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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`.

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The Society may make small grants for excavation or research. Applications should be made prior to 28 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 Mouswald 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.

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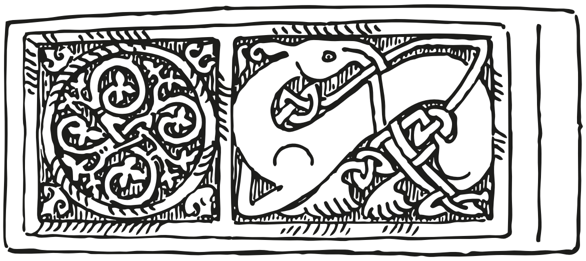

The illustration on the front cover is of the Wamphray cross-slab from the article ‘The Early Church in Dumfriesshire’ by W.G. Collingwood, in Volume 12 (1926) of these *Transactions*.

THE TRUCKELL PRIZE

In 2009, the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society established The Truckell Prize, commemorating the late A.E. Truckell and his outstanding contribution to local studies in Dumfries and Galloway.[1] The prize was open to undergraduate or postgraduate students from the Crichton Campus, Dumfries for a research paper on a human or natural history topic relating to the geographical area covered by the three former counties of Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire. In its first five years the prize has been awarded on two occasions.

The Society has now revised the terms of the prize as follows:

- The prize is open to all-comers (with the exception of previous winners of the prize) for an original, unpublished (and not submitted for consideration for publication elsewhere) research paper on a human or natural-history topic relating to the geographical area covered by the three former counties of Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire. Entries from researchers at an early stage in their careers are encouraged.
- Entries must meet the editorial standard required by these *Transactions* to qualify. The current Notes for Contributors are available on the Society's website: `www.dgnhas.org.uk`.
- The winning paper must be made available for publication as an article in these *Transactions*.
- The prize will be awarded annually. Entries may be submitted at any time but the deadline for submission is the first day of October each year.
- The prize-winning author will receive £500. Where two or more entries are regarded as of equal merit, the Society reserves the right to recognise joint winners, splitting the cash prize accordingly.
- The decision of the Society in the award of the prize is final, and is not subject to appeal.

For further information and to submit entries, please contact the Chair of the Society's Research Sub-committee, Dr David Devereux, 6 Woodlands Avenue, Kirkcudbright, DG6 4BP. E-mail: `devereuxdf@gmail.com`.

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1 For further information on his life and achievements see Obituary: Alfred Truckell MBE, MA, FMA, FSA, FSA Scot (1919–2007) in Volume 81 (2007) of these *Transactions*.

THE 2015 DUMFRIESSHIRE ROOKERY CENSUS

Including comparisons with the surveys of 1908, 1921, 1963, 1973, 1975, 1993, 2003, 2004, 2008 and 2010

L.R. Griffin,[1] D. Skilling,[2] R.T. Smith[3] and J.G. Young[4]

A total of 13,135 rook nests in 350 rookeries were counted in the 43 parishes of Dumfriesshire in April and May 2015. Although this represents a decrease of 20 rookeries compared to the number recorded in 2010, nest numbers increased by 785 in that period (Figure 1, Table 1). The average number of nests per rookery increased to 38; something that has not been recorded during either the period of rook population growth from 1921 to 1993 or the period of population decline from 1993 to 2010. For the first time, no rookeries of more than 200 nests were recorded in 2015, the maximum count being 187 nests (cf. 217 in 2010). The number of rookeries containing over 100 nests increased from 20 to 24 from 2010 to 2015 — the first time an increase in this rookery size class has been recorded since 1993. Although it is of concern that the distribution of breeding colonies has again declined, the apparent increase in the breeding population and the cessation of the historic decline is perhaps a cause for optimism regarding the fortunes of the rook in this county.

Introduction

The 2015 census of Dumfriesshire rookeries is the most recent in a series that began in 1908 when Sir Hugh Gladstone published the results of a whole county census in his *Birds of Dumfriesshire* (1910).[5] This was largely correspondence-based as was the following 1921 census[6] involving ornithologists and landowners. These two surveys provided the foundation of what is now one of the most complete records of rookeries in Britain. The two censuses used the county's 43 parishes as the means of sub-division and, since our aim is to monitor populations we have continued with this, with the exception of the 1976 BTO survey, to allow direct comparison to be made.

It should be noted that the County of Dumfriesshire ceased to exist as a political entity in 1975, when it was incorporated into Dumfries and Galloway Region.

Census Methods and Accuracy

The 1963 census and later surveys were carried out by observers who had become more mobile and probably achieved more complete coverage of the county than those of 1908 and 1921 which were mainly correspondence based. In 1963 census methods were introduced that have remained unchanged except for the introduction of Ordnance Survey (O.S.) grid references.

---

[1] Larry Griffin, Crooks House, Mabie, Dumfries, DG2 8EY.

[2] Derek Skilling, 14 Watling Street, Dumfries, DG1 1HF.

[3] Bobby Smith, Treetops, Johnsfield, Lockerbie, DG11 1RS.

[4] John Young, 11 Ash Grove, Heathhall, Dumfries, DG1 3TG.

[5] *Birds of Dumfriesshire*, Hugh S. Gladstone, 1910, pp.124–146.

[6] 'Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire', Hugh S. Gladstone, *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.9, pp.10–117.

Observers are provided with a 1:50,000 O.S. map of the relevant parish, a list of all previous sites in that parish, survey guidelines and a recording form for entering nest numbers, place-names, grid references, count dates and any relevant comments regarding disturbance such as tree-felling or shooting activity. Observers were also asked to use their own judgement as to whether nearby colonies are offshoots of a rookery or discrete rookeries in themselves.

Counting is normally carried out in mid-April. A series of observations made locally in 1994[7] indicate this as being the optimum time for nest counting: when the nest building rate is slowing and before foliage conceals the nests.

Part Censuses

Surveying the whole of Dumfriesshire for rookeries demands so much time and travelling expense that it can only be carried out at intervals. However it was possible to carry out random surveys of parts of the county in 2004 and 2005. In 2004, 29 of the 43 (67%) parishes were completely surveyed. This revealed a decline in nest numbers of 6% in one year. When these 29 parishes plus another 4 (77%) were resurveyed in 2005 a further decline of 5% was seen. These samples are considered to be sufficiently large as to be valid for comparisons.

Results

From mid-April to May 2015, a total of 13,135 rook nests in 350 rookeries were counted in the 43 parishes of Dumfriesshire. Although this represents a decrease of 20 rookeries compared to the number recorded in 2010 (104 new rookeries had been established and 124 had been vacated by 2015), nest numbers increased by 785 in this period (Figure 1, Table 1). The average number of nests per rookery increased to 38: something that has not been recorded during either the period of rook population growth from 1921 to 1993 or the period of population decline from 1993 to 2010. Median rookery size also increased marginally from 25 to 26 nests from 2010 to 2015. For the first time, no rookeries of more than 200 nests were recorded in 2015, the maximum count being 187 nests (*cf.* 217 in 2010). The number of rookeries containing over 100 nests increased from 20 to 24 from 2010 to 2015 — the first time an increase in this rookery size class has been recorded since 1993. All rookeries were recorded in the agricultural lowlands of Dumfriesshire with only two in Closeburn parish being found above 250 m (Figure 2). Two parishes had large decreases in nest numbers of more than 50% (Eskdalemuir, − 70% and Tynron, − 64%), with a further 17 declining by up to 50%, while eight increased by more than 50% and 16 were stable or increased by up to 50% (Figure 2). The biggest percentage increases in nest numbers were seen in the parishes of Keir (833%), Westerkirk (371%), Kirkpatrick Fleming (232%) and Tinwald (140%) (see Table 1 for details of the changes in the actual number of nests). Nest number changes since 2010 appear to be clumped spatially across the county with contiguous clusters of parishes undergoing increases or decreases together (Figure 2). Of 19 parishes losing rookeries since 2010, 13 also had a decline in nest numbers. The largest decline in the number of rookeries was recorded in Canonbie where seven sites were lost and the largest increase was seen in both Tinwald where five new colonies were recorded.

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[7] ‘The Rookeries of Dumfriesshire 1993’, D. Skilling, R.T. Smith, *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.68, p.4.

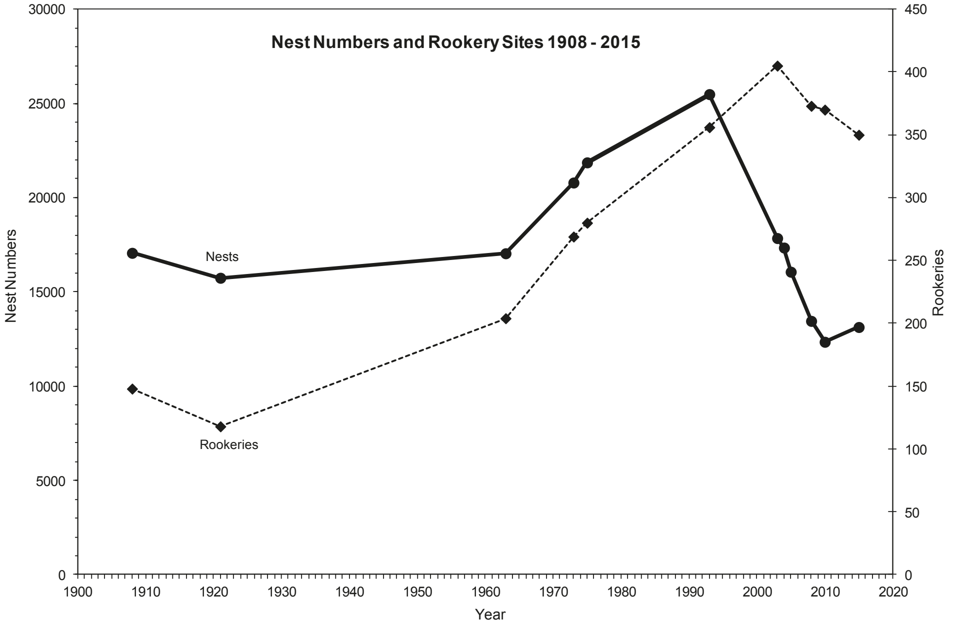

Figure 1. The number of nests (solid line) and the number of rookeries (dashed line) recorded in Dumfriesshire from 1908–2015.

