Limited would like to thank Scottish Power Energy Networks and Scottish Water for commissioning us to do this work. GUARD Archaeology Limited would also like to thank Mr John Williams, local resident and secretary of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, who was on site each day and provided documentation held by the society to aid in the interpretation of the archaeology found on site. Technical support was from Aileen Maule, John Kiely and Jen Cochrane. The watching brief and hand excavations were directed by Warren Bailie with the assistance of Beth Spence and Kevin Mooney on Trenches 1 and 2. Surveying assistance was provided by Fiona Jackson. The illustrations for this paper were produced by Gillian McSwan, Fiona Jackson and Sarah Bailie and the project was managed for GUARD Archaeology Limited by Dr John Atkinson.

References

Ainslie, J., Map of the Southern part of Scotland, 1832

Atkinson, J 2011 '*Carzield, Kirkton, Dumfries Project Design- Project 3261',* GUARD Archaeology Ltd., Glasgow (unpublished)

Atkinson, J 2011 '*Wellington Bridge, Kirkton, Dumfries, Method Statement- Project 3410*', GUARD Archaeology Ltd., Glasgow (unpublished)

Bailie, W 2012 *'Carzield Roman Fort, Kirkton, Dumfries, Data Structure Report- Project 3261'*, GUARD Archaeology Ltd., Glasgow (unpublished DSR)

Bailie, W 2012 *'Wellington Bridge, Kirkton, Dumfries, Data Structure Report- Project 3410'*, GUARD Archaeology Ltd., Glasgow (unpublished DSR)

Banks, I 2003 Always the bridesmaid: the Iron Age of south-west Scotland, in Ballin Smith, B & Banks I (eds.) 2003 *In the Shadow of the Brochs: The Iron Age in Scotland*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 27-34.

Birley E and Richmond, I A 1938-40 *'The Roman Fort at Carzield'*, *TDGNHAS*, ser. iii, vol 22 (pp 156-163)

Birley E and Gillam J P 1945-46 '*The Pottery from the Roman Fort at Carzield'*, *TDGNHAS*, ser. iii, vol 24 (p 68)

Bleau, J., The Sherifdome of Nidis-dail, 1654

Breeze, D J 2006 *'Roman Scotland, Frontier Country'*, B.T. Batsford, Historic Scotland

Breeze, D J 2006 '*The Antonine Wall'*, Birlinn Ltd., Edinburgh

Crawford, W., Map of Dumfries-shire, 1804

Curle, J 1911 '*A Roman frontier post and its people: the fort of Newstead in the parish of Melrose'*. Glasgow: Maclehose

Dickson, C A & Dickson, J H 2000 *Plants and People in Ancient Scotland*. Tempus, Stroud.

Dixon, K R and Southern, P. 1992 *'The Roman Cavalry- From the First to the Third Century AD'*, B.T Batsford Ltd., London

First Edition Ordnance Survey, 25 inch to the mile, Dumfries and Maxwelltown, 1855
Gillam, J P 1949-50 *'Carzield Roman Pottery'*, *TDGNHAS*, ser. iii, vol 28 (p 196)
Henig, M 1969 *'Three Roman Intaglios from South-Western Scotland'*, *TDGNHAS*, ser. iii, vol 46 (pp 100-8)
Herman Moll, The Shire of Dumfries or Nithisdale, 1745
Ordnance Survey, New popular edition- Sheet 75 Dumfries, 1945-47
Picon, M. and M. Vauthey 1975 Les céramique de l'atelier de Terre-Franche. problèmes de composition et problèmes techniques, *Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France* 14, 55-5, 285-302
Poulter, J 2009 *'Surveying Roman Military Landscapes across Northern Britain, The planning of Roman Dere Street, Hadrian's Wall and the Vallum, and the Antonine Wall in Scotland, with a supplementary report on the mapping of the Antonine Wall by Peter McKeague'*, BAR British Series 492
Ramsay, S & Dickson, J H 1997 'Vegetational History of Central Scotland' *Botanical Journal of Scotland* 49, 141-150.
Richmond, I A 1938-40 *'Roman Forts: Their tactical arrangements and defences'*, *TDGNHAS*, ser. iii, vol. 22 (pp 25)
Robertson, A, Scott, M & Keppie, L 1975 *Bar Hill: a Roman fort and its finds*. Oxford: BAR (Brit Ser 16)
Roy's Military Map of 1747-55
ScARF 2012 Hunter, F. and Carruthers, M. (eds.) *ScARF Roman Scotland Panel Report*, Scottish Archaeological Research Framework: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Available online at: http://tinyurl.com/d24fbpr
Second Edition Ordnance Survey, Sheet 9 - Maxwelltown and Sheet 10 – Dumfries, 1897
Stanfield, J. A. and G. Simpson 1958 *Central Gaulish Potters*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
Stetkiewicz, Scott S., '*Metallurgy in the Roman Forts of Scotland: An Archaeological Analysis'* (2010). *Honors Projects Overview.* Paper 44. http://digitalcommons.ric.edu/honors_projects/44
Terrisse, J-R. 1968 *Les céramiques sigillées gallo-romaines des Martres-de-Veyre (Puy-de-Dôme)*, Gallia Suppl 19
Thomson, J., Dumfriesshire, 1832
Timothy Pont's Map of Dumfries, 1595
Truckell, A E 1969, Appendix in Henrig, M 1969 *'Three Roman Intaglios from South-Western Scotland'*, *TDGNHAS*, ser. iii, vol 46 (pp 100-8)
Truckell, A E 1973b *'Carzield'*, Discovery and Excavation Scotland, (p 23)
Truckell, A E 1956b *'Carzield'*, Discovery and Excavation Scotland, (p 14)
Truckell, A E 1955e '*Carzield Roman Fort'*, Discovery and Excavation Scotland, (pp 11-12)
Truckell, A E 1949 '*Carzield, Dumfriesshire'*, Discovery and Excavation Scotland
Truckell, A E 1948/9 '*Excavation Notes', TDGNHAS*, ser. iii, vol 27 (pp 202-203)
Tyers, P. A. 1996 *Roman Pottery in Britain*, London: Routledge
Tyers, P. A. 2008 http://potsherd.net/atlas/Class/TS last viewed: 10 May 2012
Unknown 1939-40 *'Field Meeting. The Carzield Excavations'*, *TDGNHAS*, ser. iii, vol 22 (p 182)
Van Driel-Murray, C 2001 'Vindolanda and the dating of Roman footwear', *Britannia* 32, 185-197
Williams, J 1977b '*A possible Roman rubbish-pit at Carzield, Kirkmahoe, Dumfriesshire'*, *TDGNHAS*, ser. iii, vol 52 (pp 165-7)
Williams, J 1968f '*Roman, Carzield, Kirkmahoe'*, Discovery and Excavation Scotland, (p 14)
Wilmout, T and Wilson, P (Eds.) 2000 *'The Late Roman Transition in the North, Papers from the Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 1999'*, BAR British Series 299
Wilson, D R 1976 *'Air-reconnaissance and Roman military antiquities in Britain'* Scottish Archaeological Forum, vol 7 (p 18)
Wilson, A 2003 'Roman and Native in Dumfriesshire', *TDGNHAS*, ser. iii, vol 77 (pp 103-160)
Wilson, A 2010 *'Roman and Native in the Central Scottish Borders',* BAR British Series 519

GAILL, *GÀIDHEIL*, *GALL-GHÀIDHEIL* AND THE *CENÉLA* OF GREATER GALLOWAY

Dr D.C. McWhannell[1]

Scandinavian incursions and settlements in both Scotland and Ireland were of significance in the development of both nations. Social, political, and economic change then ensued, leaving long lasting linguistic, cultural and genetic legacies. The name Galloway contains the Gaelic words 'Gall', originally a foreigner and later a Scandinavian, and Gàidheil, a Gaelic speaker. Fergus of Galloway was known as 'righ Gall-Ghàidheil', king of the foreign or Scandinavian Gaelic speakers. Questions arise as to the geographical origins of the Gall-Ghàidheil and when they intruded into greater Galloway. That greater Galloway was Gaelicised can be seen not only from place-name studies but also from the very large number and great variety of Gaelic surnames associated with the region. The origin of Fergus of Galloway, still an unsolved problem for historians, is considered in the light of the given names of his descendants. These names suggest that Fergus was either a Gael or a very much Gaelicised individual. The focus then moves to the medieval cenéla of greater Galloway. The names of leading individuals and kindreds, in particular those of the greinours of the Clenafren, are analysed. Two Muintir groups recorded in Carrick are also examined in some detail. The tantalising but as yet unproven possibilities of Irish Dál Fiatach origins for both the Clenafren and the McKerrells are outlined. The apparent absence of well-researched genetic data which might prove helpful in illuminating the origins of the kindreds of greater Galloway is commented on. The future availability of such data could potentially assist in further unravelling Galloway's complex past. The meanings of contractions and Gaelic words used are given at the end of the article.

Gaill*, *Gàidheil* and *Gall-Ghàidheil

The Onset of Scandinavian Incursions and Settlement in the Northern Isles, the Hebrides, the Western Mainland of Scotland and in Ireland

The Northern Isles plus areas of the coastal mainland of Caithness and Sutherland and the western islands and coastlands from Lewis to Argyll were raided and ultimately conquered in the period from 795 to circa 825 by Scandinavian forces originating mainly from western Norway. The Scandinavian dynasty that arose in *Laithlinn* (western Norway) went on to impose itself on Dublin and later York and for a time threatened to dominate England. Although attacks on Ireland originating directly from western Norway were made in the period from 795 to 825, much of the Viking raiding of Ireland from 825 to 850 is likely to have been launched from forward bases in western and northern Scotland located at places suitable for beaching or anchoring longships. In the period from the 830s to the 840s the west Vikings moved on from coastal raiding, ventured inland and established a continuing presence in Ireland. By 853 Óláfr, son of Guðrøðr, (*Amlaib mac Gothfraidh, Amlaib m. righ Laithlinde*, A.U. 853) had occupied Dublin.

---

1 8 Seaforth Road, Dundee, DD5 1QH.

The Effect of Scandinavian Conquest and Settlement on the Gàidheil, Britons, and Picts

Starting from circa 795, Scandinavian Vikings appeared in the waters off the western seaboard of Scotland.[2] During the early ninth century the major ecclesiastical sites along Scotland's western coast and in the islands were raided repeatedly. Later in 870, by which time the Scandinavians had established themselves in Dublin, a major attack was mounted on Dumbarton. This attack was linked to a campaign to establish control over central Scotland. The Scandinavians had control over the islands in the Firth of Clyde. In 874, new Scandinavian raiders clashed with settled Scandinavians in Bute. The colonisation of the Clyde islands was completed before the end of the ninth century.

The absorption, eviction, obliteration or enslavement of the existing population of the outer isles, the 'Long Island' off the west coast of Scotland, by the Norse is perhaps best illustrated by the archaeological finds at Bornais in South Uist. These finds indicate that significant shifts in building styles, fishing activities and agricultural practices all occurred over a very short period of time. The practices of the Late Atlantic Iron Age tradition were it appears replaced by those of a culture closely aligned with that which had evolved in Norway (Sharples and Smith 2009).

The expulsion by the Irish of the Scandinavian elites and their followers from Dublin in 902 was a most significant event. The largest subsequent war band formed from these expelled Dubliners and their followers attacked Strathclyde and Strathearn before moving on to take control of York.

In the twelfth century the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles reflected the division between areas of Scots and Norwegian influence and placed the Clyde's islands within the area controlled by the bishopric founded in Man in 1070. During the twelfth century the kingdom of Man and the Isles dominated the western seaboard of Scotland. This kingdom, based on sea-power and the control of trade routes passing through the Irish Sea, was ruled by Gaelic speaking persons of mixed *Gaill* and *Gàidheil* descent. The kings who held Man and the Isles after Godred Crovan were put under pressure by the *Uí Néill* of Ulster, the *Uí Bhriain* of Munster and the *Uí Chonchobair* of Connacht. In 1098, Magnus Barelegs of Norway intervened to assert Norse control and define the areas of Norse kingship in the west.

Timeline for the Creation of a Mixed Population and a Gall-Ghàidheil Aristocracy

795	First recorded Scandinavian raid on the Hebrides (?)
839	Picts defeated by Scandinavians. *Cinaed mac Ailpín* becomes king of *Dál Riata*
847	Possible Scandinavian conquest of *Dál Riata*
856	First known reference to *Gall-Ghàidheil* in Ireland
866-69	*Amlaib* occupies Fortriu
870	*Amlaib* and *Ímar* of Dublin besiege, capture, loot and destroy Dumbarton. Early in 871 they returned to Ireland with a fleet of two hundred ships (perhaps only an indicative number) and many captive Angles, Britons and Picts

2 There is some doubt as to the actuality of a raid on Skye in 795. This is discussed in Woolf, A., *From Pictland to Alba 789-1070*, 45.

871-72	*Constantín mac Cináeda* kills *Amlaib*
876	Healfdene kills *Constantín*
878-79	*Gàidheil* conquer Pictavia
c.890	Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and the Hebrides become part of the kingdom of Norway
c.900	The *Gall-Ghàidheil* control Bute. *Domnall* son of *Constantín* dies fighting the Scandinavians
902	The Scandinavians are expelled from Ireland
903	*Ímar* grandson of *Ímar* occupies the Tay basin
904	*Constantín mac Aeda* slays Ímar
914	*Ragnall* grandson of *Ímar* appears in the Irish Sea zone
917	*Sihtric* grandson of *Ímar* re-occupies Dublin
918	*Ragnall* defeats *Constantín mac Aeda* and the Northumbrians at Corbridge
929	*Constantín mac Aeda*, the Cumbrians and *Ragnall* meet with Edward of Wessex
937	Battle of Brunanburh, the Northumbrians defeat the Scots and Britons. The abdication of *Constantín mac Aeda* and the accession of *Máel-Coluim mac Domnaill*
939	Hiberno-Scandinavian conquest of Northumbria
945	Eadmund lets Cumbria to *Máel-Coluim mac Domnaill*
980	Battle of Tara, *Amlaib Cuarán*, who had been king of York and of Dublin, retires to Iona
981	Death of *Amlaib Cuarán*
986	Danes in the Hebrides
987	Sigurd of Orkney controls Sutherland, Ross and part of Moray
989	Death of *Gofraid* son of *Aralt*, first known king of *Innse-Gall*, whose brother *Maccus* was also 'king of many islands'. This is the first occasion (A.U. 989.4) where the term *'Innse Gall'*, the Isles of the Foreigners (i.e. the Scandinavians), is used to describe the Hebrides
c.1000	A Jarl 'Gilli' is based on Coll and is the brother-in-law of Sigurðr the Stout Jarl of Orkney
1014	Battle of Clontarf, first mention of the Earldom of Orkney. *Máel-Coluim mac Cináeda* campaigns in the Western Isles
c.1030	Cnut the Great visits Scotland. Olaf Sihtricson is king of the Rhinns of Galloway
1034	The death of *Suibhne mac Cinead*, king of the *Gallgaedil*. It seems likely that the lands controlled by the *Gall-Ghàidheil* at this time did not include the Rhinns of Galloway
1065	*Echmarcach mac Raghnaill,* at the time of his death, was king of the Rhinns of Galloway
1066-70	The kingdom of Strathclyde is incorporated into the kingdom of Scotland
1070	*Máel-Coluim mac Donnchada* annexes Cumbria
1095	*Gofraid Crovan*, king of the Isles and king of Dublin, dies
1098	Magnus Barelegs, king of Norway, devastates the Western Isles
1136	First mention of Fergus of Galloway in the surviving records
1138	The Battle of the Standard, Gallowegian forces fight as *'Albanaigh'*
1142	Fergus of Galloway founds Dundrennan Abbey
1156	Somerled of Argyll establishes himself as king in the Isles
1158	Somerled invades and controls the Isle of Man
1160	Defeat of Fergus of Galloway by *Máel-Coluim mac Donnchada*

A charter of *Máel-Coluim mac Donnchada* was addressed to Francis, Anglicis, Scottis, Walensibus and Gaulensibus (Broun 2011). So it may be inferred that at that time, 1153 to 1165, these groups of persons were culturally distinguishable and officially recognized within the kingdom ruled by *Máel-Coluim*. By the late twelfth century greater Galloway is likely to have contained persons belonging to all of these groups.

The Ninth-Century Gallgoidil: the 'Foreign Gaelic Speakers' or the 'Scandinavian Gaelic Speakers'?

In the early ninth century the Scandinavian raiders in Ireland were described as *gennti* (heathens). This reflects the impact that they had on ecclesiastical property. As Scandinavians became a fixture in Irish society and entered into Irish political life their position and Irish attitudes to them became more complex. The records in the Irish Annals reflect these changed circumstances.The 'Three Fragments', a twelfth century document preserved in a seventeenth-century copy, describe the *Gallgoidil/Gall-Ghàidheil* as, 'a people who had renounced their baptism and they were usually called Northmen and had been fostered by them and though the original Northmen were bad to churches these were worse in whatever part of Ireland they were'.[3] This statement may be seen as Church propaganda.

The *Gallgoidil*, as military contingents or population groups, first appear in the Irish annals in 856 when there was 'great warfare between the pagans and *Máel Sechnaill* (then king of the southern *Ui Néill*) who had the *Gallgoidil* with him'. This annal entry raises the possibility that the *Gallgoidil* had acquired Christian religious beliefs perhaps from their *Goidil* mothers. However it is also possible that they were just opportunistic pagan mercenaries hired by *Máelsechnaill*. Later in the same year *Aed Mac Néill*, the king of the northern *Ui Néill*, defeated the *Gallgoidil*, killing many, near Strabane.

A.U. 856.3	*Gallgoidil* in alliance with the king of Mide against pagans
A.U. 856.5	*Gallgoidil* in conflict with the king of Aileach who inflicted a great rout on them
A.U. 857.1	*Gallgoidil*, led by *Caittil Find*, routed by *Ímar* and *Amlaib*
C.S. 858	*Cerball Mac Dunlainge* king of *Osraige* and *Ímar* of Dublin defeated the *Uí Fhiachrach* and their *Gallgoidil* allies in north Munster

It is likely that these groups of *Gallgoidil* were adventurers or mercenaries possibly originating from western Scotland and operating on their own account almost as precursors of the later Galloglass troops (*Gall-Òglaich*, 'foreign youths') recruited from the Hebrides and Argyll. Generally these early *Gallgoidil* appear to have been somewhat unsuccessful, having most likely suffered significant losses in the above noted defeats.

3 www.ucc.ie/celt FA 260.

Intermarriage and Generational Distances

To discover where the *Gall-Ghàidheil* arose as a distinct group, worthy by 856 of a newly coined Irish descriptive name, it is necessary to identify an area where Scandinavian settlers and a pre-existing Gaelic speaking population might mix or where a group of free Gaelic-speaking males might join a Scandinavian led war band. It has been suggested that the mainland of *Dál Riata* was a region where such situations could have arisen. It has been argued that Kintyre, the heartland of the *Cenél nGabráin*, was the most likely area for the growth of a mixed Scandinavian/Gaelic population (Jennings and Kruse 2009 a).

Assuming that Scandinavian settlement in western Scotland was significant by 825, then a mixed population would have been possible as early as 856. One effect of intermarriage between pagan Scandinavian men and Gaelic speaking Christian women is likely to have been the appearance of Christianised bi-lingual offspring i.e. first generation *Gall-Ghàidheil*. Such first generation *Gall-Ghàidheil* males may have initially gained recognition as part of an Irish war band engaged in a conflict against pagan Scandinavians. By 900, some three generations later, enough persons may have been born and survived for a significant number of *Gall-Ghàidheil* to have existed in Kintyre and adjacent areas. An expanding population of free adult males whether *Gaill*, *Gàidheil* or *Gall-Ghàidheil* from Scandinavianised *Dál Riata* would have been on the lookout for new territories to settle or control.

The Martyrology of Tallaght at 10 August states that 'Blaani episcopi Cind Garad i nGallgaedelaib' giving St. Blane as Bishop of Kingarth and indicating that Bute was part of *Gall-Ghàidheil* controlled territory. The dating so derived for Bute being under *Gall-Ghàidheil* control is generally given as 900 although this dating is not completely secure.[4] A further wave of expansion might then have lead to mobile, militarised and seagoing young males from Kintyre, Arran, Bute, the Isle of Man and Ireland making incursions into and taking possession of parts of Ayrshire, Carrick and Galloway.

A socially and militarily coherent Gaelic *Dál Riata* fades from contemporary records following the death in 792 of *Donncoirce* the last *Cenél nGabráin* king of *Dál Riata*. In 736, Aengus son of Fergus, king of the Picts, laid waste to the territiory of *Dál Riata* and seized the fortress of Dunadd (A.U. 736.1) while in 741 there occurred 'the smiting of Dal Riata' by Aengus son of Fergus (A.U. 741.10). *Dál Riata* appears to have come under Pictish control.

It has been suggested that when *Cinaed* became king of Picts in 843 *Dál Riata* came under Scandinavian or *Gall-Ghàidheil* control perhaps having been placed under the lordship of a Scandinavian or *Gall-Ghàidheil* aristocracy. Equally it may be argued that a Scandinavian or *Gall-Ghàidheil* leadership supported by the newly emerging youthful *Gall-Ghàidheil* warriors pushed *Cinaed*, who had been ruling *Dal Riata* under Pictish overlordship, into forging eastwards and establishing his rule over the Tay basin (Jennings and Kruse

4 The Martyrology of Tallaght entry and its dating is discussed by Clancy, T.O., 'The Gall-Ghaidheil and Galloway', in *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, Vol.2, 2008, 30.

2009 b). Such events would be consistent with the removal of the relics of Columba from Iona and their division between Kells and Dunkeld circa 849.

An argument has been made for Ketill Flatnefr being the same man as *Caittil Find*. There are however strong objections to this idea. Were it ever to be convincingly proven that the equation of Ketill with *Caittil* was correct then it would be possible to consider that Ketill Flatnefr from Sogn in Norway took power in *Dál Riata* in the early ninth century and later led a *Gall-Ghàidheil* war band in Ireland. Irrespective of the uncertainty over whether *Caittil Find* was a Gael or a Scandinavian, a likely scenario for the early *Gall-Ghàidheil* activities in Ireland is one in which *Gaill*, free mercenary *Gàidheil* and *Gall-Ghàidheil* , most probably from *Dál Riata*, engaged in campaigns in Ireland. In addition to their activities in Ireland the later expansion of a growing population of *Gall-Ghàidheil* into Ayrshire, Carrick and Galloway seems most persuasive (Clancy 2008). Land in Ayrshire, Carrick and Galloway is likely to have seemed especially attractive to vigorous young warriors based in Kintyre, Arran, Bute or Man areas where there is to this day a restricted amount of good agricultural land.

The Gall-Ghàidheil from the Tenth until the Thirteenth Century

Before discussing the impact of the *Gall-Ghàidheil* in south-western Scotland it is worth noting the relatively low population numbers that existed in geographical Scotland, Ireland, and Norway during the period from 800 and 1200. The total population of the region that would become modern Scotland has been estimated to have been not more than 400,000 persons during this period. Given the likely numbers of women, children, elderly and disabled persons, un-free farm workers, slaves and generally non-combatant clergy, it is likely that the number of free fit young men available for raiding or full scale warfare from the whole area might have been at the most some 24,000 individuals. Proportionately in greater Galloway the number of young warriors capable of mobilisation may have been only some 4,000 men (Cooper 1947). However it is important to note the mobility of high status persons and their war bands and in particular to recognize their maritime competence and the reach of their fleets.

The population of Ireland prior to the Norman invasions commencing in 1167 appears to have been reasonably stable at somewhere between 500,000 and 1,000,000 persons. It has been estimated that the population of Norway, circa 850, was only about 100,000 individuals with a further 10,000 in the Norse occupied islands of the west. This population estimate implies a total fighting force of around 6,600 men capable of manning some 110 longships. By 1300 the population in Norway had increased to around 450,000 with a further 50,000 persons in Iceland and around 30,000 occupying Greenland, the Faroes, Shetland and Orkney (Sigurðsson 2010). North-western England has produced evidence for a substantial influx of Hebridean and Irish Sea Scandinavians from the ninth century and continuing into the tenth century. It also seems probable that in the eleventh century a Gaelic-Scandinavian influence was at work in Cumberland society (Edmonds forthcoming). Cumberland appears to have been part Scandinavian, part Celtic and Christianised but with a pagan undercurrent. This milieu is represented by the Cumberland high crosses which carry both Christian and pagan imagery, a particularly fine example being the Gosforth Cross.

In 1034 there is the isolated information in the Irish Annals of the death of *Suibhne mac Cinaed*, king of the *Gall-Ghàidheil* (A.U. 1034.10). By the twelfth century the *Gall-Ghàidheil* dominated region appears to have included most of the south-western seaboard of Scotland and in particular the islands and coastlines of the lower Firth of Clyde. During the twelfth century the term *Gall-Ghàidheil* referred to the dominant group in south-western Scotland who controlled an area stretching from the Solway to the Clyde and who had also infiltrated areas in north-western England. The later Lordship of Galloway was constrained to the area of modern Wigtonshire and Kirkcudbrightshire.

Clancy argues that although the regions around the Irish Sea were in the period 850 to 1200 awash with people who might fit the description of '*Gall-Ghàidheil*', the term was by then used in a quite specific sense. In the eleventh century there was the simultaneous existence of a king of the Rhinns, the Irish-Scandinavian *Sihtric mac Amblaib Cuarán*, and a king of the *Gall-Ghàidheil*, *Suibhne mac Cinaed*, and it is necessary to be clear as to whom and where the name '*Gall-Ghàidheil*' was applied.[5] The use of the term *Gall-Ghàidheil* and its meaning had evolved during the period from 850 to 1200. In thirteenth century Ireland, the name became associated specifically with Galloway in the sense of the territories controlled by Fergus of Galloway as '*Righ Gall-Ghàidheil*' and later by his male descendents (A.U. 1200.6 and A.U.1234.1).

Possibly as early as the tenth century and almost certainly during the eleventh century Gaelic had entered the south west of Scotland and had by the twelfth century become the dominant language there. Coastal trading settlements and their hinterlands in south west Scotland were incorporated within the *Gaill* hegemony whose centre was in Dublin. The Rhinns of Galloway, known as '*na Ranna*' and approximating to Wigtonshire, was part of a kingdom based on Dublin and the Isle of Man. Significant areas of Galloway were incorporated in a Scandinavian kingdom whose rulers, *Amlaib Cuarán, Gluniairn* and *Echmarcach mac Ragnaill* were Gaelic speaking or bilingual.

It is almost certain that in this period the *Gall-Ghàidheil* did not hold power in the Western Isles ('the Long Island'). The term *Innse Gall*, the Scandinavian Isles, was applied by Gaelic speakers to this island chain from the late tenth century onwards. The Scandinavianised status of the southern Hebrides is less clear although recent research suggests that Scandinavians had overwhelmed Islay and Colonsay. Around 1000, Jarl Gilli, the brother-in-law of Sigurðr the Stout (Jarl of Orkney), was based on Coll. Gaelic place-names in Islay are presently seen as the product of the last 800 years. It seems likely that during the tenth and eleventh centuries Islay was fully Scandinavian in character. It is probable that this situation also applied to the other southern islands and much of Kintyre.

It appears likely that the majority of the original culturally Pictish and linguistically Brittonic inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides, the 'Long Island', were replaced by Scandinavians. It also seems likely that free persons occupying the 'Long Island' were exclusively Scandinavian in speech from the time of the first Scandinavian settlement up until the twelfth century when Gaelic speech may well have been a new language element introduced into the Western Isles after, say, 1100 AD.

---

5 Clancy, T. O., 'The Gall-Ghaidheil and Galloway', in *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, Vol.2, 2008, 22, 32.

Woolf has raised the interesting question, 'Was *Suibhne mac Cinaed*, king of the *Gall-Ghàidheil* a brother of *Máel-Coluim mac Cinaed*?' *Máel-Coluim* was referred to in the Prophecy of Berchán as '*loingseach* of Islay and Arran'. So did *Máel-Coluim* place his brother as king over Kintyre and the coastlands of the outer Firth of Clyde? (Woolf 2007 a).

The disappearance of the kingdom of Strathclyde, the spread of the *Gall-Ghàidheil* and the later seeming lack of Britons in greater Galloway, might lead to the possibility of the Britons having been overrun (Broun 2004). The Annals of Tighernach record a ravaging of the Britons by the *Gaill* of Dublin and the English in 1030. Was this an attack by the Northumbrians in conjunction with the *Gaill*? Subsequently, in 1038 Northumbrians led by Earl Eadwulf did indeed ravage the Britons. Might these events have provided an opportunity for the lands of the defeated Britons to be settled by land-hungry *Gaill, Gàidheil* and *Gall-Ghàidheil* coming from Argyll, Man and Ireland? It appears that during the later eleventh century the *Gall-Ghàidheil* became the dominant group in south west Scotland. Gaelic in the south west, probably a dialect related to southern Scottish Gaelic but also akin to that spoken in eastern and north eastern Ireland and with some Manx influence, came to prevail over the Brittonic and Anglic languages. The islands and coastlands of the Clyde plus greater Galloway had, by the twelfth century, become the homeland of the *Gall-Ghàidheil*. Typically, in 1154, there was an expedition to Ireland by the Gallgael of Arran, Kintyre, Man and the coastlands of Scotland.

The Kingdom of the Rhinns or *Na Ranna*

Na Ranna was a Scandinavian-Gaelic lordship which appears in the eleventh century. It comprised, along with the district of Farines, the area that later became the county of Wigtown. The Rhinns were at one time part of the territories ruled by *Sihtric mac Amlaib* (Sigtryggur Ólafsson silkiskegg d.1036) and his son Olafur Sigtrygsson (d.1034). *Sihtric mac Amlaib* was also stated to be the ruler of Dublin, Man, Galloway, Anglesey and Gwynedd. Olafur Sigtrygsson's daughter *Ragnaillt* is given as the mother of Gruffudd ap Cynan (Hudson 2005).

Later, a possible grandson or great grandson of Ivar of Waterford, or alternatively a grandson of *Gofraid mac Arailt*, one *Echmarcach mac Raghnaill* (d.1065) was stated, at the time of his death, to be king of the Rhinns. Previously he had been king of Dublin from 1036 to 1038 with support from *Donnchadh mac Bhriain*, king of Munster, to whom his sister was married. Expelled from Dublin by *Ímar mac Arailt* he became king of Dublin again from 1046 to 1052 with support from *Donnchadh mac Gilla Phátraic* king of Osraige and Leinster. *Echmarcach* had also been king of Man and the Isles. *Echmarcach* was finally expelled from Dublin in 1052 and from the Isle of Man in 1061 by *Murchad mac Diarmata mac Mail na mBó*. Perhaps from 1061 until his death in 1065 he was left solely in possession of the Rhinns of Galloway. Limited archaeological evidence of Scandinavian activity has been found at Whithorn and elsewhere in Galloway.[6]

6 See www.dumgal.gov.uk

Medieval Greater Galloway

'Greater Galloway' was a region which incorporated at its greatest extent all of present day Dumfries and Galloway together with Ayrshire and which at times spilled over into the adjacent parts of neighbouring counties. The most recent comprehensive study of greater Galloway is presented in the book, *The Lordship of Galloway*, by Prof. Richard Oram published in 2000. The cenéla or kindreds of greater Galloway have been commented on in academic papers by Professors John and Hector MacQueen, father and son, and by others such as Daphne Brooke in her book, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, published in 1994. The *Gall-Ghàidheil* were, as mentioned above, investigated in some depth by Prof. Thomas Clancy whose paper 'The Gall-Ghaidheil and Galloway' was published in the *Journal of Scottish Name Studies* in 2008. Through a detailed investigation of the cenéla of greater Galloway it may prove possible to further illuminate greater Galloway's complex past. A past in which Britons, Romano-Britons, Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, Gaels and *Gall-Ghàidheil* all played aristocratic, military and religious parts, as well as occupying all of the more mundane but vital bread-and-butter roles.

The 'Kingdom of Galloway' was formed when two independent petty kingdoms were united under Fergus, 'Rex Galwitensium', or as he was known to Irish and Scottish Gaels, '*Fergus Righ Gall-Ghàidheil*'. Fergus's short lived kingdom was, after his death, reduced to a lordship held by his descendants under the Scottish Crown. Consideration of the surviving documentary evidence permits an assessment of the medieval kindreds of greater Galloway who emerge as culturally Gaels or as significantly Gaelicised whatever their genetic and cultural roots may have been.

The Cenéla of Greater Galloway

Origins and Names of Kindreds

The origins of Fergus, king of the Gallovidians, remain obscure while those of the family of Dunegal of Strathnith are also opaque. Greater Galloway surnames such as MacDowall, McGhie and Milliken were recorded in the Ragman Roll, 28 August 1296, when Fergus MacDowilt and Dougal Macdowyl of the County of Wigton together with Gilmichael MacEthe and Macrath ap Molegan of the County of Dumfries rendered homage to Edward I. These MacDowalls and McGhies together with other leading kindreds such as the Amuliganes, at least from their naming patterns, appear to be culturally Gaels and so questions arise as to when these kindreds had first emerged or settled in Ayrshire, Dumfries and Galloway and if it is possible to establish if they were originally culturally and genetically Britons, *Gàidheil*, *Gall-Ghàidheil*, Scandinavians or of mixed descent.

The Families of Fergus of Galloway, of Duncan of Carrick and of Dunegal of Strathnith

The ruling family of Galloway (Figure 1)

(i) Fergus of Galloway (d.1161)
(ii) *Gillebrigte mac Fergusa* (d.1185)
(iii) *Affraic ni' Fergusa*
(iv) *Uchtred mac Fergusa* (d.1174)
(v) *Lachlann*/Roland son of *Uchtred* (d.1200)
(vi) A son of *Uchtred* (k.1185), name unknown
(vii) Fergus son of *Uchtred*
(viii) Alan son of Roland (d.1234)
(ix) Thomas, Earl of Atholl, son of Roland (d. 1231)
(x) Patrick, Earl of Atholl, son of Thomas (k. 1241)
(xi) Thomas son of Alan (illegitimate)

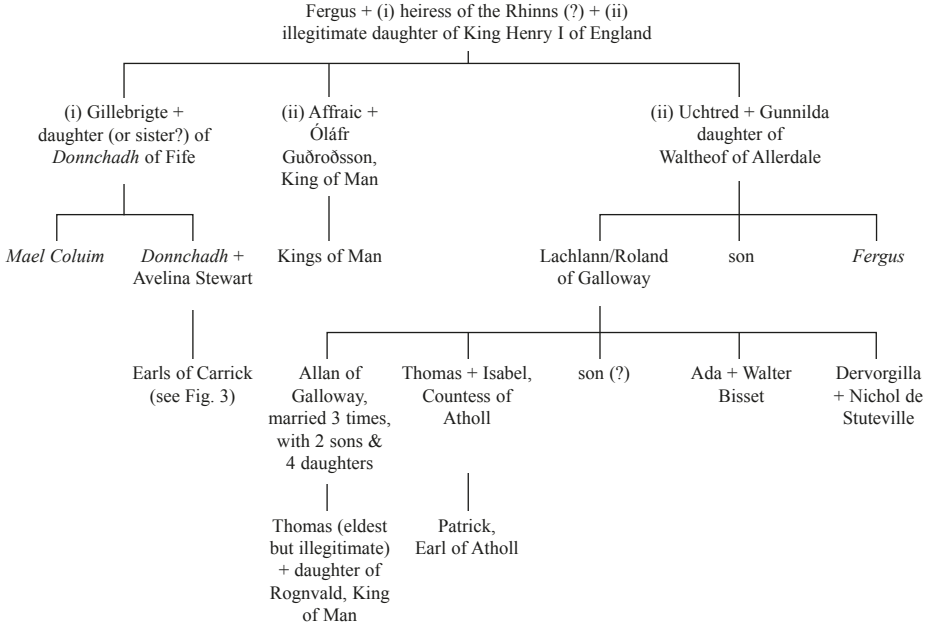

Figure 1. The family of Fergus, *Righ Gall-Ghàidheil.*

Place-name evidence reveals that Galloway from Loch Ryan to the river Nith had been settled by a mixture of peoples including Brittonic speakers, Northumbrian Anglic speakers and possibly by both Norwegian and Danish Scandinavians. However by 1100 Gaelic had become the dominant language and in 1136 there is evidence for the existence of Fergus 'Rex Galwitensium'. In 1160 Fergus was defeated by David I of Scotland and then

retired to the Abbey of Holyrood. One particular aspect of Fergus's rule in Galloway that is of some significance is that by the time of his death in 1161 Fergus had founded at least three important religious houses in Galloway. The most impressive of these was the Cistercian Abbey of Dundrennan founded with monks from Rievaulx between 1140 and 1142. When Fergus founded Dundrennan he ruled a kingdom owing little allegiance to the King of Scots. Fergus was also responsible for the revival of Whithorn, the ancient bishopric of Galloway, and the appointment of Bishop Christian in 1154. The founding of Soulseat, a Premonstratensian monastery, circa 1148, by Fergus leads to consideration of the possible influence on and interactions with Fergus of St Malachy of Armagh (d.1148). Fergus may also have introduced Augustinian cannons to Whithorn sometime between 1153 and 1160. Fergus was even a patron of the Knights of St John of the Hospital, granting them the lands of Galtway by Kirkcudbright. Fergus thus appears, in the words of R.A. McDonald, as a 'connoisseur of the new religious orders' (McDonald 1995). Fergus may indeed have been influenced by Malachy who, while travelling, visited Galloway in 1139 and 1148. Malachy was a vigorous promoter of the reformed monastic orders.

Fergus's daughter *Affraic* married Olaf of Man and it was Olaf who founded the Cistercian Abbey of Rushen in 1134. Whithorn was endowed with a number of churches in Man possibly by Olaf. Fergus's links with England through his second marriage and to Man through his daughter's marriage may have provided inspiration for his religious interests.

Somerled of Argyll, in contrast to Fergus, appears to have favoured more traditional forms of Irish Christianity. The granting by the Scottish Crown to Holyrood in 1172 of churches and chapels in Galloway to which Iona had previously had proprietory rights may reflect some of the political adjustments after Somerled's death in 1164 (Watson 1993).

Fergus may have pursued his religious policies to assert his power and prestige and to emphasise his status as an up-to-date ruler in a European context. Fergus was very much in sympathy with the contemporary cosmopolitan religious Zeitgeist. Fergus was clearly a remarkably able and sophisticated 'man from nowhere' able to effectively embrace the piety and politics of the larger world and accommodate them within his Gaelic kingdom.

The family of Carrick (Figure 2)

(i) *Máel Coluim mac Gillebrigte mhic Fergusa* (d.1174)
(ii) *Donnchadh mac Gillebrigte mhic Fergusa*, 1st. Earl of Carrick (d.1250)
(iii) *Gille Chonaill mac Gillebrigte mhic Fergusa*, also known as *Gille Chonaill Manntach* (alive in 1233)
(iv) *Cailean mac Dhonnchaidh* (predeceased his father)
(v) *Niall mac Dhonnchaidh* (d.1256)
(vi) *Affraic nighean Cailean mac Dhonnchaidh*
(vii) Marjorie (*Marsaili*) daughter of *Niall mac Dhonnchaidh*, Countess of Carrick (d. before 1292)

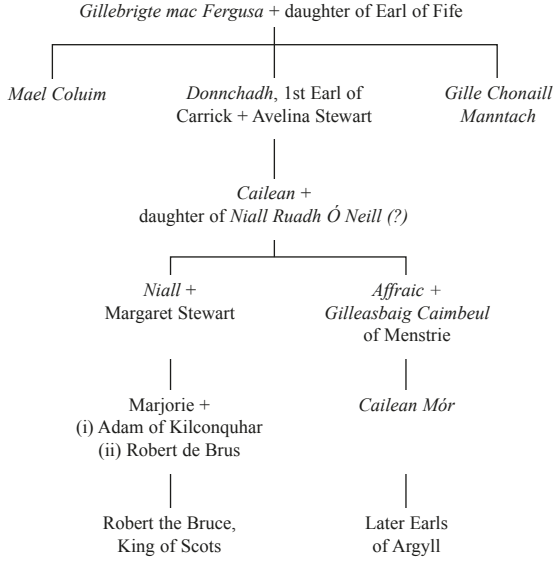

Figure 2. The family of Carrick.

The mystery of Fergus

A mystery lies at the heart of studies of the ruling family of Galloway and their descendants. It may be summed up as, who were the ancestors of Fergus and what was his inherited status? That Fergus married as his second wife an illegitimate daughter of King Henry I of England may be put down to power politics and English interests in securing their borders. That Fergus himself 'came from nowhere' does not seem credible. At the time of his second marriage he was clearly of sufficient power and status to be of significance to Henry I. It seems that Fergus rather than being an upstart is likely to have been at the very least a talented warlord and likely lord of the lands and communities lying between the Cree and the Dee who exploited political instabilities in south west Scotland to his advantage. Some part of Galloway between the rivers Cree and Dee was, it seems, at the core of Fergus's and possibly of Fergus's father's personal holdings. This would have been the *dùthchas* of Fergus.