Historical database availability

The complete list of all rookery locations and numbers, beginning in 1908, is now so large that printing it here is no longer feasible. A spreadsheet is available at: `www.dgnhas.org.uk/tdgnhas/resources/2015_Rookery_totals.xls`.

Parish	1908		1921		1963		1973		1993		2003		2008		2010		2015	
	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites	Nests	Sites
Annan (41)	1072	4	409	5	429	5	320	5	697	9	465	10	367	7	299	8	**429**	11
Applegarth/Sibbaldbie (22)	1274	4	1560	7	977	8	724	16	800	10	353	8	262	9	**290**	11	278	6
Caerlaverock (31)	150	2	280	1	127	3	94	3	183	3	**371**	10	230	10	198	9	102	5
Canonbie (38)	15	3	0	0	331	7	426	8	1111	22	705	22	431	19	395	21	376	14
Closeburn (10)	750	4	554	5	688	7	1089	7	754	7	546	11	417	11	333	13	**504**	11
Cummertrees (33)	970	6	450	2	597	2	346	3	1286	8	719	9	669	9	633	9	545	10
Dalton (29)	1195	3	1600	4	799	3	907	8	1096	12	220	9	89	6	**102**	8	**108**	8
Dornock (42)	330	2	190	1	95	3	147	1	299	5	232	4	102	6	38	3	**49**	1
Dryfesdale (27)	232	4	632	5	804	10	1434	22	1225	25	469	20	246	13	**255**	13	183	12
Dumfries (18)	245	5	149	3	214	4	52	5	465	8	**548**	10	**567**	13	522	12	489	10
Dunscore (7)	1132	6	720	3	1298	5	894	5	1083	7	459	5	283	6	**336**	8	**368**	8
Durisdeer (3)	0	0	0	0	741	7	652	8	1051	6	751	8	604	8	532	8	503	6
Eskdalemuir (24)	0	0	200	1	20	2	103	2	56	2	**133**	6	67	3	63	4	19	1
Ewes (37)	18	4	0	0	0	0	128	3	105	3	**188**	4	92	4	90	3	**150**	3
Glencairn (6)	282	6	165	2	309	3	763	6	543	7	**711**	10	408	8	313	10	**388**	14
Gretna (43)	72	3	285	3	293	9	352	7	341	6	212	10	**325**	11	**401**	11	**416**	9
Half Morton (39)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	302	2	144	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hoddam (34)	840	9	752	6	1014	9	1262	13	1622	18	432	12	**546**	19	466	18	**580**	13
Holywood (17)	727	5	883	4	937	12	923	12	878	14	548	11	490	13	**567**	13	**622**	16
Hutton & Corrie (23)	290	4	635	6	594	3	692	6	1028	13	534	15	315	13	255	11	231	12
Johnstone (14)	0	0	0	0	222	2	217	4	518	10	463	13	**591**	13	424	11	298	10
Keir (8)	130	1	0	0	98	1	141	1	24	1	**238**	3	82	2	9	1	**84**	3
Kirkconnel (1)	0	0	7	1	599	3	1013	3	763	4	656	6	482	6	**490**	6	**563**	6

Kirkmahoe (16)	735	4	525	3	312	2	312	3	251	5	231	7	**295**	7	274	7	**427**	6
Kirkmichael (15)	102	2	346	3	747	8	781	12	810	12	**859**	20	444	13	**524**	12	463	14
Kirkpatrick Fleming (40)	1766	8	342	5	328	5	354	6	377	8	**425**	15	122	9	118	9	**392**	13
Kirkpatrick Juxta (11)	0	0	0	0	347	9	360	10	1066	12	470	11	440	11	**525**	11	509	12
Langholm (36)	275	4	200	4	87	3	187	4	405	5	199	4	144	4	**162**	5	151	6
Lochmaben (21)	452	4	631	5	416	10	777	9	586	9	397	14	340	13	**355**	14	**365**	14
Middlebie (35)	571	8	665	5	228	3	808	9	1168	16	866	19	593	18	293	13	165	10
Moffat (12)	431	9	758	7	285	10	531	9	469	7	434	7	362	8	352	7	**363**	7
Morton (9)	0	0	0	0	21	2	140	3	528	6	405	8	349	8	**381**	11	**483**	11
Mouswald (30)	209	3	303	2	0	0	337	2	307	5	**362**	7	332	7	293	5	**304**	6
Penpont (4)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	**180**	3	**269**	3	244	3	234	3
Ruthwell (32)	615	5	320	6	149	5	117	3	116	8	**164**	4	**261**	4	207	4	**311**	6
Sanquhar (2)	525	4	463	5	345	3	274	4	624	8	585	10	556	13	398	10	345	8
St Mungo (28)	200	1	0	0	205	4	256	6	490	9	**561**	10	185	4	**277**	10	184	7
Tinwald (19)	544	4	520	3	1113	11	1102	14	752	13	296	12	240	9	172	7	**413**	12
Torthorwald (20)	2	1	0	0	137	3	381	4	135	2	**185**	4	135	5	**161**	7	124	4
Tundergarth (26)	354	8	869	7	524	13	1087	16	517	14	348	14	197	10	188	10	**191**	9
Tynron (5)	0	0	0	0	130	1	107	1	118	2	**190**	4	74	5	**86**	5	31	2
Wamphray (13)	480	4	324	3	440	3	302	5	286	8	**459**	9	415	9	322	8	**362**	9
Westerkirk (25)	84	4	9	1	47	1	31	1	265	4	140	5	41	4	7	1	**33**	2
Nest and SiteTotals	**17069**	**148**	**15746**	**118**	**17047**	**204**	**20923**	**269**	**25502**	**356**	**17853**	**405**	**13459**	**373**	**12350**	**370**	**13135**	**350**
Nests per rookery	115		133		84		78		72		44		36		33		38	

Table 1. Number of nests, rookeries and the average rookery size for Dumfriesshire’s 43 parishes. Numbers in bold type in 2003, 2008, 2010 and 2015 indicate parishes with nest increases since the previous survey.

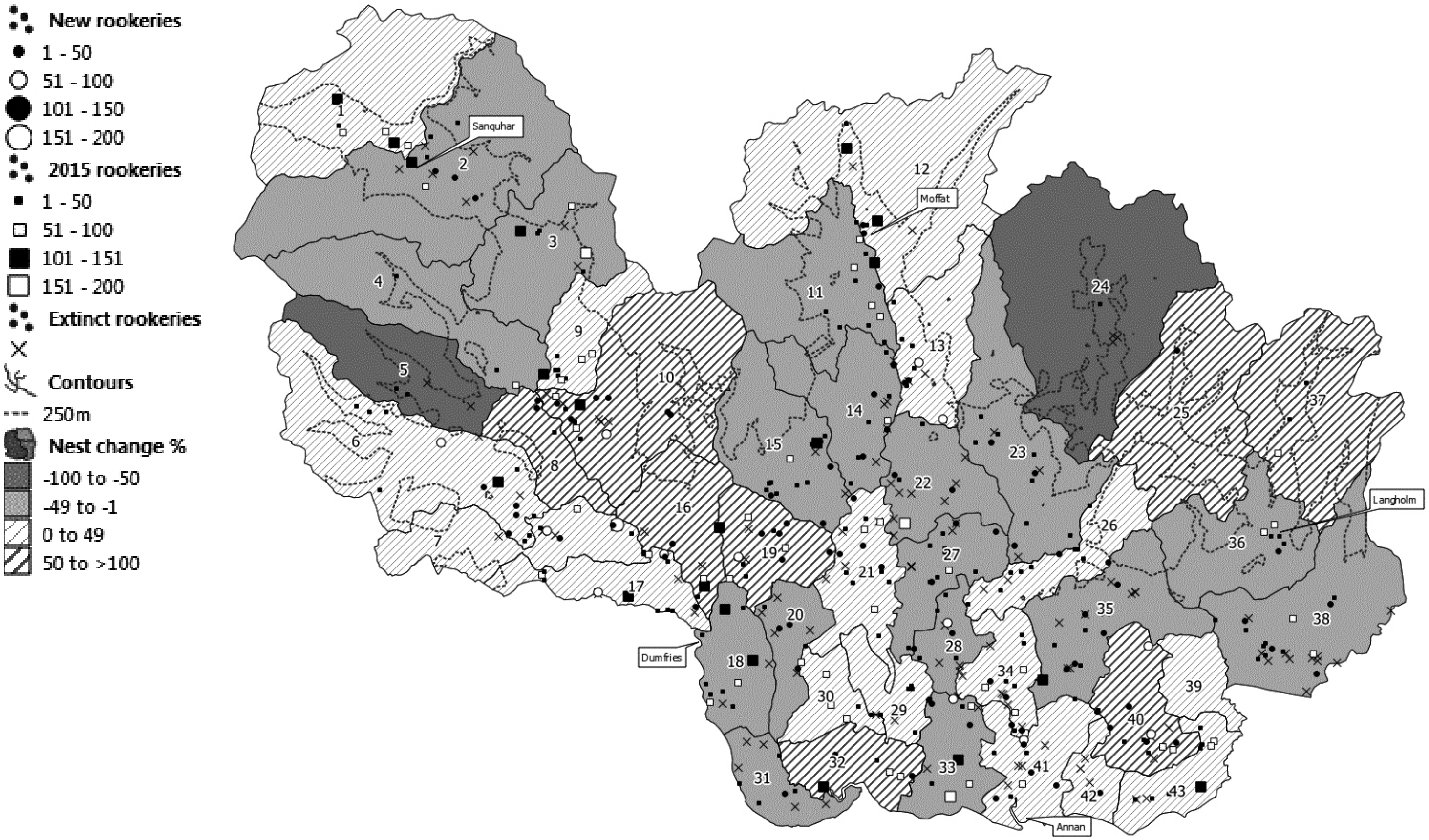
New rookeries
1 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 150
151 - 200
2015 rookeries
1 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 151
151 - 200
Extinct rookeries
Contours
250m
Nest change %
-100 to -50
-49 to -1
0 to 49
50 to >100
Sanquhar
Moffat
Langholm
Dumfries
Annan
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
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Figure 2. The change in the number of nests and rookeries in the 43 parishes of Dumfriesshire from 2010 to 2015. Light grey shading indicates parishes where nest numbers have declined by 1–49%, dark grey by 50–100%. Light hatching indicates increases of 0–49%, dark hatching of 50–100%. Parish numbers correspond to parish names given in Table 1.

Conclusions

The rapid decline in the number of rooks in Dumfriesshire recorded over the last 15–25 years, has now halted, with the breeding population showing some signs of recovery with 13,135 nests recorded. The picture however is quite complex as clusters of parishes are still exhibiting declines in rook numbers while others are increasing, and individual parishes, such as Caerlaverock for example, have declined steadily over the last four surveys since 2003. Also the number of rook colonies has shown no sign of recovery and has continued to decline. Although the outlook for the abundance of the rook is more positive in 2015, the continued loss of rook breeding distribution is still of concern.

The 2010 survey concluded that '… the current [2010] census indicates a decline nearer to 4% per annum in the two years since 2008 rather than the figure of 5% or 6% seen since 1993. Whether this represents a real slowing down of the previously declining nest numbers is not clear.' The results of the current 2015 survey suggest that this suspected slowing in the rate of historic decline was probably real and at some point in the last five years the number of breeding rooks has entered a period of stability and probable increase with 785 extra nests being recorded across the region in 2015 compared to 2010. If the historic rate of *c*.5% decline *had* continued from 2010 to 2015 then only 9,555 nests would have been expected, a difference of 3,580 to those actually counted. Although this difference between what was observed and what was expected suggests that the current reversal in fortunes is real, it should be noted that the dates on which sites are counted vary according to volunteer observer availability. The timing of nest counts could interact with seasonality in some years — in 2015 the earliest counts were conducted on 4 April at Kirkpatrick Juxta and Glencairn and the latest on 30 April and 1 May at Dumfries and Eskdalemuir respectively with the bulk of the counts being conducted around 18–19 April. At every colony nest numbers increase from late February through to early May as different birds choose to breed and it is quite possible that the 'progress of spring' initiates this nest-building activity. Thus across the 350 colonies, for example, if spring was two weeks earlier in 2015 than in 2010 and if the rooks nested earlier, it might be possible to count two extra nests per colony and thereby account for the observed increase as an artefact of the methodology. Even so, as stated above, the difference between what was counted and what was expected based on the historic rate of decline suggests the breeding population has stabilised at the very least but it will be interesting to repeat the survey in the future to confirm that the population trajectory remains positive.

The number of the very largest colonies of over 200 nests has continued to decline with none recorded in 2015. There was a slight increase in the numbers of rookeries with over 100 nests for the first time since 1993 and the average (and median) colony size increased for the first time since 1921, suggesting the breeding population has distributed itself more equitably across the extant colony sites. It is interesting to speculate whether or not this represents a new phase in the population ecology of this socially breeding corvid, whereby some of the fragmentary smaller colonies that dispersed from former larger sites have now re-aggregated, and whether this process may lead to further population growth at the more stable and less disturbed sites. What drives the differential decline or increase of this bird in different regions of the county is not clear and requires longer-term and more detailed population study.

Acknowledgements

A county-wide rookery census is an undertaking which is dependent on the time, energy and enthusiasm of the volunteer surveyors. The search of each parish for old and new sites also involves considerable travelling expenses. Almost 900 historic rookery sites were checked.

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IRON AGE SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN GALLOWAY

Ronan Toolis[1]

Iron Age Galloway is a bit of a conundrum, difficult to clearly differentiate from the Iron Age characteristics of other regions of Scotland but often treated as somewhat distinct nonetheless. The following paper attempts to make sense of the Iron Age settlement patterns of this region and examine if these are significantly distinguishable from those apparent across other regions of Scotland.

If one were to attempt to characterise Iron Age settlements in Galloway, the region's promontory forts, crannogs and duns are perhaps good places to start since these are its most obviously distinctive site types. These site types have led to affinities being drawn with Atlantic Scotland, albeit with caveats (Cunliffe 1983, 86 & 97; Cavers 2008, 16–23) and on the other hand, contrasts with south-east Scotland, if not Dumfriesshire as well (Piggott 1966, 4–5; Feachem 1966, 76; Truckell 1984, 200; Harding 2004, 186). Indeed, by amalgamating and refining the distribution patterns of differing site types from previous attempts (Cowley 2000, 168–174), a visibly different pattern of settlement between Galloway and Dumfriesshire is apparent (Figure 1).

However, many of the Iron Age settlement patterns in Galloway, such as the marked distribution of promontory forts along its coast, must be treated with caution when attempting to draw out a distinctive Iron Age culture for the region. There is such enormous variety between the promontory forts along the north Solway Coast that these cannot be treated as a homogenous type of site distinct from inland settlements (Toolis 2003, 69). The distribution of stone-walled promontory forts, for example, adheres to the same distribution of inland stone-walled settlements in Galloway, with concentrations in the west Machars and Central Stewartry areas (Cowley 2000, 172; Toolis 2003, 69). Contrary to their epithet, hardly any promontory forts occupy strongly defensive locations or have immediate access to the sea (Toolis 2003, 61–69). Nor have the few excavations of Galloway promontory forts yielded especially illuminating results, either revealing undated ramparts (Strachan 2000) or fragmentary remains dating to the late first millennium BC or early first millennium AD but heavily truncated by later activity (Scott-Elliot 1964, 118–123; Ewart 1985, 12–14). Only at Carghidown did excavations reveal something of the nature of occupation of a Galloway coastal promontory fort around the turn of the first millennia BC/AD, allowing comparisons to be readily drawn between its architecture and material culture with other Iron Age sites in the region, though what was revealed — a sporadically occupied refuge — was probably not a typical settlement that can be uniformly replicated either along the Galloway Coast or across inland districts (Toolis 2007, 310).

Because promontory forts are perhaps easier to define from their topography than the bulk of settlements and forts in Galloway, this may explain why they have been previously