His first marriage, possibly to an heiress of the Rhinns, may have been an upwardly mobile and territorially driven one while his second marriage to a bastard daughter of the English king was highly significant in raising his status and influence to a new level. His eldest son *Gillebrigte's* inheritance of the western parts of Galloway may indicate an inheritance from his mother, Fergus's first wife. The naming patterns of Fergus's children are of interest as his eldest son and his daughter have distinctly Gaelic names in contrast to that of his son Uchtred by his second and English wife. Indeed the descendants of *Gillebrigte*, his son by his first wife, continued to use Gaelic names. If Fergus's family's nomenclature reflects the well known traditional Scottish pattern, then Fergus's father may have been

named *Gille Brigte* while his first wife's mother may possibly have been named *Affraic* and his first wife's father could perhaps have been named *Lachlann*.[7] However considering *Gillebrigte's* childrens' first names it might instead be suggested that Fergus's father was *Mael Coluim* (rather than *Gillebrigte*) while Fergus's grandfather may have been named *Gille Chonaill*. It seems probable that his second son was named *Donnchadh* due to *Gillebrigte's* wife's father having been *Donnchadh*, Mormaer of Fife. These are clearly all Gaelic names and there is a distinct impression from these names that Fergus's family were *Gàidheil* or possibly *Gall-Ghàidheil*. Indeed taking the Gaelic names in turn it can be stated that Fergus, which also occurs as Verguso, an attested Ogham form (McManus 1997), appears some thirty-three times in the Irish Annals between 503 and 1599. The name also was and remains a popular given name in Scotland. *Gille Brigte* has a clear Irish connection in that it relates to the cult of St Brigit of Kildare. This given name also occurs in the Irish Annals and its spread in Ireland was related to the widespread cult of St Brigit which was also popular in early and medieval Scotland. *Affraic* occurs in Ireland from at least 700 and appears in the Irish Annals between 738 and 1479. The name was also used in the Isle of Man, south west Scotland and Argyll. *Donnchadh* occurs some thirty-eight times in the Irish Annals from 967 to 1591 while instances of *Máel Coluim* in the Annals are significantly less. Both these names were very popular in Scotland with two kings of Scots named Duncan while St Columba was much venerated and four kings of Scots were named *Máel Coluim.*

The giving of the essentially Irish name *Dearbhfhorghaill* to both a daughter of *Lachlann* of Galloway and most famously to the daughter of Alan of Galloway, who became the wife of John de Balliol, is striking. *Dearbhfhorghaill* occurs some twenty nine times in the Irish Annals from 684 until 1476. Lastly, *Lachlann* as a given name first appears in the Irish Annals in 983 and thereafter occurs some ten times.[8] This late introduction is not surprising since this personal name derives from the same root as the Gaelic name for Norway. Taking these Gaelic given names and setting to one side the English and international or Biblical names used by Fergus's descendants particularly those from his second marriage it seems very much that Fergus of Galloway stemmed from a family that was culturally Gaelic, or if with some Hiberno-Scandinavian input, then a very much Gaelicised family.

The naming patterns of Fergus's descendants and in particular of Gillebride's line may be usefully compared with (a) the descendants of Godred Crovan and (b) with those of Somerled. In case (a) overwhelmingly the names are Scandinavian, while in case (b) the names are of both Scandinavian and Gaelic origin with Gaelic names becoming dominant

---

7 The naming pattern used by Scottish families was generally as follows:-
Eldest son named after paternal grandfather
Eldest daughter named after maternal grandmother
Second son named after maternal grandfather
Second daughter named after paternal grandmother
Third son named after his father
Third daughter named after her mother
See also www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/content for further detail on traditional naming patterns.

8 The data about the names was extracted from 'Index of Names in Irish Annals' by *Mari Elspeth nic Bryan* within www.medievalscotland.org.

in succeeding generations. In that the name *Somhairle* was not given to either of Fergus's sons and was not used by his descendants there seems little reason to give much credibility to the theory that has arisen from the 'Roman de Fergus' that Soumillot = *Somhairle* was the name of Fergus's father (Legge 1964). The Arthurian style story is however of literary interest and possibly may reflect something of Fergus and his milieu within it. The geography of south west Scotland referred to in the 'Roman de Fergus' is plausible as is the location and form of *Soumillot's* castle (Schlauch 1929).

The fact that Fergus has no known patronymic or surname may be an indication of Fergus's father having non-noble origins. This raises the possibility that his father may have been the leader of a *Gall-Gàidheil* war band. There is also the possibility that Fergus's male ancestors were of Hiberno-Scandinavian 'Lawman' stock. The Lagmann was an important person being the lawspeaker chosen by and from the Scandinavian farmers of what appear to have been 'farmers' republics'. The appointment was not initially a hereditary one. The Lagmann was selected on merit from among his free farmer peers. *Lagmann* came to be used as a given name among Hiberno-Scandinavians and in Cowal gave rise to the surname Lamont. The 'farmers' republic' has been proposed as an early form of society that existed among Scandinavian settlers but one which was generally rendered obsolete as hereditary militarised leaderships arising from dominant kin groups replaced this earlier form of society (Woolf 2007 b). This proposed pattern of events might well have provided the basis for the rise of Fergus's family which reached its apex in the person of Fergus who was, until his final defeat by the Scottish king, a most successful regional petty king or lord.

The family of Strathnith (Figure 3)

The origins of the Strathnith family are also opaque. However it seems likely that Dunegal of Strathnith was of Celtic descent. The majority of his immediate descendants have Gaelic given names. Radulf is however a Germanic name or in the form Ráðúlfr a name of Scandinavian origin. Eadgar is an English or Anglo-Saxon name.

(i) Dunegal
(ii) Radulf, Dovenald and Gillepatrick (in Glencairn), also Gillespie, the four sons of Dunegal
(iii) Ewan (the eldest son, who died first) and Eadgar (lord of Nithsdale), the sons of Dovenald
(iv) Sir Fergus of Glencairn, Affrica (who inherited Glencairn and probably married Richard Comyn), *Gillechonaill* and Dovenald, the sons and daughter of Eadgar

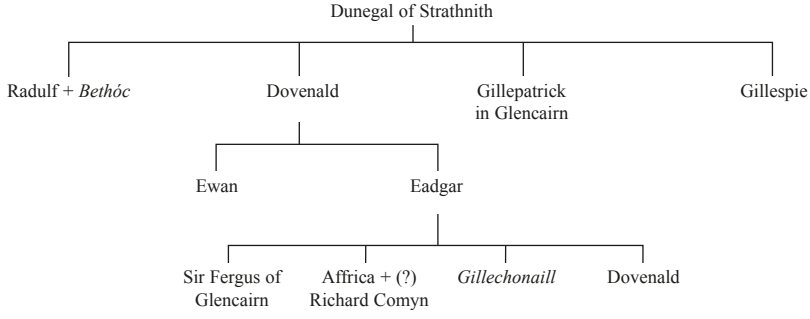

Figure 3. The family of Strathnith.

The Fourteenth Century Captains of Greater Galloway Cenéla

The acceptance by the Scottish Crown of the local power structure in greater Galloway is seen in the formal recognition by David II of the captains of kindreds. The 'captain of the kindred' may be compared with a *tòiseach* or a *ceann-cinnéil* in other parts of the Scottish *Gaeltachd*, with a *pencenedl* in Wales and with a *ceann fine* or 'captain of a nation' as recognised by the English in Ireland. That a *ceann-cinnéil* (Scots kenkynnol) in greater Galloway may be seen as being similar to a *pencenedl* in Wales was pointed out by Prof. Barrow and may be illustrated by the action, in 1296, of Edward I of England accepting the fealty of the 'greinours' or leading men of the Clenafren in the same way as he was accustomed to accept the fealty of the *pencenedl* of a Welsh kindred.[9]

In Ireland, in 1350, the English Crown recognised the captain of the 'Harolds', also the elected captain of the 'Archbolds', both these kindreds being incomers who had settled in Ireland plus the recently elected captain of the 'O'Bryns', the *Uí Bhroin*, who were clearly *Gàidheil*. The English appear to have decided that, in areas close to Dublin, legalising the clan system and ratifying the election of 'captains of nations' among both the established settlers and the Irish was an effective means of ensuring good government in a region where the implementation of feudal tenure was perhaps at best patchy.[10] David II had, at almost the same time, acted in a similar manner with respect to Galloway.

It should be noted that in 1350 the elected captain of the *Uí Bhroin* was not the eldest son of the chief but was either a younger son or a leader chosen from and by a group of the *derbhfine* of the clan. This choice or election of an effective leader from and by the close kin of a leading family may also have occurred in Galloway.

The following *cenéla* are identified in Crown Documents issued by David II (See R.M.S. Vol.1, App. 2, Nos. 912-914 & 982):

---

9 Barrow, G.W.S., *Kingship and Unity*, pub., Toronto, 1981, 12.

10 Curtis, E., 'The Clan System among English Settlers in Ireland', *The English Historical Review*, Vol., 25, No.97 (Jan. 1910), 116-120.

(a1) Charter to Gilbert Mcgillolane 'quod sit capitaneus de tota parentela sua' (and he is captain of his numerous relations)
(a2) Charter given; 'Anent the clan of Clenconnan and who should be captain thereof'
(b1) Charter to Michael Mcgorth 'quod sit capitanus de parentela de Kenclanen' (and he is captain of his relations the Kenclanen)
(b2) Charter; 'Anent the clan of Kenelman'
(c1) Charter to John Mckenedy 'quod sit capitanus Mintircasduf' (and he is captain of the Mintircasduf)
(c2) Charter; 'anent the clan of Muntercasduff, John McKennedy captain thereof'
(d) Donald Edgar granted captaincy of the Clan McGowan by David II in 1343

A Survey of Some Significant Galloway Gaelic Surnames and Kindred Names[11]

Acarson, Ua Crosáin?

A Maurice Acarsan, first recorded in Galloway in 1251, was, when designated as Maurice Okarefair, appointed by Alexander III as one of his bailiffs in the Isle of Man. Probably circa 1289 a Sir Robert Acarsan, a parson, was a witness to a quit claim of Michael son of Durand to the Abbey of Holm Cultram in Cumberland. Two de Carson men, Laughlan and Duvenald, died in 1298 after being incarcerated for 300 days in Carlisle Castle by John de Warenne. In 1305, John Acarsan was one of sixteen squires of Galloway and Dumfriesshire who led a party of men in retaking the castle of Dumfries. From the thirteenth century onwards a significant line of Acarsons/Carsons were closely associated with the town of Dumfries while another Acarson family of note were linked to the Parish of Borgue.

Acoueltan, Ua Comhaltáin

The first known record of this surname occurs when Gillenem Accoueltan, *Gille-Neamh Ua Comhaltáin* and his brother Gilledoueng' (*Gille Dhuibhne*?), witnessed a grant of lands between 1193 and 1196 (Melros Liber). Probably the same individual, but given as Gillenef Okeueltal, witnessed another charter between 1202 and 1206. The placename Ballemontyrcoueltan, *Baile Muintir Comhaltáin*, occurs in a land grant issued by David II in 1346 when a tenement of land with this name is mentioned in a grant to Michael Cithariste (Harper). The same land of Ballymontyre Coultan is referred to again in another grant by David II to Murdac mac Somerled circa 1359. It seems likely, judging from the various recorded transactions involving Ballymontyrcoueltan, that this property was held by the Mac Citharistes as hereditary harpers to the Carrick family. The exact location of Ballymontyrcoueltan is not known but its most probable location is beside the river Girvan near Straiton. The hereditary Citharistes of Carrick seem a likely origin for the surname MacWhirter (*Mac a'Chruiter*) in Ayrshire. A notable *Comhaltan* was a tenth century member of the *Uí Fhiachrach Aidhne* dynasty and ancestor of the *Uí Chomhaltáin* in Ireland.

11 A large list of Galloway names may be found in Dudgeon, P., *'Macs' in Galloway*, pub., Edinburgh, 1888. See also Black, G.F., *The Surnames of Scotland*, pub., New York, 1962 for further detail on Galloway names and related source materials.

Amuligane, Ua Maolagáin

A Gilmalagon mac Kelli witnessed a charter to Theobald the Fleming between 1147 and 1160 (Innes ed. 1846). Among other witnesses to this charter there appears a Gilbride mac Giderede (*Gille Bhride mac Gofraith*/Godred or *mac Gilla Doraid*?). Gilbride's father's name is somewhat obscure (See PoMS data base). In Ireland various separate instances of the kindred name *Uí Mhaolagáin* existed. One particular group located in *Tír Conaill* might be of relevance as possibly being related to the greater Galloway Amuliganes. Circa 1212 a Malgon was a witness to a charter by Edgard son of Duvenald of Strathnith (Kelso Liber).

In Ireland, *Maol* as a prefix to a given name was being superseded by *Giolla / Gille* from the tenth century onwards and in Scotland by the twelfth century names coined using *Gille* were popular among Gaelic speakers. *Gille Phádraig* as a given name was also adopted in the north of England (Edmonds 2009). In 1296, a Macrath ap Molegan rendered homage to Edward I at Berwick along with twenty three other persons among whom were the greater Galloway notables Dovenald fitz Can and Gillemichael MacEthe.

MacRath became a surname in Dumfriesshire from at least 1376 onwards and was geographically linked to the Barony of Tibbers where a MacRei was sergeant to Edward de Crawford and to the land of Laught. Until 1418 a John McRath of Laught held this particular property and was a kinsman of Grierson of Aird.

Askeloc, Ua Scolaige?

The word *scolóc* in Irish donates a scholar, pupil or student of a monastery also a disciple, follower or servant of a saint. In Scotland, *scológ* denoted a member of the lowest order in a monastic community, a clerk who was also a singer, a tenant or a husbandman on church lands. In Ireland, *Scolaige* became a personal name as early as 890AD and was used by kings and ecclesiastics.[12] A clachan named Scologstown existed in County Down in 1834.

MacGachen or Mecachin, a name which is linked to the Askelocs, first appeared in the greater Galloway records between 1193 and 1196 when a Gillecrist Mecachin (see also MacGachen, *Mac Eachainn* below) was a witness to a charter by Duncan, Earl of Carrick. In 1282, Dervorgilla granted Borland of Borgue to Roland Askeloc who is also called Roland MacGachen. Roland Askeloc, possibly a son of Gilbert Askeloc, was one of Alan of Galloway's executors in 1285. In 1296 Roland Macgachen rendered homage to Edward I. The Askelocs as a leading family disappear after 1377.

Cannan, Ua Canannáin (See also Clenconnon, Clann Chanann? below)

In Ireland the *Ua Canannáin* of Tirconnell flourished from 950 AD onwards. This family adopted one of the earliest attested surnames in Ireland as recorded in the Chronicum Scotorum at 943. The pedigree of *Ruaidrí Ua Canannáin* is preserved in a manuscript written

12 The data about the name was derived from 'Index of Names in Irish Annals' by *Mari Elspeth nic Bryan* within www.medievalscotland.org.

circa 1344. The eponym and *Ruaidri's* great grandfather was one *Canannán* and his male descendants provided kings of the northern *Uí Néill* of *Tír Conaill* from 943 to 1250. The surname existed in Ireland as Ó Canann/Ó Cannan/Cannan and in Galloway as Cannan (1477) and Acannan (1542).

Cenelman, Cenél Maine?

The Cenelman were recorded in a land grant by David II. Circa 1344 a Michael MacGorth was appointed by the crown as 'Captain' of his relatives the 'Kenclanen', also given as the 'Cenelman'. Cenelman may represent '*Cenél Maine'*. In Ireland *Cenél Maine* was a region or lordship associated with a branch of the *Ui Mhaine*.

Clan MacGowan, *Clann Mhic a'Ghobhainn*

The Clan MacGowan is recorded in a land grant given by David II. It is interesting to note, given that the root of the clan name is *Gobha* (a smith), that there are a good number of bloomery sites located in Nithsdale (Atkinson 2003). Donald Edgar, a descendant of Dunegal of Strathnith, was granted the Captaincy of the Clan MacGowan in 1343 during the reign of David II (R.M.S., App.2, 982).

Clenafren, Clann h-Amhráin? (See Figure 4)

(i) Documentary evidence

The Clenafren is the only Gallowegian cenél for whose leaders we have a full set of names. Historically these names appear in a document, written in French for Edward I of England and seemingly utilised by an English embassy to Philip IV of France. It is certainly the case that the Clenafren had supported Balliol and for that reason would have been of interest to Edward. However it is not fully understood why such detail about them was required and why the names may have been used in a diplomatic context.[13] MacGhie in Galloway is cognate with *Mac Aedh* and the Gillemichael MacEthe who rendered homage to Edward in 1296 is likely to have been the senior representative of the Clenafren. The names of the greinours, the leading men of the kindred, following Bain's transcript (Bain ed. 1881-84) and indicating apparent transcription errors, were as follows:

Gillenef McGilleherf (*Gille Némh (?) Mac Gille Sheirbh*) - Servant of St Nem Son of the servant of St Serf.

Neel McEthe and Gilchryst McEthe; the original document has Neel McEhe which would be pronounced similarly to McEthe. (*Niall* and *Gille Criost Mac Aedh*).

Dungal McGilleureas, (*Dungal Mac Gille Labhrais*) - Servant of St Lawrence. However there has been a transcription error as the original document has Mc gilleneras (*Mac Gille Ainndreas?*) hence this surname may represent Servant of St Andrew.

13 National Archives E 39/17/8.

Duncan McGillauenan (*Donnchadh Mac Gille Adhamhnáin*) – Servant of St Adamnan.

Adam McGilleconil (*Adhamh Mac Gille Chonaill*) – Servant of St Conall.

Gillespie and Cuthbert McEuri; on inspection of the original document it is again clear that there has been a transcription error and this name is in fact McEnri (*Gillesbuig* and *Cuibeart Mac Eanruig*).

Kalman and Michael McKelli brothers (*Colmán* and *Michel Mac Ceallaigh*).

Hoen McEthe and Cuthbert McEthe his brother; another transcription error has occurred as the original document has Hoen McEl (suspension mark?) he, Cuthbert his brother. McElhe (*Mac Fhailbhe?*) might represent son of *Fáilbe* (*Eóghan Mac Fháilbhe* and *Cuibeart Mac Fháilbhe*). The 8th Abbot of Iona was *Fáilbe mac Pípáin* (669-679 approx). Alternatively the scribe may have been attempting to indicate *Mac Shealbhaigh*.

Achmacath McGilmotha (*Echmarcach* (?) *Mac Gille Mo Cha* (?)) — Servant of Mo Cha (St Kentigern).

Michael McGilmocha, again a transcription error. The name is McGilmotha as before (*Michel Mac Gille Mo Cha?*) – Servant of Mo Cha (St Kentigern).

(ii) Comments

Gillenef, possibly *Gille Némh*, servant of Ném. The Martyrology of Tallaght gives a Bishop St Ném of Droma Bertach with his saint's day as 18 February and also St Nem mac Ua Birn, Abbot of Aran, with a saint's day of 14 June. Alternatively Gillenef may represent *Gille nan Naoimh*, The Servant of the Saints, or *An Gille Naomh*, the Holy Servant.

Kalman is interestingly the Norse form of the Gaelic *Colmán*.

Achmacath = *Echmarcach* (?) The scribe who produced the Norman French document circa 1296 seems capable of using 'th' for 'ch' as in the name *Gille Mo Cha*. The question of the missing 'r' is somewhat problematic while substituting '*Ach*' for '*Ech*' is readily understood. There was in the context of Galloway the famous *Echmarcach mac Raghnaill*, king of the Rhinns, but the name is rare and few other instances of *Echmarcach* occur in extant Irish records. The possibility that *Achmacath* might represent *Echmarcach* was first suggested to the author by Dr Fiona Edmonds (Cambridge University).

Mo Cha was a Gaelic nickname for St Kentigern (Ó Baoill 1993) and appears in the Dumfriesshire placename Kirkmahoe. Clearly Kentigern is a well known saint with strong links to both Glasgow and the south west of Scotland.

St Serf is also a well known saint whose cult was closely associated with the Céli Dé of St Serf based on St Serf's Island, Loch Leven.

St Lawrence is well known and was venerated on an international basis as indeed was St Andrew.

St Adamnan is again a well known saint, *Adamnán mac Rónáin* the 9th Abbot of Iona (679-704).

St Conall is somewhat problematic in the context of both Galloway and Scotland. There is some conflation and confusion between the names *Conall* and *Comgall*. There are seven Irish saints named *Conall* listed in the Martyrology of Donegal and in other Irish martyrologies. The Martyrology of Donegal also lists a total of seven saints named *Comgall* including the famous St Comgall, Abbot of Bangor. Further confusion arises because the apparently different names Conall, Congual and Conual are in fact versions of the same original name Cunoualos and that while Conval might also derive from this name it might also have as its root in a completely different name Cuno-maglos.

Currently Dr Rachel Butter (Dept Of Celtic, University of Glasgow) is investigating the cults, feast days, fairs, buildings, artefacts and place-names relating to the various Sts *Conall* of both Scotland and Ireland.[14] Dr. Butter has articulated a case for the existence of a single individual underlying many of the commemorations in Scotland, called variously Congual/Conual or *Conall* depending on the language of the devotees.The cults of *Conall mac Aeda* in Co. Down and *Conall* of Inishkeel in Co. Donegal may have their origins in the same individual.

(iii) The possibilities of Norman French 'Clenafren' standing for *Cenél nGabráin, Clann Ghabhráin, Clann h- Afren, Clann na h-Aifrinne, Clann h-Amhráin, Clann Shamhráin or the Clann h-Uathmharáin* have been discussed in detail in West Highland Notes & Queries (McWhannell 2011)

It may be that the Clenafren, as the MacGhies of Galloway, share a common origin with the MacKays of Kintyre and the Rhinns of Islay and with some of the Ulster McGhees. These possibilities have been explored in some detail by Gayre of Gayre and Nigg (Gayre and Nigg nd.). The (Gille) Michael MacEthe who also appears in the records circa 1296 may well have been not only the leader of the Clenafren but also the proprietor of the lands surrounding Balmaghie. There was, it appears, a traditionally held belief in Galloway that the McGhies of Balmaghie originated from Ireland. It has been shown that in the Scottish Gaeltachd it requires at least two significant, consecutive, powerful individuals to have existed within a given family for a Clann name to be established. The leaders of the Clenafren, and in particular the McEthes, were it may be assumed militarily powerful, with many relatives and supporters, when they came to the attention of Edward I. It may therefore be suggested that their eponym will have existed many years earlier and is almost certain to have been someone of power and significance.

Of the candidate eponyms of the Clenafren it may be suggested that a *Gabrán* and *an Amhrán* have the strongest linguistic cases and both might be considered on geographical and migratory grounds to be equally plausible. The Hiberno-Scandinavian *Uathmharán*

14 Dr Rachel Butter's preliminary findings were presented in her March 2012 Govan Lecture 'The Cult of St Conval in Inchinnan and the south west of Scotland' (to be published by The Friends of Govan Old). Dr Fiona Edmonds also has a research interest in the Scottish Sts Conall.

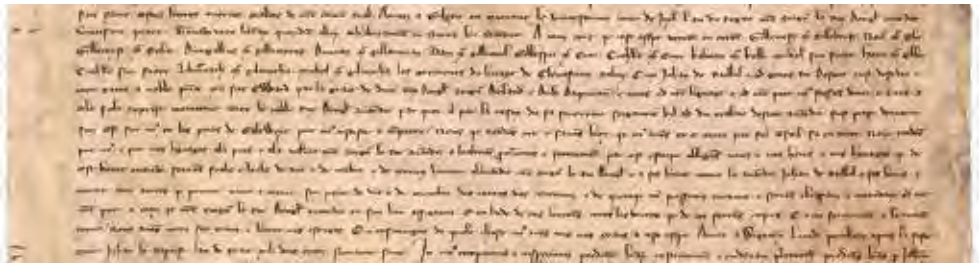

Figure 4. The names of the leading men of the Clenafren.
(View of part of the original document E 39/17/8, with kind permission of the National Archives.)

Figure 5. *Bearnain Conaill*, St.Conall of Inishkeel's Bell, seventh to ninth century iron bell with late tenth to eleventh century brass mount.
(With kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, Image No.1889,0902.22-22.a.)

has a weaker linguistic case contrasted with a strong political case due to the known historical interests of Dublin based Scandinavians in Galloway. It is plausible to suggest that, irrespective of whether the Clenafren are to be seen as *Gàidheil* or *Gall-Ghàidheil* their eponym may have arrived in Galloway from Kintyre, Ulster or Leinster. Are the Clenafren indeed *Ua h-Amhráin* and a branch of the *Dál Fiatach* of Ulster?

A particular *Ua h-Amhráin* was an Ulster cavalryman killed in a battle at the *Cráeb Telcha* on *Craobh Tulcha* (Crew Hill, Glenavy Parish, Antrim) in 1099 (A.F.M. M1099.7 & A.U. 1099.8). His existence, status and date of death indicate that a possible candidate name existed at an appropriate time in an area of Ireland adjacent to Galloway. Later in both the Annals of Ulster and those of the Four Masters the death of *Aisidh Ua h-Amhradháin tigherna Dhál f-Fiatach* (lord of the Dál Fiatach) is recorded in 1100. The geographical proximity of eastern Ulster and Galloway might allow for the Clenafren, as the *Clann h-Amhráin*, the possibility of being a branch of the *Dál Fiatach* who had settled in Galloway. *Amhrán* and his descendants, the *Ua h-Amhráin* of eastern Ulster, gave rise to various Anglicised Ulster surnames such as Havern and Haffran and also to the township name of Straidhavern near Belfast Airport (See also McKerrell, *Mac Chairill* below).

Clenconnon, Clann Chanann? (See also Cannan, Ua Canannáin, above)

The Clenconnan were represented by the MacLellans. In the period 1272 to 1352 the Clenconnon were active supporters of the Balliols. Sir Donald MacCan son of Cane MacGillolane (*Mac Gille Fhaolain*, son of the servant of (St) Fillan) appears in a Balliol context in 1285 and remains militarily active until 1308. Sir Matthew MacLellan and his son John continued supporting the Balliols into the 1350s. The existence of a lineage based MacLellan related group only becomes recognised in the fourteenth century when David II awarded David McGillolane the captaincy of the kindred of Clenconnon.

It is of interest that the Gaelic notes in the Book of Deer show that a *Clann Chanann* existed in Buchan (Jackson 1972). Is it conceivable that the Galloway Clenconnon/*Clann Chanann* might be descended from *Cano* (d.687) the son of *Gartnait*? The *Cenél nGartnait* had a turbulent existence. They had been refugees in Ireland then returned to Skye and appear to have had ambitions in Kintyre. Did this sea-borne mobility lead some of the kindred to settle in Galloway?

Kennedy, Ceannaideach, or earlier Cinnéidigh, ugly heads

The southern Scottish Kennedys are almost certainly of Galloway origin. The earliest recorded Galwegian Kennedy was a chieftain *Eanric mac Cennetig* (d.1185) who died in battle while supporting *Gillebrigte mac Fergusa*. However it should be noted that his death is first reported in Fordun's fourteenth century *Scottichronicon* but not in the *Chronicle of Melrose* (Skene ed. 1872; Anderson intro. 1936).

The Kennedys entered Carrick in the retinue of *Donnchadh mac Gillebrigte mhic Fergusa*, 1st Earl of Carrick. The Kennedys held the office of steward of Carrick under Earl Duncan. The head of the family from circa1350 until his death circa1385 was John Kennedy of Dunure. John of Dunure's main property lay a few miles south of Ayr. He acquired

the lands of Cassilis by marriage or by purchase from Marjorie Montgomery. By 1372 John Kennedy had acquired the armorial bearings, the Carrick lands in the Lennox, the offices of bailie of Carrick, the keepership of Loch Doon Castle and the headship of the kindred (*ceann-cinnéil*) of Carrick. It is possible but not certain that these acquisitions came through his marriage to Mary who may have been a female descendant and heiress of the Carrick family. A marriage to a Carrick heiress may be reflected in the name of Gilbert given to his son and heir. Altenatively John Kennedy's acquisition of the Carrick offices may reflect his political dominance in Carrick. An example of such dominance may be apparent in his becoming 'captain' of the Muntercasduf. (See also *Muntercasduff, the Muintir Cas Dhubh, Muintir Cas Dub or Muintir Gwas Dub* below).

MacCulloch, MacChullaich?

Sir Thomas MacCulloch and his brother Michael together with a William MacCulloch, all of the County of Wigtown, submitted to Edward I at Berwick in 1296. The MacCullochs submitted to Bruce, as did the MacLellans but their loyalty to Edward Balliol after 1332 led to forfeiture, exile and poverty.

MacDowall, Mac Dhubhghaill or Mac Thuathail?

The name MacDowall is said to be derived from *Mac Dhubhghaill*. The personal name *Dubhgall* first appears in the Annals of Ulster in 914 when a *Dubhgall mac Aedha* is noted (A.U.914). This *Dubhgall* who became king of Ulidia was then murdered in 925 (A.U. 925) *Dubhgall* as a personal name in Ulster had currency among the Ulster elite by the early tenth century.

The MacDowalls of Galloway were, after 1296 and until the establishment of Douglas power in the mid fourteenth century, the leaders of the native Gallowegians. They were, it seems, the greatest of the native kindreds and popular tradition accords them a blood link to the dynasty of Fergus of Galloway. This may be correct as there were junior male segments of the Galloways whose descent cannot be traced.

The often quoted eponym of the MacDowalls is one *Dubhgall* who is thought to have been the second of the three known sons of *Uchtred mac Fergusa* of Galloway and whose male line is claimed to lead to the family of the MacDowalls of Garthland. This *Dubhgall* is then identified as the historical but un-named son of *Uchtred* killed in 1185 in a battle against the renegade *Gillecolm*.[15] This suggested descent cannot be substantiated from extant historical records. However, the frequent of use of the given names Fergus and *Uchtred* by the MacDowall family may lend support to the likelihood of this descent. The armorial achievement of MacDowall of Garthland incorporates a shield, 'blazoned azure, lion rampant argent crowned or', as used by the descendants of Fergus of Galloway.

Another potential eponym of the MacDowalls might be an individual 'MacTheuel' who was a witness to a charter by *Uchtred mac Fergusa* sometime between 1161 and 1164 (See PoMS database). 'MacTheuel' may represent *Mac Thuathail* or possibly *Mac Dhubhghaill*.

15 See Chron. Melrose, 45.

If *Mac Dhubhghaill* were the correct interpretation then there might be the possiblity that the Galloway MacDowalls as the *Clann Mhic Dhubhghaill* were the descendants of this particular 'MacTheuel'.[16] Alternatively they could perhaps be the *Clann Mhic Thuathail* and hence the descendants of a significant supporter and possible close relative of the family of Fergus rather than descendants of an unidentifiable *Dubhgall*.

MacGachen, Mac Eachainn

The name MacGachen occurs in greater Galloway. The suggested Gaelic form *Mac Eachainn* is first found in relation to Gillecrist Mecachin, a witness to a charter in Carrick sometime between 1189 and 1196 (see PoMS database). Later, a Roland MacGaghen of Wigtown rendered homage to Edward I in 1296. The name then continues in Galloway with a Morice McGaychin recorded in 1377 and a Fergus MacGachyn in 1460.

Another name which may over time have been conflated with *MacEachainn* is *Mac Aodhagáin* recorded in greater Galloway between 1202 and 1206 in relation to a Gillescop Macihacain a Galloway/Carrick notable. This name also appears quite separately in relation to Badenoch in the person of Gillescop Mahohegan, a rebel executed in 1228. The Irish *Mac Aodhagáin* family were renowned for their legal scholarship. Many individuals named *Mac Aodhagáin* were famous brehons (judges) in Ireland (See also *Askeloc, Ua Scolaige* above).

McKerrell, Mac Chairill

Báetán mac Cairill was king of the *Dál Fiatach* of Ulster from circa 572 until his death in 581 (A.U. 581.2). He was a son of *Cairell mac Muiredaig Muinderg* the eponym of the *Ua Cairill* family. *Báetán* sought to impose his authority over *Dál Riata* and the Isle of Man. In the Laud Genealogies *Baetan* is described as 'king of Eire and Alban. Aedan mac Gabrain submitted to him at Rosnaree in Semniu (Island Magee). He cleared Manu (of foreigners). The second year after his death the Goidil left Manu.' (Dobbs 1945)

A 'Recherus mecmaccharil' (*Recher meic mac Chairill* i.e. Recher the grandson of Carill) appears as a witness (fl. 1189-1196) in Melros Liber, Charter No.32. (See also the PoMS database). The surname McKerrell occurred in Islay, Kintyre, Ayrshire, Carrick and Galloway. A significant McKerrell family was associated with Ayr during the late sixteenth century. The present day and armigerous Charles J.M. McKerrell of Hillhouse claims descent from Sir John Makirel who very successfully fought at Otterburn in 1388, capturing Raoul de Percy. (See *Burke's Peerage*.)

The greater Galloway McKerrells may be an offshoot from the Ua Cairill chiefs of the *Dál Fiatach* of Ulster. 'A great victory was gained by the *Dál-Araidhe* over the Ulidians, wherein was slain *Lochlainn Ua Cairill*, royal heir of Ulidia and *Gilla Chomghaill Ua Cairill* and a great host along with them' (A.F.M. 1095.8). There is the possibility that

16 The possible interpretations of 'MacTheuel' as a Gaelic name have been reviewed in private correspondance with R. Black. The interpretation MacTheuel=*MacThuathail* is presently the preferred form.

some survivors of this defeat may have fled to Scotland. Some of these fugitives are likely to have been by descent *Ua Cairill.* If proven, this postulated link of the greater Galloway McKerrells to the *Dál Fiatach* might give further support to the proposition that another *Dál Fiatach* chieftain, one *Amhrán*, was the eponym of the Clenafren of Galloway (see *Clenafren, Clann h-Amhráin?* above).

Muntercasduff, the Muintir Cas Dhubh, Muintir Cas Dub or Muintir Gwas Dub?

(i) *Cas dhubh*, (feminine noun + adjective, Scottish Gaelic, black foot, leg or shaft)

This *Muintir* are often stated to be the black-footed or black-legged people. More whimsically, quoting a meaning of '*cas-dubh*' given by Dwelly, they might even have been the people of the 'black-legged wild goose'. It is however more interesting to note that the Irish word '*suaitrech*' or '*suartlech*', used to describe a mercenary (see www.dil.ie), is derived from Norse '*svartleggja*' which translates as black-legged or black-shafted and was an Old Norse poetic name for a battle-axe.[17] Might this usage have arrived in Galloway in a different transformation as '*Cas dhubh*'? This possibility might suggest that these persons were the 'Battle-Axe People' with the leader or progenitor of the *Muintir Cas dhubh* having been a battle-axe wielding mercenary from outside Galloway.

(ii) *Cas dub* (masculine noun + adjective, black curly locks)

Perhaps Irish *cas dub* (*cas* as masculine noun + adjective) 'black curly locks' might seem a plausible suggestion as hair colour is often a feature in Gaelic descriptive personal names. An objection to this idea however is that although the use of say *Iain Dubh* to describe an individual is commonplace it is less reasonable to expect a whole kindred to have black curly hair. However this may be countered by positing the existence of a famous individual known by the nickname '*Cas Dub'*, the 'black curly-haired one', as either the eponym of the kindred or that the *Muintir* were the followers or household of such a person, possibly an ecclesiastic. In Ireland such nicknames were in frequent use. Typically in the Irish Bardic Poem 'The Harrowing of Hell', in The Book of Fermoy, Christ was given the nickname '*Cass Donn*' (the brown curly-haired One). Unfortunately no suitable personage nicknamed '*Cas Dub*' has so far been found. There were however three *Dub dá Leithe* Abbots of Armagh the first being *Dub dá Leithe mac Sinaig* (d.793); the second being *Dub dá Leithe mac Cellaig* (d.998) Abbot of Armagh and Coarb of *Colum Cille* in 989 while the third was *Dub dá Leithe Mael Muire* (d. 1064). These men were all members of the *Clann Sinaig*, the descendants of *Sinach*, the eponym of a branch of the Royal lineage of Áirthir the kingdom in which Armagh (*Ard Mhacha*) was situated and through which the *Clann Sinaig* established a hereditary claim to the Abbacy.[18]

---

17 Remarkably, *Svartleggja* as a name for a specific type of axe is found only three times in Icelandic sources, once in Bandamanna saga, once in Sturlunga saga and once in a twelfth century verse by þórðr Rúfeyjarskáld. The usage 'swarthy-limbed' implies that the axe may have had a heat or smoke-blackened handle. While praising the axe for its beauty þórðr Rúfeyjarskáld only values it at two marks. The term is so rare and so striking, in Norse, that it is somewhat surprising that it became a generic term for a mercenary in Ireland. (Information established through private correspondence with Dr Paul Bibire.)

18 Charles-Edwards, T.M., *Early Christian Ireland*, pub. Cambridge, 2000, 278.

(iii) A Kennedy connection?

The earliest Carrick based Kennedy found in extant records appears to be Gilbert Mac Kenedi, *Gillebride Mac Ceann Éitigh*, Gilbert son of 'Ugly Head' or son of 'Fierce Head', a charter witness in Carrick during the reign of William the Lion, 1165-1214 (Melrose I, 29). Later, a John Kennedy of Dunure was appointed 'Captain' of the Muntercasduff by the Scottish Crown, circa 1346 (R.M.S., I, App.2, 914). The Latin text states 'Carta Joannis Mckenedy quod sit capitanus Mintircasduf'. This may be contrasted with the phrases used in similar charters issued to other greater Galloway notables such as 'Carta Gilberti Mcgillolane quod sit capitaneus de tota parantela sua' (R.M.S., I, App.2, 912) and 'Carta Michaelis Mcgorth quod sit capitanus de parentela de Kenelman' (R.M.S., I, App.2, 913). The particular form of words used in the case of John McKenedy, where 'parantela' i.e. 'relatives' is omitted, may indicate that his captaincy did not imply that all, or even any, of the 'Mintircasduf' were Kennedys by blood. The Crown in this instance may have appointed John McKenedy solely as the military captain of the Mintircasduf. Indeed in 1372 Robert III separately bestowed on John Kennedy the title of 'Kenkynnol' of his kindred, the Clan Kennedy.

As an example for comparison there is the case of the confederacy of Highland clans known as the Clan Chattan. Tradition has it that in 1291 Angus MacIntosh, the MacIntosh chief, married Eva the daughter and heiress of *Doual Dal Gillichattan*, chief of the Clan Chattan, hence the MacIntosh male line became the military captains and hereditary chiefs of the whole of *Clan Chattan* which ultimately included MacIntoshes and MacPhersons and at least eleven and possibly up to sixteen other families among its members. This traditional account of a MacIntosh marriage is commented on by Alison Cathcart in her book, *Kinship and Clientage*, where she highlights occurrences of an 'Eva origin myth' in the traditional histories of other Scottish clans and suggests that this particular 'Eva story' may have been a fabrication by the MacIntoshes to legitimise their chiefship of Clan Chattan, a chiefship possibly obtained through force.[19]

(iv) A mercenary connection?

Might it be that the founder of the *Muintir Cas dhubh* was indeed a mercenary recruited from outside greater Galloway to aid a Gallowegian ruling family? If this idea is plausible then the place-name Ballemuntercasdow would represent 'the farm town of the household of the mercenary' while Achosduff would be the descendant of *Cas dhubh*, the 'battle-axe man'. Conversely, the names could mean 'farm town of the household of the black-haired one' and 'descendant of the black-haired one'. Whatever the true origin of the Muntercasduff, a Gilbert Macmekin Achostduf and his brother Ean were witnesses to a charter of confirmation by Earl Duncan of Carrick in relation to a gift of land to Melrose Abbey circa 1194.

19 Cathcart A., *Kinship and Clientage*, pub. Brill, Leiden, 2006, 14-18.

(v) A mixed Brittonic/Gaelic name?

In 1217 a Gillefelan (*Gille Fhaoláin*) Mac Guostuf (*Mac* Gwas *dubh*?) was a witness to Maldoven Earl of Lennox's charter to a Malcolm son of Duncan. In 1243 Nigellus Mackegilduf (medieval Gaelic *Niall mac Gilla Duib*) witnessed a quitclaim to the lands of Dunduff in Maybole Parish to Melrose Abbey. These instances of names meaning 'son of the black (haired) lad or servant' and 'the son of the servant or devotee of *Dub'* may give greater credence to Muntercasdow representing either 'the household of Gwas *dubh*' or 'the household of Gwas *Dub*', both mixed Brittonic and Gaelic names, meaning either the household or people of the black (haired) lad or servant, or the household or people of the devotee or servant of *Dub*. In terms of possible ecclesiastical origins for a *Muintir* Gwas *Dub* in addition to the three *Dub dá Leithe* Abbots mentioned above there were a further two Abbots of Iona named *Dub, Dub Dúin mac Stepháin* (d.959) and *Dub Scoile mac Cináeda* (d.964).[20] The given name *Dub* also appears in Scottish Records as in *Dub mac Maíl Coluim*, king of Alba (d.967) and on at least two later occasions, *Dub Loinsig* (1209x1210) and *Dub Side* (1231x1245). (See PoMS database.)

The Muintir Dubhshidhe or the Muintir Dubhthaigh / Dubhthaich?

It may well be significant that while the settlement of Ballemuntercasdow was located in Ballantrae Parish, the majority of the Kennedy lands lay much further north nearer to Dunure. It is not necessarily the case that the Munterduffy , the servants or household of either a *Dubhshidhe* or a *Dubhthach* whose lands lay near Kirkmichael in mid Ayrshire, were connected in any way to the Muntercasdow whose lands were in the very south of Ayrshire. Ballemuntercasdow, as a placename, first appears in a distorted form as 'Ballomoircastell' in 1429 in a charter issued by James I and is clearly located in Ballantrae Parish (Paul and Thomson 1882-1912). The land formed part of the holdings of the Kennedy of Bargany family, a family founded by a younger son of Kennedy of Dunure. By 1475 Gilbert Kennedy of Carnlok, located in Glen App, held the 5 merkland of Ballemuntercasdew and Auchencrosh from Gilbert Kennedy of Bargany (GD109/269). Among the witnesses to this land transaction between the two Kennedy families were William and Hector MacMahyn.

The Muntercasdow or Muntercasduff of Ballantrae Parish were persons associated with the mac Kenedis and to whom, as noted above, the Crown appointed John Kennedy 'Captain' circa 1346 (R.M.S.,I,574). In October 1372 King Robert II then bestowed on John Kennedy, 2nd Dunure the title of 'kenkynnol' of the Clan Kennedy.

John Kennedy had in 1363 acquired the lands of Cassillis (GD25/1/6). A document dated 20 May 1465 and held as GD25/1/89, Papers of the Kennedy Family, in the National Archives Scotland, refers to Gilbert Kennedy, then of Coff and later of Dunure, acquiring lands in the Parish of Kirkmichael-Munterduffy. The name 'Kirkmichael-Munterduffy' which is first recorded circa 1370 (GD25/1/8) appears to be the accepted and only name for this Parish in the extant archives. Indeed James Paterson, in his first Ayrshire related book,

20 Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X., and Byrne, F.J., *A New History of Ireland*, pub. Oxford, 1980,Vol.9, Maps , Genealogies and Lists.

History of the County of Ayr; with a Genealogical Account of the Families of Ayrshire makes no reference to 'Sanct Michaelis Muntercasduff' but only to Kirkmichael-Munterduffy. Paterson in his later book, *History of the Counties of Ayr and Wigton* does however quote from a supposed charter dated 23 July 1464 where Gilbert Kennedy of Cullean gives Gilbert Kennedy of Bargany the 25s. land of Coffe and the lands of Kellolie, in the parish of 'Sancti Michaelis Muntercasduff' plus a further piece of land in Colmonell. This alleged change in name for the parish of Saint Michael seems most elusive. Indeed the R.M.S. II entry No.1010 dated 16 Nov.1470 confirming the gift of lands made on 23 July 1464 refers to St. Michaelis-Muntduff.