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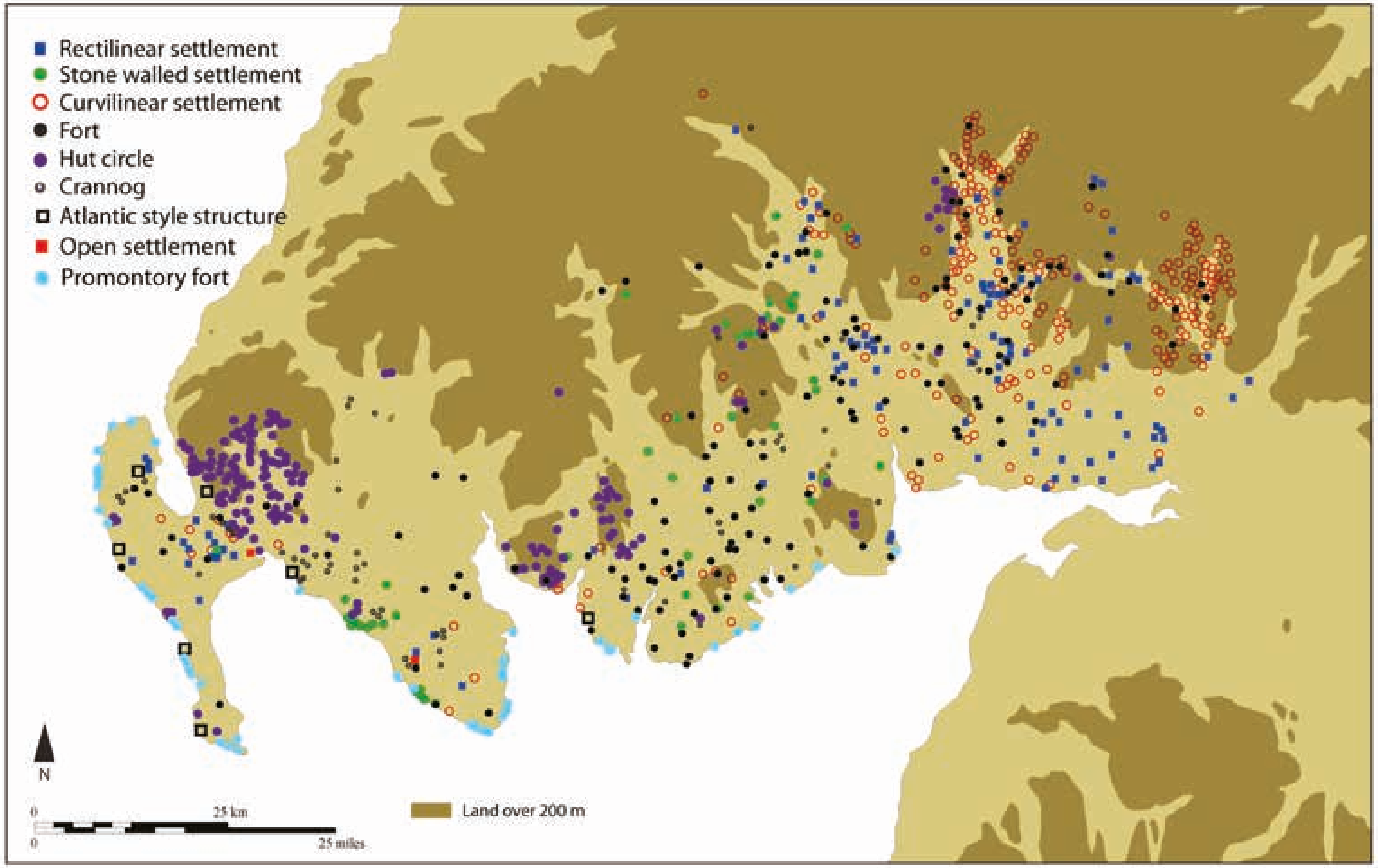
■ Rectilinear settlement
● Stone walled settlement
○ Curvilinear settlement
● Fort
● Hut circle
○ Crannog
□ Atlantic style structure
■ Open settlement
● Promontory fort
N
0
25 km
0
25 miles
Land over 200 m

Figure 1. Distribution of Iron Age Settlements across Dumfries and Galloway.

seized upon as a distinguishable type of Iron Age settlement in the region (Feachem 1966, 76). However, as there are no coastal promontories east of the Nith, it should not be surprising that there are no coastal promontory forts there either (Cressey and Toolis 1997; Toolis 2003, 38). Nor is there any evidence that promontory forts had any meaningful relationship to maritime activity. The promontory forts of Galloway *as a group* do not reflect cultural conditions; rather they reflect environmental conditions, specifically the topography of the region.

The same observation applies to the distribution of crannogs, again another type of site often attributed as characterising Iron Age settlement in Galloway in some way (Munro 1882, 248; Piggott 1966, 11; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 10; Cavers 2008, 19). Crannogs are found widely distributed across Scotland, including east of the Nith and in the Borders too (Morrison 1985, 10; Dixon 2004, 10). There are simply more lochs, or former lochs, in Galloway and therefore more crannogs. Because these crannogs had not been built on or ploughed out, they survived as visible remains to be recorded, especially during the draining of lochs for agricultural improvements in the nineteenth century (Stuart 1866; Munro 1882). Indeed, since drainage of lochs in south-west Scotland during the mid-nineteenth century lagged behind drainage of lochs across eastern Scotland, it coincided with new antiquarian interest in lake dwellings at this specific time, inspired by discoveries in Switzerland, and thus resulted in a bias in the distribution of recorded crannogs that has only recently been recognised (Stratigos 2015). So again, another Iron Age attribute of Galloway, the concentration of crannogs in the region, perhaps owes more to environmental and visibility factors than inherent cultural aspects, though there is a caveat to this in that while the distribution of crannogs may not differentiate Galloway from the rest of Scotland, there are no crannogs south of the Solway despite the preponderance of lakes in Cumbria (Dixon 2004, 26).

Crannogs are normally understood as single households (Piggott 1955, 141; Crone 2000, 64–66), but like promontory forts, not all ‘crannogs’ are the same, as demonstrated at the Black Loch of Myrton where a loch-side village was instead encountered (Cavers and Crone 2013, 61). Nevertheless, the majority of crannogs were probably single households, and one might question if they are significantly different in the nature of their occupation, or their place in local settlement hierarchies (Crone 2000, 64–66 & 165–166), to other forms of single household settlements. These are plentifully evident across Galloway in a variety of small stone-walled settlements, brochs and duns that reflect wider trends of Scottish architectural forms but often with a local twist (Barbour 1907; Curle 1912; Scott-Elliot *et. al.* 1966; Yates 1983). While some might also consider this as evidence that Galloway perhaps shares more affinity with an Atlantic zone of Scotland (Cavers 2008, 16–17), the region does not have significantly more brochs or other Atlantic style structures than the rest of central and southern Scotland. While there are certainly no brochs in Galloway of the same size as Edin’s Hall in Berwickshire or the Leckie in Stirlingshire, or potentially associated with a larger multiple household settlement as at Edin’s Hall and Torwoodlee in the Scottish Borders, it has not yet been demonstrated that the occupation of brochs in Galloway was significantly different to that of most brochs in central or southern Scotland (*contra* Cavers 2008, 16–17), which appear to be predominantly single household settlements of the early centuries AD (Macinnes 1984, 236; Dunwell 1999, 351).

The only excavated broch in Galloway, at Teroy to the north-west of Stranraer, certainly appears to adhere to this trend, having yielded a sherd of Roman pottery (Fraser Hunter *pers. comm.*) from only a limited excavation of its interior (Curle 1912, 185). Teroy does not appear to be significantly different in form, internal floor area or topographic location to the brochs at Fairyknowe in Stirlingshire, Torwood near Falkirk, and Bowcastle in the Scottish Borders, or indeed many other brochs in much of the rest of Scotland. The brochs at Doon Castle and Stairhaven in Galloway, might appear a bit more idiosyncratic, the former with a double entrance, the latter with a double staircase and a comparatively diminutive internal floor area, and both in markedly inconspicuous locations overlooked by steeply rising adjacent ground. However, in most of these aspects these structures are comparable to other Iron Age settlements in Galloway (Toolis 2007, 304–305; Haggarty and Haggarty 1983, 38–39 and Figure 10) as well as being architecturally analogous with brochs elsewhere in Atlantic Scotland, particularly Argyll (Cavers 2008, 16). There may well be other aspects of Iron Age settlement in Galloway that find equivalence with other regions of Atlantic Scotland, such as the scattered distribution of small stone-walled settlements across Galloway with that of the duns of north-west Scotland and again particularly Argyll (Cavers 2008, 18). However, if the Galloway brochs find ready comparison with brochs elsewhere in Scotland, it should be noted that, like crannogs, there are no brochs south of the Border. So while there are shared settlement forms across southern Scotland and northern England, such as rectilinear settlements (Cowley 2000, 173), there are distinctive differences too, which may be more significant than the inter-regional variations within Scotland itself.

One example of the supposed inter-regional variations is the comparison drawn between the relatively small size of settlements in Galloway and those settlements to the east of the Nith and elsewhere in south-east Scotland, which has been understood to correspond to a less developed, more socially fractured society in Galloway, perhaps comprising smaller social units (Piggott 1955, 149; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 10). However, one might question whether the size difference between the settlements of Galloway and those east of the Nith is that significant. Many of the excavated settlements in Annandale appear to have been single household settlements too, such as Hayknowes and Uppercleuch (Gregory 2001, 31; Terry 1993, 62a), just with larger and perhaps better defined surrounding yards for the management of livestock. Even where enclosed settlements in Dumfriesshire might first appear to have been multiple household settlements, as at Boonies, excavation demonstrated that for most of its occupation it was a single household settlement, only latterly developing into several houses, but even then representing not significantly larger actual floor-space (Jobey 1975, 138).

There were, of course, multiple household settlements in Dumfriesshire, such as Woodend, Castle O'er and Bailiehill (Banks 2000, 231; RCAHMS 1997, 80–81), but multiple household settlements are evident in Galloway too. Excavation of only a very small part of the interior of Rispain Camp near Whithorn revealed a large round house, adjacent to another, only partially revealed but of comparable diameter (Haggarty and Haggarty 1983, 38–39 and Figures 3 and 10). The clear layout of these adjacent round houses, with no superimposition on either structure or each of their associated features, along with the apparent destruction by fire of both roundhouses (Haggarty and Haggarty 1983, 38–41) suggests that these two buildings were contemporary. Whether Rispain

Camp contained more houses is for further excavation to determine, but the excavators noted that the interior of the enclosure could accommodate eight such buildings (Haggarty and Haggarty 1983, 42). That this site appears to be a multiple household settlement could reflect a significant cultural distinction from the single household settlements in the region. Permanently occupied multiple household settlements require and thus reflect different cultural practices for social cohesion amongst their inhabitants from those of single households (Rathbone 2013) as well as creating opportunities for increased social interaction (Roberts 1996, 36). One of these cultural distinctions may be manifested in the unusual find of bread wheat from Rispain Camp, which, so far, is unique amongst Iron Age settlements in Galloway and somewhat at odds with the dearth of Iron Age rotary querns in Wigtownshire (Hunter *et. al.* forthcoming). It may be that the larger population of a multiple household settlement such as Rispain Camp developed a different agricultural economy in order to sustain occupation of a proportionately smaller parcel of land. As already noted above, the ongoing excavations at Black Loch of Myrton have also revealed an apparent multiple household settlement (Cavers and Crone 2013, 61) while recent excavations at Dunragit exposed an unenclosed settlement, where some specialisation of structures for metalworking was evident (Arabaolaza *et al.* 2015, 126). Given that all six of the roundhouses examined at Dunragit appeared to co-exist within the same stratified sequence of wind-blown sand and that they did not intercut each other, it seems likely that this was a multiple household settlement rather than a consecutive sequence of single households (Arabaolaza *et al.* 2015, 116–121). Furthermore, sherds of native pottery from a floor deposit within one of the roundhouses at Dunragit (Arabaolaza *et al.* 2015, 120), is perhaps a manifestation of cultural practices distinct from the aceramic Iron Age culture evident elsewhere in Galloway. The probable dates of occupation for these settlements is widely divergent though, with radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology indicating that Black Loch of Myrton was occupied around the fifth century BC (Jacobsson 2015) while Dunragit appears, at least from initial assessment of the finds, to date to around the early centuries AD (Arabaolaza *et al.* 2015, 118), which may be more or less contemporary with the occupation of Rispain Camp (Haggarty and Haggarty 1983, 40). In essence, however, size differences between single household settlements in Galloway and those east of the Nith are perhaps less significant than the difference between a settlement pattern solely comprising individual farmsteads to that comprising villages and farmsteads, because the two types of settlement pattern entail different cultural practices and economies and imply settlement hierarchies too. Crucially, the settlement patterns in Galloway and Dumfriesshire do not appear to significantly differ in this aspect.

It is indeed possible that the occupants of the multiple household settlement at Rispain Camp became significant participants in the control and exploitation of local agricultural and mineral resources apparent in the southern Machars around the turn of the first millennia and which may have extended into the early centuries AD (Haggarty and Haggarty 1983, 43; Hunter 1994, 53–55; Toolis 2007, 305–307). The exploitation of lead sources in the southern uplands is certainly apparent in both the pre-Roman Iron Age and the post-Roman period (Pashley *et al.* 2007, 283–284; Pashley and Evans forthcoming). It may be that a local hierarchical control and redistribution of such mineral as well as agricultural resources was linked to the development of a Roman period settlement at Whithorn during the early centuries AD (Dickinson *et al.* 1997, 297). This might in turn address why an air of pseudo-*Romanitas* amongst native Celtic Britons was apparent here during the fifth century AD, as suggested by the secular literate origins of the Latinus Stone (Forsyth 2005, 117; Forsyth 2009, 33 & 36).

One might also draw attention to the trend apparent across southern and central Scotland for a select number of enclosed single households, comprising large timber roundhouses, crannogs and brochs, to achieve pre-eminence during the first and second centuries AD (Macinnes 1984, 241–244; Halliday 2002, 104). There seems no reason to exclude Galloway from this trend, given the comparable distribution of Atlantic-style structures, crannogs and small forts or duns datable to this same period (Cavers 2008, 14–19 & 24; Henderson 1998, 230; Figure 1) and the presence of Roman objects, predominantly high status tableware, within several such native settlements, such as Castle Loch Island, Dowalton Loch Crannog 3, McCulloch's Castle and Teroy Broch (Wilson 2001, 100–102; Scott-Elliot 1964, 123; Fraser Hunter *pers. comm.*). The strong correlation between the types of samian vessels in native sites and Roman military sites in Scotland suggests that the selective distribution of fine tableware and other prestigious Roman goods to some native households but not others during the Roman occupation of southern Scotland, may have owed more to diplomatic and political motives than purely commercial intentions (Macinnes 1984, 243–244; Dunwell 1999, 352–353; Banks 2000, 277–278; Ingemark 2014, 237). It also suggests that the selected adoption of Roman customs, enacted within a native Iron Age cultural context, was used by those favoured households, in Galloway as elsewhere in southern Scotland, to enhance influence amongst their own clients and provide social barriers to others (Ingemark 2014, 237–239).

However, there is as yet an insufficient body of evidence, particularly dating evidence, to actually demonstrate settlement hierarchies during the Iron Age in Galloway. This is in marked contrast to the complex secular and ecclesiastical site hierarchies evident across south-west Scotland in the sixth and early seventh centuries AD, due largely to the relative preponderance of investigated sites, such as Whithorn, Mote of Mark, Trusty's Hill, Tynron Doon, Kirkmadrine and Ardwall Island, that can be dated to this period (Toolis and Bowles 2013, 47; Toolis and Bowles forthcoming). Notwithstanding the difficulties in identifying comparable settlement hierarchies in Galloway during the preceding centuries, the sixth-seventh centuries AD is a period, nevertheless, that relates heavily to the late Iron Age (Harding 2004, 209–211). It is therefore perhaps worth examining the potential Iron Age roots of the complex early medieval settlement hierarchy in Galloway as a way of elucidating the potential development of Iron Age settlement hierarchies.

The form and layout of the sixth-century nucleated fort at Trusty's Hill, for instance, may have developed from, or were at least related to, a group of 'courtyard forts', including Nethertown of Almorness, Dungarry and Suie Hill, in the southern Stewartry district of Galloway (Truckell 1963, 94–95). Nor are these the only forts in the Stewartry district of Galloway where comparisons have been made with Trusty's Hill (Feachem 1977, 129–131). A few miles to the east and south-east lie the hillforts of Arden and Barn Heugh, which both comprise oval summits enclosed by dry-stone ramparts accompanied by lower-lying outworks (Coles 1893, 133 & 145). There are also a number of vitrified forts in the Stewartry that share strong resemblances with Trusty's Hill (Feachem 1977, 129–130). Richard Feachem identified eight vitrified forts from amongst a group of 26 sub-rectangular forts distributed across Galloway (1966, 76), though only six, including

Trusty's Hill, were identified by Euan MacKie, along with a further two in Dumfriesshire (1976, 233–235). While timber-laced forts, or vitrified forts as they are often recognised in the archaeological record, are not culturally or chronologically distinct, being distributed widely across Europe from as early as the eighth century BC (MacKie 1976, 209–210; Ralston 2006, 143), they are not so common in Dumfries and Galloway. Indeed, most of the other vitrified forts in Dumfries and Galloway outwith the Stewartry, such as Doon of May in Wigtownshire and Mullach and Kemp's Castle in Nithsdale, are all very dissimilar in form to the Stewartry vitrified forts and each other (RCAHMS, 1912, 76; RCAHMS 1920, 122–123 & 193). Nevertheless this distribution across south-west Scotland was identified as one of three major groups in Scotland, geographically separate from the others in northern and central Scotland (MacKie 1976, 222 & 444). It is perhaps significant that the four other vitrified forts within the Stewartry district of Galloway — Edgarton Mote, Castlegower, Mochrum Fell and the Mote of Mark — in closest proximity to Trusty's Hill, appear to be very similar morphologically or chronologically (RCAHMS 1914, 35–36 & 60–61; Laing & Longley 2006, 2). The Mote of Mark is the only one of the Galloway vitrified forts, other than Trusty's Hill, to have been excavated, yielding evidence again for occupation in the sixth and early seventh century (Laing & Longley 2006, 24). The only other excavated vitrified fort in the region is Castle O'er in Eskdale in East Dumfriesshire, which interestingly resembles the layout of the courtyard forts of Suie Hill and Dungarry, albeit as a much larger settlement (RCAHMS 1997, 80). Castle O'er appears to have been constructed in the third or fourth centuries AD before being vitrified and destroyed at some point probably before the end of the fifth century (Roger Mercer, *pers. comm.*). Whether any of the other unexcavated vitrified or nucleated forts are contemporary with or precede Trusty's Hill remains to be discovered, but it is possible that like the spate of hillforts that emerged in Strathdon in Aberdeenshire between c. AD 400 and AD 650 (Cook 2011, 216–218), a comparable pattern of high status fortified settlements emerged in Galloway, and particularly the Stewartry district of Galloway, around this time too.

If settlement hierarchies earlier in the Iron Age are difficult to recognise, however, so too are differential regional distributions. Distinctions have been drawn between various sub-groups of settlements either side of the Nith (Cowley 2000, 170–174), but it is difficult to distinguish the morphology of settlements from small hillforts (Harding 2004, 59). Leaving aside rather subjective attributions of 'defensiveness', one might question if the curvilinear settlements, ubiquitous in Dumfriesshire but apparently missing in Galloway, are not, due to local topography, simply masquerading as forts and stone-walled settlements in the west of the region (Figure 1). As numerous excavations across Scotland have demonstrated, at Broxmouth (Armit and Mackenzie 2013, 18–19), Hownam (Piggott 1948, 198–200) and Carghidown (Toolis 2007, 272) for instance, many apparently enclosed sites were unenclosed for large periods of their occupation. Defining Iron Age sites solely by how they were enclosed at some point in time should therefore be treated with caution, especially since later prehistoric settlement architecture across Galloway, as in the rest of Scotland, spans the centuries from the Late Bronze Age (Cook 2006, 17; Ronan 2005, 66) to the early medieval period (Toolis and Bowles 2013, 42). As the excavations at Trusty's Hill demonstrate, even a site that can be clearly classed in terms of status and date, in this case a nucleated fort of the sixth and early seventh centuries AD, was almost certainly quite a different form of settlement in the fourth century BC when the earliest occupation of this site is evident (Toolis and Bowles forthcoming). Excavation of some of the other nucleated forts in the region may well reveal similar patterns of occupation and re-occupation over an extensive span of time.