In the light of the officially recorded naming patterns, the geographical separation and the extant charter evidence in the N.A.S. together with the R.M.S entry, the conclusion seems to be that there were two different landholdings and two different ancient sets of persons, the Muntercasduff, *Muintir* Gwas *Dub*, holding what had become by 1491/92 a five merkland in the Parish of Ballantrae (GD109/785) and the Munterduffy, *Muintir Dubhthaigh*/*Dubhthaich*, significantly further north in Kirkmichael Parish. In Irish usage '*muintir*' is often or primarily associated with the household of an ecclesiastic and later came to be used for land valuations and the designation of certain areas of land (Figure 4).

The Annals of Ulster briefly mention a *Dub Sidhe*, lector at Iona, in 1164 (A.U.1164.2). However he seems a most unlikely candidate for the eponym of a *Muintir Dubhshidhe* in Ayrshire. Contrastingly *Dubhthach* was the name of various prestigious Irish ecclesiastics including *Dubthach Albanach* 'chief confessor of Ireland and Scotland' (d.1065) (A.U.1065.1), famed teacher of the Old Testament to the monastic community at Armagh and possibly the author of the eleventh-century version of the Prophecy of Berchán.[21] Despite the fame and sterling qualities of *Dubthach Albanach* it may be suggested that another *Dubhthach*, (d.938) (A.U.938), 'son of *Dubhán* son of *Maeluidhir* of the race of *Conall Gulban* and coarb of *Colm Cille* both in Erin and Alba' and 'successor of *Colum Cille* and *Adomnán*' is perhaps a more likely candidate for the eponym of the *Muintir Dubhthaich*.[22]

The precise relationship of the Carrick Kennedys to both the Munterduffy and the Muntercasduff are obscure. It might however be, as suggested above, that the situation paralled that which existed in the Clan Chattan where marriage to an heiress led to the headship of a confederation of disparate kindreds being held by the descendants of that marriage who were also the dominant group within the developing confederation.

---

21 See Hudson, B.T., 'The Scottish Gaze', In *History, Literature and Music in Scotland, 700-1560*, ed. McDonald, R.A., pub.Toronto, 2002, 25-36.

22 See Herbert, M., *Iona, Kells and Derry – The Hagiography of the Monastic Families of Columba*, pub. Dublin, 1996, 80.

Figure 6. Map of South Ayrshire showing kindred territories.
(With kind permission of A. Milliken.)

Gaelic Galloway

Language

The publication in 1949 of a study of Galloway Gaelic by Lorimer (Lorimer 1949) and then in 1957 of work on Arran Gaelic by Holmer was followed by that of others on Ulster Irish dialects. These studies have led to a reassessment of the traditional geographical divisions of the Q-Gaelic language family and it appears almost certain that the Gaelic of greater Galloway, together with that of County Down in Ulster, shared common features with Manx as well as reflecting aspects of southern Scottish Gaelic. It would appear that these shared features are most likely to have arisen in everyday speech as the use of Classical Gaelic fell away and was replaced by the vernacular for all usage other than high status praise poetry. Recently Prof. Ó Maolalaigh has drawn attention to the relevance of Manx for an understanding of the forms of Gaelic place-names in Galloway (Ó Maolalaigh 1998).

Culture and Law

In Galloway and Carrick there is evidence for *taísig* territories that are identified with a *taísech túaithe*, the leader of an aristocratic *cenél*. Discrete territories named in relation to

the kindred groups of *Clann*, *Muintir* and *Cenél* echo Irish practices of tenth century origin (MacCotter 2008). There is also evidence of two types of legal official, the judex and the *toiseachdeor*. Taken together with the use of '*cáin*', tribute, and '*coinmed*', billeting, there is the distinct impression of a thoroughly Gaelic society existing in twelfth century greater Galloway. The surviving information on the 'Laws of Galloway' also reveals both Celtic inheritance and practice in settling disputes (Elder Levie 1927; MacQueen 1991).

The Descendants of the Greater Galloway *Gall-Ghàidheil*

The numerically small *Gall-Ghàidheil* ruling group were in due course absorbed into the mainstream Scoto-Norman elite. It is generally accepted that Fergus's family became extinct in the male line. However through Marjorie, Countess of Carrick, paths of descent lead to the Bruce and the Stuart kings of Scotland. Through *Affraic Nighean Cailean Mac Dhonnchaidh* another path leads to the Campbell Dukes of Argyll and through a female descendent of *Lachlann* of Carrick to the Kennedy Earls of Cassilis.

As indicated above there is also the often expressed belief that a possible male line from Fergus may be linked to the family of the MacDowalls of Garthland. However this proposal is historically problematic and it does still seem to be the case that, quoting G. Black, 'the [MacDowall] claim to be descended from Fergus of Galloway can neither be proved nor disproved' (Black 1962).

The population of Galloway prior to World War I might to some extent have reflected the amusing if quirky categorisations of Dr Trotter (Trotter 1901). However the true genetic legacies of the Anglo-Saxons, Britons, Danes, Gaels, *Gall-Ghàidheils*, Hiberno-Norse, Norse and Normans to the late medieval population and the early modern population of greater Galloway have yet to be clearly established. Eighteenth century emigration to the New World and perhaps even more importantly post WWII population movements out of and to a lesser extent into greater Galloway may make these legacies difficult to ascertain with any confidence.

Conclusion

Greater Galloway's rich natural resources such as the cod and herring fisheries in the Clyde estuary together with the potential agricultural productivity of Ayrshire, Carrick and Galloway were historically attractive. The Solway fisheries and the mineral and timber resources of greater Galloway together with the good reputation of the ancient breeds of indigenous Galloway cattle and horses will also have acted as magnets to early settlers and acquisitive incoming militarised groups. The Rhinns of Galloway, dominating the narrow passage on the north/south Irish Sea trade route and the ancient sea crossing to Ulster, was strategically important. Thus control of Carrick, Galloway and the Rhinns was a prize worth having. A fact clearly recognised by both the *Gaill* and *Gall-Ghàidheil*.

The proposed expansion, migration and settlement patterns of the *Gaill*, *Gall-Ghàidheil* and associated *Gàidheil* into greater Galloway may have been due to population pressure, vacuum filling, opportunistic and dynamic leadership, political and military pressure from competing kindreds, or indeed a combination of all or many of these factors.

The dominance of Gaelic over Brittonic and Anglic in greater Galloway may be attributed to Gaelic speaking invaders, migrants and refugees from Kintyre, Arran, Bute and Cowal or Gaelic speaking invaders, migrants and refugees from Dublin and its hinterland, from Ulster and from the Isle of Man. The former two groups might in general have included *Gàidheil*, *Gaill* and *Gall-Ghàidheil*. The position of Gaelic as the dominant language of Ireland, Scotland and of Scotland's kings ensured the prestige of the incoming language and its predominance and general adoption in Galloway before or during the 'High Gaelic' eleventh century which may well have been the 'Golden Age' of Gaelic in Scotland.

From an inspection of the kindred names, the majority of the given names used by the ruling families and the names of individual leading men and women, it can be seen that from the twelfth century onwards into the fourteenth century and beyond greater Galloway society was fully Gaelicised. However, there remained indications of a Brittonic past in names incorporating 'Ap' rather than '*Mac*' and 'Gwas' rather than '*Gille*' while a Scandinavian-Irish influence is apparent in the surname McKitterick, son of *Sihtric*/Sigtryggr recorded in Ayrshire and Galloway from 1376 onwards.

It seems possible to suggest that the 'Mintircasduf' were indeed the *Muintir* Gwas *Dub* and although the particular ecclesiastic concerned is not so far identifiable it may have been that either one of the two Abbots of Iona, or one of the three Abbots of Armagh, named *Dub* provided the name of this Ayrshire *Muintir*. Similarly the 'Munterduffy' may have been the *Muintir Dubhthaich* associated with either *Dubthach Albanach* or *Dubhthach* son of *Dubhán*.

The cults of Saints Brigit, Conall, and Columba, who were all *Gàidheil*, lie behind a large proportion of the first names used by the ruling families of Galloway and Carrick. Among the secular names the significantly Irish name *Dearbhfhorghaill* given to two female descendants of Fergus is striking as indeed are the two instances of *Affraic*. The use of Scandinavian and English first names seems generally low. The English given names, in the case of the Lords of Galloway descended from Fergus, may be traced to marriages to brides from outside Galloway. In contrast the names chosen by the family of Carrick who also descend from Fergus were staunchly Gaelic. The acquisition of the name Neil (*Niall*) by the family of Carrick is believed to have been via a marriage to a daughter of *Niall Ruadh Ó Néill*. The tantalising but presently unproven possibility of a *Dál Fiatach* origin may be suggested for both the Clenafren and the McKerrels of Galloway.

Fully untangling the history of early Galloway is a task yet to be completed. Significant Y-DNA testing programs within greater Galloway such as have been carried out in Ireland and the Wirral in relation to the 'Genes of the Gall-Goidill' and 'The Genetic Legacy of the Vikings' have yet to be implemented.[23] The predicted near term development and com-

23 'Genes of the Gallgoidil', Joint Project between the University of Nottingham and University College Limerick (See www.nottingham.ac.uk/English/Research/Projects.aspx); 'Excavating Past Population Structures by Surname Based Sampling: The Genetic Legacy of the Vikings in Northwest England', Bowden, G.R., et al, Molecular Biology and Evolution, pub., mbe.oxfordjournals.org, 2007.

mercial availability of the '$1000 genome' should in time produce significant change in the capabilities for understanding individual ancestry and the relationships between groups of persons. It is to be hoped that in the future research into Gallovidian genetic genealogy may be undertaken that will further unravel the details of greater Galloway's complex past. Such new data might assist in improving current understanding of the relative contributions of the Britons, Anglo-Saxons, Gaill, Gàidheil, and Gall-Ghàidheil to the formation of early medieval society in greater Galloway.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank Drs R.M.C. Butter, C. Downham, F. Edmonds, and J. R. Davies who all gave generous advice and assistance while he researched the possible origins of the Clenafren. Significant information, help and positive criticism on greater Galloway matters has also been received from Michael Ansell, Alan Milliken and Iain Kennedy and is gratefully acknowledged. Ronnie Black and Michael Ansell are thanked for their most welcome long-term help and encouragement in relation to Gaelic and the history of the Scottish *Gaeltachd*. Drs R.M.C. Butter, C.Downham and A. Ross were most helpful in advising on the form of the final text. Any unfortunate errors of fact or interpretation are to be assigned solely to the author.

References

Anderson, A.O., Anderson, M.O., (intro.), *The Chronicle of Melrose*, facsimile with index by Dickinson, W.C., pub., London, 1936.

Atkinson, J., 'Late Medieval Bloomery Sites' in Proc. Historic Scotland Conf., *Medieval or Later Rural Settlement in Scotland; 10 Years On*, ed. Govan, S., pub., Edinburgh, 2003.

Bain, J., (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, pub. Edinburgh, 1881-84, Vol. II, 253.

Black, G.F.,*The Surnames of Scotland*, pub., New York, 1962, 487.

Broun, D., 'The Welsh Identity of the Kingdom of Strathclyde', *Innes Review*, Vol., 55, (2), Autumn, 2004, 136-140.

Broun, D. (ed.), *The Reality behind Charter Diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain*, pub., Glasgow, 2011, 89.

Clancy, T. O., 'The Gall-Ghaidheil and Galloway', in *Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, Vol.2, 2008, 10-50.

Cooper, T.M., 'The Number and Distribution of the Population of Medieval Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.26, No.101, Part 1, April 1947, 2-9.

Dobbs, M.E., 'The Dál Fiatach', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Third Series, Vol. 8, (1945), 66-79.

Edmonds, F., 'Saints Cults and Gaelic-Scandinavian Influence around the Cumberland Coast and North of the Solway Firth', in Bolton, T., (ed.), *Celtic/Scandinavian Interaction by the Irish Sea*, (Leiden: Brill), forthcoming.

Edmonds, F., 'Personal names and the cult of St. Patrick in eleventh-century Strathclyde and Northumbria', in Boardman, S., Davies, J.R. and Williamson, E., (eds.), *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, Studies in Celtic History, pub. , 2009, 42-65.

Elder Levie, W., 'Celtic Tribal Law and Custom in Scotland', *Juridical Review*, Vol., XXXIX, - 1927, pub., Edinburgh, 181-208.

Gayre of Gayre and Nigg, Lt. Col., *Some Notes upon the Mackays of the Rhinns of Islay*, privately published, nd.

Hudson, B.J. *Viking pirates and Christian princes; Dynasty, Religion and Empire in the North Atlantic*, pub., New York, 2005, 83.
Innes, C., (ed.), *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, (Kelso Liber), pub., Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1846, 79, or see entry for Malagon mac Kelli in www.poms.ac.uk.
Jackson, K., *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*, pub., Cambridge, 1972, 2l, 110-11.
Jennings, A. and Kruse, A., 'One coast — three peoples: names and ethnicity in the Scottish west during the early Viking period', in *Scandinavian Scotland –Twenty Years After*, (ed.), Woolf, A., pub., St.Andrews, 2009 a.
Jennings, A. and Kruse, A., 'From Dál Riata to the Gall-Ghaidheil', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 5, (2009 b), 123-49, pub., Brepols, Turnhout .
Legge, M.D., 'The Father of Fergus of Galloway', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 43, No.135 (Apr., 1964), 86-7.
Lorimer, W.I., 'The Persistence of Gaelic in Galloway and Carrick', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, VI.2 (1949), 114-36.
MacCotter, P., *Medieval Ireland*, pub., Dublin, 2008, 109-124.
McDonald, R. A., 'Scoto-Norse Kings and the Reformed Religious Orders', *Albion*, Vol. 27, No.2, 1995, (187-219).
McManus, D., *A Guide to Ogam*, pub. Maynooth, 1997, 204.
MacQueen, H.J., 'The Laws of Galloway a Preliminary Survey', in *Galloway Land and Lordship*, Oram, R.D. and Stell, G.P., (eds.), (Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1991), 131-143.
McWhannell, D.C., 'What's in a Name? Reflections on the names and origin of the Clenafren of Galloway', *West Highland Notes & Queries*, Nov. 2011, Series 3, No. 17, 3-7.
Ó Baoill, C., 'St Machar: Some Linguistic Light?', *Innes Review*, Vol., 44 (1), pub.,E.U.P., Edinburgh, 1993, 1-13.
Ó Maolalaigh, R., 'Place-Names as a Resource for the Historical Linguist' in Taylor, S., (ed.), *The Uses of Place-Names*, Edinburgh, 1998.
Oram, R., *The Lordship of Galloway*, pub., Edinburgh, 2000.
Paterson, J., *History of the County of Ayr; with a genealogical account of the families of Ayrshire*, Vols I & II, pub., Ayr, 1847-52.
Paterson, J., *History of the Counties of Ayr and Wigton*, Vols. I-III, pub., Edinburgh, 1863-6.
Paul, J.B. and Thomson, J.M., *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, pub., Edinburgh, 1882-1912, Vol. 2, No. 128, 25.
Schlauch, M., 'The Historical Background of Fergus and Galiene', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. 44, No.2, (Jun., 1929), 360-376.
Sharples, N., and Smith, R., 'Norse Settlement in the Western Isles', in *Scandinavian Scotland-Twenty Years After*, (ed.) Woolf, A., pub., St Andrews, 2009.
Sigurðsson, J.V., 'The Norse Community', in *The Norwegian Domination and The Norse World*, (ed.) Imsen, S., 67-8, pub., Trondheim, 2010.
Skene, W.F., (ed.), *John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, 'Scottichronicon', pub. Edinburgh, 1872, 264.
Trotter, R. De Bruce, *Galloway Gossip*, pub., Dumfries, 1901.
Watson W.J., *History of the Celtic Placenames of Scotland*, pub., 1926, reprinted Edinburgh 1993, 168.
Woolf, A., *From Pictland to Alba 790-1070*, (Edinburgh 2007 a), 253-4.
Woolf, A., 'The Wood beyond the World, Jämtland and the Norwegian Kings', in *West over sea: studies in Scandinavian sea-borne expansion and settlement before 1300: a festschrift in honour of Dr Barbara Crawford*, Ballin Smith, B., Taylor, S. and Williams, G., (eds.), pub., Leiden, 2007 b.

Contractions Used

A.C.		Annals of Clonmacnoise
A.F.M.		Annals of the Four Masters
A.U.		Annals of Ulster
C.S.		Chronicum Scotorum
C.G.G.		Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib
L.C.		Annals of Loch Cé
N.A.S.		National Archives of Scotland
	GD 25	National Archives of Scotland, Ailsa Muniments
	GD 109	National Archives of Scotland, Bargany Muniments
PoMS		The Paradox of Medieval Scotland (www.poms.ac.uk)
R.M.S.		Registrum Magni Sigilli (Great Seal Register), National Archives of Scotland

The Meanings of Words Used

Ap	son (Welsh/Brittonic).
Clen	Clen in Galloway appears to be equivalent to *Cenél* which flourished in Ireland as a kindred name from the sixth century onwards and also existed in Scotland from the time of the Irish settlement of Dál Riata.
Ceann-cinnéil	head, or leading man, the kenkynnol of a kindred.
Ceann fine	head of a tribe.
Cenél (pl. *Cenéla*)	kindred, descendants.
Clann	children, descendants, *Clann* names flourished in Ireland from the tenth century but appeared somewhat later in Scotland being coined from the eleventh century onwards. In Scotland it was generally necessary to have two generations of prominent persons, father and son, within a family to enable a *Clann* name to be established in the third generation.
Comharba	Coarb, an heir or successor of a saint within an ecclesiastical family having descent from, or being related to, that saint.
Derbhfine	close kin of a leading family, formally a four generation agnatic kin group.
Dùthchas	inheritance, patrimony.
Gaeltachd	Gaelic speaking areas of Scotland (or Ireland).
Gall	originally a Gaul, then a foreigner, a non Gaelic speaker and later a Scandinavian and used particularly in compound nouns for two sets of Scandinavians, firstly the *Finngaill*, the original Viking invaders, generally originating from what is now western Norway; secondly the *Dubhgaill*, the later Scandinavian invaders and Danish led forces.
Gàidheil	Gaels, Gaelic speakers.
Gaill	foreigners, Scandinavians.
Gaill Erenn	foreigners of Ireland, the Irish based Scandinavians.
Gall-Ghàidheil	foreign Gaelic speakers, Scandinavian Gaelic speakers or Gaelic speakers of mixed ancestry.
Gallgoidil	foreign Gaelic speakers or Scandinavian Gaelic speakers and persons of mixed Scandinavian and *Goidil* ancestry. Initially the term *Gallgoidil* (later *Gall-Ghàidheil*) was used in Ireland to designate a group or series of groups who were Gaelic speaking but most probably of mixed Scandinavian and *Goidil* descent. Such *Gallgoidil* warrior groups participated in the dynastic struggles within Ireland. This descriptive term may usefully be contrasted with *Eirennach*,

Albanach, *Breathnach* and *Sasunach* (Irishman, Scotsman, Briton, Saxon) all names which clearly point to an individual's provenance.

Giolla / Gille lad, a servant or a devotee of a saint 'Giolla' or 'Gille' compounds as given names for males were only coined either at the very end of the eighth century or from early in the nineth century onwards. The introduction of this name form has been linked to the advent of Scandinavian-Irish communities but this proposal remains in the realm of speculation.

Goidil Gaelic speakers (later *Gàidheil*) and by inference natives of the Gaelic speaking areas of the British Isles which in the era in question were primarily Ireland and secondarily parts of mainland Scotland and the Isle of Man together with some further pockets located in north west England.

Greinour leading, great or important man (Anglo-Norman French).

Gwas servant, steward or vassal (Welsh/Brittonic).

Judex judge.

Laithlinn Prof. Ó Corrain proposed that in Scotland a Scandinavian kingdom or sphere of control known to the Irish as '*Lothlend*', later '*Laithlinn*', was created sometime prior to 850. This proposal has been comprehensively challenged by Drs Etchingham and Ní Mhaonaigh. It now seems likely that *Lothlend/Laithlinn* in its broadest sense referred to the north in general, to geographical Scandinavia or to those lands occupied by Scandinavians and has some affinity with the Welsh concept of *Lychlynn*. In a narrower sense it may have referred solely to Norway and in its narrowest meaning perhaps only to western Norway.

Mac son.

Muintir family, people, household, community, also a territory.

Pencenedl head or leading man, the kenkynnol of a kindred (Welsh/Brittonic).

Tigherna lord.

Tòiseach chief, captain or military leader.

Tòiseachdeor officer of the law.

Ua late twelfth century records for greater Galloway and records continuing on up until the seventeenth century contain a set of surnames prefixed by 'A'. It is probable that this prefix is analogous to *Ua*, grandson, which gave rise to kindred names of the '*Uí*' or 'Ó' type in Ireland from the tenth century onwards. Woulfe, in his book *Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall* indicated that in some forms of spoken Irish '*Ua*' became shortened to '*A*' citing '*A Gnimh*' as an example. Such names in greater Galloway could then signify either 'grandson of' or more probably 'descendant of' some prestigious male ancestor.

NARROWBOATS IN GALLOWAY: ALEXANDER GORDON, MARL, AND THE CARLINGWARK CANAL[1]

Pat Jones[2]

Historical Background

The dawn of the eighteenth century found Galloway in economic ruin, its people utterly impoverished and decimated by the savage persecution of its Presbyterian congregations. In 1638 the National Covenant had been signed across Scotland in protest against Charles I's plans to introduce church services based on the *Book of Common Prayer* and church government by bishops, contrary to the Presbyterian liturgy of John Knox (1514-72). After the restoration of the monarchy, Charles II continued the reforms begun by his father, which were particularly fiercely opposed in the Glenkens area of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. The Gordon family of Earlston were prominent supporters of the Covenant, and its head, the elderly Alexander Gordon, was killed in 1679 at the battle of Bothwell Bridge. Following the accession of William and Mary in 1689, the Presbyterian Church was confirmed as the established church of Scotland. Alexander Gordon's son Alexander received a baronetcy from King William in recognition of his services, and some of the activities of his grandson – yet another Alexander – are the subject of this account.

At that time Galloway had no roads suitable for wheeled vehicles, although this was of no consequence since there were none, not even a farm cart, and no trade. A rough track between Carlisle and Portpatrick, which had been improved by the military in the 1660s, crossed the bog or 'moss' at the western margin of Carlingwark Loch on a causeway. A Post House that later became Carlingwark Inn had been established on slightly higher ground overlooking the centre of the loch, and a small settlement at its northern end was known as Causewayend. As a direct result of the developments described in this account, it had become the prosperous market town of Castle Douglas by the end of the century.

In the early 1700s land was divided into narrow strips, cultivated by the ridge and furrow or 'run-rig' system. Barley was grown for the brewing of ale and two varieties of oats were grown, but the crop yield was miserable because there was never sufficient manure, the use of fertilizers was unknown, and the land was grossly overworked. Cattle grazed on common land, but pastures were never ploughed, and no attempt was made to reclaim marshland. During the first quarter of the century it was discovered that adding shell marl to the thin acid soil greatly increased crop yields. This lime-bearing clay occurs at several places in the southern parts of the Stewartry, including the bogs or 'mosses' at the margins of Carlingwark Loch. By 1730 it was being regularly used as a fertiliser on nearby land. In the second quarter of the century there were crop rotation experiments

---

1 An early version of this article was distributed to members of the Railway and Canal Historical Society's Waterway History Research Group as Occasional Paper 92.

2 27 Bexley Avenue, Denton Burn, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE15 7DE.

using turnips and beans, trials were conducted with sown grasses, and efforts were made to reclaim wasteland. Potatoes were introduced in 1732. But the enclosure of land to facilitate the raising of cattle resulted in many peasants being evicted, and much hardship and disorder ensued. It was not until the middle of the century that Galloway was free from disturbances and could begin to enjoy increasing prosperity.[3]

The river Dee flowed southward from Loch Ken into the Solway through the formerly prosperous trading port of Kirkcudbright, to which town it had always been navigable on the tide. In 1692 the town was reported to be 'saddled with a great weight of debt', and to have 'one small eight-ton ship' but no trade with England or anywhere else. There were no bridges over the Dee, but a ferry operated at Kirkcudbright, and at a number of places upstream the river could be forded in dry weather. The first proper roads and bridges in Galloway were built for military reasons following the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion. Two bridges were built across the Dee in 1729/40:[4] one was two miles above Kirkcudbright at Tongland, and the other, which became known as the 'Bridge of Dee', a further five miles upstream, above the 'Falls of Tongland'.

Between 1730 and the 1760s the first roads 'passable for travellers, wheelcarts and carriages' were constructed under government contract, including the Military Road from Dumfries to Port Patrick in 1763-64, with side roads to Kirkcudbright and the Glenkens. The young Alexander Gordon learned much from watching this work; in one of his answers to an 1808 Parliamentary Committee he said: 'soldiers were kept at work on that road for nearly thirty years. I was frequently with them, and soon began to observe errors in the execution of the work, as well as in the direction, which was without any survey'.[5]

Alistair Penman in *Causewayend to Castle Douglas* (1986) suggested the Military Road could have had a Roman origin. It certainly followed a route of considerable age; there is a tradition that the army of King James II of Scotland used it on its way to the siege of Threave Castle in 1455, and it is known that the cavalry of King William III passed this way en route to Ireland in 1689. The road beside Carlingwark Loch included a spillway sited in a slight declivity between Buchan and the Carlingwark Inn, and different dimensions given

---

3 John Nicholson, in *The History of Galloway from the earliest period to the Present Time*, Volume I, Kirkcudbright, 1841, note 1, p.491, stated that: 'John Dalzell of Barncrosh was the first who discovered, and used, shell marl'. See also: John F. Robertson, *The Story of Galloway*, Lang Syne, Glasgow, 1985, pp.138-194.

4 Andrew McCulloch, *Galloway – A land apart*, Birlinn, 2000, p.447, stated that two bridges were built across the Dee in 1729, one at Bridge of Dee and the other at Tongland. Building material for the latter was taken from the ruins of Tongland abbey; it was condemned as unsafe in 1800, so a new bridge was built in 1806 and another in 1832. Alex Anderson in 'The Development of the Road Systems in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbrightshire', *TDGNHAS*, third series, vol. 44, 1967, p.212, claimed that Old Bridge of Dee at Granyford was built in 1737-40, and gave the same dates for Tongland.

5 House of Commons — First Report from the Committee of the Highways of the Kingdom, 1808. Appendix 14 (A).

by Penman imply that the loch's surface level was initially lowered by about five feet.[6] The road was carried over the spillway on what appears to have been an arched bridge, with its surviving masonry abutments carried down to bedrock about eight feet apart. Lowering the loch would have revealed more marl, which was of excellent quality, and no doubt both Alexander Gordon (who was still a minor) and the trustees of his estate, realised that an almost inexhaustible supply of this valuable resource lay beneath the water, which, given suitable means of transport, could profitably be distributed more widely.

Carlingwark was part of an estate that had been given to the earls of Douglas, but King James II confiscated their property after the fall of Threave Castle, and the land reverted to the Scottish Crown. The Maxwell family were appointed stewards of those lands,[7] and in 1526 were given possession of them by King James V. They in turn sold them to the Gordon family who were the landowners from 1666. The Gordon family was a branch of the house of Kenmure and Lochinvar, which had been given lands at Kenmure near New Galloway in 1408, and survived the fall of the Douglas family to become important landowners, which by the seventeenth century included Culvennan and the ruins of Old Greenlaw beside the river Dee. Construction of a new Greenlaw was begun around 1730 and purchased c.1745 by Sir Alexander's youngest son William (1703-1757) who was Writer to the Signet. His son Alexander was born there on 21 May 1747, a direct descendant of Sir Adam de Gordon of Lochinvar, the companion in arms of Wallace.

The Carlingwark Canal

In 1765 a navigable canal was cut from Carlingwark Loch (NX 761614), which passed under the Military Road and continued in a north easterly direction for 1.3 miles, to join the river Dee beside Threave Island (NX 744625, Figure 1). Alexander Gordon was eighteen years old in 1765, and is credited with the execution of this work,[8] which must have had the

---

6 Alistair Penman, in *Causewayend to Castle Douglas* (1986) writes on page 10: 'When the canal was dug something in the region of ten feet of water was taken off the level of the loch by it.' The figure of ten feet is supported in the extract from the *Statistical Account Scotland* reproduced below. But on page 27 he writes: 'The loch used to be much larger than it is today as it was reduced by about fifteen feet when the canal was dug from it to join up with the river Dee …' The writer believes this apparently contradictory sentence should read: 'The loch used to be much larger than it is today, as it *had been* reduced by *a total of* about fifteen feet *after* the canal was dug from it to join up with the river Dee …'.

7 Hence the Stewartry of Kirkcudbrightshire.

8 Sir John Sinclair, (ed.) *The Statistical Account Scotland*, vol.1, Crossmichael, 1791, pp.169-70. 'Some years ago, Mr Gordon of Culvennan, at his own expense, cut a canal to connect the Dee with Carlingwark Loch. … The canal is only on a small scale, and is presently out of repair'. Improvements to the Carlisle to Portpatrick Great Military Road commenced circa 1790, and the Canal being 'out of repair' in 1791, suggests that work on the new road beside Carlingwark Loch, with a new bridge across the canal, was in progress at that time. However, the section between Castle Douglas and Buchan was still shown passing Carlingwark Inn on Ainsley's 1797 *County Map*. Further improvements followed the 1796 Turnpike Act; on the 1st edition six-inch OS map it was described as 'Buchan T.P.'– i.e. Buchan Turnpike.

trustees' approval, and may have benefited from their assistance. Since the estate owned both the loch and the land through which the canal was to be cut, the authority of an Act of Parliament was not needed. Presumably skilled masons were hired to cut a channel down through the rock on which Buchan Bridge had been built – perhaps the same masons who had recently built it – and labourers were hired to carry out the digging and dredging work, for whom good accommodation was provided in the settlement at the north west corner of the loch. Known then as Causewayend, it rapidly expanded to become the estate village of Carlingwark.[9] The canal had two purposes; the surface of the river was normally some ten feet lower than the loch, and lowering the loch's surface level simplified extraction of the marl, which could then be shipped to farmers beside the river and Loch Ken aboard flat-bottomed boats, which returned carrying much-needed timber, and oak-bark for leather tanning.[10]

Figure 1. Buchan's bridges, viewed in the late 1970s; the abutments of the original bridge, the present bridge in the background, and some of the stone rubble dumped into the former canal to raise the level of Carlingwark Loch. (Photograph: John Howat)

9 Penman, op. cit. p.11, cites Robert Heron's *Observations made in a journey through the western counties of Scotland in the Autumn of 1792* (Perth, 1793) part of which reads: 'With the same prudence and public spirit which had directed him in turning the marle in the loch to his own advantage, and to the advantage of the country; Mr Gordon proceeded to form a village in the situation where labourers had been established to dig up the marle'.

10 Ian Donnachie, *The Industrial Archaeology of Galloway*, David & Charles, 1971, p.162 citing *The Statistical Account Scotland* vol.4, 1791-1799, p.261.

Figure 2. Buchan Cutting. The disused Carlingwark Canal in the late 1970s, long since reduced here to a rubble-filled drainage channel or 'Lane', looking up the cutting towards Buchan Bridge from beside Carlingwark House. (Photograph: John Howat)

Figure 3. The Carlingwark Canal, looking towards the River Dee from beside the disused bridge that from 1864 to 1965 carried the Castle Douglas to Kirkcudbright Railway. An 1864 report implied that the water here was 8 feet deep. (Photograph: John Howat)

A 1771 map of the parish of Crossmichael and part of the parish of Kelton is displayed in the Stewartry Museum at Kirkcudbright. According to the museum's caption it was 'surveyed and drawn by a Mr McCartney, one of the earliest land surveyors working in the area, and appears to be an unfinished draft; a more complete version is known to exist'. It names 'Carlingwark Loch' with the 'Great Military Road from Port Patrick to Carlisle' running north east to south west beside it, and 'Carlingwark Village' on both sides of the road near the head of the loch. Buchan is not named, and no dwellings appear there. It shows the canal between Carlingwark Loch and the river Dee at the 'Isle of Threeve', and names Carlingwark Inn to the west of the canal beside the road (where Carlingwark House now stands). 'Greenlaw' is named, and faint lettering beside double broken lines nearby reads 'New Road Proposed by Mr Gordon of Greenlaw'. (That road was built in 1795, and is now part of the A713). This suggests that McCartney was acquainted with Gordon, and it is possible that McCartney gave professional assistance with the construction of the Canal.

The river Dee receives most of its water from Loch Ken, which in turn is supplied by the Ken, a river subject to flash floods associated with high rainfall in the Galloway uplands. In 1793 it was said to 'rise seven feet when in spate' so that the road crossing at New Galloway was 'often impassable by ford or ferry boat'.[11] Below Loch Ken the river's flow was less subject to rapid change, so that in normal moderate flow conditions Loch Ken and the river's upper reaches were navigable by load-carrying shallow-draught craft. In low-flow conditions the river between Glenlochar and Old Greenlaw was some 70 to 80 feet wide and fordable at both Glenlochar and below Culvennan, where it was 15 inches deep.[12] Navigation was impossible in these conditions, very difficult in high-flow conditions, and it was later found necessary to build the half-mile-long Culvennan lock-cut to bypass this section of the river. In normal conditions the river below Threave Island was navigable to the Bridge of Dee; a 'boatcroft' was situated immediately downstream of the bridge, but thereafter the gradient of the riverbed increased rapidly to become 'The Falls of Tongland'.

Alexander Gordon married in 1769, was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1771, became Sheriff Depute of Wigtown in 1783, Steward Depute of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbrightshire the following year,[13] was knighted in 1800, and after a lifetime of public

---

11 Cited by Jack Hunter in *Galloway Byways*, Dumfries & Galloway Council, 2006, p.44.

12 'Minutes of Proceedings of the Committee, to whom was referred the Bill, intituled, "An Act for making and maintaining a Navigable Canal from the Boat Pool of Dalry in the Glenkenns, to the Port and Town of Kirkcudbright in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright."' Parliamentary Archives Reference HL/PO/CO/1/47, June 1802, p.28. Consideration of the Petition against Glenkens Canal Bill of Mr. Murray, evidence of William Little.

13 John Nicholson, *The History of Galloway*, Vol II, Kirkcudbright by 1841, pp. 428-433. 'An act was passed, in 1747, for abolishing, in Scotland, hereditary jurisdiction. ... The local administration of the law was now vested in Sheriff-Deputes, so called for being deputed by the Crown to discharge the judicial functions of the hereditary judges. ... The [office of] Steward-Depute of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright was ... in every respect the same as that of the Sheriff-Deputes. … His Majesty's Royal Sign Manual nominating Alexander Gordon, Esq., [later Sir Alexander Gordon, Kt,] as Stewart [sic] Depute [was dated 7 June 1784].'

service died on 21 October 1830. He had been financially embarrassed by the collapse in 1772 of the banking house of Douglas, Heron & Co., the 'Ayr Bank'. It had been founded in 1769, and finally gave up business in 1773 to become the most spectacular Scottish banking disaster of the eighteenth century, and a major economic disaster. Eventually he had to sell all his estates, Greenlaw excepted, since it was entailed.

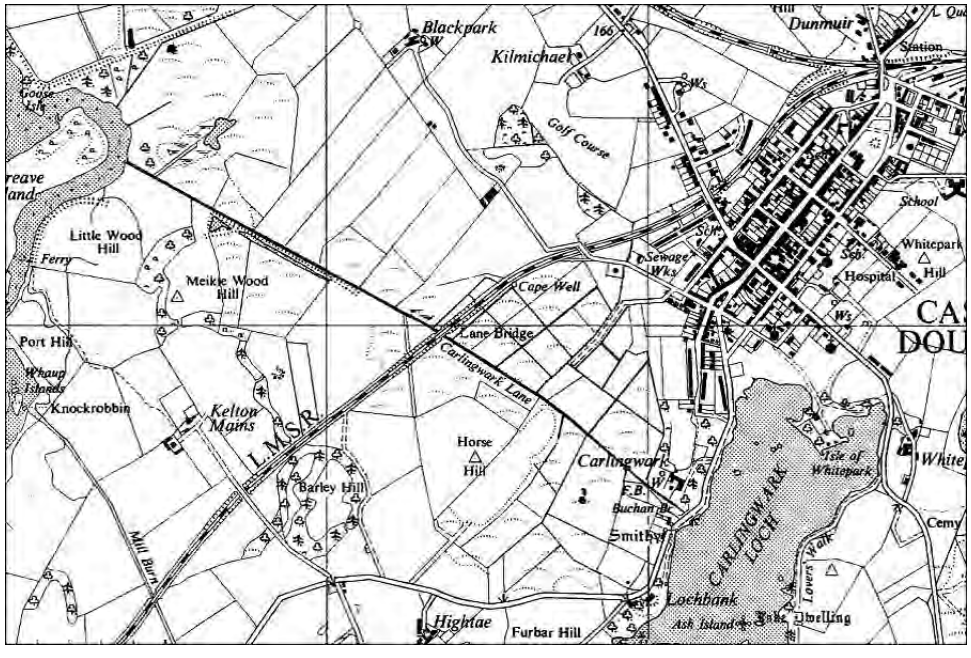

Figure 4. An extract from OS 1:25,000 Provisional Edition (Outline) sheet 25(NS)/76 published 1950, courtesy of Richard Dean (www.cartographics.co.uk) showing Castle Douglas and the disused canal (Carlingwark 'Lane') between the loch and the river Dee. 'Buchan Br' actually marks the site of the c.1764 bridge that had carried the Great Military Road over the canal, which had been superseded c.1790 by a new road and bridge beside the loch. 'F.B.' refers to a footbridge erected on the abutments of the first bridge.

A short but fully referenced account in Ian Donnachie's *The Industrial Archaeology of Galloway* can now be shown to contain minor errors; for example he wrote:

> Sometime after 1780, when a clause for the regulation of navigation on Loch Ken was introduced into the Stewartry Road Act, Gordon of Culvennan cut another short section of canal to improve navigation below Glenlochar Bridge and hence make possible passage from Castle Douglas to the Boatpool of Dalry near the head of Loch Ken.[14]

The Stewartry Road Act of that year *did not* contain a clause regulating navigation on Loch Ken, and the *river* Ken could only be navigated to the Boatpool of Dalry in favourable

14 Ian Donnachie, *The Industrial Archaeology of Galloway*, David & Charles, 1971, pp.162-5.

conditions. According to Jean Lindsay in *Canals of Scotland*, the canal was cut before 1789[15], and there is now reason to believe it was nearing completion in June 1784. In *Round About Castle Douglas* Jean Craig Gibson had written:

> When Glenlochar Bridge was being built in 1780, the 14 year-old heir of Alexander Gordon of Greenlaw took a friend to see the work of construction. Possibly the boys were larking about. Young William fell into the river and was drowned.[16]

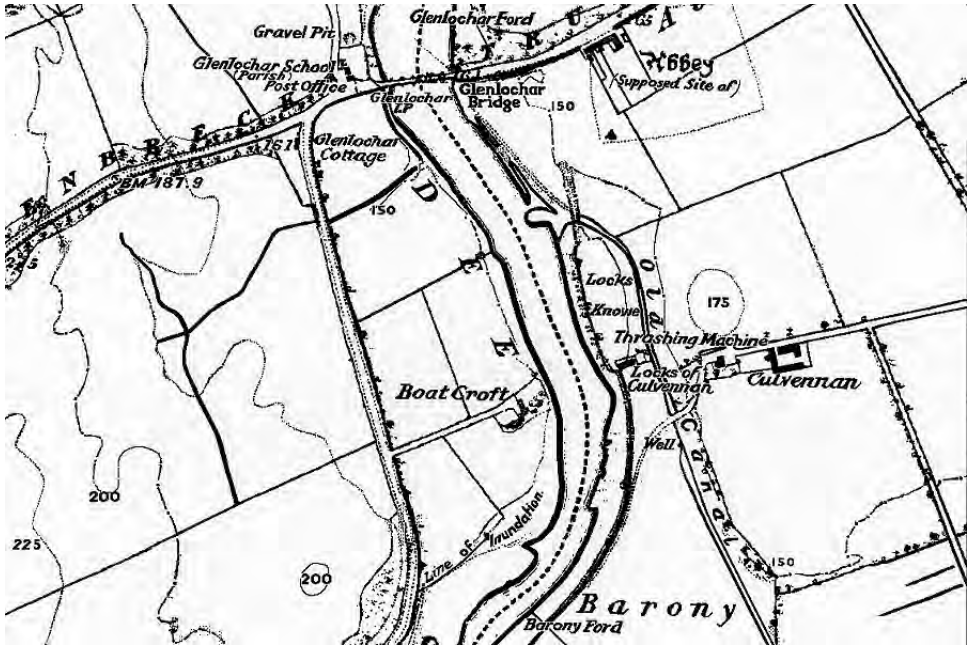

Figure 5. An extract from the 1st edition OS 6 inch map of Kirkcudbrightshire, showing part of the Old (Culvennan) Canal on the east bank of the river Dee below Glenlochar Bridge. The entrance to the canal is blocked by an embankment between 150ft contour lines; presumably after the canal became disused its floodgate was buried under this embankment. The plural in 'Locks of Culvennan' and 'Locks Knowe' evidently referred to the 'gates', not to 'chambers'. The 'Thrashing Machine' was presumably powered by a waterwheel that drew water from the river, and discharged it into the canal below the lock. The track between Culvennan and Barony Ford would have been carried on a bridge over the tail of the lock-chamber.

Alexander's eldest son William was born on 25 April 1770, and died on 20 June 1784; we now know that the construction of Glenlochar Bridge commenced in 1798,[17] therefore

15 Jean Lindsay, *Canals of Scotland*, David & Charles, 1968, p.179.

16 Jean Craig Gibson, *Round About Castle Douglas*, Barry Smart, Bookseller, Castle Douglas, 1976, p.12.

17 On 25 August 2010 David Pedley wrote: 'I have spoken to a former Roads Engineer for Kirkcudbrightshire [Alex Anderson, see footnote 4] who has summaries he prepared from original records. These show a petition dated 1 May 1797 to build a bridge at Glenlochar, and contracts were made for the bridge on 18 July 1798'. This suggests the bridge was under construction 1798–1800. It was built with stone brought by boats from a quarry near Kenmore Castle. (Parl. Arch. Ref. HL/PO/CO/1/47, p.26).

'young William' could not have fallen from it to his death. It was summer, so it is unlikely that the river was in flood. William had known it all his life, and he would have been very unlucky to fall into it from the bank and be unable to get out. A footpath between 'Culvennan' and 'Barony Ford' would have required a bridge over the new canal (described on Figure 5 as the 'Old Canal'). It is possible that the material which subsequent writers misleadingly elaborated was worded to the effect that: 'young William took a friend to see the construction work; he fell from the bridge into the water and drowned'. *Possibly* the boys *were* larking about, but it is *probable* that he drowned in the newly constructed lock chamber, which are notoriously difficult places from which to escape.

In 1789 William Douglas of Gelston purchased Carlingwark Village for the sum of £14,000,[18] but Alexander Gordon retained possession of the loch. He continued to extract and market shell marl and later effected further navigation improvements. The dimensions and method of propulsion employed by his 'flat-bottomed boats' seem not to have been recorded; Jean Lindsay, in *Canals of Scotland*, stated that the largest boats had a capacity of 400 cubic feet; their breadth would have been constrained by the abutments of Buchan Bridge to about seven feet. Freshly excavated marl weighs 140lbs per cubic foot; a typical 70ft × 7ft open narrowboat had an internal area of about 400 square feet. A load evenly distributed 12 inches deep would weigh 25 tons, and the vessel would draw about 33 inches of water. A path on the eastern bank of the River Dee/Loch Ken above Glenlochar is shown on an 1802 plan,[19] and it is probable that boats were bow-hauled by men scrambling along their unimproved banks. It is to be doubted whether their normal crews could have hauled craft carrying 25 tons up the fast-flowing river below Glenlochar without some assistance. It seems likely that 'the largest boats' entered service after that section of the river was by-passed by the lock-cut; before then, smaller boats would have been used.

In the description of the parish of Crossmichael in *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, the following appears:

> … boats carrying from 10 – 24 cart load of marl each, passed up to New Galloway, situated 15 miles from Carlingwark Loch. Marl sold at the loch at 1s per cart load; or 21 cubical feet was sold at New Galloway 1s 9d; or proportionally lower at other places by the way.[20]

Goods moved in bulk were commonly dealt with by measures of volume, and the cubic foot was a convenient unit. Twenty-four cartloads of freshly excavated marl occupied 504 cu.ft and weighed 31.5 tons. This suggests that by this time marl was being dried before

---

18 F.H. M'Kerlie, *History of the Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, vol. 4, 1877, p.131: 'William Douglas.... had sasine on the 10th July 1789 of the land at Carlingwark and others, on disposition by Archibald Gordon of Culvennan, advocate'. (It is unclear who Archibald was, but he could have been a trustee of the estate acting on behalf of Alexander).

19 Parl. Arch. Ref. HL/PO/PB/3/plan 8. Deposited Plans 1801-1803, 1805. Glenkens Canal 1802. 'A plan [by John Gillone] of Glenkens Canal and the Country through which it is proposed to be carried from the Sea near Kirkcudbright to Loch Doon'.

20 Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol.1, Crossmichael, 1791, p.170.

shipment, so that its weight was reduced by about 20 per cent. Twenty-four cartloads would have weighed about 25.2 tons; ten cartloads would have weighed about 10.5 tons, and that was evidently the load carried by the small boats. Marl was only spread after harvest and before seedtime; marl excavated in summer could be set aside to dry and sold later, thereby keeping men employed throughout the year.

An 1802 proposed extension of navigation downstream to the port of Kirkcudbright was intended to be suitable for craft already operating on the river, and its locks were to be 80ft long by 7ft 6ins wide.[21] This suggests that the small boats carrying about 10 tons were something less than 40ft long by about 7ft beam, and operated in pairs. It is probable that each boat was crewed by at least two men and a boy; operating them in pairs would make twice as much manpower available to haul individual boats past Culvennan and Glenlochar on to Loch Ken.

Figure 6. The northern extension of Culvennan Canal beside Abbey Field (or Abbey Yard) viewed from Glenlochar Bridge in the late 1970s. Note what appear to be the remains of a stone-rubble weir; it would have needed to raise the river's surface by at least two feet in summer low-flow conditions, but a weir did not exist in 1802. (Photograph: John Howat)

21 The entry headed 'Glenkens Canal' in one of Rennie's notebooks held in the National Library of Scotland; MS No. 19877 f.20.

Figure 7. Glenlochar Bridge in the late 1970s. The Culvennan Canal's partially filled entrance from the river Dee shown on Ainslie's 1797 map, and its c. 1801 northern extension's pile-protected banks, viewed from the embankment shown on early OS maps (Figure 5).
(Photograph: John Howat)

Figure 8. The Culvennan Canal, still in water in the late 1970s. Looking south from below the site of Culvennan Lock, with Barony Island fenced-off on the right. (Photograph: John Howat)

A contemporary description of the parish of Kelton appeared in *The Statistical Account of Scotland*:

> Near the north corner of the parish there is a lake, commonly called *The Carlinwark Loch,* along the west side of which runs the military road. The extent of this loch, before it was partly drained in the year 1765, was 116 square acres. Ten feet of water were then taken off from it by a cut, or canal, to the water of Dee. Now it is only 80 square acres in extent. This loch is one great source of improvement to Kelton and the neighbourhood. It contains in itself, and the mosses adjoining, an inexhaustible fund of the very best shell marl. The marl is taken out of the loch by means of boats and ballast bags, wrought with a wheel; a mode that is pretty expeditious, and it is taken out of the mosses, in the way of throwing, usually practised in other parts of the country.
>
> Since the loch was drained, the face of the country, all around, has undergone a very wonderful change in point of improvement. Not only Kelton, but the parishes of Buittle, Crossmichael, Balmaghie, Parton, Balmaclellan and Kells, reap the benefit of the marl, from the Carlingwark Loch and its vicinity. Marl is carried from the loch in flat-bottomed boats, along the canal to the Dee, in large quantities, for the improvement of the lands on each side. It is conveyed up the river, by means of these flats, as far as New Galloway, to the distance of 15 or 16 miles. Before the late improvements in husbandry, the crops in this place were, in general, very light; and the grain, in quantity and quality inferior, by far, to what it is now.[22]

There were experienced builders of load-carrying boats in Kirkcudbright, whose services Alexander Gordon could have sought; the reference to marl being carried 'in large quantities' suggests that he operated quite a fleet of boats.

The use of marl continued into the early years of the nineteenth century, when it became evident that repeated applications of it damaged the soil on which it was spread, and all digging stopped. The loch was then sold to Sir William Douglas for the sum of £2,000.[23] It was believed that pure lime was needed, but neither limestone nor the coal to burn it occurred locally. Great quantities of sea-shell were washed ashore by winter gales and used to a limited extent, but plentiful supplies of both lime and coal were available in Cumberland. At a Parliamentary enquiry in June 1802 witnesses stated that lime was being brought by sea to the port of Kirkcudbright, and during spring tides to Tongland, where 'Sloops run on to high water mark, and they unload by carts after the tide is out, at a considerable distance from the bed of the fresh water river.' The number of ship-loads of lime discharged annually 'fluctuates very much, but there are not less than twenty vessels employed annually, perhaps more. They carry generally from three hundred to seven hundred Carlisle Bushel; The Carlisle Bushel is equal to three Winchester Bushels.' Care

22 Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol.8, Kelton, 1793, p.303-4.
23 (New) *Statistical Account of Scotland,* Kelton, p.147.

is taken to avoid spillage ‘because it costs two shillings a Carlisle Bushel to get it there, and we are very careful of it’.[24]

Figure 9. This extract from John Ainslie’s 1797 *County Map* shows ‘Glenlocher Br’, but it is drawn a little too far north, and appears to be occupying the site of Glenlochar Ford. The road running SE / NW at top right is the ‘New Road proposed by Mr Gordon of Greenlaw’, which had been built in 1795. Later maps show a road running directly from the bridge to make a ‘T’ junction with it. Ainslie was evidently aware of the intention to build a bridge at Glenlochar, but presumably the route by which it was to join the pre-existing road had still to be agreed. The Carlingwark Canal is shown entering the Dee at Threave Island.

24 Parl. Arch. Ref. HL/PO/CO/1/47, pp.18 & 25. A ‘Winchester Bushel’ occupies 1¼ cubic foot (ft^3); agricultural lime weighs 80lbs per ft^3, therefore 300 Carlisle Bushels occupy 1,125 ft^3 and weighs 40 tons. 700 Carlisle Bushels occupy 2,625 ft^3 and weighs 93¾ tons.

Gordon had sold the estate of Culvennan in 1783 to Patrick Milroy (but retained its superiority) and Milroy renamed it Whainy Mains. 'Mains' meaning 'the home farm of an estate cultivated for its proprietor'. The northward extension of the canal shown on Figure 5 is not shown on Figure 9; the canal appears to re-join the river immediately above the supposed position of the floodgate. This implies the extension post-dated the ground survey on which John Ainslie's map was based. It appears on the 1802 plan of the proposed Glenkens Canal in the Parliamentary Archives, but that plan is to a small scale, and it is unclear whether the extension existed, or was a proposed improvement.[25]

A Century of Progress

By the early years of the nineteenth century Galloway had most of the elements of an effective communication network; minor side roads led to the improved 'Great Military Road', which ran from Port Patrick in the west to Dumfries, from where it continued to Carlisle, while another 'Post Road' led to the north. The Carlingwark Canal and river Dee provided a link from the rapidly expanding town of Castle Douglas to New Galloway, and to the agricultural produce of the nearby farming communities. There were 37 vessels totalling 1,648 tons registered at Kirkcudbright in 1801,[26] but a proposed extension of navigation south to that port never materialized. Nothing seems to have been recorded regarding inland waterway carrying after the marl trade declined and eventually ceased. Before the construction of the bypass canal and lock at Culvennan circa 1784, craft were probably restricted to loads of up to about 10 tons. Craft capable of carrying 25 tons are known to have been in service in 1791, although no record has been found of their registration under the 1795 Act, which required 'every inland waterway vessel capable of carrying more than 13 tons of cargo to be registered'.[27] With the extension of the Culvennan Cut northward – probably in 1801 – navigation to New Galloway became possible in normal flow conditions. At the June 1802 Parliamentary Enquiry William Little confirmed he was 'accustomed to make canals and embank rivers' and that he had 'made an embankment last summer of a mile in length … from the Abbey Yard to Old Greenlaw'.[28] Unfortunately he did not name the canals he had made, but he described the Culvennan Cut as the 'old canal', implying the existence of a *new* canal. He had come to Glenlochar in May 1801, and it seems likely that the Old Canal's extension was the 'canal' he claimed to have made.

---

25 Parl. Arch. Ref. HL/PO/PB/3/plan 8.

26 John Nicholson, op. cit., p.491.

27 Paul Sillitoe, 'Early Boat Records', *NarrowBoat*, Spring 2009, pp.36-7. Paul Sillitoe wrote: 'The duty to compile information was vested in the … Sheriff Depute or Stewart Clerk … of the … Stewartry ... to which the vessel shall belong'. [Alexander Gordon was Stewart Depute of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.] He continued: 'I did not find any records listed for Scottish local government on SCAN, the only relevant Scotland-wide on-line database'. In response to an enquiry, David Devereux, curator of Kirkcudbright's Stewartry Museum wrote: 'I have never come across boat registration records of the type you describe. I would guess that if the regulations you describe had been enforced here, the Steward Depute or Justices of the Peace would have been the responsible officers. The National Archives of Scotland have Kirkcudbrightshire JP records for the period of interest, but there does not appear to be a detailed index'.

28 Parl. Arch. Ref. HL/PO/CO/1/47, p.28.

Navigation to New Galloway and the river Ken to the Boatpool of Dalry may have continued into the 1820s; according to Jack Hunter in *Galloway Byways*:[29]

> John Rennie eventually conquered the turbulent waters of the Ken with his bridge of 1820-21. His design overleaps not only the watercourse, but [also] its floodplain to the west. His five large arches (the central one with a span of ninety feet) are designed to ensure minimum impediment to the free flow of water. For further insurance he altered the riverbed, presumably by deepening the channel. An additional reason for the very large central arch may have been the theoretical possibility of the revival of the Glenkens Canal scheme, abandoned twenty years before.

Hunter was apparently unaware that the works at Culvennan had made navigation to the Boatpool of Dalry possible in favourable conditions, which may explain Rennie's deepening of the channel. A 90ft arch at New Galloway would have been an extravagance for navigation purposes, but he knew that previous low bridges had been swept away, and designed his bridge accordingly.

Sir Alexander Gordon's youngest son David had been born in 1774, and emigrated from Scotland to New York in 1799, where he traded as a merchant and insurance broker. His second son Alexander was born there in 1802. The family returned to Scotland in 1807, and after attending Edinburgh University, Alexander worked as a civil engineer.[30] David later patented a number of inventions, including a boxed paddle wheel for canal craft. It seems unlikely therefore, that the waterway suffered from lack of the necessary technical expertise within the Gordon family to direct whatever repairs became necessary, either before or after Sir Alexander's death in 1830. The most vulnerable of the navigation works were at Culvennan, and they may have been damaged by floodwater after income from trade had declined to a point where reinstatement was not financially viable.

Previous accounts claim the canals were disused by 1840, but there is known to have been pleasure boating in the Victorian era. The 1st edition OS 6 inch map shows a boathouse at Lochbank (on the west side of Carlingwark Loch), and describes the channel between Threave Island and the Culvennan Cut as 'Navigable for Boats'. The 'Locks of Culvennan' are named beside Culvennan House, but both the upstream junction of the lock-cut with the river, and the lock chamber, appear to have been filled in. The lock-cut is named 'Old Canal' and is shown with its northward extension. The area was surveyed in 1848-9, contoured in 1852, and the map was published in 1853. It seems likely that the lock chamber still existed in 1848-9, but had been filled in by the time surveyors re-visited the site.

It is possible that trade in agricultural produce between Culvennan and Castle Douglas continued into the 1850s, but the Carlingwark Canal became un-navigable during the

---

29 Jack Hunter, *Galloway Byways*,'Bridging the Ken' p.45, Dumfries & Galloway Council, 2006.

30 Mike Chrimes, 'Alexander Gordon' in Sir Alec Skempton, (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers of Great Britain and Ireland 1500-1830*, 2002, pp.261-2.

1860s or soon afterwards. The *Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser and Galloway News* of 12 February 1864 carried a report headed 'Drainage of Castle-Douglas, Report by Mr. Barbour on drainage of the borough' dated 5 February 1864. In that report he writes:

> There are only two possible outlets – the loch, or the lane from the loch to the River Dee. The loch would be the least expensive, and the quantity of sewage from the town would, for a considerable time, be so small as not to affect the quality of the water, it would, however, I think, become objectionable. As the additional expense of conveying the sewage to the lane, at the point where the railway bridge crosses, will not be great (£200) in proportion to the whole undertaking, and as it will thereby be discharged into running water at a greater distance from the town, I propose to convey it to that point. The fall of the main drain will not be great (about 1 foot in 120 yards) but it will be sufficient. The sewage will be discharged into the lane, eight feet below the surface of the water, so that the whole will be carried to the Dee and little, if any, of the debris will rise to the surface.

Carlingwark Canal had become known as Carlingwark Lane.[31] To prevent sewage flowing into the loch when the river was in flood, the surface of the loch was raised to approximately its 1764 level by raising the bed of the canal at Buchan. There seems to have been no consideration of any possible future use of the canal, or public rights of navigation. According to Douglas Caffyn: 'A right of navigation is not an unqualified right. It is doubtful if there is any right which is. It seems that in Scots Law use of a river may be restrained to enable others to use it for other purposes'.[32]

The Twentieth Century to the Present Day

The Galloway Hydro Electric Power Scheme comprises a chain of five power stations in the Glenkens that are connected to the national electricity grid. Built in 1935 in the Art Deco style, Tongland is the largest and most southerly, situated on the river Dee, 2 miles north of Kirkcudbright at Grid Reference NX 695536. Its turbine hall contains three 11 MW horizontal-running turbines; power is generated at 11,500V and then stepped up to the 132,000V of the national grid by an associated transformer compound on the opposite side of the A711 road. The station is now operated remotely from a control centre at Glenlee Power Station, and the scheme is the property of Scottish Power, an international utility group based in Glasgow.

---

31 *The Scottish National Dictionary*, 1960, defines 'Lane *n.*' as 'A slow-moving meandering stream or its bed (1825) … a "lane" is, in Galloway, a slow, untrouted, sullen, half-stagnant piece of water, loitering currentless across a meadow or peat-moor (1909) … Applied to a small contributory stream – confined to the district of Carrick and to the counties of Kirkcudbright and Dumfries (1950).'

32 Douglas J.M. Caffyn, *The Right of Navigation on Non-tidal Rivers and the Common Law*, 2004, p.20.

The turbines are driven by water impounded 120 feet above Ordnance Datum in Tongland Loch, which was created behind a barrage at NX 702645. The underground culvert to the Power Station half-a-mile to the south west is said to be large enough to drive a bus through. Raising the surface level at Tongland had the effect of raising the river level at and above Threave Island, so that drainage water in Carlingwark Lane and Culvennan Cut has to be pumped past barriers into the Dee. A reserve of water in Loch Ken is normally held up to 144 feet above Ordnance Datum by a barrage above Glenlochar Bridge, at NX 732646. The river between the barrages appears to be suitable for recreational use, but the station can go on line at any time without warning, drawing down the level at Tongland by up to 10 feet, and significantly increasing the rate of flow. However, visitors to the castle on Threave Island are still ferried across the river by boat, while privately owned recreational craft safely enjoy the use of Loch Ken.

These waterways are shown on Ordnance Survey *Landranger* sheets 77, 83 and 84. 'Carlingwark Lane' is shown as an almost straight blue line from Buchan to the river Dee beside Threave Island. Most of the Culvennan Cut is shown in blue, but not identified as an 'old canal'. A 'Boatcroft' is shown just south of Bridge of Dee at NX 735598, while a 'Boat Croft' is shown opposite Culvennan at NX 73364. There is a 'Sailing Centre' beside Loch Ken at NX 657734, and a 'Boat Knowe' on the 'Water of Ken' just south of St John's Town of Dalry at NX 623802.

Acknowledgements

This account evolved from earlier RCHS WHRG Papers with help from many people, for which I am grateful. Society members include: the late John Boyes, Peter Cross-Rudkin, Richard Dean, John Howat, Peter King, Jean Lindsay, David Pedley, Alan Levitt, Hugh Potter, and Paul Sillitoe. Also from: Sheila Mackenzie, Senior Manuscripts Curator, Manuscript & Map Collections, National Library of Scotland, who supplied a photocopy of an entry in Rennie's Notebook. David Pearson, who provided data regarding marl; Stuart Ferns, Hydros Manager, Scottish Power, Glenlee Power Station, New Galloway, who provided data regarding river levels. And David Devereux, Museum Curator, and his staff at The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright, who drew my attention to material held there, and subsequently provided further information.

JOHN RUTHERFORD, SOCIETY MEMBER AND PHOTOGRAPHER IN ANNANDALE

Morag Williams[1]

Introduction

In the archives of NHS Dumfries and Galloway two albums of photographs were recorded. On the front of one was written 'J. Rutherford, Jardington'. As the photographs were taken in the 1880s and 1890s and as the then physician superintendent of Crichton Royal Institution, the official name at the time, was Dr James Rutherford, it was conceivable that there was a family connection. This was not so.

Using the indexing of the local newspapers at the Ewart Library, Dumfries, an obituary was found which contained a vital clue: 'Mr. Rutherford is survived by his wife and one daughter, the wife of Mr. J. (James) Johnstone, solicitor, Moffat.' Information supplied by the late Jean Boyd, well-versed in Moffat History, led to a grandson, John James Rutherford Johnstone in Zimbabwe, and a grand-daughter, Mrs Mary Anderson, in Chelmsford. The former supplied a photograph which appears here (Figure 1); and the latter donated a copy of a sketch, which will be reserved for a later paper.

Admiration for John Rutherford grew as the body of research increased ...

Biographical Information

The year 2012-2013 has been celebrated by Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society (DGNHAS) as its sesquicentenary. This has led members to take a look back over those 150 years and profile some outstanding members, indicating their contribution to the Society and to key events.

John Rutherford (1842-1925), owner later in life of the small estate of Jardington on the Cluden, just north of Dumfries, was a modest man who served as one of the Hon. Vice-presidents from 1912 to 1925 and who in his own quiet way is worthy of study: so much so that three papers, in all, over three years will gradually build up a picture of his activities, achievements and, especially, his recording of scenes in South West Scotland at the end of the Victorian period to illustrate various publications. The current paper presents biographical information and excavations at Birrens, mainly in the 1890s: both aspects deal mainly with Annandale. The second paper will feature his photographs of Nithsdale and the third one will concentrate on scenes of Dumfries.

---

1 Fellow of the Society; Merkland, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries DG1 1SY.

Figure 1. John Rutherford of Jardington. (Courtesy of John James Rutherford Johnstone)

John Rutherford was born in 1842 at Common in the parish of Kirkpatrick Juxta near Beattock in Dumfriesshire to parents, William Rutherford (c.1808-1876) and his wife Elizabeth Johnstone (c.1816-1907). The 1851 census recorded that William, who was 43 years of age, farmed 160 acres and employed 4 labourers. His wife was aged 35 years. They had a daughter, Christina, 14; and sons, James, 12, and John, 8.[2]

Annandale Estates records[3] revealed that in 1788 a William Rutherford, possibly the great grandfather of the John Rutherford of this study, rented Common, which prior to enclosure of agricultural land was part of the 'commonty' of Kirkpatrick Juxta. Common

2 See www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk.

3 Grateful appreciation is accorded to the Earl of Annandale and archivist, Ian McClumpha, imchad@freeola.com, for the supply of estate information.

corresponded with the land known sometimes as New Farm (also written as Newfarm) and which eventually became known only by that name. William Rutherford's rental was £25 per annum and the records stated that: 'The Tenant of the said New Farm is not to plough above 20 Acres in any one year.' William died in 1807 at the age of 73 years.[4] The estate records of the 1820s recorded that a John Rutherford, possibly the grandfather of our subject, was renting New Farm in the 1820s. He died in 1845 aged 64 years.[5]

Under a photograph of Cogrieburn School (Figure 14), long since closed, John Rutherford wrote as part of the caption: 'where I got my schooling under Mr. Tweedie.' Another scene, Cogrieburn Linn (Figure 13), would have been a childhood haunt. Stockholm (Figure 11), also an estate farm near New Farm, was where John Rutherford's mother was born.[6] Mid Murthat was also in the vicinity.

Not being the eldest in the family, John had to look elsewhere to earn his living, as many younger sons had to do. His obituary in the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*[7] of 25th November 1925 stated: 'At the age of fifteen Mr. Rutherford left home for Bristol where he started business on his own account as a draper.' The move would appear to have taken place in or around 1857. This claim was slightly premature in regard to his early days in Bristol because the 1861 England census revealed that he resided with his maternal uncle, James Johnston, and his wife and family at 129 Pritchard Street. His uncle was a linen draper, who employed two men, John being one of them and who was listed as a linen draper's assistant.

However, by the time of his marriage on 5 October 1866 at Conheath, Troqueer, Kirkcudbrightshire, he was listed as a draper. His bride was Elizabeth Johnston, 21-year-old daughter of farmer, William Johnston, and his wife, Mary Corrie. Elizabeth's employment was given as housekeeper and her usual residence was said to be at Conheath.

The 1871 census showed John living at 9 Newfoundland Street, Bristol. He and his wife had a 2-year-old daughter, Mary C., (standing for Corrie, her maternal grandmother's maiden name), and a 10-month-old son, William (Figure 2). John was employing two assistants in his drapery business. According to the *Standard* obituary, that enterprise enabled him 'to gather a competence which allowed him to retire' after about sixteen years in Bristol. At that point he would have been in his early to mid-thirties. On returning to Scotland he 'bought the small estate of Jardington, on the banks of the Cluden' in the parish of Terregles, Kirkcudbrightshire. The purchase took place 'at auction in 1874' wrote Paula Anderson, his great, great grand-daughter and the grand-daughter of the afore-mentioned Mrs Mary Anderson of Chelmsford. (Paula has kindly supplied information about the family tree from time to time.)

---

4 *Moffat Parish Memorial Inscriptions*, Dc21(718), Ewart Library, Dumfries.
5 *Ibid.*
6 Recorded on paper in his own handwriting on a clock he restored. See page 147.
7 Henceforth, *Standard*.

Figure 2. A carte-de-visite photograph by John Rutherford, taken at Jardington in 1882: his wife, Elizabeth Johnston; daughter, Mary Corrie (13); and sons, William (12) and James (7). On the reverse he has inscribed, 'My Family J. R.'.
(Courtesy of Dumfries Museum; DUMFM:1965.404/ Album No. 22 PA/22/8)[8]

His parents and other members of the family continued to live in the parish of Kirkpatrick Juxta at New Farm. On the death of his father in 1876, his mother, Elizabeth, became head of the household, his bachelor brother, James, continued working New Farm and his unmarried sister Christina remained there, too. Four members of staff are listed – a ploughman, a farm servant, a dairymaid and a domestic servant – according to the 1891 census. The unbroken tenancy of New Farm, lasting well over 100 years, came to an end in 1896-97, presumably because there was no immediate family member to follow James, who must have decided to give up farming.[9]

Retirement gave John Rutherford the opportunity to develop his interest in photography. He took photographs of his native heath, at least one in 1882 (Figure 3), and a series in 1897 (Figures 4-15), presumably to mark the end of the association of the family with New Farm. Sadly, it is not possible to name accurately the people depicted in them, although it is likely that his mother, brother and sister might feature in them. These photographs were contained in one of the albums in the Health Board Archives, mentioned in the introduction.[10] It is presumed that, as a range of photographs of the hospital were featured, Crichton Royal Hospital was considered to be a suitable repository for the albums after the death of grand-daughter, Elizabeth Rutherford Johnstone of Cluden Bank, Moffat, in March 1977, which led to the contents of her house being dispersed.

---

8 This is from an album belonging to Dr T. B. Grierson, originally from the Thornhill museum collection; on it Dr Grierson has inscribed, 'Mr John Rutherford / of Jardinton [sic] / Dumfries / Novr 1882'. Dr Grierson was a founding member of DGNHAS..

9 Dumfriesshire Valuation Rolls, Ewart Library, Dumfries.

10 These two albums required conservation treatment, which resulted in a set of five albums as each photograph merited a single page in its new archive file, now lodged with Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, Information and Archives.

Figure 3. 'Newfarm, 1882.' Album number 65. Figures 3-15 are photographs taken by John Rutherford and are from one of the two albums; they are presented in the order in which they appear in the album with his own captions and numbering. (Figures 3-15 courtesy of Dumfries and Galloway Libraries Information and Archives; 1988.137/1988.139=150)

Figure 4. 'Newfarm, 1897.' Album number 67.

Figure 5. ‘Newfarm. 1897.’ Album number 68.

Figure 6. ‘Newfarm. 1897.’ Album number 69.

Figure 7. ‘Newfarm 1897.’ Album number 70.

Figure 8. ‘Newfarm: 1897.’ Album number 71.

Figure 9. 'Newfarm. 1897.' Album number 72.

Figure 10. 'Newfarm: 1897.' Album number 73.

Figure 11. 'Stockholm. 1897.' Album number 74. Stockholm, a farm on the Annandale Estate, was where John Rutherford's mother was born.

Figure 12. 'The Plantanhead, Newfarm, 1897.' Album number 75.

Figure 13. ‘Cogrie-Linn, 1897.’ Album number 76.

Figure 14. ‘Cogrie Burn School. Where I got my schooling.’ Album number 77.

Figure 15. 'Near Newfarm. 1897.' Album number 78.

Tracing the Rutherfords after they left New Farm and finding their dates of death presented problems. On finding a newspaper report of a sale of properties in Moffat in 1891 and reading that after failing to raise any bids, the properties were bought by James Rutherford of New Farm at 'a slump sum' (that is £30 below the estimated value – a considerable sum in those days), it was a simple matter of checking Valuation Rolls for Dumfriesshire post-1897 to find out where the proprietor resided. James and Christina, listed as joint owners, had moved with their mother to Sunnyside, Noblehill, Dumfries. James died in April 1905 at the age of 66 years;[11] Christina's death is recorded in December of that year at the age of 69 years;[12] and their mother, who moved to Jardington to live, died on 3 March 1907 at the age of 91 years.[13]

John Rutherford joined DGNHAS and became one of its stalwarts. At the meeting of the Society on 4 December 1925 the Chairman referred to the recent death of John Rutherford 'who had been a member of the Society since 1876.' An appreciation is recorded in the *Transactions* of 1925-26:

> He was a man of remarkably varied interests, embracing astronomy, meteorology, horology – he had constructed and engraved several ingenious clocks – anatomy, geology, and electricity. He constructed the first telephone in the district,

11 See www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk.
12 *Standard*, 6 December, 1905, page 5.
13 *Standard*, 6 March, 1907, page 9.

anatomised the snail, and in a paper delivered to the Society in 1880 had revealed the true cause of salmon disease. His papers to the Society included the following:–

The Electric Battery and Induction Coil	5, i., 1877
The Telephone	2, xi., 1877
The Ingenuity of a Spider.....	3, iii., 1879
The Instinct of the Wasp.....	3, iii, 1879
Microscopic Notes.....	3, iii, 1879
Observations on the Salmon Disease	23, iv, 1880
.....	16, iii, 1906
A Wasp's Nest and how she Built it	11, xi, 1881
Atmospheric Electricity.....	15, xii, 1882
Human Anatomy and Physiology.....	19, ii, 1886
The Anatomy of Arion hortensis[14].....	1, xi, 1889
An Equatorial Star-finder for Beginners	4, v., 1906
Notes on the late Transit of Mercury.....	7, ii, 1908

while his Meteorological and Phenological Observations appeared in our Transactions from 1901-1921.

John Rutherford was Secretary of the Society from October, 1882, to October, 1884. His record was remarkable for a self-educated man. [15]

Mr Rutherford's obituary in the *Standard* recorded in respect of the afore-mentioned salmon disease:

> Mr Rutherford had the distinction of making the discovery as to the cause of disease amongst salmon, a problem which had baffled Professor Huxley. Early in the century Sir Herbert Maxwell, discoursing on "The Truth about the Salmon Disease" credited Mr. J. Hume Patterson, assistant bacteriologist to the Corporation of Glasgow, with having succeeded in accurately diagnosing the disease where Professor Huxley had failed. Provost Arnott (of Maxwelltown), then secretary of the Antiquarian Society, brought to the notice of Sir Herbert Maxwell that so long ago as 1880 – twenty-three years before the publication of Mr. Patterson's investigation, and two years before Professor Huxley declared his erroneous diagnosis – Mr. Rutherford had made a contribution to the Society on the subject in which he clearly indicated the true secret of the disease. [16]

The Gallovidian Annual of 1926 also carried a tribute:

> Mr Rutherford was 82 years of age when he died, and was a man of remarkable

---

14 The Garden Slug.

15 Dr W. Semple, 'Mr John Rutherford of Jardington.' *TDGNHAS*, 1925-26, Series iii, Volume 13, pages 44-45.

16 *Standard*, 25 November 1925 4/D.

> intellect and fine personality. His researches in the world of science have gained for him a standing of considerable importance. He returned to his native district and bought the small estate of Jardinton [sic] where he has remained for fifty years, devoting his leisure to researches in various branches of science and natural history. He made many valuable contributions to the world's knowledge of these subjects. [17]

In listing John Rutherford's wide range of interests which he followed during his long retirement, the *Standard* obituary described him as:

> … an expert artificer in metals, and artistic carver in wood, a photographer of outstanding ability and a master in the art of the horologist. At the Exhibition of the Dumfries Fine Arts Society two years ago [c.1923] Mr. Rutherford showed a remarkable specimen of his handicraft in the shape of a quarter chiming clock, with brass face and carved oak case, and handsomely engraved. [18]

After tracing his grandson, John J.R. Johnstone, who resided at the intriguing address of Cluden Bank, Chegutu, Zimbabwe, and sending him a copy of the obituary, this gentleman replied that he had the clock in his possession and it was still going. Photographs of the clock (and of a second clock) arrived in Dumfries from Zimbabwe. (The clocks are now with members of the family living in Glasgow as conditions in Zimbabwe had become untenable.) In the series of photographs of the two clocks a note in John Rutherford's handwriting can be seen inside the door of the less ornate clock:

> This old English Clock I bought in Glasgow in 1898: Sept. The enamel on the dial was in a bad condition: And the maker's name quite gone. I made and engraved the present dial. I made both the hands. Newfarm is where I was born. Stockholm was my mother's birth place. Both farms are near Beattock, Dumfriesshire.
>
> J. Rutherford, Jardington, Dumfries 1899.

Close inspection of enlarged detail on the dial of this clock revealed that the houses of New Farm and Stockholm are inscribed on it. Though the scenes were barely discernible in an ordinary photograph, it offered an explanation for the facts given in the note. On the more ornate clock there are also inscribed on the dial a likeness of John Rutherford himself and outlines of Jardington. Such creative skill accounts for the description 'expert artificer in metals' in the *Standard* obituary.

In 1905 the minutes of the Council of DGNHAS in March, September and October revealed that a proposal was considered for a photographic record to be made of interesting buildings in Dumfries and of local antiquities. Along with Mr Scott-Elliot as convener, Mrs Scott-Elliot and Mr Lennox, John Rutherford was a founder member of the photographic sub-committee of DGNHAS. This is recorded in the minutes of the Council of the Society on 13 October of 1905[19] in which they were also empowered to add to their number. The

17 *Gallovidian Annual*, 1926, page 4.
18 *Standard*, 25 November 1925 4/D.
19 *DGNHAS Minute Book* 1898-1906; DGNHAS Archive Box 01.

aim of the group was to collect photographs of local antiquities. In the minutes it was given various names as time went by: Photographs Committee, Photographic Committee, The Photographic and Antiquities Committee. The *Transactions* of 1906-7 referred to it as the Photograph Survey Committee.The minute book of DGNHAS for 1931-1946 recorded the new rules of the Society, adopted in November 1944 and revised in October 1946. The Society aimed: 'to collect Photographs, Drawings and Descriptions and Transcripts of same.' It is not clear when this aim lapsed. The fate of the photographic collection has not yet been established.

Field Visits and Birrens Excavations of 1895

After its foundation in 1862, DGNHAS members paid Field Visits at intervals to Birrens (thought to be the Roman site of Blatobulgium) and other nearby parts of Annandale. The fact that these visits took place in conjunction with visits to other sites on the same day indicated that there was a limited amount to see. Interest in Birrens had been particularly roused in 1731/32 when Sir John Clark (second baronet of the Penicuik family) came across by chance some

Figure 16. 'Statuette of "Brigantia". Got at Birrens in 1732 by Sir John Clerk.' Album number 104. (RIB 2091)[20] Rutherford must have travelled to Edinburgh to take this photograph in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The sculpture is now in the National Museum of Scotland. (NMS X.FV.5)

Figure 17. 'At Burnfoot'. Album number 82. The Minerva altar (RIB 2104). This was donated to Dumfries Museum in 1950 by Mrs Cavan-Irving of Burnfoot House. (DUMFM: 1950.53.1)[21]

20 R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, 1965, The Roman Inscriptions of Britain. (hereafter, RIB). The RIB references to inscriptions on stone from Birrens are given*, where they can be identified.*

21 Elaine Kennedy, former curator of Dumfries Museum, is thanked for her contribution in respect of the information on the various finds from Birrens that are now held by the museum.

important pieces of sculpture already unearthed, namely a figure of the goddess Brigantia (Figure 16) and two altars inscribed to Mercury, which are now in the National Museum. [22]

Figure 18. Album number 86. A part-completed montage of a stylised stone head;[23] the Fortuna altar (RIB 2095) and two unidentified objects. The head and the altar from Burnfoot House were also donated to Dumfries Museum in 1950. (DUMFM: 1950.53.3 and DUMFM: 1950.53.2 respectively).

Figure 19. 'At Burnfoot Farm'. Album number 99. The upper left corner of an altar is RIB 2101.

22 James MacDonald and James Barbour, 1897, *Birrens and its Antiquities*, *with an account of recent excavations and their results*, page 8.

23 See J.M.C. Toynbee, 1951-52, A Stone Head in the Burgh Museum, Dumfries', TDGNHAS, Series iii, Volume 30, page 156.

In describing his finds Sir John Clark wrote the following interesting account:

> These stood in a little temple, which, by age, had fallen down, and become a ruinous kind of heap. These ruins were in the grounds of a poor lady. She caused some stones to be made use of for building a little stable. When I chanced to pass the way I discovered the stones, and gave the poor lady two guineas for them. I consider these antiquities the chief of the kind now in Britain.[24]

Then again in 1810, Mr James Low, owner of Land, dug up the Minerva altar (Figure 17).[25] The finds were all made in the vicinity of Burnfoot, Ecclefechan (Figures 18 &19).

A Field Visit on 7 July 1883 included Hoddam Castle as well as other sites:

> After a pleasant drive, the party [of thirty-three] arrived at Hoddam Castle about mid-day. The Castle is of the old Scotch baronial style of architecture ... The central tower is now the only part existing of the original Castle, which was built by Lord Herries from the stones of an ancient chapel ... To the back of the Castle and in the walls are the remains of Roman altars and inscriptions, which were discovered at the Roman camp of Birrens (Figures 20 & 21) ... a few miles distant, and also several fossils. Agricola is the reputed founder of this Roman station.[26]

Another foray into Annandale recorded a Field Meeting on 7 August 1886 which has charm in so far as there is a marked contrast between transport then and now:

> A party numbering 22 left Dumfries by 9.15am train for Lockerbie. On arrival they were joined by two other members, and proceeded in conveyances to Ecclefechan (Figure 22).[27]

Obviously the 'conveyances' were horse-drawn. Kirtlebridge, the Merkland Cross and Birrens Camp also formed part of the itinerary. Another trip to Annandale took place on 1 July 1892, when Hoddam Church and churchyard were visited (Figure 23); and also nearby Knockhill where some Roman finds from Birrens were built into the walls of a summerhouse (Figure 24).

Excavations at Birrens in the 1890s (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland), the 1930s (Eric Birley and Ian Richmond) and the 1960s (Professor Anne Robertson) have been well-reported in the *Transactions* of the Society and elsewhere. The accounts are accessible on the Society's website.[28] For the purpose of this paper some quotations describing the 1895 excavations will suffice to tie in with the photography of John Rutherford (Figures 25, 26 & 28-37), the one person not given credit in literature for being on hand to record a number

24 James MacDonald and James Barbour, 1897, *Birrens and its Antiquities, with an account of recent excavations and their results*, page 8.
25 *Ibid.*, page 13.
26 *TDGNHAS*, 1883, Series ii, Volume 3, pages 83-84.
27 *TDGNHAS*, 1886, Series ii, Volume 4, page 183.
28 www.dgnhas.org.uk.

Figure 20. ‘At Hoddam Castle’. Album number 84. The Viradecthis altar (RIB 2108). This was placed in Dumfries Museum in 1951 by Captain Edward Brook of Kinmount and Hoddam. (DUMFM:1951.31.2)

Figure 21. ‘At Hoddam Castle’. Album number 85. The Harimella altar (RIB 2096). This was also placed in Dumfries Museum in 1951. (DUMFM:1951.31.1)

Figure 22. ‘Ecclefechan.’ Album number 92.

Figure 23. 'In Hoddam Church.' Album number 91. The Jupiter altar built into the porch (RIB 2097). This was badly damaged by fire in 1975 and is now in the collection of Dumfries Museum. (DUMFM: 0205.2)

Figure 24. 'Knockhill'. Album number 89. The Afutianus tombstone built into the wall of the summerhouse (RIB 2115). This was placed in Dumfries Museum in 1951 by Captain Edward Brook of Kinmount and Hoddam. (DUMFM:1951.31.3)

of unique scenes never seen previously. This paper attempts to redress that omission. John Rutherford travelled by pony and trap to photograph many scenes; but it is hard to believe that he might have travelled by this mode of transport to Birrens on a regular basis from Jardington. Perhaps he rented accommodation in a nearby hostelry.

Writing in the 'Historical Notices' section of *Birrens and its Antiquities*[29] published in 1897, Dr James MacDonald, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot., stated on the subject of this, the very first official excavation at Birrens:

> Hitherto no attempt had been made to examine by spade or pickaxe the site of the station. The haphazard plunderings it had suffered were the only source of information available ... The desirableness of excavations ... was brought under the notice of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Antiquarian Society in a communication read before its members in January, 1895. The local society,

29 James MacDonald and James Barbour, 1897, *Birrens and its Antiquities*, *with an account of recent excavations and their results*.

Figure 25. 'Roman Camp: Birrens, 1895.' Album number 80. A general view of the site from the south with excavation trenches and personnel just visible.

> deeming such a work of too great magnitude for them to undertake, referred the suggestion to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The council of that body promptly took it up, voted the necessary funds, and appointed a committee of superintendence ... With Mr. Thomas Ely as clerk of works operations began on the 29th May.

A debt of gratitude is owed to Alan Wilkins, formerly head of the Classics Department at Annan Academy and an enthusiastic expert on the Romans. He copied Rutherford's photographs in Crichton Royal Museum (which was in operation from 1989-2004), to a high standard for an exhibition about Birrens held in Annan Museum to mark the centenary of the Birrens 1895 excavations. Those copies were used for this section of the paper. He wrote in a guide to that exhibition:

> The men dug trenches across ditches and ramparts and then across the interior of the fort following the lines of the walls they had found. Mr Ely kept a diary describing the work done, and listing findings and results. It was hard physical work shifting tons of soil. The last six weeks were needed to return the four acres of ground to its original state.

Figure 26. 'Birrens, Northern Gateway through Rampart. (L to R) Dr Anderson, Mr Barbour, Clerk of Works?, (Mr MacDonald?)'. Album number 81. This is a well-known photograph used by Anne S. Robertson in *Birrens (Blatobulgium)*, 1975. In fact it is the west gateway. The 'Clerk of Works?' is Thomas Ely; '(Mr MacDonald?)' may be Dr James MacDonald.

A local man and member of DGNHAS, James Barbour, F.S.A. Scot., architect, provided indispensable support to the work. Alan Wilkins continued:

> His skills of observation, surveying and draughtsmanship allowed him to produce a detailed and accurate plan which set the standard for future excavations (Figure 27) ... James and his twin brother, Robert, were born in 1835 on the Dunscore farm of Shangan, run by their father. He trained as an architect with Adam [Walter][30]

30 See Dictionary of Scottish Architects 1840-1980, at www.scottisharchitects.org.uk. 'James was articled to Walter Newall, architect and civil engineer in Dumfries (Barbour's obituary refers to "Adam" Newell, …'.