Compounding the lack of chronological focus, later prehistoric site distribution patterns reflect only what is visible and recorded (Cowley 2000, 167–168; Halliday 2006, 11–12). This is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by the distribution of hut circles in Galloway (Figure 1), which almost exclusively follows RCAHMS surveys of unimproved ground (Cowley 2000, 169). So one must also take into account what is not apparent, especially in those districts such as the southern Machars where a dearth of recorded cropmarks in comparison with the east Rhins may merely reflect the predominance of pasture and poorly drained soils which inhibit detection (Cowley *pers. comm.*), resulting in a comparative scarcity of aerial survey results. The apparent preference in Iron Age Wigtownshire for the occupation of either lochs, high ground or the coastal edge (Toolis 2007, Illus. 25) reflects the survival and visibility of sites in the agricultural margins of the modern landscape.

It is questionable, then, whether Iron Age settlement patterns in Galloway were truly different from those in Dumfriesshire or indeed the rest of southern Scotland. Certainly, later prehistoric Galloway lacks the large enclosure crowning a *regional* hilltop landmark as is evident elsewhere in southern Scotland. Its three largest hillforts, Dunguile, The Moyle and Barstobric Hill, all concentrated in the central Stewartry district, only range between 2.2 and 3.6 ha. These are significantly smaller than the 16 ha enclosed at both Traprain Law in East Lothian and Eildon Hill North in the Scottish Borders, or the 7 ha enclosed at Burnswark in Dumfriesshire (Hogg 1979, 131–133; Feachem 1977, 129–130; Armit and Mackenzie 2013, 480; Rideout *et al.* 1992, 141; Jobey 1978, 57). None of the three largest Galloway hillforts occupy what might be considered a regional landmark either, but then Galloway does not have a regional hilltop landmark comparable to Traprain Law, the Eildon Hills or Burnswark. Galloway's large regional landmark is not a hill but a mull, and which was recognizably so at least as early as the early second century AD given the reference to it in Ptolemy's Geography (Ordnance Survey 1978, 15). The ramparts cutting across the Mull of Galloway enclose 40 ha, which would make this the largest of all later prehistoric enclosed sites in Scotland. Though dating evidence has not been recovered from the limited excavations here, it is difficult to imagine the morphology of its closely spaced ramparts to be anything but later prehistoric in date (Strachan 2000). So while the bulk of sites in Galloway lie below 0.7 ha with only a handful above 1 ha and none, apart from the Mull of Galloway, above 4 ha (Hogg 1979, 126–134), this is not so different from Dumfriesshire or the eastern part of East Lothian, for instance, where the bulk of sites lie below 0.8 ha, again with only a handful of larger sites (Hogg 1979, 134–139; Reader and Armit 2013, 483). Although large, complex and *well-preserved* sites, such as Castle O'er, are difficult to find comparisons with in Galloway, this may be more because Galloway has not been as intensively surveyed as East Dumfriesshire, East Lothian or the Borders, than that these types of sites are actually absent. For with sites such as Cairn Pat, Fell of Barhullion and Isle Head, as well as Dunguile, the Moyle and Barstobric Hill, there are large, potentially complex enclosed settlements in Galloway. While large settlements or villages may not have been typical in Galloway, few large settlements and none of the larger hillforts west of the Nith have actually been excavated.

Furthermore, while contrasts can be drawn between Galloway and south-east Scotland in relation to the interior surfaces of enclosed settlements, where many of the south-eastern sites are apparently packed with visible stances of timber roundhouses but sites west of the Nith are not, the factors of survival and visibility cannot be easily downplayed since agriculture, particularly cattle, whether ancient or modern, has demonstrably impacted the interior of enclosed settlements (Armit and Mackenzie 2013, 21), including even some of the most marginal places of Galloway (Toolis 2003, 71–72). Put crudely, such contrasts in visible surface remains may be due to the predominance of cattle-raising in Galloway and sheep farming in the Borders, which each impact archaeological earthworks and surfaces to different degrees.

There are other quirks of Iron Age settlement patterns in south-east Scotland, such as the apparent pairing of sites (Harding 2004, 63) that can be matched in both Dumfriesshire and Galloway (RCAHMS 1997, 137–141; Toolis 2003, 49). However, it would be wrong to say that there are no differences between the settlement patterns or architecture of Lothian, the Borders and Dumfries and Galloway. South-west Scotland has fewer of the ring-ditch roundhouses of the early first millennium BC, the distribution of which extends up the east coast north of the Forth (Armit and Ralston 1997, 175–176). A distinctive pattern of later prehistoric settlement enclosure, comprising stone-walled roundhouses located at the rear of a cluster of small enclosed yards, is distributed across south-east Scotland and north-east England (Armit and Ralston 1997, 179). This distribution appears to extend into Cumbria, as demonstrated by sites such as Ewe Close and Crosby Garrett, but not as far west as Dumfriesshire or Galloway.

Differences in material culture have also been drawn between south-west, north-west and south-east Scotland (Hunter 1997, 111; Banks 2002, 31), though it is difficult to reconcile these with matching settlement patterns. As noted above, most of the apparent concentrations of site types in Wigtownshire (Figure 1), such as crannogs and promontory forts, can be attributed to environmental factors, or in the case of hut circles visibility and surveying. Only the cluster of Atlantic-style brochs and duns around the Rhins might distinguish the westernmost part of Galloway from the rest of the region but even with this type of site there is an outlier in the Stewartry, Castle Haven, albeit that this latter site may well be early medieval rather than Iron Age (Alcock *et al.* 1989, 209; Cessford 1994, 73–74; Alcock 2003, 187; Laing and Longley 2006, 165). Though brochs and duns are clearly much thicker on the ground in northern and western Scotland, hillforts are nevertheless present in these regions too (Armit and Ralston 1997, Figure 10.5). The case is that, like Wigtownshire, archaeological excavation of such large multiple household settlements has simply not yet been undertaken, with research in these regions instead focussed on prominent single household settlement types (Armit and Ralston 1997, 183–184), which has perhaps led to a bias in the perception of the entire settlement pattern of these regions.

Where artefacts are recovered from Iron Age settlements in Galloway, they tend to be rather ordinary, mundane items such as worked stone tools, yet this material poverty is hard to square with the hoard of utilitarian metalwork found in the Carlingwark Cauldron, or exquisitely crafted objects such as the Balmaclellan Mirror and Torrs Pony Cap. Indeed, the Carlingwark Cauldron Hoard is one of three located across southern Scotland (Piggott 1955, 2–5) and intrinsically demonstrates shared cultural traits between at least the Stewartry district of Galloway and south-east Scotland. The markedly different quality and complexity of manufacture apparent between the bladed tools from the Carlingwark and Blackburn hoards and Traprain Law in comparison with those from Newstead Roman Fort indicates that the origins of these hoards lay amongst the native communities of southern Scotland (Hunter 1997, 117).

At Carghidown, only a very thin layer of occupation debris and a very modest assemblage of artefacts were recovered (Toolis 2007, 282–291). But this reflected the fact that the previous phases of occupation had been swept clean. However, the sweeping of floors is apparent not only in other sites in Galloway such as Moss Raploch (Condry and Ansell 1978, 111), but also at Uppercleuch, Woodend and Burnswark in Dumfriesshire (Terry 1993, 77; Duncan 2000, 257; Jobey 1978, 78), at Sollas and Cnip in the Western Isles (Armit 1996, 145), at Scalloway in Shetland (Sharples and Parker Pearson 1997, 258), at Broxmouth in East Lothian (Armit and McKenzie 2013, 493) and is implicit in sites further afield (Mytum 1989, 73–7). This cannot therefore account for the material poverty of Iron Age settlements in Galloway in comparison with assemblages from settlements in other parts of Scotland, and it may be that Iron Age communities in Galloway perhaps utilised perishable organic materials, or recycled or disposed of their material wealth to a more significant degree than communities elsewhere in Scotland. However, the archaeological context of materially wealthy settlements also requires examination. Excavations elsewhere in central and southern Scotland, such as Fairy Knowe Broch near Stirling, yielded a considerable assemblage of in-situ artefacts deriving from the occupation of this site. But this derived from the final phase of an Iron Age house in the very process of being destroyed by fire and abandoned thereafter (Hunter 1998, 393–401). Similarly impressive domestic assemblages have been recovered from Leckie Broch also in Stirlingshire and Torwoodlee in the Scottish Borders, but again these houses had also suffered catastrophic destruction (MacKie 1982, 62; Piggott 1953, 114). Unfortunately, other than Carghidown (Toolis 2007, 304), no such Iron Age house of arrested development, and certainly no comparable prominent single household settlement, has so far been excavated in Galloway. But as the 2012 re-excavation of Trusty's Hill demonstrated, where a 1960 excavation encountered an apparently materially impoverished site (Thomas 1961, 63), a combination of improved techniques and resources and a little luck revealed a very much more materially wealthy settlement (Toolis and Bowles forthcoming). So perhaps the targeting of some previously partially excavated sites, such as Teroy Broch or Castle Haven, may produce results that address the apparent material poverty of Galloway settlements.