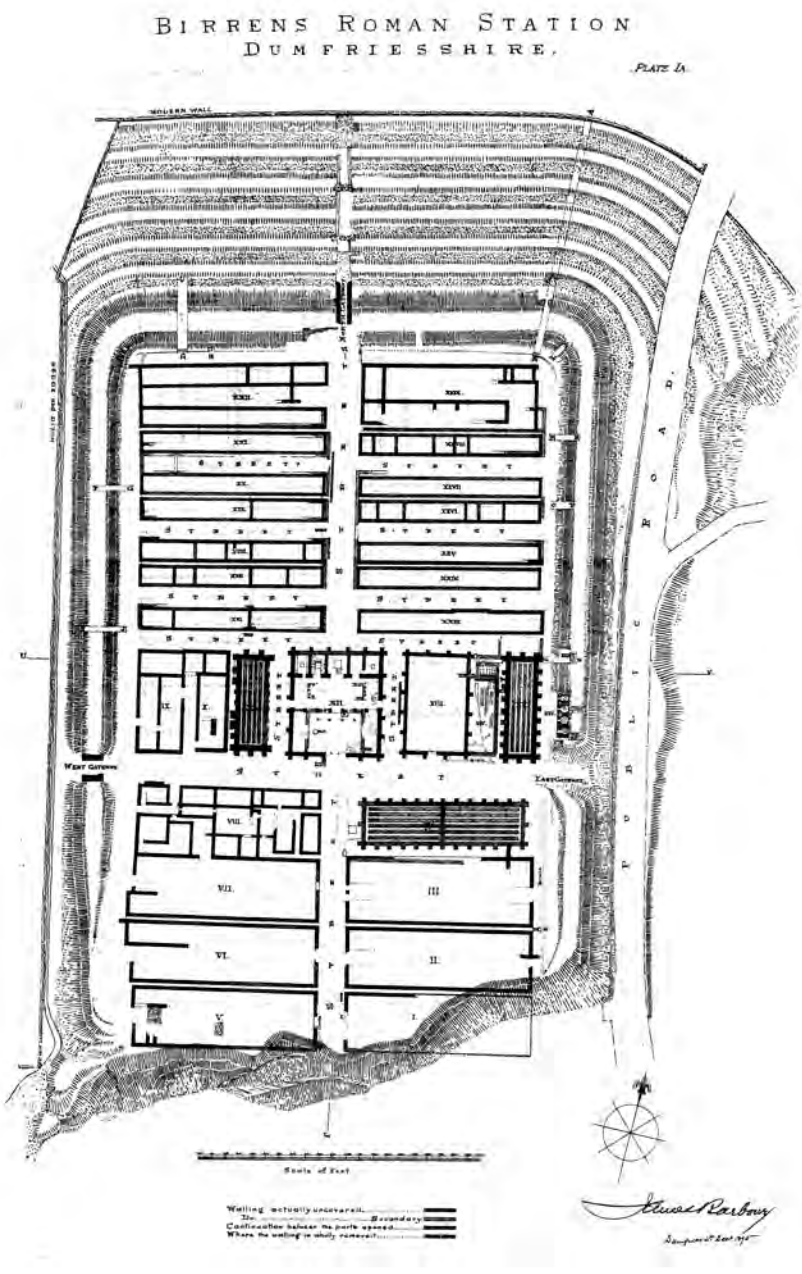

Figure 27. James Barbour's plan of Birrens, signed and dated 'Dumfries 4th Decr. 1895'. This was published in James MacDonald and James Barbour, *Birrens and its Antiquities*, *with an account of recent excavations and their results*, printed by the Standard Office, Dumfries in 1897.

Newall, gained experience in Glasgow and returned to live and work in Dumfries from the 1860s onwards. Robert founded Barbour's department store in Dumfries and James designed the building in Buccleuch Street, which is still occupied by that store.

James Barbour wrote the chapters in the 1897 publication on *The Excavations, The Fortifications, The Interior Buildings, The Pottery, etc.* There is no better authority to quote as a commentator on the subject:

The Excavations

The operations which, during the first six weeks, had been directed mainly ... to opening up the interior fortifications, were next concentrated on the examination of the interior area; and the method pursued was to carry several wide trenches from the north end of the camp to the south end, and follow whatever traces of building were in this way disclosed ... The interesting fact was established that occupation had been interrupted and resumed after a lengthened interval, during which the station lay deserted. There were two sets of pavements, one some depth below the other, two sets of wall-foundations (Figure 28); and differences in the character of the work afforded such clear evidence of this that the workmen soon came to distinguish between them, readily pronouncing this piece of masonry to be "primary" and that "secondary".[31]

As the systematic tracing of the wall-foundations proceeded, the plan of the station gradually emerged, displaying buildings regularly laid out in rectangular blocks, with streets between them. The *praetorium* and the other important central buildings had been partially opened, and it was resolved to uncover them wholly ... the most important outcome was the discovery of a finely-built well, situated within the court of the *praetorium*, which yielded a beautiful altar, dedicated to the military discipline of the Emperor. The disciplina altar (Figure 31), weighing upwards of half a ton, was brought up out of the well, with the aid of a block-and-tackle, by the united effort of twelve workmen and immediately conveyed to the railway station for transit to Edinburgh lest injury should be done to it.[32]

The Fortifications

The fortifications that still remain consist of an earthen rampart, enclosing three sides of the fort; and six parallel ditches in front of it, at the north end. The north rampart (Figure 29) shows a gateway in the centre, and there are gateways in the east and west sides also, not at the centre, however, but some way nearer the south end of the station.[33] The north entrance, where both the secondary and primary remains exist, proved the most instructive. It is approached by a roadway, paved

31 James MacDonald and James Barbour, 1897, *Birrens and its Antiquities*, *with an account of recent excavations and their results*, page 20.
32 *Ibid*., pages 22-23.
33 *Ibid*., pages 24-25.
34 *Ibid*., page 26.

Figure 28. 'Wall Foundation: Birrens.' Album number 101. This is possibly part of the *principia*. The orientation is east to west.

Figure 29. 'Wall Supporting The Rampart, "Birrens".' Album number 102. This is the north rampart.

Figure 30. 'Street Gutter: Birrens'. Album number 100. This is possibly alongside a barrack block in the *retentura*.

Figure 31. 'Altar found in the well at "Birrens"'. Album number 105. This is the Disciplina altar (RIB 2092). Rutherford must have travelled to Edinburgh to take this photograph in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The sculpture is now in the National Museum of Scotland. (NMS X.FP 2)

Figure 32. 'Flues Of The Kiln Birrens'. Album number 98.

with whinstone cobbles, which crosses the ditches on a level with the intervening ridges.[34]

The inference on the whole is, that the design of the station is homogeneous, and that all parts, whether primary or secondary, owe their origin to Roman occupation.[35] Hitherto the site was not generally known or accepted as being Roman.

The Interior Buildings

The results of the excavations in the interior of the station were somewhat unexpected and remarkable, for the slightly irregular sward covered at greater or less depth the foundations of a whole military town. Long ago all of the buildings above ground had been pulled down and carried away for modern uses, but Nature, as if appreciating the situation, century after century, unceasingly created mould, which, at every fresh spoliation, was cast as a protecting covering over the place; and so remains of considerable extent and interest have been preserved. [A] great part of the foundations of the building remains, and a few fragments of upper walling. At many places the masonry is quite gone.[36]

34 *Ibid*., page 26.
35 *Ibid*., page 30.
36 *Ibid.*, page 30.

Figure 33. ‘Found At Birrens. 1895’. Album number 94.
Stone objects, including an upper quern stone, mortar and socketed stone.

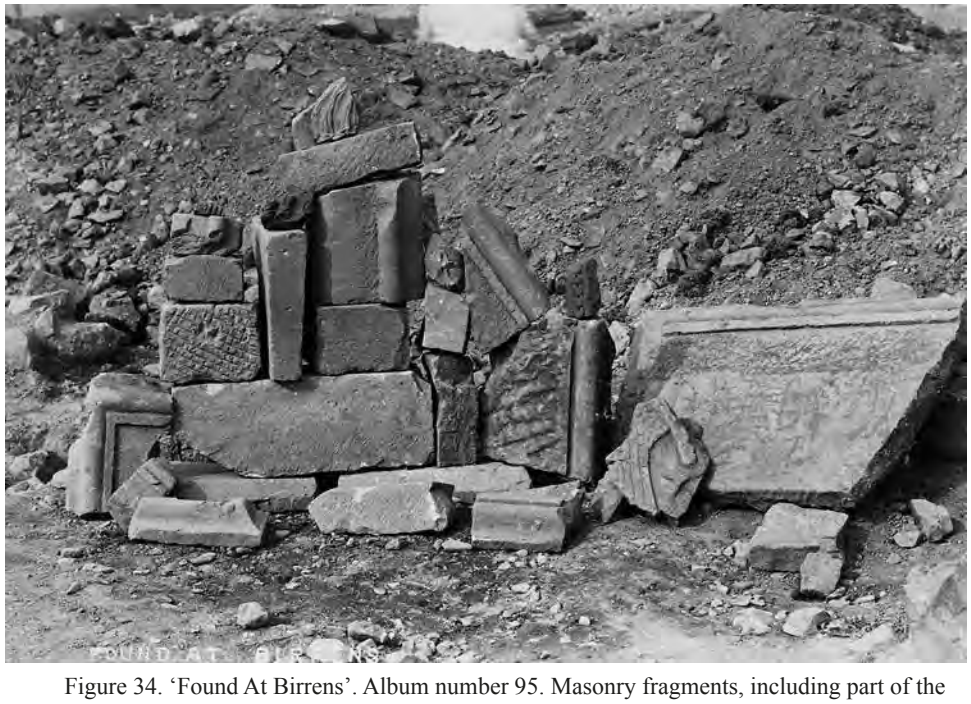

Figure 34. ‘Found At Birrens’. Album number 95. Masonry fragments, including part of the wing of a sculpture of Victory and part of a panel with a border and large rough lettering.

Figure 35. 'Found at Birrens'. Album number 96. A group of carved stone fragments, including three with inscriptions (RIB 2090; RIB 2112; RIB 2111).

> The buildings with their intervening streets form a rectangular block, measuring 500 feet from north to south, and 300 from east to west; and the interior of the station when complete would extend to about 4 acres.[37] … The station appears to have been laid out according to rule, and with a view to symmetry and utility. The structural methods are purposelike; much of the workmanship displays skill, taste, and care; and strength and endurance characterise the buildings, while they were not devoid of architectural design and adornment.[38]
>
> *The Pottery*
>
> The principal articles obtained in the course of the excavations in 1895-6 [were] deposited in the Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.[39]

37 *Ibid*., page 31.
38 *Ibid*., page 41.
39 *Ibid*., page 42. These articles are now in the National Museum of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh.

Figure 36. 'Altar Found At Birrens.' Album number 87. An uninscribed altar photographed on site with the excavation trenches in the background.

Inscribed Stones[40]

More Roman inscribed stones have been found in Dumfriesshire than in any other county of Scotland; but they all probably belong to one locality – Birrens.[41]

40 This section of the publication was written by Dr MacDonald.

41 James MacDonald and James Barbour, 1897, *Birrens and its Antiquities*, *with an account of recent excavations and their results*, page 51. Some of the inscribed stones are to be seen in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh and others in Dumfries Museum.

Figure 37. Album number 103. This is the Julius Verus inscription stone (RIB 2110). Rutherford must have travelled to Edinburgh to take this photograph in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The Society paid a Field Visit to the site on 7 September 1895 to inspect the progress on excavating the site. Dr Macdonald and James Barbour played a leading role on that occasion.[42]

Alan Wilkins summarised the excavations of 1895:

> At first they found only "small finds" of pottery, iron, lead, bronze, glass, a coin, a quern, and parts of a leather shoe. On the 3rd July a stone which had been put to one side became wet in the rain and a faint inscription appeared. This was the first piece of inscribed stone found by the diggers but certainly not the last.
>
> As they dug deeper they uncovered foundations, sections of wall and much rubble. From careful observations Barbour was able to identify streets and buildings inside the defences. He found a headquarters building, barracks, store room and granaries.

Later excavation work, as already stated, has taken place. Alan Wilkins continued:

> We know from other sites that we have yet to find: the Commanding Officer's

42 *TDGNHAS*, 1894-95, Series ii, Vol. 11, page 182.

House (*praetorium*), a Hospital (*valetudinarium*), a Workshop (*fabrica*), a Drill Hall (*basilica exercitatoria*) for cavalry training. The Stables were probably in a group of long buildings in the southern part of the fort, but this needs to be confirmed by excavation.

Work on the site ceased on 18th January 1896. The results of the excavation were published in the journal of the Society of Antiquaries, 10th February 1896, remarkably soon after the end of the dig. Barbour's plan was the most complete plan of a Roman auxiliary fort in northern Britain ever seen. The Birrens excavation was the first of a new spate of scientific excavations at Roman forts including Housesteads on Hadrian's Wall (1898), and Burnswark (1898), Inchtuthil (1901) and Newstead (1905-10) in Scotland.

Conclusion: Family Memorial and Tribute to John Rutherford

The family gravestone in Terregles Churchyard recorded the passing of John Rutherford's immediate family, except for his daughter, Mary, whose home was Cluden Bank, Moffat, Dumfriesshire and who died on 26 May 1953:

> In Memory of John Rutherford of Jardington who died 23rd Nov 1925 aged 82 years. Also his wife, Elizabeth Johnstone who died at Jardington 8th June 1928 aged 83 years. Also James, younger son of John and Elizabeth Rutherford who died 12th Feb 1892 aged 16 ½ years. And of their elder son William Rutherford Banker who died at Jardington 20th June 1899 aged 29 years.[43]

Mr. Rutherford was a faithful member of Maxwelltown United Free Church. The Rev. W.J. Street, minister, wrote an appreciation of John Rutherford's life and work, entitled *Still Waters,* from which the following lines are taken:

> I admire him for his diligence; I love him for his modesty ... of all men he is the most patient, the most submissive ... I think my friend is a man to be envied. Had he been ambitious I know not where his ambition might have led him.

Appendix

Christie's of South Kensington, London, held an Antiquities sale on 12 April 2000, the catalogue for which recorded the following details of Lot No. 126:

> THE PROPERTY OF A GENTLEMAN
> 126
> A BRITISH BRONZE AGE COPPER ALLOY FLANGED AXEHEAD
> *CIRCA* 1400 B.C.
> With deeply curved blade, 5⅞ in. (14.9 cm.) long; a Neolithic polished dark grey stone fragmentary axehead with pointed butt, blade missing, 6¼ in. (15.9 cm.) long; a white

43 *Terregles Parish Memorial Inscriptions*. GKc 17 (718). Ewart Library, Dumfries.

stone axehead with narrow butt, 7⅞ in. (20 cm.) long; another grey stone polished axehead with pointed butt and curved blade, 5⅝ in. (14.2 cm) long, all 3rd millennium B.C.; a later spinning whorl, 1⅛ in. (3cm.) diam.; a bronze alloy ball, 2 in. (5.1 cm.) diam.; and a hinged iron anklet with key hole, 4¼ in. (10.8 cm.) long (7 [items])
PROVENANCE
All items have ink inscribed labels:[44]
Item one (bronze axehead): "Found on the farm of South Cowshaw, Tinwald, about 1849". Rutherford Collection. This axehead was shown to the Dumfries [sic] and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society in October 1884.
Item two (stone axehead): "Found at Ferneycleuch, Tinwald, 1880".[45] Rutherford Collection. Also shown to the Dumfries [sic] & Galloway Society.
Item three (stone axehead): "Found at Whitehill Kirk …, 1876".[46] Rutherford Collection.
Item four (stone axehead): "Found on the farm at Hightown, Tinwald, 1893".
Item five (spinning whorl): "Found on the farm of Lochtank New Abbey by Mr Gray, 1895".[47]
Item six (ball): "Found in Tinwald moat, 1880".
Item seven (anklet): "Found South Park …"[48]
£300-500

Dumfries Museum's authorised bid for Lot 126, comprising 7 items, which had financial support from the National Fund for Acquisitions, went to £1,000. Regrettably from a local interest viewpoint, the hammer went down at £1,100.

44 Christie's staff would not have the local knowledge to recognise the names on John Rutherford's labels. In consultation with Dumfries Archives staff the following observations have emerged. Tinwald names, as recorded, are known, see below.

45 Item two. Ferneycleuch, Tinwald, still exists but in 1899 the farm was situated at the brow of the hill on the way to Torthorwald from Shieldhill and not where the farm is now. Apparently the water supply dried up and it was relocated closer to Shieldhill.

46 Item three. There is a place called Whitehill in Kirkmahoe, not far from the village of Kirkton, and it is located in a parish where antiquities have been found. There is another Whitehill at Kirkconnel.

47 Item five. Lochbank, New Abbey, is almost certainly the source of this item. It is above and to the north of New Abbey.

48 Item seven. South Park is not easy to place. South Park, the name of a modern building, on Quarry Road, Locharbriggs, is a short distance as the crow flies from Whitehill and there are various places nearby with 'Park' as part of the name. South Park as a name hereabouts has not been found on old maps. There is also a place, South Park, at Borgue and a Southpark at Urr.

THE DUMFRIES 'TROUBLEMAKER'[1]: LORD LOREBURN'S CRITIQUE OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1899-1919

David Dutton[2]

At the foot of the kirkyard at Mouswald, sloping down towards the Solway Firth, lie the mortal remains of Robert Threshie Reid, first and last Earl Loreburn. The simple stone cross marking his grave, lies broken on the ground, its condition a telling commentary on the evaporation of the historical reputation of one who served for more than six years as a leading and much respected member of Britain's pre-First World War Liberal government. That distinguished administration, formed by premier Henry Campbell-Bannerman in December 1905, contained three future Prime Ministers – H.H. Asquith, David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill – as well as such luminaries as Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary at the start of the war, and Richard Burdon Haldane, perhaps the most accomplished War Minister of the twentieth century. But Reid's appointment to the Lord Chancellorship was seen at the time as a step of considerable importance. Indeed, he was the first prospective minister to be approached by Campbell-Bannerman as the latter set about constructing his cabinet.

Born in Corfu in April 1846, where his father was serving as Chief Justice in what was then a British protectorate, Reid, after a distinguished academic career at Cheltenham and Balliol College, Oxford, was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in June 1871. He was returned as the second Liberal member for Hereford at the General Election of 1880. His seat disappeared following the abolition of the majority of two-member constituencies in 1884 and, the following year, Reid was narrowly defeated when standing at Dunbartonshire. In 1886, however, he was returned for Dumfries Burghs,[3] a seat he held for almost two decades until his ennoblement upon appointment to the Woolsack.

Reid's entire ministerial career was spent in the government's legal offices. He was appointed Solicitor-General in the summer of 1894 in Lord Rosebery's administration and secured promotion to the post of Attorney-General only a few months later. Rosebery's government was, however, a minority one and it fell from power in June 1895. For the next decade an increasingly divided and fractious Liberal party was consigned to the ranks of opposition and not until Campbell-Bannerman formed another minority administration in December 1905, rapidly converted into a majority government by the General Election

---

1 A.J.P. Taylor's Ford lectures for 1956, dealing with radical dissent over British foreign policy, were published the following year. The author struggled to come up with a suitable title, but eventually, at the suggestion of his publishers, settled on 'The Trouble Makers' (A.J.P. Taylor, *The Trouble Makers: Dissent over Foreign Policy 1792-1939* (London, 1957)). The title was later appropriated for a biography of Taylor himself: K. Burk, *Troublemaker: The Life and History of A.J.P. Taylor* (New Haven, 2000).

2 Member of the Society; Tobermory, Sandy Lane, Locharbriggs, Dumfries DG1 1SA.

3 The constituency consisted of the burghs of Dumfries, Annan, Lochmaben, Sanquhar and Kirkcudbright. It was amalgamated with the Dumfriesshire county constituency in 1918.

held the following month, could Reid resume his ministerial career. As Lord Chancellor, he took the title of Baron Loreburn, the historic war cry of the faction fights of his Dumfries constituency.[4] Not surprisingly, insofar as his career is now remembered, it is his work as a lawyer-politician that is noted.[5] But, over a period of two decades, Loreburn was also a thoughtful and trenchant critic of Britain's foreign policy, even when that policy was constructed and implemented by his own Liberal party.

It is something of a truism to state that the late-Victorian Liberal party was a broad political church, with membership ranging from aristocratic Whigs to advanced radicals. Intra-party discord became increasingly apparent following the removal of W.E. Gladstone's controlling hand with his final retirement from the party leadership in March 1894. The next two leaders, Lord Rosebery and Sir William Harcourt, represented opposite ends of an increasingly divided party. These divisions came, by the last years of the nineteenth century, to centre on the issue of Imperialism. Appointed in February 1899 as the party's fourth leader in five years, Campbell-Bannerman saw it as his primary task to hold together the warring factions of British Liberalism, but many regarded him as no more than a temporary leader, holding the fort until such time as Rosebery decided to return from his self-imposed position of Olympian detachment to reclaim his rightful inheritance. Campbell-Bannerman's task became no easier when the diplomatic crisis in southern Africa, simmering for most of the decade, finally burst into open conflict.

The second Boer War (1899-1902) ruthlessly exposed Liberal divisions. In the words of a report of the Council of the National Liberal Federation in March 1900, 'there are some who hold that the war is just and necessary, some that it is just but unnecessary, some that it is both unjust and unnecessary'.[6] In fact, this description did scant justice to the range of highly nuanced positions taken up by Liberal politicians and the situation became yet more complicated when, to criticism of the diplomacy which had made armed conflict inevitable was added opposition to the means by which the British Unionist (Conservative) government waged the war itself. The tactics used to deal with residual Boer resistance following clear British victories on the battlefield gave rise to Campbell-Bannerman's famous words of June 1901: 'When is a war not a war? When it is carried on by methods of barbarism in South Africa.'[7] Yet the subtlety of individual stances tended to be lost in the routine Unionist condemnation as 'pro-Boers' of anyone who dared criticise the conduct of a wartime government. The description was misleading. In practice, very few Liberals actually supported the military enemy, and most of the war's many Liberal critics found their opposition tempered by their innate patriotism. But the very fact that the party's Liberal Imperialist wing offered broad support for the government's South African policy made it possible for the criticism of Liberal dissidents to be tarred with the brush of

4 At the insistence of King George V, Loreburn was elevated to an earldom in the Coronation Honours of 1911.

5 See the essay in R.F.V. Heuston, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors 1885-1940* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 133-82.

6 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* (hereafter *Standard*) 14 March 1900.

7 J. Wilson, *CB: A Life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman* (London, 1973), p. 349.

treachery. 'Pro-Boer', A.J.P. Taylor once pointed out, 'was a more opprobrious epithet than ever "pro-German" became in either German war'.[8]

In the run-up to armed conflict, finding out precisely what was going on in the highest echelons of the British government was part of the problem. Reid understood that in many areas the government was obliged to keep its secrets, not least because, in telling the public of its plans, it would also be revealing them to other countries which 'were perhaps not altogether our well-wishers'. Nonetheless, he believed that for many years this necessity for secrecy had been used 'and taken advantage of' in order unnecessarily to conceal 'from our own people the real trend of our foreign policy'.[9] This call for 'open diplomacy' would remain at the heart of Reid's critique of British diplomacy for the rest of his life.

Reid himself was not well placed to offer an informed commentary on developments in southern Africa in the second half of 1899. He had accepted the invitation of his Unionist successor as Attorney-General, Sir Richard Webster, to assist in presenting the government's case in the complex Venezuelan Boundary Dispute, being heard in Paris. Yet the stance he would take over the South African crisis was entirely predictable. From his earliest days in parliament, and even when his own party was in office, he was 'by instinct and habit far too radical in his views for the convenience of his pastors and masters on the Front Bench'. The division lists of that period suggest that he 'invariably voted with the minority. The smaller it was, the more fixed his conviction that he was in the right.'[10] More recently, he had denounced the Jameson Raid of December 1895, a failed attempt fostered by British imperialists to provoke a rising among the disenfranchised 'Uitlanders' in the Boer republic of the Transvaal, after which tension grew markedly between the government in London and President Kruger's regime in Johannesburg. And Reid had equally denounced the government's 'sham investigation' into the origins of the Raid, which failed to uncover the suspected complicity of the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, while other Liberal leaders were 'mute or limply acquiescing in the sham'.[11]

As the situation worsened, Reid wrote from Paris to clarify his position. He could, he insisted, see no points between Britain and the Transvaal which could not be settled honourably without a sacrifice of interests on either side. But the main obstacle to peace was the profound mistrust of British policy entertained by the Boers and their belief that Britain was seeking to end their internal independence, even though this was guaranteed by the London convention of 1884. 'Let that [belief] be removed', he maintained, 'and war will be averted.'[12]

In the event, it was the Boers who initiated military conflict, a development which did much to rally popular support behind the Unionist government in a jingoistic display of

---

8 *Manchester Guardian* 11 October 1949, cited in D. Lowry (ed.), *The South African War Reappraised* (Manchester, 2000), p. 3.

9 Speech in Sanquhar, *Standard* 5 April 1899.

10 *Standard* 13 September 1922, quoting diary of Henry Lucy for 21 November 1910.

11 *Standard* 15 September 1900. Chamberlain's possible complicity was not fully explored, despite the presence of the Liberal leader, Sir William Harcourt, on the commission of enquiry.

12 *Standard* 27 September 1899.

patriotism, and to make more difficult the position of those, like Reid, who believed that it was aggressive British diplomacy which had forced the Boers into a corner. Speaking to the Westminster Liberal Club, Reid sought to clarify his attitude now that the country was at war:

> Sir Robert thought it was difficult to condemn too strongly the miscarriage of South African affairs which had led to the present position, and while condemning the obstructive Conservatism of President Kruger, he charged the Government with being guilty of exasperating, injudicious and ill-considered conduct, the disastrous consequences of which we are now watching in operation. The statement that there was a gigantic conspiracy in South Africa to drive the British out of it was an after-thought, later than the breaking out of hostilities, and he believed it to be without foundation in fact. But the attack on the Queen's dominions must be repelled.

Yet Liberal divisions were now apparent. Speaking at the same gathering, R.B. Haldane put a very different construction on recent events:

> Mr Haldane, while disapproving of Mr Chamberlain's diplomacy, expressed his conviction that the object of the Transvaal was to secure for itself the position of the dominant Power in South Africa. That being so, how would it have been possible, he asked, for the home authorities to have allowed such a movement to go unchecked? [13]

The position of dissidents such as Reid was rendered yet more difficult as a result of initial Boer victories, culminating in the so-called 'Black Week' of December 1899 which witnessed three major military defeats for the British forces. The London government had underestimated the size, the skill and the technical sophistication of the Boer opposition. It became necessary to send out the leading soldier of the Empire, Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, at the head of a large-scale army, to reverse this pattern. In this situation the subtleties of Reid's position were easily lost sight of. As the Unionist-supporting *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald* proclaimed, 'We know now what to believe about the members for the Burghs and the County[14] respectively: they are both prepared to do anything they can, consistent or inconsistent, to help the Boers to defeat the British in the war'. Referring to a recent 'violent pro-Boer speech' by Reid in the House of Commons, the *Courier* claimed that it had caused 'intense dissatisfaction' and even 'passionate resentment', not only among Unionists but on the radical side of politics as well.[15] Yet in that speech Reid had accepted that the war should not be stopped so long as the nation's enemies occupied part of the Queen's lands. He called, however, for a recognition of the 'other causes of this war beside the proximate and immediate'. The British government, he claimed, was responsible because of its recklessness, its want of judgment and its want of straightforwardness in one of the most difficult situations to have faced the country in the past hundred years.[16]

---

13 *Standard* 2 December 1899.
14 Robinson Souttar, Liberal MP for Dumfriesshire 1895-1900.
15 *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald* 7 February 1900.
16 *Standard* 3 February 1900.

Over the first twelve months of the war Reid established himself as one of the government's most consistent and effective critics. The amendment to the Queen's Speech moved by the Liberal MP, Philip Stanhope, in October 1899 came to be seen as a sort of litmus test of the credentials of a true radical. During the general election campaign of the following year, it would be the most commonly used indicator of a candidate's 'pro-Boer' sympathies. Campbell-Bannerman urged his party to abstain, but 15 voted with the government while 94, including Reid, supported the amendment.[17] A Commons speech by Reid at the end of January 1900 attracted particular attention. It was, suggested the lobby correspondent of the *Daily News*, 'the speech of the sitting'.[18] Harold Spender, parliamentary correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, was more effusive in his praise:

> There was no new sensation in his speech, no extraordinary revelation; nothing but a calm, impartial survey of the facts of the Transvaal controversy. But his moderation of statement lent all the more strength to his straight, honest, manly speech ... Every point made by Sir Robert was cheered to the echo by the Liberals and Irish behind, and when he sat down he received a most remarkable ovation, the Liberals cheering again and again, and crowding round him with congratulations in the lobby ... [His] speech will probably influence the country in favour of peace at least as strongly as it has influenced the House of Commons.[19]

March saw Reid raise the issue of violent behaviour against so-called pro-Boers. He moved the adjournment of the House in order to discuss this question. He had no chance of success in a Unionist-dominated chamber, but managed to attract the votes of 120 members, including the Liberal Imperialist H.H. Asquith.[20] In July Sir Wilfrid Lawson moved to reduce the salary of the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, a technical procedure designed to indicate opposition to the government's policy. Campbell-Bannerman again saw abstention as the best means of maintaining a degree of unity within the party's ranks, but Reid was among a small group which also included Lloyd George and John Morley who supported Lawson. 'My reason for voting for the reduction of the right honourable gentleman's salary', he pointedly noted, 'is that I consider his policy has been disastrous to the country.' He warned the government against seeking to annex the Boer republics at the end of the conflict. 'You will require another army and so you will have a bottomless pit into which you will have to throw the blood and treasure of this country.'[21]

Such performances elevated Reid's standing among those who shared his thinking on the South African conflict. But politically it was a high-risk strategy. Over the course of 1900 the military outlook changed dramatically as British forces achieved a series of victories against the Boer forces. When it became apparent that the enemy was not attempting to defend Pretoria, *The Times* famously, if prematurely, declared 'The War is Over'. By the late summer it became increasingly clear that the government would soon

17 S. Koss, *The Anatomy of an Anti-war Movement: the Pro-Boers* (London, 1973), p. 45.
18 *Daily News* 1 February 1900.
19 *Manchester Guardian* 1 February 1900.
20 House of Commons Debates, 4th Series, vol. LXXX, cols 926-9.
21 *Standard* 28 July 1900.

make an appeal to the country in an attempt to create political capital out of the assumed victory on the battlefield. While the strength of popular support for the war has been hotly debated by historians,[22] the danger that Reid and those who took a similar line would be swept away in a tide of jingoistic enthusiasm could not be discounted. Earlier in the year Sir Mark Stewart, Unionist MP for Kirkcudbrightshire, had sought to isolate his neighbouring Liberal MPs:

> he thought that the Liberal party as a whole had behaved extremely well towards the government during the present crisis, and all classes agreed that the country was on the right track except a very few pro-Boer gentlemen. There were one or two in the next county. He need hardly mention their names. Sir Robert Reid and Mr Souttar were very strong in the Boer interest, but they almost stood alone in Scotland ... These gentlemen, he supposed, had a right to their own feelings, but he did not know what their constituents would think or how they would act. He supposed they would take them for what they were worth and no more. He hoped so.[23]

Soon afterwards, Reid sent his support to Leif Jones, a fellow critic of government policy, who was standing as the Liberal candidate in a by-election in South Manchester. The South African conflict should be resolved, Reid insisted, by a settlement which did not involve the annexation of the Boer republics to the Crown.[24] Jones, however, was defeated by his Unionist opponent.

In this hostile environment, Reid needed support and endorsement. He received it consistently from the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*. Indeed, when his own preoccupations had been in Paris with the Venezuelan Boundary Dispute, the *Standard* had been unequivocal about its own stance on the mounting South African crisis. The newspaper wrote of Chamberlain's 'devilish diplomacy' and criticised the 'colossal, criminal mismanagement' of British policy.[25] As military conflict looked increasingly probable, the *Standard* produced a telling editorial under the headline 'Mr Chamberlain's War':

> It would be difficult to devise a method more certain to render war inevitable than to meet every concession from the opposing side with fresh demands, and with an insolent intimation that you have more yet to ask, which they will hear of afterwards, and on which you will be equally peremptory. Yet this is the method in which diplomatic negotiations have been conducted in the name of Great Britain. Threatened at first with the horrors of war on a miserably inadequate pretext, and over a question which was at the utmost a subject for friendly representation, there is danger that we may now be precipitated into it with no stateable cause whatever.

---

22 R. Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working Class: Working-Class Attitudes To and Reaction To the Boer War, 1899-1902* (London, 1972) questions the extent of popular support for the war among working-class men.

23 *Standard* 21 April 1900.

24 *Standard* 19 and 23 May 1900.

25 *Standard* 4 October 1899.

> Such a war, as we have repeatedly said, would be not only a blunder but a wanton crime; and we still decline to believe that the nation will sanction it.[26]

Like Reid, the newspaper was careful to match criticism of British diplomacy with support for the armed forces once battle was joined. Even so, while it was right to give ministers a free hand in waging the war, 'there ought to be no hesitation in charging responsibility for the breaking out of war on the persons who could have prevented it, but pursued, on the contrary, the course most calculated to provoke it'.[27] Throughout 1900 the *Standard* offered the MP consistent support. Reflecting the longstanding alliance between the newspaper and the Liberal party, Reid was routinely accompanied on to the political platform by the *Standard*'s publisher and editor,[28] and the latter was among those who signed Reid's nomination papers for the general election in the autumn. Such endorsement by the local press was important for dissident MPs such as the member for Dumfries Burghs. Fleet Street was all but unanimous in its backing for the Unionist government. Not until January 1901, when a radical syndicate bought out the *Daily News* and installed the 'pro-Boer' A.G. Gardiner in the editor's chair, did the government's critics have an effective voice in the London-based national press.

Pressure from Chamberlain finally overcame the hesitations of the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, and a general election was held between 28 September and 24 October 1900. Whatever the views of its individual representatives, nothing could disguise the divisions within the Liberal party. Earlier in the year, with the war turning in Britain's favour, Asquith had resignedly written, 'I follow with languid interest the triumph of our arms and the dissolution of our party'.[29] The prominence of the war as an electoral issue varied considerably between different parts of the country and Reid's aim was to emphasise the government's disappointing record on issues of social reform. But, in a noisy and sometimes ill-tempered campaign, events in South Africa were never far from the mind of the Dumfries electorate. With Chamberlain suggesting that three-quarters of the parliamentary Liberal party were 'traitors', Reid was at pains to re-define his position on the South African conflict and to do so in his own terms rather than the simplistic denunciations of his political opponents. He was not, he insisted, a 'pro-Boer'. 'My hopes, my sympathies are wholly and solely with my own country.' Boer actions had made it necessary to fight and Reid had never voted against the supplies needed to conduct military operations. But the question remained: 'Might this horrible war – for has it not been a terrible war? – might not this terrible war have been avoided honourably?' He rejoiced now that the war had seemingly come to an end, and desired to see the empire maintained in all its strength. 'But I think that any Government which neglects every honourable means of maintaining peace ... is in reality doing more harm than some of the worst enemies of the empire can do.'[30]

---

26 *Standard* 6 September 1899.
27 *Standard* 21 October 1899.
28 For example, speech at Volunteer Drill Hall, Dumfries, 24 September 1900, *Standard* 26 September 1900.
29 R. Hattersley, *Campbell-Bannerman* (London, 2006), p. 76.
30 Speech at Volunteer Drill Hall, 24 September 1900, *Standard* 26 September 1900.

In all the circumstances the Liberals did less badly in the so-called Khaki Election than might have been expected. The resulting Unionist majority in the new House of Commons was eight less than in 1895, though two more than at the time of the dissolution. Pro-war Liberals fared on average slightly better than their 'pro-Boer' counterparts, but the pattern was inconsistent across the country.[31] In Scotland the government made an overall gain of five seats, but Reid was comfortably returned in Dumfries Burghs, his majority over his Unionist opponent reduced by just 50 votes. Souttar, by contrast, defending a majority of only 13 from 1895 in the county constituency, went down to defeat.

The War, however, was not over. Having clearly lost the conventional military conflict, the Boers resorted to guerrilla tactics which the British were ill-prepared to counter. The forces of the Crown, now led by Kitchener, responded with a ruthless scorched earth policy in which Boer settlements were mercilessly destroyed. The idea was that, by burning farms and destroying livestock and stores, the British would deprive the enemy of supplies and shelter and force them to surrender. The British built lines of blockhouses linked by barbed wire and herded Boer civilians, including women and children, into concentration camps, where disease and hunger produced shockingly high levels of mortality.

Having been obliged, during the election campaign, to accept the reality of the annexation of the Boer republics to the British Crown, Reid turned his attention to the urgent need to bring the conflict to a speedy and mutually acceptable conclusion. The MP's motivation was no doubt sharpened by the death, while serving with the British army, of his nephew and closest male relative, James Reid, at Nooitgedecht, shortly before Christmas 1900. As Reid recognised, the tactics being employed by the British forces were hardly likely, in the long term, to produce a harmonious relationship between Britain and its new subject peoples. The *Dumfries Standard* took up this theme and warned of the 'Barbarism of the War': 'every man of Dutch blood in Africa is being turned by the merciless conduct of the war into a bitter enemy of this country'.[32] Reid had become one of the government's most trenchant critics and one with a capacity to get under the skin of his opponents in both parliament and the press. Speaking in the Commons on 12 December, he maintained that the notion of an unconditional Boer surrender should be abandoned and that the time had come for negotiations. He made constructive proposals about the sort of terms which the British government might offer to bring about an end of conflict, including financial assistance to restock Boer farms:

> An unconditional surrender was very well if they were dealing merely with a military force, but it was not well if they had an eye to a fine government – to the possibility of reconciling to a new form of government the people whom they had conquered.

Replying for the government, however, the War Secretary, St John Brodrick, suggested that Reid, 'who had made more mischievous speeches than almost any other man on the Opposition side, had made an impractical and unwise and mischievous speech that

31 J. Auld, 'The Liberal Pro-Boers', *Journal of British Studies* 14, 2 (1975), p. 79.
32 *Standard* 10 November 1900.

afternoon'.[33] A Commons clash between Reid and Chamberlain in February 1901 left the Colonial Secretary, in the view of the admittedly not impartial *Standard*, 'more humiliated' than any minister of the Crown in recent years.[34] When in April Reid sought to have a petition from two former ministers of the Cape Colony read at the Bar of the Commons, he was roundly condemned in a leading article in *The Times*. The pretensions of that newspaper, suggested the *Standard*, to be regarded as 'an organ of grave, balanced, sensible, tolerant, courteous opinions have been finally disposed of'.[35]

An uneasy truce between the Liberal party's warring factions was shattered by the return to Britain of Sir Alfred Milner, High Commissioner in South Africa. For the War's opponents, Milner was the instrument of an iniquitous British policy; for the Liberal Imperialists, by contrast, he was a dedicated public servant, worthy of the nation's gratitude. Grey's action in greeting him as he disembarked at Southampton on 24 May was inevitably provocative, as was the decision of another Liberal Imperialist, Henry Fowler, to attend a dinner at Claridges in the High Commissioner's honour. The following month, a speech by Campbell-Bannerman to the National Reform Union saw the Liberal leader drop any pretence that he was trying to hold the balance between the opposing wings of his party. He highlighted the government's double standards regarding the state of war in South Africa. On the one hand, British tactics were justified by the glib assertion that 'war was war'. On the other, the government had been claiming for some time that the war, as such, was in fact over. 'When is a war not a war?' asked Campbell-Bannerman rhetorically. 'When it is carried on by methods of barbarism in South Africa.'[36] Though the phrase was not immediately picked up by the press, it would resonate down the decades. For the 'pro-Boers', this was the sort of unequivocal denunciation of the government for which they had been waiting.

In response, on 20 June, at a dinner held at the Liverpool Street Hotel, Asquith insisted that his own views had not changed one iota. A further dinner in his honour was then arranged for 19 July at the City Liberal Club and went ahead despite an appeal from Campbell-Bannerman for its postponement, but its impact was mitigated by the latter's decision to call a party meeting in advance of Asquith's dinner. Here Campbell-Bannerman received a unanimous vote of confidence, with Asquith and Grey obliged to repudiate 'any desire to accentuate differences or ... any feeling but one of loyalty to the leader'.[37]

Yet hopes of renewed unity were quickly shattered when Rosebery made one of his rare incursions into the political arena. In a letter to the City Liberal Club, published on 16 July, the former leader declined to return to active party politics, but suggested that the split within Liberalism was of a fundamental nature and would outlast the ending of hostilities in South Africa. It amounted to 'a sincere, fundamental and incurable antagonism of principle

33 *Standard* 15 December 1900.
34 *Standard* 27 February 1901.
35 *Standard* 3 April 1901.
36 S. Koss, *Asquith* (London, 1976), p. 53.
37 *Standard* 13 July 1901.

with regard to the Empire at large and our consequent policy'.[38] Speaking to the City Liberal Club a few days later, Rosebery made matters even worse by hinting at the possible need to set up a new party. A speech by Asquith in late August, heralding a concerted autumn campaign by the Liberal Imperialists, was taken by Campbell-Bannerman to indicate 'a vicious determination to stick at nothing in his, and his friends' separation from us'.[39] Rosebery's somewhat Delphic speech at Chesterfield on 16 December did little to clarify matters, but February 1902 saw the foundation of the Liberal League with Rosebery as president and Asquith, Grey, Fowler and, subsequently, Haldane as vice-presidents. The League disclaimed any separatist tendencies, but gave every appearance of a party within the party and seemed to presage the disintegration of British Liberalism.

The period of internecine conflict within the Liberal party, in which Campbell-Bannerman nailed his colours firmly to the anti-war mast, saw Reid emerge as one of the leader's closest confidants, guaranteeing his prominence in any future administration that Campbell-Bannerman might construct. The two men were of one mind in insisting that a compromise between the government's insistence on unconditional surrender and the Boers' commitment to full independence could and must be found. Speaking to his constituents on 4 October for the first time since the General Election, Reid suggested that the true cost of the war was being hidden from the British people. He wanted the government to commit itself to a Boer assembly to advise the post-war British administration in South Africa and to promise 'as soon as we possibly can' to place the country in the same constitutional position as Australia and Canada. This speech, suggested the *Manchester Guardian*, 'combined hard sense and keen patriotism'.[40] Reviewing the past year, the *Dumfries Standard* concluded that

> inside the House and out of it Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has greatly strengthened his position at the head of the Liberal party; and he has found in Mr Morley and Sir Robert Reid trustworthy colleagues in a crusade for peace on terms that will ensure to the Boers the largest, earliest measure of self-government that is consistent with the supremacy of this country.[41]

* * *

In many ways the Liberal party staged a dramatic recovery once the Treaty of Vereeniging brought the South African war to a formal conclusion at the end of May 1902. The policy agenda of the Unionist government seemed almost designed to restore unity to the Liberal opposition. The government's Education Act of 1902, with its bias in favour of Church of England schools, and, more particularly, Joseph Chamberlain's campaign for tariff reform, launched in 1903, with its self-evident challenge to the Liberal Holy Grail of Free Trade, produced causes around which the opposition could rally with a unity of purpose that had

38 *Standard* 17 July 1901.
39 Koss, *Asquith*, p. 57.
40 *Standard* 5 October 1901; *Manchester Guardian* 5 October 1901; Koss, *Anatomy of Anti-war Movement*, p. 235.
41 *Standard* 1 January 1902.

not been apparent for the previous decade. The war itself rapidly faded from the foreground of political debate and played only a marginal part in the General Election of 1906. But the long-term impact of the Boer War persisted beneath the surface of British politics. In the words of one contemporary, it remained 'the test issue for a generation'.[42] The factions which had coalesced during the war were still important in the internal dynamics of the Liberal party. For the rest of their lives, Liberal politicians

> were still to distinguish among themselves between those who had kept the pass and those who had sold it, between those who on public platforms had swayed patriotic audiences to enormous applause and those who had been compelled to duck out the back door of halls under police protection in order to escape the consequences of the righteous fury of the people, and their baying cry of 'pro-Boer'.[43]

In September 1905, with the Unionist government, now headed by Arthur Balfour, visibly disintegrating, three leading Liberal Imperialists, Asquith, Haldane and Edward Grey, met at Relugas, the last named's fishing lodge, and secretly agreed the conditions upon which they would be prepared to serve in a future Campbell-Bannerman administration. Asquith must be appointed to the Exchequer, Grey to the Foreign Office and Haldane to the Lord Chancellorship. Most importantly, Campbell-Bannerman should accept a peerage, leaving Asquith to lead from the Commons. In the event, the always under-estimated Campbell-Bannerman called the plotters' bluff. When Balfour resigned in December, leaving the Liberals to form a minority government, Campbell-Bannerman accepted Asquith and Grey as Chancellor and Foreign Secretary respectively, but insisted on himself remaining in the Commons and on giving the Woolsack to his now close colleague, Robert Reid. The latter's appointment involved an obvious risk. Though his previous experience as Solicitor-General and Attorney-General fully justified his elevation, Reid's radical and controversial pedigree sat somewhat uneasily with the dignity and impartiality of the headship of the English judiciary. Campbell-Bannerman, however, recognised Reid's crucial importance in maintaining the internal balance of the new cabinet.

Tracing Loreburn's role within the government's subsequent discussion and determination of high policy is no easy matter. The cabinet secretariat was not established until December 1916, so no cabinet minutes exist for the Liberal government which held power between December 1905 and May 1915. No collection of Loreburn's private papers has ever been located. 'I have no papers', he wrote in 1920. 'I never keep them.'[44] His position as Lord Chancellor all but ruled out the sort of 'political' speeches which had characterised his earlier career. Nevertheless, the surviving record makes it clear that Loreburn became the most prominent critic within the government of Edward Grey's foreign policy.

---

42 L.T. Hobhouse in the *Nation* 30 March 1907, cited in P.F. Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 68.

43 A.P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and its Enemies* (London, 1963), p. 102.

44 Loreburn to A. Ponsonby 23 April 1920, cited in C. Hazlehurst and C. Woodland, *A Guide to the Papers of British Cabinet Ministers 1900-1951* (London, 1974), p. 121.

As far as we can tell, the cabinet rarely discussed foreign policy during the first years of the Liberal government. The topic was regarded as a specialist area for which the Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister enjoyed an almost exclusive responsibility. Lloyd George, appointed by Campbell-Bannerman to the Board of Trade, has left a vivid description of this state of affairs:

> We were made to feel that, in these matters, we were reaching our hands towards the mysteries, and that we were too young in the priesthood to presume to enter into the sanctuary reserved for the elect ... Discussions, if they could be called discussions, on foreign affairs, were confined to the elder statesmen who had seen service in some previous ministerial existence. Apart from the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary there were only two or three men such as Lord Loreburn, Lord Morley, Lord Crewe and, for a short time, Lord Ripon, who were expected to make any contribution on the infrequent occasions when the Continental situation was brought to our awed attention. As a matter of fact, we were hardly qualified to express any opinion on so important a matter, for we were not privileged to know any more of the essential facts than those which the ordinary newspaper reader could gather from the perusal of his morning journal.[45]

In any case, those ministers such as Loreburn, who might have welcomed a more collegial approach, had their hands full with the government's domestic agenda. But he was clearly nervous about the direction in which Grey might travel. His words at the National Liberal Club in July 1906 offered a veiled warning:

> I do trust that however keen in the work of social reform the new Parliament will be, it will never lose sight of these colonial and foreign questions, but will remember that it has to make a choice. If you will have a warlike and aggressive policy, you cannot by any possibility have effective social reform.[46]

On coming to office Grey's most important inheritance from the out-going Unionist administration was the Anglo-French Entente negotiated by his predecessor, Lord Lansdowne, in 1904. Coming only six years after Britain and France had stood on the brink of war over a minor dispute on the banks of the Nile, this agreement came in time to assume the significance of a diplomatic revolution in Britain's foreign relations. In its original manifestation, however, it was a limited colonial arrangement, with no European implications, whereby the two countries recognised each other's position in Egypt and Morocco respectively. The key point was that Grey seemed readier than the cautious Lansdowne to shape British foreign policy around the country's relationship with France. As early as 10 January 1906, amid heightened Franco-German tension over Morocco, Paul Cambon, the French ambassador in London, called on Grey to ask the new Foreign Secretary how much diplomatic support France could expect from Britain and, more importantly, whether British military support would be given in the event of a German attack. In view of the imminent election in Britain, Grey responded that he was in no

45 D. Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, vol. 1, (London, 1933), p. 47.
46 *Manchester Guardian* 12 July 1906.

position to consult his cabinet colleagues and could only offer his personal opinion that in such an eventuality public opinion would probably force the British government to take military action. Loreburn later argued that the cabinet could in fact have been consulted without great difficulty.[47] In the event, however, Grey made only very selective soundings before deciding upon a line of policy which had enormous implications for the future course of British diplomacy. After discussing the possibility of Franco-German conflict with Haldane, the War Secretary, he gave permission for formal talks between the British Director of Military Intelligence and the French military attaché on possible Anglo-French co-operation in the event of war. Campbell-Bannerman was not immediately consulted, but appears to have been apprised of developments by the end of the month.[48] It was, however, not until 1911 that the full cabinet became aware of what had happened. A further meeting between Cambon and Grey on 31 January 1906 left the French ambassador with the clear impression that he should be content with Grey's personal opinion and that any attempt to formalise the British commitment would need cabinet endorsement which was by no means certain to be forthcoming.[49]

Over the months and years that followed, the Anglo-French Entente (complicated in 1907 by the signing of an Anglo-Russian Entente) was transformed, almost imperceptibly, if not into a formal alliance, then 'an expectation of support for the French which it would be very hard to escape'.[50] Loreburn, unaware at this stage of Grey's authorisation of military talks, remained hopeful of an improvement in Anglo-German relations to match that which had clearly come about in Anglo-French relations. In July 1906 he passed on to the Foreign Secretary the German ambassador's expressed wish for an agreement with Britain, together with the latter's insistence that this could be secured without damage to the Entente.[51] Grey was sympathetic to the idea of better Anglo-German relations, but whether these could be achieved within the broader foreign policy framework which he had begun to construct was another matter. By this stage divisions within the cabinet were becoming apparent. Charles Hardinge, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, wrote of a 'peace at any price section ... headed by the Lord Chancellor'.[52]

The following year Haldane's Army Bill caused misgivings on grounds of cost and concern that it might be the first step towards the introduction of conscription. 'These opinions', noted the Clerk to the Privy Council, 'have found a powerful mouthpiece within

47 Lord Loreburn, *How the War Came* (New York, 1920), p. 80.

48 Looking back, Loreburn found it difficult to believe that Campbell-Bannerman could have understood the full implications of what had gone on. Loreburn, *How War Came*, p. 105. But the balance of the evidence is not with him.

49 K. Robbins, *Sir Edward Grey* (London, 1971), pp. 145-50; T. Otte, 'The elusive balance: British foreign policy and the French entente before the First World War' in A. Sharp and G. Stone (eds), *Anglo-French Relations in the Twentieth Century* (London, 2000), pp. 19-20.

50 P.M.H. Bell, *France and Britain 1900-1940: Entente and Estrangement* (Harlow, 1996), p. 48.

51 National Archives, FO 800/99, Loreburn to Grey 28 July 1906; K. Wilson, 'Grey' in K. Wilson (ed.), *British Foreign Secretaries and Foreign Policy: From Crimean War to First World War* (Beckenham, 1987), p. 185.

52 Hardinge to Lascelles 16 May 1906, cited in G. Monger, *The End of Isolation: British Foreign Policy 1900-1907* (London, 1963), p. 255.

the cabinet itself in the person of the Lord Chancellor.'[53] Cabinet divisions were only too clear in 1908 when, alarmed by the German naval building programme, the First Lord of the Admiralty, Reginald McKenna, called for six Dreadnoughts to be added to the country's construction programme. A group of 'economists' – Lloyd George, Churchill, Lewis Harcourt, Burns, Morley and Loreburn – argued that only four were necessary. The eventual 'compromise', that four keels should be laid down immediately with four more to follow later in the year, suggested that the radical wing had lost its ascendancy. By this stage, ill-health had – much to Loreburn's dismay – forced Campbell-Bannerman's retirement. His replacement by Asquith represented a significant shift in the cabinet's internal balance of power. The withdrawal of a further cabinet veteran, the eighty year-old Lord Privy Seal, Lord Ripon, prompted Loreburn to express his regrets: 'I was very downcast about it for C.B. and Bryce and you were, on the formation of the Government, the men I most agreed with and relied upon ... It is a different Government today from what it was three years ago.'[54] Undeterred, Loreburn continued to press for improved relations with Germany. But at a cabinet meeting in July 1910 the Foreign Secretary gave an important and revealing response. He suggested that it would be inexpedient to enter 'into any engagements with Germany which would be of such a character as to lead to misunderstanding and perhaps loss of friendship with France and Russia'.[55] Grey was now clear that a choice had to be made as between France and Germany and, as far as he was concerned, it had already been made.

The following summer witnessed a renewed crisis over Morocco following the provocative arrival of the German gunboat *Panther* at the Moroccan port of Agadir, a move that was widely interpreted as threatening war. At the cabinet on 19 July 1911 Grey called for a new international conference on Morocco and suggested that, if Germany rejected such a proposal, 'we should take steps to assert and protect British interests'. Loreburn countered that British interests in Morocco were negligible and not worth the risk of war with Germany.[56] But he was sufficiently alarmed to seek the support of C.P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian*. Scott's notes well capture the Lord Chancellor's anxiety: 'Take care we don't get into a war with Germany. Always remember that this is a Liberal League Government. The Government of France is a tinpot Government ... They are capable of leaving us in the lurch. It would suit them admirably that we should be involved in a war with Germany.'[57] Loreburn's mention of the Liberal League shows both that the divisions of the Boer War were still relevant and that the balanced cabinet created by Campbell-Bannerman no longer existed.

On 21 July the cabinet authorised the Foreign Secretary to tell the Germans that Britain would not recognise any settlement in which she did not have a voice.[58] That evening Lloyd

53 Sir A. Fitzroy, *Memoirs*, vol. 1 (London, 1923), p. 319.
54 Loreburn to Ripon 30 October 1908, cited in P. Rowland, *The Last Liberal Governments 1905-1910* (London, 1968), p. 164.
55 Asquith to George V 20 July 1910, cited in A.J.A. Morris, *Radicalism Against War 1906-1914* (London, 1972), p. 221.
56 National Archives, CAB 41/33/22, Asquith to George V 19 July 1911.
57 T. Wilson (ed.), *The Political Diaries of C.P. Scott 1911-1928* (London, 1970), pp. 42-3.
58 J. Charmley, *Splendid Isolation? Britain and the Balance of Power1874-1914* (London, 1999), p. 366.

George delivered his celebrated Mansion House speech, a clear warning to Germany of the possible consequences of an aggressive stance and stronger in tone than Grey's words to the German ambassador earlier that day. Lloyd George's views had been evolving for some time, but his speech, delivered after consultation with Grey and Asquith, made it clear that he could no longer be counted among the radical voices of dissent. Loreburn now implored Grey to make it clear that 'we had no wish to interfere between France and Germany' and to undo the impact of Lloyd George's speech.[59] But the situation was rapidly moving beyond the Lord Chancellor's control. On 25 August he warned Grey that military and naval support for France in 'a purely French quarrel' would not win the approval of the House of Commons 'except by a majority very largely composed of Conservatives and with a very large number of [the] Ministerial side against you'. The result would be that 'the present government could not carry on'. Grey, however, refused to change course.[60]

Unbeknown to Loreburn, a special meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence had been held on 23 August, attended by Asquith, Grey, McKenna, Haldane, Lloyd George, Churchill and the service chiefs. On the agenda was a detailed discussion of the immediate deployment of a British Expeditionary Force to France in the event of the outbreak of war. Grey had also approached Unionist leaders to ascertain whether their backing could be relied upon in the event of war with Germany, and it was an opposition spokesman, Alfred Lyttelton, who, on the assumption that such a senior member of the cabinet would already be fully informed, inadvertently disclosed to Loreburn what had happened. As C.P. Scott recorded:

> This was the first Loreburn had heard of it (although he took care not to let this appear) and it afterwards appeared that everything had been arranged for the landing of a force of 150,000 men on the French coast down to the minutest detail of the time of departure and arrival of the trains and the stations at which they should get refreshments. This had all been arranged by members of the C.I.D.[61]

A furious Loreburn consulted Morley and Harcourt. The latter had heard the same story, but the former, despite being a member of the C.I.D., was in complete ignorance. The three men decided to raise the matter at the cabinet. The result was two stormy meetings of that body on 1 and 15 November 1911. One well-placed Conservative heard that the government was 'on the very edge of breaking up' with Grey's position particularly vulnerable.[62] The hitherto secret military conversations dating back to 1906 were now revealed. Pressed by Loreburn as to why the cabinet had not been informed, 'Asquith went as white as a sheet but no answer was forthcoming'. The cabinet accepted two resolutions – that no communications should take place between the General Staffs of Britain and any other country which committed Britain to military or naval intervention and that such

---

59 National Archives, FO 800/99, Loreburn to Grey 27 July 1911; S. Williamson, *The Politics of Grand Strategy: Britain and France Prepare for War, 1904-1914* (London, 1990), p. 156.

60 National Archives, FO 800/99, Loreburn to Grey 25 August 1911 and Grey to Loreburn 30 August 1911; Williamson, *Grand Strategy*, pp. 156-7.

61 Wilson (ed.), *Scott Diaries*, p. 62.

62 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Sandars MSS, c. 764, note by J. Sandars 24 November 1911.

conversations should in future only take place with the prior knowledge of the cabinet. Loreburn, however, remained disgruntled and suggested to Harcourt and Morley that all three should resign in protest from the government. 'Morley declined, as also did Harcourt ... Loreburn reluctantly acquiesced.'[63]

Scott had already noted that Loreburn was 'tired and disheartened and eager to get out of office'. The Lord Chancellor considered that Grey's foreign policy was 'rotten to the core'.[64] The Foreign Secretary himself was 'hopeless and impervious to any argument. It was impossible for the Cabinet to control him in detail, yet everything depended in diplomacy on the handling of detail.' At the root of the problem lay the 'perversion of the friendly understanding with France into an alliance, but that was a subtle thing and how could you prevent it except by changing the Minister?' Unfortunately, from Loreburn's point of view, there was no obvious candidate to take Grey's place. Loreburn had pleaded with Asquith to 'wrestle with Grey', but he doubted whether the Prime Minister ever tried to influence his own Foreign Secretary. The Lord Chancellor even judged that the Unionists, Bonar Law and Lansdowne, 'would be far better'.[65]

Loreburn was encouraged by a resolution of the National Liberal Federation executive in January 1912, declaring support for 'an earnest effort at a friendly understanding with Germany, a country with which we have no real quarrel'. But any hopes he may have entertained of a significant change of direction in British foreign policy were misplaced. Asquith and Grey remained firmly in charge and the remaining radical faction within the cabinet had little more than nuisance value.[66] Loreburn planned to raise again the whole question of staff talks and argued that a continuation of the present policy would require a British army of at least half a million men rather than the 150,000 currently envisaged.[67] But with the Lord Chancellor increasingly critical of his cabinet colleagues, even his nominal allies – 'Morley a wreck'[68] – it was open to question how long he would be able to remain a member of Asquith's government. In the event, a breakdown in health took the matter out of Loreburn's hands and compelled his sudden departure from the Woolsack over the Whitsun recess of 1912, leaving Haldane to inherit the post he had long craved. But, while the stated reasons for Loreburn's resignation were genuine, he later admitted that he would have resigned 'over the German business' had he not believed that he was serving the country's best interests by remaining in office. 'It was very distasteful for me to remain in and I stayed with great reluctance and only on that ground.'[69]

Loreburn's health recovered sufficiently for him to be able to continue to fight against Grey's foreign policy from behind the scenes. With some prescience, he warned that 'the rank and file both in this country and in Parliament would not know what had happened until it was too late'. His suggested remedies became ever more desperate, as when he

63 Wilson (ed.), *Scott Diaries*, pp. 62-3.
64 *Ibid*., p. 52.
65 *Ibid*., pp. 55-6.
66 Morris, *Radicalism Against War*, p. 305.
67 Williamson, *Grand Strategy*, p. 251.
68 Wilson (ed.), *Scott Diaries*, p. 60.
69 Loreburn to Bryce 3 September 1912, cited in Heuston, *Lord Chancellors*, p. 168.

proposed to C.P. Scott that the King might be justified in demanding a dissolution of parliament before a British force was despatched to engage in a continental war.[70] Yet Britain became, if anything, even more firmly committed to France. Naval conversations, culminating in February 1913, led to an agreement that the French should concentrate their fleet in the Mediterranean while Britain focussed on the Channel and the North Sea – an arrangement which only made strategic sense on the premise of a wartime alliance between the two countries. As Britain entered the July crisis of 1914, the government was strictly speaking correct in insisting that no formal agreement existed binding the country to a specific course of action. In practice, however, Grey's scope for manoeuvre was extremely limited.

* * *

Inevitably, Loreburn was dismayed by the British declaration of war against Germany on 4 August. It was, he believed, the result of the policy consistently pursued by Grey of committing Britain to France and thus to a totally unnecessary conflict, a policy that had been systematically concealed from parliament and even from the cabinet ever since 1906. As he later put it, 'the key to the 1914 imbroglio was our position vis-a-vis with [sic] France. This hampered, as it seems to me, our power to see straight as well as to speak straight of our intentions.'[71] Had he still been in government in 1914, he would almost certainly have joined Morley and John Burns, the two ministers who now resigned from Asquith's cabinet. Indeed, he might have persuaded some of those such as John Simon and Lord Beauchamp, who wavered on the brink of resignation, to follow their first instincts and quit the government.

Loreburn's problem now was what to do. Prevailing opinion was even more against him than it had been during the South African war. Even the majority of backbench Liberal MPs of radical inclination had concluded that the German violation of Belgian neutrality, guaranteed by Britain as long ago as 1839, left Britain with little alternative but to intervene.[72] An early approach to Morley to join in a 'parliamentary attack on his old colleagues' was unceremoniously rebuffed.[73] According to his later obituary in the *Manchester Guardian*, Loreburn 'spoke seldom during the war ... He made a few speeches in the Lords, and he contributed a few letters and articles to *Common Sense*, a weekly paper edited by Mr F.W. Hirst.'[74] Though factually accurate, this description does scant justice to the significance of Loreburn's interventions and the importance of his activities behind the scenes. He emerged, in fact, as one of the wartime government's most perceptive critics.

Wisely, Loreburn quickly shifted his emphasis away from the rights and wrongs of British participation in the war and towards the necessity of reaching a diplomatic resolution of the conflict. 'We are now in a fight', he recognised, 'which taxes all our resources and

---

70 Wilson, 'Grey', p. 187.
71 Heuston, *Lord Chancellors*, p. 173.
72 Loreburn had some sympathy for this point of view. See Lord Sandhurst, *From Day to Day* (London, 1925), p. 22.
73 Sir A. Fitzroy, *Memoirs*, vol. 2 (London, 1923), p. 581.
74 *Manchester Guardian* 1 December 1923.

energy and we ought all to encourage those who are fighting.' Indeed, granted the German invasion of Belgium, 'it can do no good and may do harm to discuss the origins now'.[75] In the search for peace Loreburn was one of the first to recognise the potential role of the as yet neutral American President. 'Only one man', he argued, 'can make his voice heard now and that is President Wilson.'[76] Accordingly, he made contact with Wilson's special representative, Colonel House, during the latter's first wartime mission to England at the beginning of 1915. Loreburn's views, House noted, 'largely coincided with mine'.[77]

Britain's policy makers still hoped to fight the war on the principle of 'limited liability', leaving the bulk of the continental war to the mass conscript armies of the European great powers. Loreburn, however, accurately foresaw the pattern of future events. The old policy followed by Disraeli, Gladstone and Salisbury of non-interference in European affairs, which had come to be known as 'splendid isolation', was, he told C.P. Scott, 'essentially right', but had been fatally abandoned and could not now be revived. 'We should now be compelled to take our place with the great military nations and he saw no escape from our being militarised ... We could no longer trust to the navy.' In the longer term, Britain should concentrate on home military defence to make a future invasion impossible. That at least would allow the country to dispense with the sort of alliances which had produced the disastrous consequences of August 1914.[78]

By 1915 it was clear that the short, victorious war promised by British military strategists was not, in fact, going to materialise. Loreburn was one of the first to think through the terrible consequences of a long war of attrition, urging Burns in July that it was time 'for saying something that will make people think of the absurdity of fighting on till all the nations are exhausted'.[79] Two months later, warning of the dangers of revolution as the culmination of a process of military exhaustion, he offered support to the former Liberal (and future Labour) MP, Charles Roden Buxton, when the latter circulated a document entitled 'The Case for Negotiation'.[80] Loreburn's first significant public contribution came in late October when he put down two awkward questions for government ministers in the House of Lords. At the behest of France, Britain's new coalition government had agreed to the despatch of a substantial force to the Greek port of Salonika in a forlorn attempt to aid the Serbian army and rally wavering Balkan states to the allied cause. Loreburn had obviously heard the widespread rumour that, at a time when every available soldier was needed on the Western Front, this had been done for purely political and diplomatic reasons. He now asked whether the despatch of troops had been agreed with the approval of the government's highest naval and military advisers and whether those same advisers were happy that full provision had been made for the communications of the force and for

75 Loreburn to C.P. Scott 25 September 1914, cited in Wilson (ed.), *Scott Diaries*, p. 106.
76 Loreburn to Bryce 19 October 1914, cited in Heuston, *Lord Chancellors*, p. 175.
77 L.W. Martin, 'Woodrow Wilson's Appeals to the People of Europe: British Radical Influence on the President's Strategy', *Political Science Quarterly* 74, 4 (1959), p. 501.
78 Wilson (ed.), *Scott Diaries*, p. 115.
79 Loreburn to Burns 26 July 1915, cited in K. Robbins, *The Abolition of War: The Peace Movement in Britain 1914-1919* (Cardiff, 1976), p. 58.
80 Loreburn to Buxton 23 September 1915, cited in Robbins, *Abolition of War*, p. 58.

its supplies of men and material.[81] It was a perceptive intervention. A substantial allied army would remain in the Balkans for the duration of the conflict, making no very obvious contribution to the defeat of the Central Powers.

Just as significantly, Loreburn used his next Lords speech to warn of the consequences of the sort of war upon which the government was now engaged, a war which, he suggested, had already cost 15 million lives:

> It is no exaggeration to say that if this conflict goes on indefinitely, revolution and anarchy may well follow. Great portions of the continent of Europe will be little better than a wilderness peopled by old men and women and children. I would say that anyone must be strangely constructed who does not grasp at any honourable opportunity to prevent what would be the most frightful calamity that has ever befallen the human race. This is what is meant by the war of attrition.[82]

Echoing his pre-war concern about diplomacy being conducted in secret, Loreburn called for more openness, especially now that the existence of a coalition had in practice deprived the country of a viable alternative government:

> We were living in a mist and it was high time we should slip out into the sunlight. There was a censorship over the Press, the Government did not inform Parliament of many things they ought to know, and a veil had been cast over many of our misdemeanours.[83]

Loreburn's speech caused a considerable stir. The Queen worried about the effect on national morale; Prime Minister Asquith, without mentioning Loreburn by name, sought to counter his gloomy predictions in a speech at the Guildhall; and the German press was able to draw 'comforting conclusions about opinion in England'.[84] The 'patriotic' *Times* warned that it would be unfortunate if Loreburn's speech 'were to weaken the reliance of the French on our determination to see the war through to a finish which shall deprive any Power of the desire to do what Germany has attempted to do'.[85] At all events, when Colonel House returned to London early in 1916, Loreburn, still excoriating Grey for his behaviour in the crisis of 1914 and for his intransigence ever since, felt able to inform the American envoy that the movement for a peace by negotiation was growing.[86] By July he was in direct communication with President Wilson himself, offering his support whenever the American leader decided to make a move for peace.[87]

The crisis in Ireland over Easter 1916 gave Loreburn a further opportunity to harry the government. He turned a motion criticising the government's handling of the Irish

---

81 *The Times* 25 October 1915.
82 *The Times* 9 November 1915.
83 *Manchester Guardian* 9 November 1915.
84 C. Repington, *The First World War 1914-1918*, vol. 1 (London, 1920), pp. 90-1; *The Times* 10 and 15 November 1915.
85 *The Times* 26 November 1915.
86 Robbins, *Abolition of War*, p. 104.
87 Martin, 'Woodrow Wilson's Appeals', p. 506.

situation into a general indictment of its 'policy of secrecy and silence'.[88] Loreburn pointed to the Dardanelles and Mesopotamian campaigns, together with the shortage of shells on the Western Front as issues which had not been properly debated. The government's spokesman, Lord Crewe, was clearly rattled, taunting the former Lord Chancellor with having allowed his role of general critic to run away with his sense of proportion. An angry spat developed between the two men who had once sat together in the same cabinet, with Crewe alleging that Loreburn wanted nothing less than a running parliamentary commentary on the events of the war.[89]

By 1917 Loreburn appeared much less isolated than had once been the case as more and more people began to question whether victory could ever be achieved, at least at a price that was worth paying. Most significantly, Lord Lansdowne, formerly Unionist leader in the Lords and, until December 1916, Minister without Portfolio in Asquith's coalition government, emerged as the somewhat unlikely champion of a peace by negotiation. He was, in many ways, the original architect of the foreign policy of which Loreburn had become so critical, but relations between the two men, on opposite sides of the party political divide, had always been reasonably warm. Even while Lansdowne was still a government minister, Loreburn had written to him, complaining about the government's uncompromising opposition to any suggestion of a negotiated peace.[90] Freed from the constraints of office, Lansdowne decided to publicise his mounting concerns in a letter to the press. Loreburn was among those he consulted before launching his plan.[91] With *The Times* refusing to publish it, Lansdowne's letter appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* on 29 November 1917. The veteran Unionist spelt out the consequences of continuing conflict:

> We are not going to lose this War, but its prolongation will spell ruin for the civilised world, and an infinite addition to the load of human suffering which already weighs upon it. Security will be invaluable to a world which has the vitality to profit by it, but what will be the value of the blessings of peace to nations so exhausted that they can scarcely stretch out a hand with which to grasp them?[92]

Lansdowne's letter inevitably generated enormous passion, both in support and opposition. F.W. Hirst, who had left the *Economist* to launch a new weekly journal, *Common Sense*, in October 1916, thereby giving Loreburn a valuable platform from which to develop his views, organised an address of thanks to Lansdowne for the lead he had given the country in the cause of peace. Loreburn was part of a delegation that called at Lansdowne House at the end of January 1918. He

> did not recall, either in memory or reading, any pronouncement in public affairs comparable with Lord Lansdowne's letter in its importance, or so courageous and

88 *Manchester Guardian* 11 May 1916.
89 *The Times* 11 May 1916.
90 Lord Newton, *Lord Lansdowne: A Biography* (London, 1929), p. 449.
91 A.J. Mayer, *Political Origins of the New Diplomacy* (New York, 1970), p. 283.
92 Newton, *Lansdowne*, p. 467.

> so timely and so effective. It had produced a revolution in public opinion. There had been at once a marked change in the spirit and temper of many who had hitherto been unreflecting.[93]

Amid calls for a coalition of all who opposed the policy of the 'knock-out blow', and enthused by President Wilson's declaration of the 'Fourteen Points' as the basis of a possible peace, the so-called Lansdowne Committee organised a conference at the Essex Hall on 28 February, where Loreburn was among the speakers. He said that

> the letter written by Lord Lansdowne was most timely and full of wisdom ... There was no question of surrender. There was no question of infidelity towards our Allies, or towards our gallant soldiers and sailors, but a desire to meet our enemies, or to find out if we could the terms we could make with them.[94]

In the House of Lords Loreburn suggested that the future safety of humanity would lie in two innovations:

> One was the placing of foreign affairs under the direct control of Parliament. He did not say that we could get rid altogether of secret diplomacy. Governments would not exchange communications and confidences if they knew they were at once to be published from the housetops. What he had in mind was a Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs – such a body as existed in the United States – which would be informed of the most secret transactions, of course under seal of secrecy, with authority to warn and check the minister and, if need be, to inform Parliament. The second innovation was a general concert of the nations of the world for the maintenance of peace. Everyone would gladly welcome such a League of Nations. The only doubt was whether it could be done.[95]

There was even talk of Lansdowne emerging at the head of a new government. Hirst speculated on the possible membership of a cabinet composed of radical Liberal and Labour politicians. Loreburn was pencilled in for the Woolsack, a less bizarre proposition than the idea of Arthur Ponsonby, a leading figure in the Union of Democratic Control, as Foreign Secretary, the Liverpool ship-owner Richard Holt at the Exchequer, or, most improbably of all, John Burns at the War Office.[96] In reality, there was no chance of such a development. Though the German spring offensive brought the enemy closer to victory than at any time since 1914, it soon ran out of steam. From the early summer onwards, the allies gained a decisive initiative. As Germany crumbled in the face of a remorseless allied advance, the pessimism of 1917 gave way to a renewed confidence in outright victory. Any possibility that Loreburn might play a significant role in the conclusion of the conflict or the construction of peace quickly passed.

---

93 *The Times* 1 February 1918.
94 *The Times* 26 February 1918.
95 *The Times* 20 March 1918.
96 London School of Economics, Courtney MSS, 12/196, Hirst to L. Courtney 28 January 1918.

Even so, the resulting Versailles settlement contained, at least in its framework, some of the points for which Loreburn had long campaigned. The Fourteen Points, which remained in theory the basis upon which the peace was constructed, contained a commitment to 'open covenants openly arrived at', though precisely what this would mean remained open to debate. Furthermore, a League of Nations was indeed set up and remained at the heart of international diplomacy for the next decade and a half. In addition, there was much talk of a 'new' diplomacy and a widespread belief that its secretive predecessor bore significant responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities. But the Treaty of Versailles was far from being the wholesale implementation of Wilsonian idealism for which Loreburn might have hoped. Notions of a peace without victors or vanquished evaporated in the euphoria of victory that formed an inescapable background to the negotiations in Paris from which the defeated enemy was conspicuously excluded. Many of the individual provisions of the peace settlement – territorial losses by Germany, the War Guilt clause and, above all, the reparation demands – would soon be denounced as unnecessarily harsh on Germany and containing the seeds of future conflict.[97] Blaming the French for its more draconian features, Loreburn suggested that Versailles was a treaty of which Louis XIV would have been proud. 'We have given in to France as we did when we let her control us in her Franco-German quarrel.'[98]

Loreburn had one last commentary to make. In 1919 he published his account of the origins of the Great War. *How the War Came* was in many ways a re-run of the critique of British foreign policy that Loreburn had been making ever since Edward Grey had become Foreign Secretary in December 1905, presented now as an exercise in historical analysis. Its purpose, he suggested, was to 'help toward the avoidance of war in future by showing how we came to be suddenly brought into the Great War of 1914'.[99] The author made no attempt to disguise his own standpoint:

> The point of view presented in these pages is that of a Liberal who has always thought the infusion of Imperialism a source of danger, and who believes that the tragedy of the war would not have come upon us if the Ministers of 1914 had been true to our traditional principles, and outspoken in regard to what they were doing.[100]

The keynote of traditional British foreign policy was to keep free of continental entanglements. This was the inevitable consequence of reliance upon the fleet in an age of mass conscript armies on the continent. Grey's sin, argued Loreburn, was two-fold. In the first instance, in conjunction with Asquith and Haldane, he laid the foundation of a very different policy based on British intervention if Germany were to make an unprovoked attack on France. Just as significantly, 'they did it behind the back of nearly all their Cabinet colleagues, and, what really matters, without Parliament being in any way made aware that

97 See, for example, J.M. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York, 1920) and H. Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919* (London, 1933).
98 Heuston, *Lord Chancellors*, p. 179.
99 Loreburn, *How the War Came*, p. 1.
100 *Ibid*., p. 3.

a policy of active intervention ... was being contemplated'.[101] Over time, therefore, the original Entente of 1904 became 'virtually the equivalent of an Alliance'[102] and, because of France's alliance with Russia dating back to the 1890s, the practical effect was to leave 'the peace of Great Britain at the mercy of the Russian Court'.[103]

Loreburn was keen to stress that these developments reflected on-going divisions within the Liberal party. 'Mr Asquith and Lord Haldane were with [Grey] Vice-Presidents of the Liberal League, a continuation of the Liberal Imperialist movement which had supported the South African War and opposed Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman on that subject.'[104] But Grey's secrecy was not of purely domestic significance. German diplomacy was constructed on the premise that Britain would not intervene. 'A plain timely statement to Germany that if she attacked France we should be on the side of France and Russia could ... have prevented war.'[105] But Grey had to give the impression that Britain still had a free hand in 1914 and the British declaration of war was skilfully presented as a response to the German violation of Belgian neutrality. In reality, however, 'the nation found itself bound by obligations of honour contracted toward France in secret, and that was what constrained us to enter upon this war, whether Belgium were invaded or not'.[106]

* * *

Over a period of two decades Loreburn had followed a remarkably consistent path. In many ways a classic Liberal of the nineteenth century, he refused to accept the inevitability of war and challenged the policies of those who, he believed, had discarded the noble Liberal values of conciliation, co-operation and international peace. When, as in 1899 and 1914, his best efforts proved unsuccessful, his attention turned to the settling of conflict by negotiation and the construction of mechanisms to avert a repetition of the disaster of war. The so-called pro-Boers tended to be older than their imperialist opponents, their views looking back to the days of Gladstonian internationalism. 'For most', writes Bernard Porter, 'these were the last battle scars they would be able to boast, at the end of long Liberal careers.'[107] By the time of the outbreak of war against Germany, the majority were either dead or no longer active in politics. Loreburn was an exception. So too was David Lloyd George. But the radical, pro-Boer Welshman who, after addressing an audience in Birmingham in December 1901, had narrowly escaped with his life, disguised as a policeman, from an angry, jingoistic mob, was by 1914 well on the way to becoming the war leader who advocated outright victory and the 'knock-out blow'. Loreburn, by contrast, never wavered. In June 1919 he wrote to his old colleague, Lord Bryce: 'My whole life has been a long struggle with men and measures alien to all I value.'[108] It was a fitting epitaph. Loreburn died at Kingsdown House, Deal, on 30 November 1923, aged 77.

---

101 *Ibid*., p. 216.
102 *Ibid*., p. 85.
103 *Ibid*., p. 107.
104 *Ibid*., p. 80.
105 *Ibid*., p. 218.
106 *Ibid*., p. 243.
107 B. Porter, 'The Pro-Boers in Britain' in P. Warwick (ed.), *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902* (Harlow, 1980), p. 255.
108 Loreburn to Bryce 25 June 1919, cited in Heuston, *Lord Chancellors*, p. 180.

Figure 1. Sir Robert Threshie Reid M.P. (Lord Loreburn) by Sholto Johnstone Douglas, c.1900. (Courtesy of Dumfries Museum; DUMFM.1993.41.3)

Figure 2. Lord Loreburn's grave in Mouswald churchyard. The Reid family home of Mouswald Place sits amid the woodland in the background. (Photograph: Stephen Shellard)

Figure 3. Robert Threshie Reid, First Earl Loreburn, Lord Chancellor, 1911.
(Courtesy of Dumfries Museum; DUMFM:1979.121.8)

Lord Loreburn and Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society

Robert Threshie Reid became a member of the Society in 1891. He had been elected to Parliament as Member for the Dumfries Burghs five years earlier. He served as President of the Society for the session 1896-97. By then he was Sir Robert Threshie Reid, having been knighted in 1894 when he became Solicitor General. The Reid family home was at Mouswald Place and included the farms of Mouswald Banks and Cleughbrae. Robert Threshie Reid lived at Cleughbrae during the period that he was the local Member of Parliament.

Mouswald Place belonged to his elder brother, John James Reid, who was the Queen's Remembrancer for Scotland and a curator of the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The estate was inherited by Lord Loreburn's nephew, Robert Corsane Reid, establishing a further link to the Society as R.C. Reid was the pre-eminent local historian of his generation and served as President of the Society from 1933-44 and as Editor of these *Transactions* from 1916-19 and again from 1942-63.

The photograph of Lord Loreburn (Figure 3) comes from a collection of portraits of Presidents of the Society now held at Dumfries Museum. Reid entered the House of Lords as Baron Loreburn of Dumfries when he became Lord Chancellor and he was made the First Earl Loreburn in 1911. – Ed.

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA

CORPORAL DONALDSON'S COMPLAINT: AN EXAMPLE OF MILITARY SUPPORT FOR THE BOARD OF CUSTOMS IN COUNTER-SMUGGLING ACTIVITIES IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GALLOWAY

David F. Devereux[1], Alison Greenshields[2] and Elaine Pattison[2]

Over the last few years, volunteers working in the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright, have been cataloguing the extensive collection of Kirkcudbright Burgh Court records held there. This has revealed many cases of social historical interest among which is a complaint brought by Corporal William Donaldson of the Royal Welch Fusiliers against James Lafries described as a 'Riding Officer of the Customs'. The complaint is dated 2nd January 1727.[3] The full text is given below, with its original layout, spelling and punctuation. For ease of reading, the full forms of some abbreviated words are shown in square brackets following the first instance of the abbreviation:

> 2nd January 1727
> Unto the Honourable the Provost of the Burgh of Kirkcudbright Justice of his Majesty's peace within the limits yrof [thereof] The Humble Complaint of William Donaldson Corporal of a Serjeant's Command of his Royall Highness the prince of Walles his Royall Regiment of Welch Fuziliers now lyeing att Kirkcudbright against James La Freise a Rideing Officer of the Customs
>
> Humbly means and Complains
> That upon Friday last in the morning Application was made to our Serjeant Commanding here by the said James Lafrice for a party to go out with him to the Country to be Aiding and Assisting him in his office as an officer of the Customs upon which the Serjeant nott Doubting but that he was in persuit of some valueable seizure to the Goverment and not thinking it pertinent to ask Questions yranent [thereanent] having orders to be Aiding and Assisting to the officers of both Customs and Excise here. He Immediately commanded me with five oyrs [others] of our men to March along with Mr Lafreize and obey his Lawfull Commands and Accordingly we went out with him in the morning by the way of Auchencairn Kirclaugh Foord in the Water of Oarr Colvend Kirk and all the way to the Cackkerbush that night which is long Ninteen miles & the greatest part of it which fell to our nights March is the worst Road in the Stewartry of Kirkcudb[t] but coming there we found the said James Lafrieze was upon quite other business then what we are Commanded to be Aiding in &c and in stead of Seizing or Indeavouring to make Seizure of any Unlawfull goods he only shewed us the person of William Taite in Cakkerbush and Required us to Apprehend and Make him our Prisoner which we immediately did not asking or enquiring into the goodness of his warrand till we had the Prisoner Secure and then I and the prisoner both Demmanding his warrand for so doeing he only pulled out of his Pockett a small scrapp of paper, or parchment but Refused either to Read the samen or give it to me to be Read Upon which apprehending that our orders were not to apprehend the persons of men meerly att the Desire of a person who would show us no order from our superiours to do the samen And yt [that] whatever the papper or parchment was that he presented we Construed

1 Fellow of the Society; devereuxdf@gmail.com
2 Volunteer at the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright.
3 Kirkcudbright Burgh Court Records, Stewartry Museum reference no. 6102/3/1.

it either to be a Capias from the Excheq^{r} or a warrand from a Justice of the peace the first of which is directed to the Shirrieff or Stewart of the bounds & by him and his off^{rs} [officers] only to be Executed and the last Direct to Constables to be only Execute and finding that Mr Lafreize had Neither Off^{r} nor Constable with him to execute any Such we found we might be hardly taken in Task for what we had done being wthout [without] orders but still Detained the prisoner till att last Mr Lafreise gave him liberty himself to go aside out of the Room to speek to his Moy^{r} [mother] Upon which I told him the prisoner was no longer mine but his and I would no longer answer for him and soon after that the said William Taite made his Escape upon which I Demanding pay^{t} [payment] and Satisfaction for me and my men for marching such a long and scarcely traveld Road & for Carrying us back to our Quarters but he in a most Blustering and huffing manner absolutely Refused the Samen threatnening to Complain of us to our superriors for not bringing the Said Wm Taite along with us Prissoner for or anent whom or any oth^{r} partl^{r} [other particular] person we had no manner of orders nor had he any from our Supperiors to us for that effect and early next morning Mr Lafrieze Road of and left us there to come home at our own charges.