Such further excavations will significantly enhance our understanding of Iron Age settlement in Galloway, not just through clarifying material culture, but by establishing a more coherent chronology for settlement patterns. A growing number of radiocarbon dates have been extracted from crannogs in Dumfries and Galloway (Henderson 1998, 230; Henderson *et al.* 2006, 30) and while work has been undertaken to integrate wetland and dryland sites such as at Cults Loch (Cavers and Crone forthcoming) and Black Loch of Myrton (Cavers and Crone 2013, 61), a much wider range of dryland sites require radiocarbon dating too. Given that previous radiocarbon dating of many dryland sites, such as McNaughton's Fort, Rispain Camp and Cruggleton Castle, was extracted from mixed assemblages of charcoal including long-lived species such as oak (Scott-Elliot 1966, 75; Haggarty and Haggarty 1983, 40; Ewart 1985, 14) which distorts the results, further radiocarbon dating of single entity samples of appropriate short-lived species from the assemblages of these sites could significantly refine the corpus of reliably dated settlements in the region. The cumulative impact of acquiring radiocarbon dates from a range of sites, such as the recently acquired 44 cal BC – 85 cal AD date from the base of the ditch of Little Wood Hill enclosure near Threave (Derek Alexander *pers. comm.*), is probably one of the most cost-effective ways of beginning to understand Iron Age settlement patterns in Galloway. In Aberdeenshire, keyhole excavations of enclosed settlements have supplemented large-scale area excavations in yielding a suite of reliable radiocarbon dates that show how settlement across the later prehistoric landscape was not homogenous or evenly distributed (Cook and Dunbar 2008; Cook 2011). A similar approach to Iron Age sites in Galloway may also reveal patterns of contraction and expansion of differing forms of settlement across the landscape.

For only by excavating a wider range of Iron Age sites in Galloway will more evidence be recovered that demonstrates what made each site unique and what made each site part of wider settlement patterns. But to make sense of site patterns in Iron Age Galloway, a level of sustained research focused on particular areas is probably required, as has been undertaken in the eastern part of East Lothian for instance (Haselgrove 2009; Armit and Mackenzie 2013), or Strathdon in Aberdeenshire (Cook 2011). Given the clusters of previous work in the Machars, in the East Rhins and the southern Stewartry, these are probably the districts of Galloway that future research might be better focussed on, building on research already undertaken and where some measure of local context can therefore be applied.

Until such work is undertaken, the problem remains of making sense of Iron Age settlement patterns and settlement hierarchies in Galloway. The closer one looks at the sheer variety of sites, the more ephemeral and tenuous the distinctions seem. Simply because an archaeological site can be described as a ‘type’ of site, does not confer meaning upon it. That is not to say that later prehistoric sites in Galloway lack distinction or variety, but trying to classify unexcavated sites in ever more complex sub-divisions is probably futile; somewhat akin to categorizing Christmas presents before they have been unwrapped. Nevertheless, cultural aspects of Iron Age Galloway can be drawn out from the underlying geographical and environmental characteristics of the settlement pattern.

There are recognisable cultural traits in Iron Age Galloway such as the cleanliness of roundhouse interiors, the deposition of high-status metalwork in wetland locations and the potential development of complex forts from the late Iron Age into the early medieval period. Other recognisable cultural traits in Iron Age Galloway include the varying monumental domestic architecture of the crannogs, brochs and duns scattered across the region, and the correlation between numerous small single-household settlements and fewer large (and presumably multiple-household) settlements. Significantly, these traits do not distinguish Iron Age Galloway from neighbouring regions but instead reflect broad Iron Age cultural practices apparent across the length and breadth of Scotland. While rectilinear settlements are widely spread across Southern Scotland and Northern England and imply cultural similarities, the absence of brochs and crannogs south of the border starkly illustrates distinctive cultural differences too, for such monumental domestic architecture does not reflect environmental factors in the way that coastal promontory forts do, but stems from cultural traits. That the same cultural choices for defining households in Galloway are common across Scotland but appear to be entirely absent in Cumbria (McCarthy 2000, 136–137; McCarthy 2002, 46–47), where there appears to be no environmental reason for an absence of crannogs for instance, suggests that the distinction apparent during the Iron

Age between the regions north and south of the Solway is perhaps more significant than the more superficial inter-regional variations within Scotland, because this distinction may define a clear cultural difference. This difference may be between a much more hierarchical society across Scotland than that in north-eastern England for instance, where but for its northernmost districts no such development of a hierarchical settlement pattern is apparent (Willis 1999, 102). While it is commonly asserted that the present Anglo-Scottish border is purely arbitrary in relation to prehistory (Bevan 1999, 9; Armit 1999, 65), the question nevertheless remains as to why there are no crannogs or brochs to the south of it. Given the origin of the southern brochs within the early centuries AD (Armit and Ralston 1997, 176), it is not difficult to identify the proximity and physical presence of Hadrian's Wall as an inhibition to the construction of brochs further south, but the same cannot be said for crannogs, which originate from the middle of the first millennium BC and continued throughout and beyond the Roman occupation of southern Britain (Henderson 1998, 230). As a line on the map, the border is undoubtedly arbitrary from a prehistoric perspective, but as a zone of land within the island of Britain, Southern Scotland/Northern England has witnessed a series of fluctuating national cultural boundaries, whether the limits of Roman Britain, the erratic boundaries of the north British kingdoms of Rheged, Goddodin and Strathclyde with Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, and of course the medieval kingdoms of Scotland and England. As the overlapping distributions of brochs, crannogs and rectilinear settlements demonstrates, it is entirely plausible that significant national cultural boundaries may have fluctuated across this zone throughout later prehistory too.

A much larger sample of later prehistoric sites in Galloway undoubtedly requires excavation before more meaningful shared patterns can be drawn out and Iron Age cultural traits more closely identified and understood. But it might also be worth questioning if the regional approach that underpins Iron Age research in Scotland is itself altogether valid and if a much broader perspective is required to make sense of Iron Age settlement patterns. The pervasive regionalism to Iron Age research in Scotland (Armit and Ralston 1997, 170) naturally gravitates to a perspective that takes as given that each region is distinct, and so tends to underplay the similarities of Iron Age cultural traits across Scotland and the distinctions from cultural traits south of the border. It may be that future research does not so much extricate Iron Age culture in Galloway from the rest of Scotland as embed the archaeology of later prehistoric Galloway more fully within the core underlying patterns of settlement, hierarchy and culture in Scotland during this period.

Acknowledgements

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[2] A review of this conference by Jane Murray, Secretary to The Friends of the Whithorn Trust appeared in *TDGNHAS* 88, 203–5. – Ed.

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TONGLAND FISH HOUSE AND THE TONGLAND SALMON FISHERY[1]

David F. Devereux[2] and John Pickin[3]

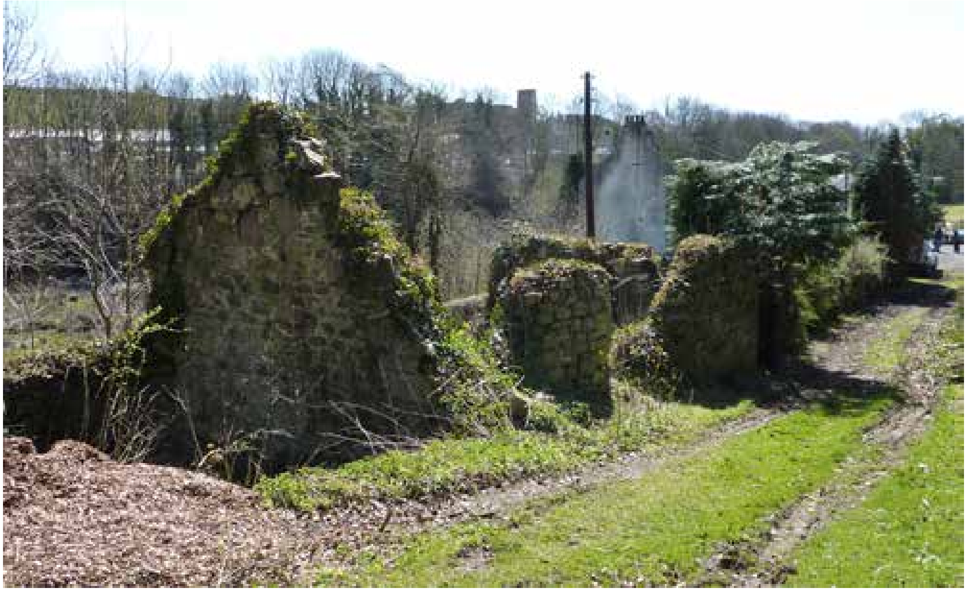

Figure 1. Tongland Fish House from the north in April 2010, photographed by the late Jane Brann, Environment Team Leader and Archaeologist, Dumfries and Galloway Council.