We humbly Conceive not only that we have Received a verry great afront from the sd [said] Mr Lafreize (not consistent with the honour of our Regiment which in due time we may come to Resent) by Carrying us such a long march under pretence of assissting him in the Kings business of the Customs and then failing us to Execute warrands as Stewart Off^{rs} or Constables wthout any such Off^{rs} or Constables wth us and wthout any special order to us yranent but also that the said James Lafreize ought and should be punished for his presumptous arrogancey th^{r}in [therein] under a pretext of Law which punishment we Refer to your honours Discreation and in the meantime we humbly Insist for and crave that your honour would Immediately Cause Conveen the said James Lafreize who is now in this town before you who being an Ittinerant Off^{r} we may not have occasion to meet with again during our abode in this place and upon Examination and proof of the premises that you would please att least To Decern the said Mr Lafreize to make pay^{t} to us of the Sums of money under wrin [written] for the trouble and fatigue we under went in the said teidious and long March and tear and wear of the Kings cloaths and our shoes and stockings and spoiling of our arms (Which March Cost us the most part of three days and two full nights) and for our Expences on the Road viz to me the sd Corporal the sum of twelve shillings ste^{r}: [sterling] and to each of my men the sum of seven shillings money fors^{d} [foresaid] which we are willing to make Faith is the least we could take from any person to make the said march over again in such a hast and most part under cloud of night and ordain your Constables to secure his horse & furniture in this town till he make pay^{t} to us of the samen and your gracious ans^{r} [answer] is waitted by

Will^{m} Donaldson

The complaint is significant in exemplifying the type of support which military detachments stationed along the Galloway coast were expected to provide Customs and Excise officers in their counter-smuggling activities in the early eighteenth century. In this case Corporal Donaldson expected to be helping to seize contraband goods rather than make an arrest. It is also the first record known to the authors of the presence of the Royal Welch Fusiliers in Galloway in this role. The regiment was founded in 1689, and it acquired its 'Royal' title in recognition of its achievements in the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713.

At the Burgh Court hearing, Lafries was able to produce a warrant for the arrest of William Tait from the Stewart Depute of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. In any case, the Provost – William Gordoune – found 'himself not competent to the said action'. The case was beyond his jurisdiction, and perhaps reflects Corporal Donaldson's lack of knowledge of the Scottish legal system pertaining

at that time, although clearly his complaint demonstrates that he was sufficiently familiar with legal process to question Lafries' authority to make the arrest, without sight of a proper warrant and in the absence of a Sheriff's Officer or Constable.

A recent article in these *Transactions* by Frances Wilkins has thrown more light on the career and character of James Lafries.[4] He was born in Edinburgh in 1675, and was trading as a merchant in Wigtown in the early eighteenth century with connections to the Isle of Man. In May 1727 he reported the Customs officer based at Auchencairn, by name Campbell, to the Board of Customs claiming that he was frequently absent from his duty. No evidence was produced and the Controller of Customs found that the report proceeded 'rather from ill-will in Mr. Lafries to him than any inclination to serve the revenue.' Frances Wilkins has raised further doubts about Lafries' status as a Customs officer at the time of this case.[5] His name does not appear on the list of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright officers in the Christmas Quarter 1726, in the Dumfries Custom House letterbooks.[6] Furthermore, there were no officers with the post title 'Riding Officer' at this time.

It may be that Lafries was impersonating a Customs officer for his own reasons, possibly taking advantage of the Royal Welch Fusiliers detachment's unfamiliarity with the local Customs staff. The target of his action, William Tait, was known to be involved in smuggling. The Dumfries Custom House letterbooks describe how in August 1726, he and the Leith merchant, Robert Briceson, (described in the letterbook account as 'one of the greatest runners upon this coast'), had forcibly re-taken three casks of brandy from James Affleck, a Boatman with the Customs, as Affleck was taking the seized brandy to Dumfries Custom House.[7] Tait is described in this record as 'son to Robert Tait in Knockenhully.' The farm or house Knockenholly (in the 1851 Census) or Knockhooly (on the Ordnance Survey 1st edition 6in. map 1843-1882) lies within a mile east of Caulkerbush in Colvend and Southwick parish.

There is no evidence in the Burgh Court records to indicate that Corporal Donaldson and his detachment received any reimbursement or compensation from Lafries for their expenses and material losses, or any satisfaction or apology for the hardship endured on their 19 mile march on 'the worst Road in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright'. On the contrary, on the same day as the court hearing, Lafries brought a case of Lawborrows (the equivalent of a present-day restraining order) against William Donaldson fearing he would have his satisfaction by violent means.[8] The Provost found in Lafries' favour (spelling and abbreviations as in the original):

> The def^{er} [defender] having made faith yt he dreads bodilie harm & oppression of the Comp^{er} [complainer]The Provost ordains the supra Comp^{er} to find Sufficient Caution of Lawburrows toward the sd Mr Lafries in Common form

Donaldson's commanding sergeant provided caution, and the record provides a little further detail on the detachment of the Royal Welch Fusiliers based in Kirkcudbright at this time:

> William Moncreif Sergeand in Cap^{t} Wilsons Company of the Royal Welch Fuzaliers Enacts himself in the Burrow court book of Kirkcud^{bt} as Caut^{r} [cautioner] for Wm Donnaldson

4 Frances Wilkins, 'The Role of Wigtownshire in Eighteenth Century Smuggling', *TDGNHAS*, Vol.77 (2003).

5 Personal communication from Frances Wilkins.

6 National Archives of Scotland CE51 1/2.

7 Personal communication from Frances Wilkins; National Archives of Scotland CE51 1/2, 21 September 1726.

8 Kirkcudbright Burgh Court Records, Stewartry Museum reference no. 6102/3/2.

Corporal of the said Company That the said James Lafries shall be harmless and skaithless kept of the sd Wm Donnaldson and yt the sd Jas Lafries shall be noways troubled or mollested by him in his person goods or gear or by any oyrs of his causing or sending out … [continues]

Acknowledgement

The authors wish to thank Frances Wilkins for providing background information and for reading over the draft of this note.

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA

A NOTE ON THE GROWING OF FLAX AND THE MANUFACTURE OF LINEN IN THE LOCHMABEN AREA

John Wilson[1]

Tradition has it that the use of flax to produce cloth goes back to the Bronze Age but written accounts of this do not appear till the eighteenth century when detailed instructions for the growing of flax were published in *Select Transactions of the Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland* in 1743.[2] Local conditions suited flax growing on the rich fertile haughs of the Annan and the Ae. In the late eighteenth century Lochmaben produced 60,000 yards of coarse linen, a large proportion of which, mostly unbleached, was sold to England.[3]

Many of the detailed instructions contained in the 1743 volume relate to the domestic production of flax, for each habitation grew its own small patch: not until the late eighteenth century were water mills introduced to expedite the process. The first mention of a mill in Lochmaben is in 1772 when one was described, fed nine months of the year by a small loch north west of the Burgh. This would be the mill at the top end of the Mill Loch.[4] Another mill is mentioned in 1793 at Trailflats where 20 years ago the remains of a two-storey lint mill, whose lade still runs across the farm yard, were visible. The date that this mill was built is unknown though a large stone inscribed with the date 1822 stands nearby. Trailflats boasted the most extensive bleach fields in Scotland. A third mill, a flour mill, was situated at Kinnelmill. In the late nineteenth century the miller there was described as a lint miller but whether there were two mills both powered by the same wheel or its parts were interchangeable is not known. Enid Gauldie describes several mills in which both features were present.[5]

The growth and treatment of flax involved its harvesting, soaking, drying, scutching and heckling. These processes are described in Maxwell's book. The flax was sown in carefully prepared soil and when ripe was pulled so that as much of the stem as possible was available to process. The crop was harvested in early August, built into stooks and dried. A swingle staff or flail was used to separate the seeds (rippling) for the next year's crop or to be made into linseed oil.

The flax was then immersed in a retting pond, held under the water by branches or flat stones light enough to ensure that it did not fall to the bottom of the pool. Special pools to soak the flax were built: one is easily identifiable by the roadside half a mile north of Templand. The bundles were removed when the flax strands were soft enough to be spread out and dried. During the drying stage they were turned with the aid of a long pole and scoop. Flax growers from the area around would bring their product to be bleached at Trailflats. The bundles were then beaten with a mell, crushed and scutched, a dangerous and messy task, till only the flax fibres remained. After another beating the flax was heckled, an important part of the treatment involving the combing of the flax with graded heckles, a job usually carried out by women or children for they were said to work with greater gentleness than men! The fibres were then boiled to render them soft enough to be spun.

---

1 Fellow of the Society; The Whins, Kinnelbanks, Lochmaben, Lockerbie DG11 lTD.

2 *Select Transactions of the Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland* (1743). Edited by Robert Maxwell of Arkland.

3 *Statistical Account of Scotland, Dumfriesshire* (1791–2) p. 186.

4 Butt, John, *Scottish Textile History* (1987) p. 21.

5 Gauldie, Enid, *The Scottish Country Miller, 1700–1900* (1981) p. 148.

In 1772 John Dickson, Stamp Master at Moffat, reported that the Lochmaben Mill:

> Broke the flax by rollers. Its method of scutching is in the horizontal way, four people can scutch at a time. Lint is brought to it from 14 to 15 miles distance. The miller pays neither rent or feu duty. He is a heckler himself but has exceeding poor heckles. The mill is insured against fire.[6]

The flax or lint was now ready to be bleached and dyed. The dyes were developed from vegetables and fruits, even ale drinkers urine! After dressing, the material was spun on a small wheel and then passed to the handloom weavers who lived and worked in the cottages which lined the streets of Lochmaben. On the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the increasing availability of cotton, the hand loom weavers became redundant and a large proportion of them emigrated overseas.

The extent of the involvement of the inhabitants of Lochmaben in the production of flax is demonstrated in a Minute of Lochmaben Town Council of May 1709 when 38 of them, including the minister and eight women, were found guilty of 'steeping of lint and hemp in the lochs'. Each was fined ten pounds scots. The same day Robert Robson, who had paid his fine, 'decerned and ordained' Andrew Johnstone to make payment of ten pounds scots for the same offence.[7]

The financing of flax production was much assisted by the foundation of the British Linen Bank in 1746.

6 Butt, John, *Scottish Textile History* (1987) p. 21.

7 Wilson, John B., *The Lochmaben Court and Council Book 1612–1721* (2001) p. 250.

REVIEWS

Beyond the Gododdin: Dark Age Scotland in Medieval Wales: The Proceedings of a Day Conference held on 19 February 2005 edited by Alex Woolf. St Andrews: Committee for Dark Age Studies, University of St Andrews. 2013. 204 pp. £15.00. ISBN 978-0-9512573-8-8 (paperback).

Many early sources for Scotland's history are (somewhat surprisingly) in Welsh. They include poems of about the year 600 which were originally composed in Cumbric, a language (resembling Welsh) once spoken from the Firth of Forth to Chester, and surviving in Strathclyde and Cumbria until the twelfth century. This Cumbric poetry is known from later Welsh copies. The Celtic languages being as unfamiliar to 99% of Britons as Aztec or Tibetan, a volume on those poems should enlighten us. Hence *Beyond the Gododdin*. The need for it is great. The main introductions to the subject are Ifor Williams, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* (Dublin, 1944); Kenneth Jackson's 'The Britons in Southern Scotland', *Antiquity*, xix (1955), 77-88 and *The Gododdin: The Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh, 1969). Despite their classic status, the three belong to an older generation. So *Beyond the Goddodin* is here to update us.

It consists of six lectures by scholars from England, Scotland, and Wales. After the editor's brief preface, Marged Haycock of Aberystwyth begins with Wales and the North. Hers is a substantial piece given on the eve of the conference as the Second Anderson Memorial Lecture, commemorating the veteran St Andrews medievalist Majorie Ogilvie Anderson. Thereafter comes Nerys Ann Jones on the influence (or lack of it) of early Welsh or Cumbric poets on Welsh court bards in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Philip M. Dunshea of Cambridge then finds romantic fantasies in the views of modern historians on *Catraeth* or Catterick in Yorkshire, where Lothian warriors in *The Gododdin* of Aneirin (who lamented their fate in an attack on the English) supposedly met death and glory in the early seventh century. Oliver Padel of Cornwall expresses scepticism on the identities of the early bards Aneirin and Taliesin; Professor T.O. Clancy of Glasgow offers a survey of place and politics in their work. John T. Koch of Aberystwyth closes the volume with doubts on progress for the whole subject.

The endeavour is a worthy one. Professional Celticists ought to buy this book, use it, and quote it in their publications. Non-specialists will have a harder time. If 1% of the population of Britain knows Welsh, those who can deal competently with its earliest forms cannot be 0.1% of that. In short, 0.0001% of Britons (fewer than 60 people) can talk of the matters in this book with competence. (As for those who do so with real authority, they will be few indeed.) Small wonder that even Professors of Scottish History and others untutored in Celtic philology tend to look upon this material as a bewildering, trackless morass.

Let us therefore point out some pathways through this wilderness. In this we are aided by a defect of the six papers. They have not been updated to the time of going to press. Some authors have added sporadic references to publications since 2005, others not. But nothing postdates 2008. No mention, then, of James E. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (Edinburgh, 2009), or Tim Clarkson, *The Men of the North: The Britons of Southern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2010), or T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350-1064* (Oxford, 2012). Progress in Celtic Studies means that *Beyond the Gododdin* was out-of-date on the day it appeared, which is unfortunate. More cheeringly, it means that we can now offer answers (some of them already published in the present journal) to many questions posed in the book.

Here are some. In surveying northern place-names in Welsh texts, Marged Haycock (p. 9) correctly includes *Dinsol* in the *Mabinogion* tale of Culhwch and Olwen. She knows better than Professor Sioned Davies of Cardiff, who in her *The Mabinogion* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 260-1, wants to

put it in Cornwall. But it is not (as proposed) the island of Seil (NM 7618), eight miles south-west of Oban and a few yards from the mainland. No one in Wales cared a fig for Seil. Dr Haycock should go for her other suggestion on *Dinsol* 'fort of Sol' as Soutra (NT 4559), with remains of defences, where travellers on the old road from Carter Bar caught their first sight of Edinburgh and the Lothian plain. *Caer Weir* (p. 9, also pp. 24, 25) cannot be Durham or Wearmouth, as this reviewer also once thought. It will be a Pictish stronghold on the east coast of Caithness, an area rich in archaeology, near *Weir* '(The) Bend' or Duncansby Head, and *Ynys Weir* 'Island of (the) Bend' or Orkney. The 'headland of "Wleth"' juxtaposed with Loch Ryan (p. 22) is the great promontory on the Firth of Clyde by Gourock. 'Wleth' is a corrupt form of Cumbric *Gwrech* or Gourock. The headland of Gourock and Loch Ryan delimit the lands between the firths of Clyde and Solway, under attack in about 900 (when the poem was written) by the Norse-Irish who established Galloway and gave it their name, meaning 'foreign Gaels'. The Welsh poem cited is thus a comment on that period when south west Scotland was being violently Gaelicized.

Dr Haycock thinks the *Erechwydd* ruled by the Lord Urien and mentioned by bards was perhaps a 'fiction' (p. 10, 29). Not so. It was the region north and west of York by the *Echwydd* 'fresh water', the Welsh name of the marshes of the Lower Ouse, formerly a gigantic swamp. As 'lord of Erechwydd', Urien of Rheged ruled much of north Yorkshire. *Gwawl* 'Wall' in Welsh texts is not Hadrian's Wall (p. 11) but the Wall of Antoninus, separating North Britons from Gaels and Picts. See the Ordnance Survey *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages*, 2nd. edn. (Southampton, 1966), where it is correctly shown on the authority of Professor Kenneth Jackson (1909-91). Hence, also, the ludicrous name of the unloved North British suitor *Gwawl vab Clud* 'Wall son of Clyde' in the twelfth-century *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, who shows how little the defunct kingdom of Strathclyde then counted for amongst the élite of Gwynedd and Dyfed. Yet Dr Haycock is right in putting the battlefield of *Meigen*, where Penda of Mercia killed Edwin of Northumbria in 633, near Doncaster (pp. 16, 38) and not Welshpool. Bede and the anonymous *Whitby Life of St Gregory* make clear the Yorkshire location.

Philip Dunshea's account of *Erechwydd* (p. 38) similarly needs updating. He rightly criticizes attempts to relate it to waterfalls or 'cataracts' and so *Catraeth* or Catterick. But sound arguments show it as north Yorkshire and so including Swaledale after all. He takes *Pengwern* in ninth-century poems from Powys as Shrewsbury (p. 98), which is unwarranted, as the work of Sir Ifor Williams and Dr Jenny Rowland shows. Dr Dunshea has not done his homework. He is also shaky on the fiery Welsh political poem *Armes Prydein* 'Prophecy of Britain', wondering if it refers to West Saxon domination of Mercia in the eleventh century (pp. 98, 112). He is quite mistaken. *Armes Prydein* can be dated precisely to late 940, immediately after West Saxon capitulation to the Vikings at Leicester or *Civitas Legorensis*, the *Lego* and *Arlego* mentioned by the bard. He took England's difficulty in 940 as Wales's opportunity, a chance for the Welsh and their allies (including those by Clyde and Solway) to rise and rid Britain for ever of the foreign oppressor. Dr Padel is also (p. 139) oddly unaware of the poem's date and political import, despite discussion of its date by Professor David Dumville in the 1980s.

Now for Professor Clancy. Aeron (p. 155), ruled by Urien, must be the Ayr. It cannot be the Aire of Yorkshire, with a Norse name and not a Celtic one. The mysterious 'Degsastan' (p. 157), where the Northumbrians wiped out invaders from Argyll in 603, has nothing to do with Catterick. It will have been on the upper Tweed near Drumelzier, where the *stan* or stone remains to this day, standing five foot high and being marked on Ordnance Survey maps. The name of 'Royth' (p. 158), son of the Rhun who in 627 baptized King Edwin of Northumbria, and father of Rhiainfellt, Oswy's first Queen, is corrupt. It must be Old Welsh *Reyth* (=Modern Welsh *Rhaith*) 'rightness, justice': a fit name for the son of a bishop. Yet Clancy's comment, following a suggestion of Alex Woolf, on the kingdom of Rheged as in part corresponding to the medieval deanery of Richmond (p. 170), deserves

investigation, for it tallies with above statements on *Erechwydd*. His *Caer Caradawg* (p. 171) is near Hereford, not Shrewsbury. It was at Caradoc Court (SO 5627), in a strategic position overlooking the Wye, the then border of England and Wales. As for John Koch, he expresses deserved admiration (p. 195) for *Britannia* by Professor 'Shepard' Frere, who will not, however, be flattered by the mis-spelling of his name.

Some readers will by now wonder all the more at the abstruseness of this Celtic material, and admire still further the exalted souls who offer such copious discourse of it. They should not. Early Welsh poetry is actually far simpler than anyone imagines; the difficulties are for the most part created by modern commentators. We may thus be optimistic on future investigation. Patient analysis and translation of the poetry at hand will unravel many problems. Some of them are unravelled already. It is evident, for example, that the territories of Urien of Rheged stretched from the Ayr to the Yorkshire Ouse. He was no petty ruler; he fully justified the eulogies of his bards. Those who love Galloway and its neighbouring regions may hence feel pride in what we can learn of its princes of the sixth and seventh centuries, and of the poetry which glorified them. They may also look forward to continuing researches, based in part on *Beyond the Gododdin*, which will increasingly sharpen our focus on the historicity of the poems, and the way their contents dovetail more and more closely into the narratives of North Britain provided by Bede and the Welsh chroniclers.

Andrew Breeze.

Mary Queen of Scots and Her Escapes by A. E. MacRobert.[1] Ely: Melrose Books. 2012. xii + 170pp. £10.99, ISBN 978-1-907732-90-4 (hardback).

Since the first publication of Antonia Fraser's biography *Mary Queen of Scots*, in 1969, the level of interest in Mary has been fairly constant, on the evidence of the number of academic and shorter biographies published since then. She has also been the subject of a well-received exhibition *Mary, Queen of Scots – In my end is my beginning* in the National Museum of Scotland in 2013. A controversial figure since her own time, it is likely that she will remain as such, given that the evidence for her difficult life and career is particularly open to interpretation. At one extreme she is seen as a flawed character ultimately responsible for her own failure, and at the other, as a courageous woman tragically brought down by the political circumstances of her times. This book, by local historian Sandy MacRobert, tends to the latter, more sympathetic, line.

The book has two parts. The first identifies Mary's four escapes in the period 1566-68, namely from Holyrood to Dunbar after the murder of David Riccio in March 1566; from Borthwick Castle to Dunbar in June 1567; from Lochleven Castle to Hamilton on 2 May 1568; and finally from her defeat at the battle of Langside to England from 13-16 May 1568. There is also a helpful presentation and analysis of the historical sources for her brief reign, and an assessment of her character. Like Antonia Fraser and more recent biographers, the author agues that Mary has received an unfairly critical press from earlier historians, too heavily influenced on sources originating from her political and religious opponents and with too little regard given to Mary's own accounts of events.

The second part of the book considers the four escape episodes in some detail. Most attention is given to the final escape to England in 1568, via Abbey Burnfoot near Dundrennan Abbey, which

1 Member of the Society; an article by this author entitled, 'Lord Herries and Mary Queen of Scots' will appear in *TDGNHAS* Vol.88 (2014).

is clearly of particular interest for our region. This account is based on the author's unpublished book *Mary's Flight to the Solway,* bound copies of which are available in the Ewart Library and the other main libraries in our region. The author has also previously contributed a summary of this to our *Transactions* in his paper 'Mary Queen of Scots' Last Night in Scotland'*, TDGNHAS* Series 3, vol. 78 (2004). The particular value of this latest publication lies in its detailed account and discussion of the sources of the final escape and its similar treatment of the three other incidents. The author concludes that it is impossible to reconstruct Mary's route to Abbey Burnfoot with any firm degree of accuracy. Nor is it clear that this was her planned destination as she retreated from Langside, although flight southward into the relatively safety of lands held by her supporters in the Maxwell family was an obvious course. Mary probably soon resolved that brief exile in England, with the intention of obtaining the support of Elizabeth I, was her best option politically. Traditional stories about her flight, when taken together, have located her in more places than would have been practically possible. Interestingly, the author notes that some of these traditional locations may in fact relate to her earlier visit to our region in 1563.

As the title indicates, this book largely focuses on four key incidents in Mary Queen of Scot's short and troubled reign, placing each in their historical context. The accounts of each are informative for the general reader, and a stimulus to turn to the full-scale biographies available. Those who already have a special interest in Mary, will appreciate the author's detailed analytical approach and his consequent challenging of previous accounts of her escapes and their historical interpretation.

David F Devereux.

Kirkmahoe War Memorials compiled by Connie Davidson, John Williams[2] and Morag Williams[3], edited by Morag Williams. Dumfries: Kirkmahoe Heritage Group. 2012. 159pp. £15.00, ISBN 978-1-907931-17-8 (softback).[4]

> *Memorials provide a focus for grief and remembrance; the stark letters spell out basic information, surname, initial of first name, rank and regiment.*
>
> *The Great Silence* by Juliet Nicolson.

As time has elapsed since the tragic events commemorated by the two War Memorials of the parish, Kirkmahoe Heritage Group, led by Connie Davidson and with support from the community, decided that these should be researched to provide a fuller picture of the fallen in two World Wars. A fascinating book is the result! Launched on Remembrance Sunday, 11 November 2012, it is based on painstaking research using primary sources and interviews. The artistic layout, featuring illustrations, photographs, memorabilia and maps with the text, lends itself to browsing and assimilating the facts.

Local newspapers provided photographs of a number of the men in uniform who were lost in World War One. Service records show where and when these men served, while the Commonwealth War Graves Commission furnished meticulous details of each cemetery and the location of their final resting place.

---

2 Member of the Society.

3 Fellow of the Society.

4 This book is now out of print. It is available through Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, Information and Archives Service and at Wallace Hall Academy and Duncow Primary School.

The community has been actively involved in providing original family photographs, school records and parish history. The servicemen emerge as members of a close-knit community. In the case of the Second World War, direct descendants have contributed personal accounts which reveal the loss sustained within their immediate families – except in the case of Sapper John Scott for whom there was no family member to tell his story, which was built up from the recollections of those who knew him. One writer provided the following insight into how she felt as a small child, 'I used to lie awake at night listening to my Mum crying and always wondered why till my Grandad explained.'

This was not just a deep personal loss; it was also a major loss to a small community, 33 young men in 1914-18 and 13 in 1939-45, robbing the parish of their contribution to its future life. Having suffered the loss of these young men in two World Wars, it is a tribute to the community that the heritage of this loss has been transformed into a celebration of life and renewal by the publication of this book.

Rosemary King.

NOTICE OF PUBLICATION[1]

A Nest of Smugglers – Dumfries and Galloway 1688 to 1850 by Frances Wilkins. Kidderminster: Wyre Forest Press. 2012. 123pp. £20, ISBN 978-1-897725-18-4 (softback, wire bound).

'The craze for tea, brandy and wine and the proximity by sea to England made Dumfries and Galloway a prime location for smugglers – and often the law could do little to stop them. Frances Wilkins' compelling account draws on national and local archives, as well as tales from the descendants of revenue officers, sailors and smugglers. *Dumfries & Galloway's Smuggling Story* was published nearly 20 years ago. The subsequent technological revolution has meant there is now far more information available from online national archive and library catalogues and through contact with other researchers. This has made it possible to understand the complexity of the smuggling story of this area in greater detail. In fact, there is so much material available that several of the examples in this book have not 'seen the light of day' before.

It would be dangerous to claim that this is the definitive story: that could not be produced in a lifetime. The story is compelling, however, and in several instances far better than fiction.'

A History of Dumfries & Galloway in 100 Documents Part 2 by Frances Wilkins. Kidderminster: Wyre Forest Press. 2013. 132pp. £15, ISBN 978-1-897725-91-7 (softback, wire bound).

'The interest in the first part of the 100 Documents project encouraged further research into the single documents which combine to enhance our understanding of Dumfries and Galloway in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The challenge of producing a book that is essentially a series of disconnected essays continues. Some of the themes begun in Part 1 have been included in Part 2: Banks and Bankers and The Slave Trade. New ones have started: Pills, Potions & Poisons. Where possible, there are cross-references between the essays. This second part includes a high concentration of documents about Dumfries. Other places represented, from west to east are Newton Stewart; Glenquicken, Creetown; Kirkdale; Balmaclellan; Tongland and Annandale. The period of time covered is from 1661 to 1832.'

Both publications are available from: Frances Wilkins, 8 Mill Close, Blakedown, Kidderminster, Worcs. DY10 3NQ. Email: frances@franscript.co.uk.

Minutes of Note Book (1) – A Summary of the Minute Book of the Lochmaben Curling Society 1823-1863 by Lynne J.M. Longmore. Dumfries: Alba Printers. 2012. 108pp. Limited edition of 500 (hardback).

'The Lochmaben Castle Curling Club is extremely fortunate to possess a wonderful first hand documented record of its curling history, conserved within its collection of well-preserved Minute Books.

I was privileged to have access to these volumes when I was undertaking research as part of my MPhil postgraduate degree dissertation at the University of Glasgow (2002-03) on the subject

---

1 Notice of publication of works relating to the interests of the Society and the remit of the *Transactions* is welcomed. Please send this to the Editor. Reviews of these publications may follow in a future volume. Members of the Society who are interested in contributing reviews should contact the Editor.

of silver curling medals, specifically their importance both socially and artistically within the development of curling clubs through the 19th century and early 20th century. This was the period of most rapid growth and popularity of the sport in Scotland. Medals from Lochmaben and surrounding parishes were unearthed and where possible the Minute Books were an important source of first hand information relating to these medals.

On completion of my dissertation I felt that it was necessary for these Lochmaben curling minutes to be transcribed for future researchers and fellow curlers interested in their history. Having eventually transcribed in full the first two Minute Books belonging to the oldest club, The Lochmaben Curling Society, covering the periods from 1823 to 1863 and 1864 to 1891 inclusively, I have undertaken to produce a summary of these records.'

Sanquhar Post Office – Oldest in the World by Duncan C. Close. Dumfries: Creedon Publications. 2012. 120pp. ISBN 978-1-907931-15-4 (paperback).

'The distinctive Post Office in Sanquhar has carried out business from the same building on Sanquhar High Street since 1712. The town is proud of its links with the early mail services, and Sanquhar Post Office's 300 year anniversary is a unique milestone. It was felt within the Town that such an important date could not be ignored. Accordingly, the following local archive material was gathered, and put together in this unique book, for, as far as is known, there is no other collection to compare with the items displayed on these pages.'

Draining the Cumbrian Landscape by Edward and Stella B. Davis. Carlisle: Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society. Book 220pp. CD [inside back cover] 242pp. £18, ISBN 978-1-873124-63-5

[A section of this book includes sites in Dumfries and Galloway, in particular those at Annan and Canonbie. Many tile-works in Cumberland and southern Scotland had a relationship, either through ownership, sales or itinerant workers.]

'During the eighteenth century in what is now Cumbria agriculture was in a depressed state and little draining was being undertaken. What revolutionised land draining was the 'tile' manufactured from clay, the very substance which was largely responsible for the problem of waterlogged land. Introduced into Cumberland c. 1819 by Sir James Graham to drain the Netherby estate, the first clay agricultural drainage-tiles were produced at what became known as Sandysike Brick & Tile Works. Tileries spread throughout Cumberland reaching their peak in the 1850s when about 75 works were producing tiles. However, as a major industry this was short lived as by the 1920s only nine works remained.

This book details the rise and decline of the tile industry in Cumbria and is based on an extensive range of primary, as well as secondary, sources. In a sleeve inside the back cover is a CD containing a 242-page Gazetteer of Sites and Manufacturers, which records details of all located tile-works, with reference to sources, in what is now Cumbria and adjacent counties.'

This publication, written as a result of thirteen years' work by two local historians, will be of interest to agricultural, industrial and regional historians and also to archaeologists. The Gazetteer of Sites & Manufacturers arranged by parish will prove particularly useful to local historians, and family historians will find the many named tile-workers a valuable source.'

Orders to Ian Caruana, 10 Peter Street, Carlisle CA3 8QP. (Tel: 01228 544120).

PROCEEDINGS

12 October 2012
Annual General Meeting
David Edwards
Utah and Arizona: A Love Affair

Following the AGM of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, David Edwards was introduced as the speaker for the first meeting of the new season. A Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, he has served as a lecturer in Earth Sciences and he is well-travelled. For instance, he led an expedition to Botswana.

His topic on this occasion was 'Utah and Arizona - a love affair', in preparation for which he sifted through his 900 slides to select many remarkable landscapes. On his first encounter he was unexpectedly bowled over by the Grand Canyon, which in USA terms is a small National Park. He just had to go back and was lucky enough to be appointed as a ranger.

The Grand Canyon has several advantages. Low rainfall inhibits vegetation and so its dramatic outlines are visible. Although there are 5 million visitors a year it is still possible to derive a wilderness experience. It has a great diversity of flora and fauna, most unexpected of which was to find the tree frog there in the desert and the most dangerous, the pink rattlesnake. There are four climate zones from the top at 10,000 feet, where snow can be lying, down to base level.

In order to understand the passage of time regarding developments on Earth, David suggested taking a year and equating each month to 375 million years. By March 2nd the oldest known rocks had formed. It was July before oxygen began to accumulate in the atmosphere and mid-July before the Grand Canyon's oldest rocks took shape. All continents at or south of the Equator had formed by October 4th and by the 12th the climate and oxygen content were familiar to that of today. November saw large animals and plants coming to life and sandstone forming. On December 11th the youngest Grand Canyon rocks were created and December 15th saw the rise of the dinosaurs, a most successful group. There are no dinosaur fossils because they are not old enough. They became extinct 135 million years ago. A meteorite might have been the cause, because one set off a fire in the Grand Canyon 6 million years ago. Modern humans appeared only at 24 minutes before midnight, that is 250 thousand years ago. One second ago we began altering our environment when the Industrial Revolution took place and thereafter we introduced rapid change. Man ought to recognise that we have a responsibility of stewardship of the earth. The above outline of developments presents a challenge to the beliefs of creationists because they can't go past 10 thousand years ago. They think that the earth was created for man.

David went on to show the many magnificent features of other canyons and national parks. Bryce Canyon is carved purely by intense rain storms in which 5 to 6 inches fall in one go and cause a mobile, changing landscape created by incredible landslides. In Zion National Park the peaks are twice as high as Ben Nevis; Utah has the third highest number of endemic (i.e. they are found nowhere else) plants in the USA; and it would take a trip from the Canadian border to New Mexico to encounter the same biodiversity. The Arches National Park is characterised by over 2,000 arches of fins of rock. Arches over water in time become a bridge instead. A fault in the rock allows a crack to develop; water flows down and erodes the rock and creates a deeper chasm. The rocks on both sides of the canyon don't line up. Chiricahua National Park, near the Mexican Border, is the most dangerous. Three rangers died in 2008. Drug peddlars are the reason.

The dilemma faced by all National Park authorities is that, in encouraging increasing numbers of visitors, they can destroy nature's wonders that they came to see.

26 October 2012
Dr Douglas McElvogue
The Missing Link: The Mary Rose Excavations 2004-6

Members of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society were delighted and honoured when Doonhamer Dr Douglas McElvogue, a very experienced marine and shipwreck archaeologist based in Portsmouth, agreed to speak on the subject, 'The Missing Link: the Mary Rose excavations 2004-6'. The fact that his parents live at Kippford helped to secure the engagement.

The Mary Rose was one of two new ships commissioned by Henry VIII, soon after he came to the throne in 1509. The Great Harry was the more famous in the King's lifetime. The situation is now reversed. Originally written as 'Marye Roose', the sailing ship, completed in 1511, was taken to London for fitting out in 1511-12. Hostilities with France broke out in 1513-14. Serving as a Channel Guard, she took up a position at Brest and was involved in battle. In June 1520, she took Henry to a meeting with Francis I of France near Calais, the legendary Field of the Cloth of Gold. Despite signing treaties, the two nations were at war again a couple of years later.

In the period 1536 to 1545, modification of the Mary Rose took place. Gunports had originally been created low down in her side to equip her like the Scottish ship, the Great Michael. New heavy guns, placed high up for strategic reasons and causing the removal of part of the forecastle, had been ordered by Henry, despite the warning that such a change would weaken the ship.

Further hostilities broke out in 1543. The Mary Rose was positioned in Portsmouth Harbour for the purpose of protecting Southampton and Portsmouth from the French. She moved out with an offshore wind. In manoeuvring, she sank in July 1545 in fairly shallow waters, about a mile from where she was built. There were only 36 survivors because netting, designed to stop boarders trapped about 500 on board. Her loss was catastrophic for the King looking on. He ordered a salvage attempt which failed. Over time, the ship, lying on her starboard side, trapped silt and was buried, helping to preserve her starboard side but with the port side eroded away.

Millions watched on television in 1982 as the Mary Rose was raised. Her bell was one of the last objects to be raised before she was lifted. The bow, shaped like a wishbone, was cut off for operational reasons. At that time, Douglas was only a youngster. After he became involved, he met some of the original crew and divers. Douglas was appointed as a Senior Research Fellow in 2001-2006 to help with an in-depth archaeological publication. Although surveys had been done previously, he became engaged in recording the finer detail of the parts of the ship and collating all the research. He was accordingly well able to take the audience on a fascinating pictorial tour of inspection of the vessel.

He revisited the site from which the Mary Rose was moved at Portsmouth when a new dredging channel was made. The aim was to find what had been left behind. As a nautical archaeologist, Douglas, using special underwater paper, made records 60 metres down on the sea bed. He made a drawing of the stem post, the crucial missing link, which was later raised. Amongst the many other finds were one or two trenails (long wooden pins or nails for fastening the planks of a ship to the timbers), coins, an anchor, rigging and bits of caulking.

Computer studies have brought about a reappraisal of this vessel of 500 tons, which was later increased to about 700 tons. Ballast, it is suspected, moved to the starboard as she hit the sea-bed.

The big guns did nothing to counteract it. That is part of the cause why she sank. The inspection carried out by Douglas found shot impact sites but no definite evidence of French cannon shot. The suggestion that she might have been hit on the side now missing can be discounted because one would still expect to find evidence.

The conservation process involves spraying with fresh water to keep her wet until about 2013. She will be coated with polyethylene glycol wax, which will dry off. Then she will be air-dried slowly. The year 2016 is the date when the new Mary Rose Museum will open alongside the famous ship. Thousands of artefacts, ranging from weaponry to surgical equipment to dice and beer tankards, will go on show.

The missing link from this report is the ability to show the fascinating photographs, which accompanied a great talk.

9 November 2012
Paul Goodwin
Dumfries and Galloway War Memorials

Paul Goodwin from Dalry is well-known for his dedicated work for the War Memorials Trust of Dumfries and Galloway, a field in which he has been conducting research and making photographic records since 2006. His background of 27 years in the army, followed by involvement in IT, has equipped him well for such endeavours. His address to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society took the form of portraying the many memorials throughout the region, each one with an interesting history. Scotland has many monuments to battles, such as the Waterloo Monument at New Abbey. However, Paul claims that Scotland's first War Memorial is at Balmaclellan and in this case it is uniquely to the Crimean War, not to human sacrifice.

In considering design and architects in the field, the Troqueer and Maxwelltown Memorial on the New Abbey Road is to a Henry Price design, like the one at Annan, and it is so outstanding that it was chosen for the cover of Frank Borman's book, *British War Memorials*. George Henry Paulin drew up a number of designs in Scotland, Wales and even Belgium, as well as the magnificent one at Kirkcudbright. Dodds of Dumfries designed the World War One Memorial at New Galloway and Kells. They were built by Alexander McCubbing whose own son, John, is named at Kells. Amazingly and tragically for the families, Gatehouse, Kells and Crossmichael War Memorials each include four brothers as casualties. The World War Two Memorial for Kells, located in New Galloway Town Hall, is a work of art by Jessie M. King.

Memorials to the fallen take different forms: for instance there is a stained glass window at Balmaclellan Church to Rev. George Murray and to his son, a King's Own Scottish Borderer, who died in 1917 and who is also remembered with honour on the Tyne Cot Memorial. Though the cover is distressed, a book in Balmaclellan Church is a magnificent record with drawings and paintings of badges, not only of those who died but, in addition, of those who survived. The pedestrian bridge at Annan serves as a World War Two Memorial. The communion Table in Castle Douglas Church records the names of the fallen on the ends.

Plane crashes in the region are also recorded on memorials: a B29 crash in 1951 is recorded in a field beyond Carsphairn and the memorial has wreckage from the plane at its base; and the badly-weathered stone plaque to eight crashes on Cairnsmore of Fleet, accidents of geography, now has a new brass plaque, thanks to the War Memorial Trust.

Closure of churches and demolition of buildings places memorials at risk. The Civic Memorial in the former Beeswing Church caused the Planning Department to stipulate that the stained glass must be wholly visible and that visitors could request to see it. Now that Cummertrees Church has been sold, the Parish War Memorial, which took the form of the lych-gate and which was renovated by means of a grant from the War Memorials Trust, is also likely to be protected by conditions. Sections bearing names from the former Sanquhar Institute, after demolition, were incorporated into a stylish external display. The stories behind some 'lost' memorials reveal an element of good fortune. The Roll of Honour for the Oddfellows was rescued from a skip at New Abbey Church. There were two stained glass windows in the former Tarff Church. One is lost. Three sections out of four of the other one, by artist Una Anderson, were found at the back of a shed underneath a tarpaulin. Castle Douglas Roll of Honour was said to be in the Post Office, where it was eventually tracked down, through Paul's persistence, in a cloakroom.

Moves are afoot to bring recording up to date, as happened recently when the names of Stephen Gilbert and Joseph Pool were added to Dumfries War Memorial beside St John's Church, which, incidentally, also includes World War Two losses for Maxwelltown because of the uniting of the two burghs in 1929. Paul and his fellow researchers are amassing a huge body of information about Dumfries and Galloway's rich heritage and making it available on-line. The region is to the fore in Scotland. In 12 years 20 publications of parish studies have emerged.

23 November 2012
Dave Hitchinson
The Scottish Regional Chair

'The Scottish Regional Chair' was the subject of the latest talk delivered to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society. Dave Hitchinson, FSA Scot., the speaker, now residing at Wanlockhead, had a distinguished career as teacher and headmaster. Twenty years ago a change of direction led him into studying the design and composition of Scottish furniture, especially the chair, which has become his obsession and causes him to scour the country in search of its variations. A Churchill Scholarship in 2010 enabled him to study Scottish influences in this field in New Zealand. Fittingly he holds the chairmanship — pun intended — of the Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group.

Found timber, sometimes sourced as driftwood, has led to many primitive forms of seating, such as the cutty stool. 'Primitive' in such cases is not a derogatory term but rather a source of great delight to Dave. The wee ('peidie' in Orkney and 'peerie' in Shetland) creepie represents a slightly more-advanced stool. Examples of naturally-occurring shapes in wood, such as 'knees' or 'elbows' were incorporated into simple hand-made chairs by forming a continuous line along the sides of chairs down to the floor or up the sides of the backs; they are now in museums in the north of Scotland. The 'T-joint' from one piece of wood formed in some cases the top-to-bottom back line of a chair with the branch emanating along the side of the seat.

Dave proceeded to show illustrations of chairs, some typical and some unique, from the regions of Scotland. Shetland chairs display Scandinavian influences involving mortice and tenon joints. Orkney chairs, the only vernacular chair still commercially made and commanding high prices, have semi-circular sides — originally to exclude draughts — made from roped and twisted barley straw and are often fitted with driftwood as the seat. The Darvel chair from Ayrshire, is the Scottish version of the Windsor chair, which looks simple but is difficult to create. A marriage chair from Wanlockhead had planking running from back to front instead of side to side.

Early forms of langseats, ladderback and brander back chairs, some rescued from barns and abandoned houses, were all highlighted. Metal repairs by the local blacksmith are often to be found. The Glasgow chair pattern, with tapering legs and seats extending all the way to the edges, spread to other regions. Those in the north east of the country, with bridle joints, demonstrate the rural influence of the wheelwright, for instance, and are less primitive than those of the north west. Caithness chairs, made by a good house carpenter, exhibit refinements tending to a Regency style.

Dave, having invited attendees to bring along samples of Scottish seating, found himself facing a total of 17 stools and chairs. There was everything from a cutty stool to an Orkney chair to a grand, exquisitely hand-carved caqueteuse chair (for the lord of the manor), dated 1663. Reveling in the variety of woods and styles represented, he pointed out that laburnum was the Scottish 'fancy' timber before mahogany was imported; and also that, when green timber is used, it dries out and wooden pegs tighten. He was in his element and the owners of the chairs were grateful to benefit from his profound knowledge.

Dave has a number of inexpensive publications to his credit. *Some Chairs from the Far North of Scotland* and *The Vernacular Furniture Maker, His Tools and His Craft* relate to this fascinating talk.

7 December 2012
THE JAMES WILLIAMS LECTURE
Lionel Masters
Amongst Stone Giants: Easter Island Explored

Lionel Masters, well-known and very popular in Dumfries and Galloway as an archaeologist and Glasgow University extra-mural lecturer, was invited to give the James Williams Memorial Lecture to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society in December. Lionel replied: 'I am delighted and honoured to accept, particularly as after almost 50 years I'm finally retiring from University teaching this year. It is very fitting that I shall round things off where I started — in Dumfries.'

He continued: 'As to subject, I've recently been working on Polynesian prehistory, so 'Amongst Stone Giants, Easter Island Explored' would be the title and although it might not seem to have anything in common with Jimmy's interests, there is the common theme of trade in stone (British Neolithic polished stone axes / Polynesian stone adzes) and the use of various types of volcanic rock. This would fit in with Jimmy's geological interests.'

Since 2007 Lionel's interest in distant Polynesia has grown, especially in Easter Island (or Rapa Nui), at the eastern end of the Polynesian triangle, first discovered in 1722 on Easter Sunday — hence the name. It measures 14×13×12 miles and is 'just like Arran with sunshine!' Its isolated location is 2000 miles from Chile and a further 2000 miles from Pitcairn Island beyond. The only settlement, Hanga Riva, has four thousand inhabitants.

Thor Heyerdahl's theory that the area was colonised from South America is wrong. It used to be thought to have taken place about 700 years ago: radiocarbon dating has proved that it was about 1200 years ago. It is now recognised that there was a slow and steady drift of colonisation from west to east. The people of the area were brilliant navigators in their double-hulled canoes in the days before the compass and the chronometer. The chances of striking the miniscule pockets of land by seafarers in the great Pacific Ocean would seem to be slim in those long-ago times. The garments of the people were made of bark cloth. Feathers and fish hooks are the basic archaeology of the region. Metal products came only in time from the New World. Six-inch nails proved to have appeal.

There are over 70 volcanoes in the area. Three in particular are worthy of mention: Poike and Rano Kau are about 1 million years old and Terebaka is about 700,000 years old. The statues with the characteristic elongated ear lobes were created in the period up to 1600. The rock to make them comes from the small but beautifully-formed Rano Raraku volcano. The volcanic rock is hard on the surface but relatively easy to work with a pick made of hard rock (basalt). There are about 330 statues all around the volcano. They are either still attached to the rock or on the outer fringe.

The Pukao is the head with its empty eye sockets and top-knot of red skoria; the Moai is the body, the largest of which is over 30 feet high and if it were to be extracted would weigh about 80 tons; legs are very rare. Generally a large section is below ground in pits and therefore not visible, a factor which has preserved fine detail. The rock is yellow but when exposed turns grey in about 50 years. It seems that in order to move the statue to its platform (the Ahu) a rocking from side to side was employed. Only about one fifth of the sites have been recorded. Reconstruction began after 1956. The largest completely reconstructed site is Ahu tongariki, where all the tourists are taken. The Japanese brought in the first mobile crane to replace the statues, which all look inland and have their backs to the sea. One huge statue has eyes of red skoria like the top-knot and black obsidian disks as pupils. The characteristic of redness for the eyes imbues the statue with Manu, sacred power.

Sheila Fraser delivered an appreciative vote of thanks, not only for this memorable lecture, delivered with customary enthusiasm, but also for the years of dedication to advancing knowledge here in the South West. With regret we say farewell to a ‘Master’.

18 January 2013
Richard Clarkson
The Flora of the Grey Mare’s Tail

On Friday 18th January, members of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society were given an entertaining and enlightening lecture with stunning photography by Richard Clarkson on the Flora of the Grey Mare’s Tail Nature Reserve, owned by the National Trust for Scotland and containing White Coomb, the highest point (821m / 2,694ft) in Dumfriesshire. Richard, a native of Herefordshire, moved to Scotland, to Caithness, in 1990, drawn by his interest in Nature. He continued to develop that interest, always in Scotland apart from time spent at Staffordshire University from where he graduated in Ecology, until he was appointed Ranger at the Reserve in 2010.

He began his lecture with the geology of the Grey Mare’s Tail area, its underlying rocks being formed 400-500 million years ago far south of the equator before tectonic drift took them to their present location. The Grey Mare’s Tail itself, dropping 200 feet and the result of a glacially-formed Hanging Valley, is the 5th highest cascade in the UK. It is fed by Loch Skeen, home to a population of vendace (Coregonus vandesius), Britain’s rarest fish, formerly found only at Derwent, Bassenthwaite Lake, and the Castle and Mill Lochs at Lochmaben. It has since become extinct at the last three sites, although not before some of the Bassenthwaite vendace were brought in the 1990s to Loch Skeen, where they now appear to being doing well. In addition to the Grey Mare’s Tail, the Reserve has a second waterfall, Dob’s Linn, a world famous geological Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) where Charles Lapworth, a Galashiels schoolteacher and a giant of Geology, studied graptolite fossils and proposed (and named) a new geological period, the Ordovician. He was also the first to recognise that older rocks could be thrust over younger, a concept that at the time conflicted with orthodoxy.

Richard then discussed the fauna of the Reserve. It has a number of bird species – peregrine falcons (whose nest can at certain times of the year be viewed by CCTV), meadow pippets and the very rare ring ouzel (the Reserve has only 1-2 nesting pairs of this migrant from North Africa). Other bird species include wheatear, stonechat, red grouse and ravens, as well as transients such as short-eared owls. Grazers include sheep (the NTS does not own the grazing rights to the Reserve), a population of wild goats of ancient lineage and a small number of mountain hares, with occasional roe deer.

He then moved on to the main part of his talk, the flora, beautifully shown on superb slides (with not a 'love-em-or-loathe-em' wind turbine in shot!). The Reserve is a European Special Area of Conservation and a Site of Special Scientific Interest with respect to its flora. Plants of the Reserve, the terrain of which allows some rarer montane (alpine / subalpine) species to survive in crevasses inaccessible to grazers, are found in eight distinct habitats of European importance. Within the habitats, there is one Endangered, 17 Nationally Rare and 12 Regionally Rare species. The highest habitat, Montane Grassland, has Woolly Fringe-moss (Racomitrium lanuginosum) and Heath Bedstraw (Galium saxatile). At a lower level are Alpine and Subalpine Heaths, the principal plants here in the Reserve being Blaeberry, Cloudberry, Crowberry and Dwarf Cornel. Dry Heaths are a third habitat, comprising mainly heathers – Bell, Brush and Cross-leaved heath – Blaeberry and an orchid, Lesser Twayblade (Listera cordata). This population contrasts with that of the Soligenous Mires habitat, kept wet by late snow-melt and water run-off, and which supports Starry and Golden Saxifrage, the insectivorous Butterwort, Chickweed Willowherb, a declining population of Hairy Stonecrop (now growing in only one flush) and the very rare Alpine Foxtail, found only in the Highlands, the Moffat Hills, a few sites in the Borders and northern Pennines. Outside these sites, it is found only in Svalbard. Another habitat in the Reserve is Blanket Bog, comprising sphagnum, heather, Common and Hare's-tail Cottongrass, Cross-leaved Heath, Lousewort and the splendidly named Tormentil (Potentilla erecta), once considered an aphrodisiac and still used as an astringent, a red dye, as the basis for a Black Forest liqueur called Blutwurz and as an anti-diarrhoeal. Acidic Scree, another habitat, supports Parsley Fern, and then there are the habitats of Tall Herb Communities and Plants in Crevices, the rarer plants mentioned earlier beyond the reach of grazers.

1 February 2013
John Burnett
Festivity in South West Scotland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

John Burnett, a Cambridge graduate, who spent 26 years from 1986 working for the National Museum of Scotland mainly as a specialist on how the ordinary Scot lived his life, was the speaker at the beginning of February. The subject chosen was 'Festivity in South West Scotland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', an aspect of his historical research in retirement, for which local newspapers and local poetry help to serve as sources of information. Sadly, he finds, it is hard to discover when customs arose and reports mention happenings, but carry little detail about what people actually did before 1900.

Festivity almost anywhere in Europe starts from the Christian calendar of the Middle Ages. Scotland has been singularly at variance in this respect. The secular calendar provided the impetus for Scottish festivity, probably because religious festivals were suppressed by the Reformers and were to some extent associated with the Roman Catholic Church.

The late Professor Sandy Fenton, a noted linguist, in the 1950s had the skills to compare how people lived and went about their daily lives in various European countries. He was associated with thirteen volumes of studies from the School of Ethnology (to be found in the Ewart Library),

the fourteenth of which is about to appear. A series of regional studies in Scotland, following his example, are planned. The vanguard study is being conducted in Dumfries and Galloway and John's talk is the basis of his chapter for the forthcoming publication.

The holiday on New Year's Day, the biggest of the year, provided a reason for celebration. First-footing starts to appear when cheap whisky became available at the end of the eighteenth century. It emerges that there was a custom, recorded in Edinburgh and Dumfries, of it being permissible for a man to grab any woman he met and kiss her on New Year's Day. There is evidence of socialising involving tea, scones and dancing being organised in village halls. Such simplicity in merrymaking is in marked contrast to city life, where, for instance, the environs of the Tron Kirk in Edinburgh attracted huge crowds to assemble for the fun of the day.

1890 was quite a year. New Year's Day fell on a Wednesday, but strangely in Dumfries New Year's Day was celebrated on the Thursday, which was market day. As the Town Council advised that pubs be closed and one third obeyed, it was reported that there was little evidence of drunkenness. 'Questionable,' said John. The fact that William Ewart Gladstone, had reached the age of 80 provided a reason for the biggest holiday of that year. Temperance movements were strong at this time: in Dalbeattie, for example, we find the Flute Band of The Independent Order of Rechabites playing on the streets.

Michaelmas, 29th September, fell around harvest time, which was very labour-intensive in the days before mechanisation. Such an intermix of people allowed courtships to take place: Robert Burns at the age of 16 fell in love with 'Handsome Nell' while harvesting. Before the 1740s there was always a risk of famine and therefore, once the harvest was in, the harvest kirn was celebrated round the last sheaf. The Dumfries Weekly Magazine in 1825 describes older women chatting in the background while young women danced; there was singing; whisky and a cold collation, perhaps of oatcakes and cheese, was on offer.

Halloween inspired several local poets. John Mayne's poems had some influence on those of Robert Burns. The blind Dumfries poet, James Fisher, was born in 1759 like Burns; the two of them seemed to prefer country girls in their simple, everyday attire. Janet Little, a milkmaid, also born in 1759 – near Ecclefechan – associated the event, as did Burns, with the supernatural and folks trying to discover their fate:

> At Halloween, when fairy sprites
> Perform their mystic gambols,
> When ilka witch her neebour greets,
> On their nocturnal rambles;
> When elves at midnight-hour are seen,
> Near hollow caverns sportin,
> Then lads an' lasses aft convene,
> In hopes to ken their fortune,
> By freets that night. (Little)
>
> For mony a ane has gotten a fright,
> An' liv'd an' died deleerit,
> On sic a night. (Burns)

There was feasting at Martinmas, 11th November, because beef animals, which could not be taken through the winter, would be slaughtered.

Shooting competitions were popular at New Year. Kirkcudbright and Dumfries each have similar Siller Guns: the former dates from 1587 and, while there is no definite date for the latter, it is thought to have been introduced around the same time. The story that James VI donated it is unlikely to be true. By the middle of the eighteenth century the competition was held on the king's birthday, especially during the reign of George III. John Mayne's poem, 'The Siller Gun', is his best. The competition in Dumfries is expertly captured pictorially in two detailed scenes by Thomas Stothard RA in collaboration with R.H. Cromek, engraver. One shows the incorporated trades on the Whitesands and the other one shows the competition taking place at Maidenbower. Prizes were awarded. At Lockerbie another 1890 event involved the hotels – The Crown, The King's Arms and The Black Bull – organising such a competition. No need to say what form the prizes took!

Fairs, of which the Glasgow Fair was the greatest, were growing in popularity as there was entertainment on the fringes. The Keltonhill Fair outside Castle Douglas has given rise to the saying, when describing a rumbustious event: 'It was like Keltonhill Fair!' There is a poem, 'The Fair' by Robert Shennan (c. 1782-1866) of Kirkpatrick Durham, which describes cooperware being sold, as well as seeds, cloth, fruit, and confectionary. Dancing took place. Meanwhile pickpockets were circulating. Apart from New Year such a fair was the only other holiday for country folk.

In 1794, thanks to events in France, patriotism was in the air. The Duke of Queensberry arrived in Dumfries. The magistrates and Town Council, the Seven Incorporated Trades, the Volunteers, dipping their flags, paraded past him. Barrels of porter, freely available in the streets, allowed the people to drink his health. The Duke threw money into the crowds and gave the Incorporated Trades £25 to drink his health. A remarkably lavish and costly occasion.

Dumfries, like other towns and cities, entered into celebration of St Crispin's Day, 25th October, in 1813 and 1818 when an elaborate procession took place in the town, thought to be emulating the Lord Mayor's celebrations in London and demonstrating national unity. History records at length the exploits of kings and generals. In contrast, John Burnett considers that it is important to look at what ordinary folk were doing.

15 February 2013
Pam Taylor and Nic Coombey
What's So Special About the Solway Firth?

'What's so special about the Solway Firth?' was the title of the talk given by Pam Taylor and Nic Coombey to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society in February. Both work for the Solway Firth Partnership, a local charity, launched in 1994 and 'dedicated to supporting a vibrant and sustainable local economy while respecting, protecting and celebrating the distinctive character, heritage and natural features of our marine and coastal area'.

Pam has had a lifelong involvement in community and environmental projects and has been with the Solway Firth Partnership for five years. The organisation's aim is to bring together all the interests in the estuary and help make links between English and Scottish partners. A new system of marine planning is being introduced and aims to help balance demand for use of the firth with the need to protect wildlife and habitats. The Partnership has been supporting this process by gathering information on how the area is used. The boundaries of the Solway Firth Partnership's operation are not rigidly defined and stretch from Loch Ryan right round to St. Bees Head in Cumbria.

The Partnership aims to provide an open forum for debate on issues affecting the area. Views on developments such as offshore wind-farms are wide-ranging and the Partnership's role is to support

balanced discussion. A Solway Energy Gateway feasibility study has been carried out to help assess the potential for generating tidal energy in the estuary. The technology needed to harness energy in this way is still developing and tests on new devices have been carried out recently in a mill lade in Cumbria. The Solway is a highly protected area and any new developments need to demonstrate that potential impacts on important species such as the iconic barnacle goose have been fully considered.

Sea fishing by its very nature takes place away from most people's daily observance and experience. As a result, the types of fishing that take place and the part they play in the culture of the area are often poorly understood. The Solway Firth Partnership works to address this in a range of ways such as by producing informative publications. There is a need to make sure fisheries are sustainable long term and the Partnership has carried out work to promote the Marine Stewardship Council accreditation scheme locally. An old photograph showed a fleet of oyster smacks from Kent in Isle of Whithorn around a hundred years ago when oysters were commercially fished in Luce Bay. Today, scallop fishing is one of the mainstays of the local economy with high value landings in Kirkcudbright. Creel fishing for crab and lobster takes place in the west of the region where the shoreline and underwater habitats are rockier. Work to conserve crab and lobster stocks in places such as Sussex and the Isle of Man has shown the benefits of inserting creel escape panels to allow juveniles to escape. The Solway Firth Partnership is currently bidding for funding to enable this practice to be introduced locally.

The Partnership has arranged training for local divers so that information about marine species and habitats can be gathered. The work is part of a national Seasearch project which involves underwater surveys and helps to provide the information needed to support good decision making. Grant support for equipment including an underwater camera has helped to illustrate the diverse and colourful nature of local sea-life such as the dahlia anemone (Urticina felina).

Nic Coombey spent 15 years as a landscape architect and is well known in the area through work with Solway Heritage and the Galloway and Southern Ayrshire Biosphere project. He joined the Solway Firth Partnership six months ago working as a Coastal Ranger on the 'Making the Most of the Coast' project. Education is a key part of this project and Nic is working with primary and secondary schools as well as organising training events and producing publications. As part of the Scottish Coastal Heritage at Risk Project, Nic is encouraging volunteers to report on archaeological sites at risk from coastal erosion. He is also organising local beach cleans and marine litter surveys as part of national Marine Conservation Society initiatives.

Another project, 'The Shore Thing', has been measuring the effects of climate change by monitoring indicator species. Assessing local trends in sea temperature rise is complicated by the semi-enclosed nature of the Solway and the volume of water flowing from rivers combined with tidal effect. Some species are extending their range northwards with increasing numbers of bass in the Solway for example. Studies of rocky shores show that cold water species, such as the tortoiseshell limpet (Tectura testudinalis), are still in the Solway but becoming rarer, while the toothed topshell (Osinalis lineatus) is extending its range northwards. The honeycomb worm (Sabellaria alveolata) forms complex reefs along the coast and appears to be moving north and thriving at the moment. The non-native Pacific oyster (Crassostrea gigas) has been found in 3 or 4 places in the Solway recently. It is thought to be too cold for it to breed locally although resident populations have established at sites not far away.

Nic has a special interest in dog whelks. Although many eggs are laid in each egg-case, only about 15 might survive because the bulk of them are consumed by the emerging young dog whelks. Dog whelks might spend their whole life in one square metre of territory and many never spread more than 15 metres from their birthplace. Enclaves of them are to be found along the Solway coast. Some

are impressive-looking with orange and black striped shells, while others are all white. In sheltered places they grow large and long; in not-so-sheltered places they are short and fat. A school pupil is going to survey a few sites under Nic's guidance.

At question time the subject of cockling in the Solway arose. There has been little cockle fishing for some time due to low stocks. Harvesting cockles stirs mixed emotions with their high value making them much sought after. The Solway Firth Partnership recently worked with Marine Scotland to hold a local meeting exploring options for future management of the fishery.

1 March 2013
Members' Night

Two members of the Garden History Society of Scotland spoke to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society on Members' Night at the beginning of March. They are part of a team of 15 volunteer contributors to surveys being carried out since 2009 in our region, where 20 such surveys have been conducted and are incorporated in the book, *An Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes in Scotland*, while 160 more are taking place throughout Scotland. The aim is to enhance awareness and knowledge of designed landscapes. The elements of the study comprise investigation of the location, ownership, size, history, maps, illustrations, architects, designers, designs and planting.

Eileen Toolis, former President and now a Fellow of the Society, chose Terregles House and garden estate as her subject. The name Terregles is derived from Welsh and means 'church land'. Owned by the Herries family, it then passed to the Maxwells by marriage. Mary Queen of Scots stayed there after the battle of Langside in 1568 before embarking on her fateful journey into England. Burns wrote the poem 'Nithsdale's Welcome Hame' to celebrate the return of the Jacobite-supporting Maxwells from exile. The last and most handsome of the houses on site over the centuries was built in 1789 and demolished in 1964. The gatehouse and stable block are still there.

In the late Victorian period Terregles estate boasted beautifully-landscaped gardens. Documentation of the period reveals an ice house, gasometer, brick works, potting sheds, walled garden, glasshouses, vinery, fernery, extensive orchard, two full size tennis greens, a fountain, a sundial and statues of the four seasons. A loyalty photograph of 1909 shows a staff of 15, of which 6 were gardeners, standing on the steps of the Italianate garden with the statues of three of the four seasons clearly visible as a backdrop.

Eileen quoted the report of DGNHAS members' visit to Terregles Gardens on 7 June 1890:

> The Terregles gardens and ornamental grounds are notable for their extent and their magnificence. Stately trees, beech hedges of giant stature and perfect symmetry, terraces and banks of velvety turf, cunningly contrived grottos, lake and stream, and statuary present at every turn, new features that invite the visitor to linger in admiration; at this season the grounds are gorgeous with the bright and artfully blended tints of the rhododendron and azalea, while on their outskirts a long bank of the yellow broom reflects a golden glow.

Henry Cockburn, Law Lord, visited the site and found much to admire, although he was critical of the fact that a professional rock maker from London had been employed in Scotland where nature was the supreme rock maker! Minor elements remain but the former carefully-tended scene now serves mainly as pasture.

* * *

Anne Fairn, retired teacher and local historian, chose the villa garden of Castledykes as her subject. She had researched the scene previously for the South West of Scotland Decorative and Fine Art Society (SWSDFAS) and produced a booklet in 2010, copies of which are still available from Dumfries Museum or the Ewart Library for £3.30 p.

The attractive present-day site with a unique and magnificent layout for a municipal garden has an interesting history spanning the centuries. Two Norman castles, associated with Edward I of England and his campaigns to subjugate Scotland have occupied the site. After slaying the Red Comyn in 1306, Bruce captured Castledykes Castle from Edward's control and held it for three weeks. Anne recommended reading Edward's Wardrobe Accounts for the 28th year of his reign: inequality of remuneration of the sexes is evidenced by the fact that men were paid 10 pence per day and women were paid 1 penny. While Bruce held the castle the accounts show the loss of 9 casks of wine, 2 casks of honey, 221 quarters of salt and 182 horse shoes! Bruce retook the castle in 1313, which was laid waste by 1335 – perhaps at the hands of Bruce. Murals, now requiring refurbishment, depict scenes from this period.

The Burgh of Dumfries acquired the site, a source of quarrying material, in the Middle Ages until 1800 when the sandstone became depleted. The Midsteeple in 1707 was constructed from Castledykes stone. Early in the nineteenth century the site passed into private ownership. Ebenezer Scott, formerly of Kelton, who made his fortune in cotton in the USA, acquired it in the 1820s. Walter Newall designed an Italianate villa for him, which incorporated – most unusually for the times – water closets on each floor and running water even in the servants' quarters. His young American wife, Elizabeth, a keen botanist and plantswoman, used her influence to achieve lavish expenditure of £20,000 on the garden scene, incorporating a vinery and hothouses. They grew mushrooms, peaches, grapes, figs and pomegranates The Burgh was paid 100 guineas for moss from Kingholm Merse to provide a good base for her plants. The much-publicised garden attracted key visitors, such as J.C. Loudon, botanist and garden designer, who criticised the laying of turf on the steep banks round the quarry, as being impractical for cutting. John McDairmid in 1832 described the scene incorporating 'shady walks, pellucid springs and garden rills.' Elizabeth, once widowed, took her precious house plant collection back to the USA.

In 1931 the Burgh bought back the site. Thereafter the house was let to various people, including James Carmont, a banker, who had 60 years association with Crichton Royal Institution administration. Castledykes House was demolished in 1952. A.E. Truckell conducted two site excavations in 1953. Allen Paterson, a well-known horticulturist, who has retired to Dumfriesshire, did a tree survey in 2004 to establish the age of the trees on site.

These two interesting and well-illustrated talks made the audience realise what magnificent local scenes have passed into history.

* * *

A third talk was given by Liam Murray, former Treasurer of the Society. It was also enhanced by a series of interesting slides. After graduating from Glasgow University, he worked as a farm manager before joining the Colonial Service in 1955 as an Agricultural Officer. The second spell of his two-year training in Tropical Agriculture was spent in Trinidad where he met and married Heather, a charming young air hostess with British West Indian Airways. In 1957 the couple went to Tanganyika which had been a German colony, but which had been mandated to Britain after the First World War. In 1955 a large number of graduates were recruited but in 1957, after the Suez crisis, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan made his famous speech declaring that 'the winds of change are sweeping through Africa' and it was apparent that Independence was going to come soon and that Liam's job in the Colonial Service was not going to be a job for life.

His first posting was to Moshi on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. Although the local tribe were advanced and industrious, the Governor, Sir Edward Twining, who visited Moshi in 1958 was not keen on independence being granted. However, he was replaced by Sir Richard Turnbull who had been Governor of Kenya and who believed that independence should be granted. The plains below Kilimanjaro were very arid but they did have a major river, the Weru Weru, running through them and the Government decided to use the water to set up an irrigation scheme, which Liam managed as his first job. In order to find the best crops for the scheme, trial plots of maize, paw paw, cassava, bananas and cotton were set up with cotton being found the most successful. It was grown, harvested and then taken to markets which were run by Indians who sent the crop to both Britain and India.

After a year the Murrays were transferred to Mbulu, located above the Rift Valley. The local tribe, the Iraqw built their houses into the side of the hills. These very enclosed buildings had no windows, a factor which gave rise to a high incidence of tuberculosis amongst the local people. They were a friendly tribe and they made a great deal of fuss of Liam's children on those occasions which were attended by both the local people and the European families. The Iraqw were traditionally cattle people and efforts were being made by the Agricultural Department to have them become involved in cash crops, particularly pyrethrum which grew well in the area and was seen as the great hope for replacing DDT. Whilst he was there Liam was involved in supervising national and local elections, some of the stations for which in the remote areas were held under a tree and on the back of his pick-up truck.

The following tour he was posted back to Moshi as the District Agricultural Officer, arriving this time, not by ship and car, but instead by plane touching down on Moshi's spectacular airport on the plain below Kilimanjaro. Here they lived in a large old colonial house with an extensive garden and spectacular views of Kilimanjaro from the dining room window and a nanny for the children. Ten nights every month had to be spent out on safari staying in tents or rest houses, which were maintained by the government. On occasions Heather would accompany him to enjoy what was, in the upper slopes of the mountains, scenery and streams which were very like those to be found in Scotland.

The main crop was coffee, which at the time each local farmer processed on his own farm and thereafter sold through the District Cooperative Society, but because of inconsistency in the processing it never obtained the top prices that the European crops secured. However, after Liam and the government marketing officers met up with local chiefs a Central Processing Factory was set up, which resulted in the high quality Tanganyikan Arabica Coffee which is now sold in the UK. The climate also suited wheat and large acreages were grown by the European farmers on the western plains of the mountain.

On his third tour he was sent to Bukoba on Lake Victoria as Regional Agricultural Officer. The plane landed on sodden ground, a feature of the wet season when the lake regularly flooded. There was a golf course on the ground alongside the lake on which there were not greens but 'browns' of sand which were smoothed over after the players had putted out by a lad dragging a sack around the 'brown'. If the course had been flooded they played in Wellington boots. The roads were basic with dirt and ridges in the dry season and puddles in the wet. The Lake Steamer arrived three times a week from Kenya delivering supplies.

Independence came in 1961 and the colonial officers – other than the Administration Officers who were all given early retirement – were presented with the option of transferring to another colony or transferring to the Tanganyikan Civil service for which a cash compensation was given. Liam took this option and with the cash was able to take a glorious family holiday in Malindi on the East Coast of Kenya. Meanwhile there was unrest building up in Tanganyika and in 1964 the army

mutinied. Julius Nyerere, the President, managed to escape and Britain responded to his appeal for help by sending in a Battalion of Commandos who quickly quelled the mutiny as they did also with a copy-cat mutiny in Kenya.

Bukoba was on the border with the Congo where a vicious revolution had taken place and Liam and Heather decided to return to Britain with their three young children. The Colonial Office had set up a Resettlement Bureau and a job was found for Liam with Scottish Agricultural Industries who sent him on his first posting to their office in Dumfries to work as a Farm Management Adviser.

15 March 2013
Nic Card
The Ness of Brodgar: the True Heart of Neolithic Orkney?

Nic Card of the Orkney Research Centre for Archaeology addressed a joint meeting of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, which numbered 73 people altogether. Delivered by an expert in his field, it proved to be a very special talk. Nic's career in archaeology has been served with the National Museum of Scotland, Bradford University and for the last 15 years in Orkney. It was punctuated by a period in the building trade, which equipped him well when interpreting building forms in the field.

His talk was entitled 'The Ness of Brodgar: the True Heart of Neolithic Orkney?' He began by quoting a saying about Orkney: 'If you scratch its surface it will bleed archaeology.' Up to 1989 the various sites, such as Maes Howe, Skara Brae, Ring of Brodgar, Stones of Stenness, Watch Stone and Barnhouse Stone seemed to stand in isolation. After the Barnhouse itself was revealed and the status of World Heritage Site was conferred in 1989, new archaeological finds were made, associated for instance with Historic Scotland's laser scanning, the Rising Tide Project set up in 2005 and the Royal Commission's aerial surveying, which brought to light the New Bookan enclosure on the Ring of Bookan site. The Banks Chambered Tomb on South Ronaldsay was discovered by a chap making a new car park. On the Links of Noltland, Westray, a figurine called 'The Westray Wife' was uncovered.

In 2002 a series of geophysical surveys was undertaken. Magnetometry was used in the Inner Buffer Zones of the World Heritage Site, namely The Ring of Brodgar and the Ness of Brodgar. When geophysics was applied to pleasant green fields in the area round the Stones of Stenness a wealth of revelations showed up, such as Big Bowe, and proved that there was still much to be investigated. Study of the area round Skara Brae revealed a new and unsuspected Broch site, much bigger than the one under guardianship. Against this promising background, the tip of Brodgar, having thrown up a wealth of linear, rectangular and oval anomalies, was deemed worthy of excavation. Looking from the Watch Stone to the Ness of Brodgar it should have been obvious that, with the two standing stones on site, there was more to uncover on a stretch of land 150 metres long and 100 metres wide.

The history of discovery at Brodgar began with finding a decorated slab, now in the National Museum of Scotland, on the Ness of Brodgar in 1925. Two fields, ploughed in March 2003 revealed an unusual notched stone slab with a rebated back edge. Glasgow University was called in. Instead of the expected kist being uncovered, a structure similar to what Professor Colin Richards had uncovered at Barnhouse came to light. Test trenches were opened up in 2004-2007 to determine whether all the finds were Neolithic and in all but one they were. More and more sites were opened up but still perhaps only 2-3% of the site was uncovered to reveal at least seven major structures. It was only the tip of the iceberg. Radiocarbon dating has revealed 1000 years of activity at the Ness. In all there are 14 structures. The state of preservation of Structure 1 is superb with its 6 recesses, 2 hearths

at either end, 2 central squares and an enigmatic oval anomaly. Walls up to 1 metre in height were found. Such great areas of underground preservation take years to uncover. To uncover the remains of one such building would keep any archaeologist happy but more was to come ...

The collapse of Structure 8, which is about 20 metres long, revealed an earlier underlying structure. Some might even have more than one underlying structure, which proves that remodelling and re-using of sites took place over time. Here random rubble with trimmed stone of a uniform thickness suggested to Nic the possibility of a collapsed roof. Once down at floor level it is easier to understand how the building was organised. Much more analysis is yet to be undertaken. At Structure 14 an artefact initially called the 'Brodgar Babe' was unearthed until the other half was found and the 'Wine Bottle Stopper Theory' emerged! Beautifully-shaped and polished stones are being found. One exquisite axe head was the best Nic has ever handled. This coming summer they hope to reach floor level.

Each structure, although bearing similarities to others, has its idiosyncrasies and all seem to be contemporary. Different types of stone such as lumps of igneous rock are contained within the walls. It could be that different communities were coming together to interact on the site. Everything appears to have been contained within a massive walled enclosure 4 metres wide, later widened to 6 metres, around which there is an external ditch.

On the other side of the Ring of Brodgar there is the Dyke of Sean, thought previously to be a mediaeval boundary until cows revealed beautiful foundation stonework. These two walls contain the Ring of Brodgar. In 2009 another linear anomaly, known as the lesser Wall of Brodgar, emerged to be a stupendous wall 1.8 metres high. There were in fact two parallel walls, one on either side which proved to be a Neolithic walled precinct from 5000 years ago.

Structure 10, uncovered at the start of 2009, was a rectangular and outstanding anomaly, 25 metres long and 20 metres wide and labelled by the press as a 'Neolithic Cathedral'. There were no walls where expected. Most of the walling, which is double-skinned, has been robbed out. There is pavement all the way round. The cruciform shape has a central chamber like the one at Maes Howe. Another similarity with Maes Howe is a chambered tomb. There is a partially-reassembled standing stone, incorporated into buttresses, with a hole through it and taking a line down a central axis, there is another standing stone a few metres away. However, unlike Maes Howe which is seen as a monument to the dead, this Brodgar structure is more for the living, like Skara Brae, as there are four 'dressers', one on each wall: it may be that the word 'altar' will prove to be more applicable. In places the walling is fantastically beautiful with extensive use of contrasting colours of pink, yellow and blue-grey stone. Structure 10 when first built must have been one of the most outstanding structures in Britain and even beyond.

Art work is to be found right across the site. The number now stands at 350 examples. Colour – reds, yellows, browns – is not limited to the walls, but also extends to pottery and brings the Neolithic to life. Coloured grooved ware was also found. A tiny percentage of exotica, such as polished axe heads of pitchstone – a type of obsidian – from Arran, complemented by flint from the East Coast was present. Ingrid Mainland studied bone deposits found round Structure 10 in only 1 metre square. She identified the tibias of 40 animals, mainly of cattle.

What does the scene represent? Was it a temple precinct, a pilgrimage site, or a tribal meeting place? These are the sane suggestions. Was it a hospital, a brothel or an abattoir. Perhaps during 1000 years of its life it served all these functions and more. Whatever its purpose, the Ness of Brodgar ceased to function about 1000 years BC. It is tempting to link its downfall with the arrival of bronze. Barely 10% of the site has been excavated. Keyhole surgery might continue. As archaeological investigation

is costly, donations are welcomed via the website. Last summer the site had 7,500 visitors. In 2013 there will be daily guided tours from 17th July to 21st August. Neil Oliver's television documentary reached an audience of 3 million viewers and led to a 200% increase in visits. The website has received 12,500 hits. The suggestion that the Ness of Brodgar might be the 'True Heart of Neolithic Orkney' was very convincing.

John Gair, a member since 1945 when his father introduced him as a boy to the Society, gave a very appreciative vote of thanks in which he called the Ness of Brodgar 'an extraordinary treasure-house'.

13 April 2013
Ronan Toolis and Chris Bowles
The Galloway Picts Project

In Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society's final lecture of 2012-2013, there was standing room only at Gatehouse of Fleet Community Centre on Saturday, 13 April, when 135 people turned up to hear the results of the Galloway Picts Project. This major archaeological excavation of Trusty's Hillfort, just outside Gatehouse of Fleet, was undertaken by the Society last summer to mark its 150th anniversary. Over a two-week period of glorious weather, the hillfort was excavated with the assistance of professional archaeologists from GUARD Archaeology Ltd and over 60 local and international volunteers.

Trusty's Hillfort has always been known to be an unusual site, possessing Pictish carvings cut into the living rock at the entrance to the fort. High definition laser scanning undertaken as part of the excavation showed these to be of a style consistent with the construction of the fort around 600 AD. Remarkably, too, the Society found a rock-cut pool at the fort entrance, eerily similar to Dunadd in Argyll, the known capital of Dal Riada, a contemporary Dark Age Gaelic Kingdom, where an entrance pool and Pictish carvings, again far from the Pictish homeland, are also found. Similar outlier carvings have also been found at Edinburgh Castle Rock, once the capital of another Dark Age Kingdom, that of the Goddodin, the Britons of south east Scotland.

Other exciting finds included recycled Roman Samian pottery and E-ware pottery from post-Roman Empire Gaul; a spinning whorl and an iron pin, probably a cloak pin, with a thistle head almost exactly matching a mould found at Mote of Mark. Was the pin made there? Perhaps the most remarkable find to emerge was what looked at first sight a small thick rusty disc but which turned out to be a beautiful horse harness decoration. There were even traces of leather still on the back!

Extensive radiocarbon dating confirmed that the fort was inhabited from the fifth to the late sixth centuries AD, coming to a violent and fiery end around 600 AD, at the time the Northumbrians moved into Galloway and the Kingdom of Rheged disappeared from history. What this excavation has revealed is that Trusty's Hill was a royal stronghold at the heart of the Dark Age Kingdom of Rheged, that was pre-eminent amongst the kingdoms of the north during the late sixth century AD. It was in this kingdom, at Whithorn in the Machars and Kirkmadrine in the Rhinns, that Christianity and literacy is first apparent in Scotland. These sites, along with fortified strongholds like Mote of Mark near Rockcliffe and Trusty's Hill itself, were well connected with continental Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean at a time when much of Britain was isolated, fragmented and barbaric. The evidence from Trusty's Hill indicates that it was perhaps here that the very idea of kingship in Scotland was first developed.

'Rheged, for so long a lost kingdom, thought to be somewhere in South West Scotland or North West England, can now for the first time be fixed to the ground, not in Cumbria or Lancashire or Dumfriesshire, but in Galloway. For there is clear archaeological evidence now for pre-eminent secular and ecclesiastical sites in Galloway during the fifth to early seventh centuries AD, unmatched anywhere else in Scotland and Northern England.' said DGNHAS President Francis Toolis.

Although the excavation itself is now over, analysis of finds by specialists continues, with fresh discoveries being posted on the project website, www.gallowaypicts.com. In addition, a new leaflet, Discover Dark Age Galloway, has been printed, promoting many of the Dark Age sites that survive in Dumfries and Galloway. The leaflet is free and will soon be available from outlets across the region, such as the Mill of the Fleet, the Whithorn Story Visitor Centre, local museums and tourist information centres.

The Galloway Picts Project is supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, GUARD Archaeology Ltd, the Mouswald Trust, the Hunter Archaeological Trust, the Strathmartine Trust Sandeman Award, the Gatehouse Development Initiative and the John Younger Trust.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, by James McAndrew, 1882.*
Birrens and its Antiquities, by Dr J. Macdonald and James Barbour, 1897.*
Communion Tokens, with a Catalogue of those of Dumfriesshire, by Rev. H.A.Whitelaw, 1911.*
History of Dumfries Post Office, by J.M.Corrie, 1912.*
History of the Society, by H.S.Gladstone, 1913.*
The Ruthwell Cross, by W.G.Collingwood, 1917.*
Records of the Western Marches, Vol. I, 'Edgar's History of Dumfries, 1746', edited by R.C. Reid, 1916.*
Records of the Western Marches, Vol. II, 'The Bell Family in Dumfriesshire', by James Steuart, 1932.* (Reprinted in 1984 by Scotpress, Morgantown, West Virginia, USA, ISBN 0-912951-26-5)
Records of the Western Marches, Vol. III, 'The Upper Nithsdale Coalworks from Pictish Times to 1925', by J.C. McConnel, 1962.*
Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire, by H.S.Gladstone, 1923.*
A Bibliography of the Parish of Annan, by Frank Millar, 1925.*
Thomas Watling, Limner of Dumfries, by H.S.Gladstone, 1938.*
The Marine Fauna and Flora of the Solway Firth Area, by Dr E.J. Perkins, 1972, and *Corrigenda* to same.*
Cruggleton Castle, Report of Excavations 1978-1981, by Gordon Ewart, 1985. (72pp. £3.50 plus post and packing)
Excavations at Caerlaverock Old Castle 1998-9, by Martin Brann and others, 2004. **(**128pp. £5 plus post and packing)
The Early Crosses of Galloway, by W.G.Collingwood, reprinted from *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.10, 1922-3. (49 crosses illustrated and discussed, 37pp. £1.50 plus post and packing)
Flowering Plants and Ferns of Kirkcudbrightshire, by Olga Stewart, reprinted from *TDGNHAS* ser. III, vol.65, 1990. (68pp. £3 plus post and packing)

TRANSACTIONS OF THE SOCIETY

Series I vol. 1, 1862-3* to vol. 6, 1867-8.*
Series II vol. 1, 1876-8* to vol. 24, 1911-2.*
Series III vol. 1, 1912-3* to vol. 86, 2012
Special volumes vol. 27, 1948-9 – **Whithorn Volume I***; vol. 29, 1950-1 **with index to vols. 1-27**; vol. 31, 1952-3 – **Hoddom Volume I**; vol. 34, 1955-6 – **Whithorn Volume II**; vol. 39, 1960-1 **with index to vols. 27-38**; vol. 40, 1961-2 – **Centenary Volume**; vol. 49, 1972 **with index to vols. 39-48**; vol. 54, 1979 – **Wanlockhead Volume**; vol. 59, 1984 **with index to vols. 49-58**; vol. 65, 1990 – **Flora of Kirkcudbright Volume**; vol. 66, 1991 – **Hoddom Volume II**; vol. 69, 1994 – **Birrens Centenary Volume with index to vols. 59 to 68**; vol. 70, 1995 – **Barhobble Volume)**

Single Volumes (to Members) Current volume £14, previous volumes £1, plus post and packing.
Single Volumes (to non-Members) Current volume £14, previous volumes £6, plus post and packing.
Runs of Volumes price on application.
Publications and back numbers of the *Transactions* can be obtained by contacting the Hon. Librarian, Mr R.Coleman, 2 Loreburn Park, Dumfries DG1 1LS.

*These publications and all volumes of the *Transactions* prior to 1950 are out of print, however copies may become available from time to time.

PUBLICATIONS FUNDED BY THE ANN HILL RESEARCH BEQUEST

The History and Archaeology of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish

No.1 Ann Hill and her Family. A Memorial, by D. Adamson, 1986.

No.2* Kirkpatrick Fleming Poorhouse, by D.Adamson, 1986.

No.3* Kirkpatrick Fleming Miscellany
Mossknow Game Register 1875
Diary of J. Gordon Graham 1854
edited by D. Adamson and I.S. MacDonald, 1987.

No.4* Middlebie Presbytery Records, by D. Adamson, 1988.

No.5* Kirkpatrick Fleming Miscellany
How Sir Patrick Maxwell worsted the Devil
Fergus Graham of Mossknow and the Murder at Kirkpatrick
by W.F. Cormack, 1989.

No.6 Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire – An Anatomy of a Parish in South West Scotland, by Roger Mercer and others, 1997. (hardback, out of print; reprinted in soft cover, 1997)

No.7* The Tower-Houses of Kirtleside, by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving, 1998.

No.8 Kirkpatrick Fleming – On the Borders of History, by Duncan and Sheila Adamson, 2011. (hardback)

Nos.1 to 5 and 7 are crown quarto in size with a card cover. Publications marked * are reprinted from the *Transactions.*

The Records of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish

No.1 Old Parish Registers of Kirkpatrick Fleming, 1748-1854, indexed and in 5 parts
No.2 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1851
No.3 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1861
No.4 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1871
No.5 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1841
No.6 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1881
No.7 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1891
No.8 Kirkpatrick Fleming Graveyard Inscriptions

(The Records of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish series was originally produced in A4 size with a card cover but may now be obtained as pdf files on CD-ROM.)

Information on the availability and prices of Ann Hill Research Bequest publications can be obtained by contacting Mr J.H.D. Gair, Clairmont, 16 Dumfries Road, Lockerbie DG11 2EF.