A Building Record of the Fish House at Tongland was made by the authors in November 2013, prior to the re-development of the building. This revealed the nature of the mid-nineteenth century structure and reflected its use in relation to the seasonal salmon fishery at the nearby Doachs of Tongland on the River Dee. There is also anecdotal evidence for its operation, which included the dispatch of salmon to distant markets. The fishery closed in the 1930s with the development of the Galloway Hydro-Electric Scheme, but a range of documentary evidence indicates that this was a valuable (and sometimes controversial) fishery, operated as an economic unit from 1642 and probably much earlier. Quite possibly

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[1] This article is dedicated to the memory of Jane Brann, who at the time of her death in December 2014, was Environment Team Leader and Archaeologist in the Development Planning and Environment section of Dumfries and Galloway Council. Jane was closely connected with the Tongland Fish House project for, in her professional capacity, she initiated the requirement for a building record as a condition of planning consent and approved the Written Scheme of Investigation subsequently submitted by the authors. At the time she expressed the view that the record and subsequent research would make an interesting article for publication in these *Transactions* and the authors hope that they have fulfilled that.

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the canons of nearby Tongland Abbey exploited this natural resource from the early thirteenth century, although there is no surviving physical or documentary evidence for this.

Background

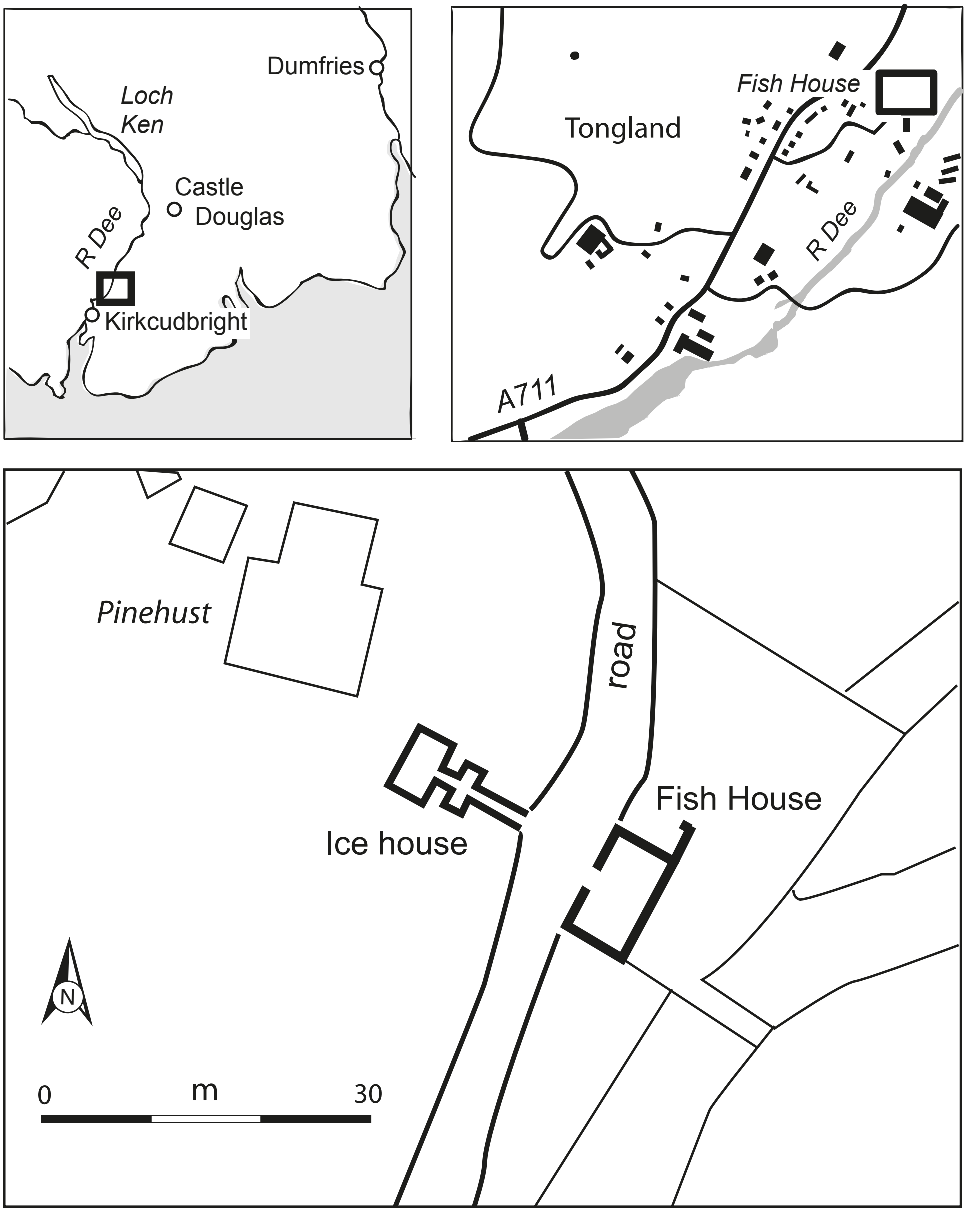
Dumfries
Loch Ken
Castle Douglas
R Dee
Kirkcudbright
Fish House
Tongland
R Dee
A711
Pinehust
road
Fish House
Ice house
N
0
m
30

Figure 2. Site location. (Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right 2014. Drawing by John Pickin)

The Fish House, Tongland, (NX 6991 5404) is a ruinous, roofless, stone building standing on an east sloping site close to the west bank of the River Dee on the northern periphery of Tongland village (Figures 1 & 2). The building and an existent adjacent ice-house are understood to have been in use until the mid-1930s as part of the operation of the Tongland fishery, latterly by St Mary's Isle Estate. The fishery engaged in the catching, packing and dispatching of salmon from the stretch of the River Dee known as the Doachs of Tongland during the annual fishing season from February to September. ('Doach' refers to a salmon trap or weir constructed across a river.) The operation of the fishery is believed to have ceased following the development of the Galloway Hydro-Electric Scheme in the 1930s, which involved the construction of Tongland Dam and Power Station nearby. These works altered the water level at the Doachs and made the fishery inoperable.

Planning approval was given in 2011 to alter and extend the building to form a dwelling house, subject to the production of a Building Record. A Written Scheme of Investigation was subsequently prepared and submitted by the authors of this report on behalf of the building's owners, Mr and Mrs Paul Ansbro. The Building Record commenced when this was approved by the Planning Authority.

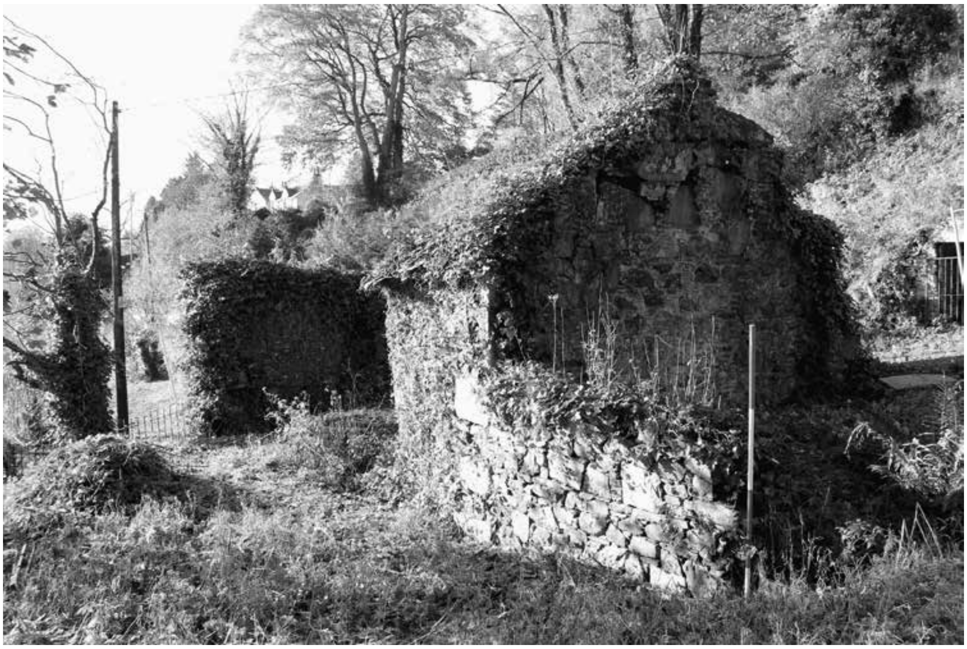

Figure 3. The north extension (walls 9 & 10) from the north gable.

Method

The building was recorded in November 2013. Dense ivy growth was first cleared to reveal the internal and external elevations of the surviving walls. In places, especially at the north gable, the unstable and dangerous condition of the structure prohibited total clearance of the vegetation for Health and Safety considerations. The ground plan of the building was drawn at 1:50 scale, and elevation drawings of the internal and external walls to show key features were made at 1:20 scale. A full photographic record of the building was also made at this time to complement the drawings.

A further site visit was made in December 2013 in the company of Mr David Collin, a former professional architect and active local historian, to assist the interpretation of the building from the remaining structural evidence. Background historical research on the site and its operation was undertaken from December to February 2014, largely from archival and information sources held in the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright, the Ewart Library, Dumfries and through the internet.

Description

Ground Plan (Figure 5)

The main building was of a rectangular plan; 5.55m wide × 9.35m long externally, orientated approximately north-south. A smaller rectangular extension, 5.55m wide and approximately 2.80m long has been added to the north gable at a later date (Figure 3). The north, west and south walls were mostly intact but the east wall on the river side has been largely removed to below ground level. The east wall of the extension was mostly intact but the north and west walls appear to have been demolished and removed to below ground level.

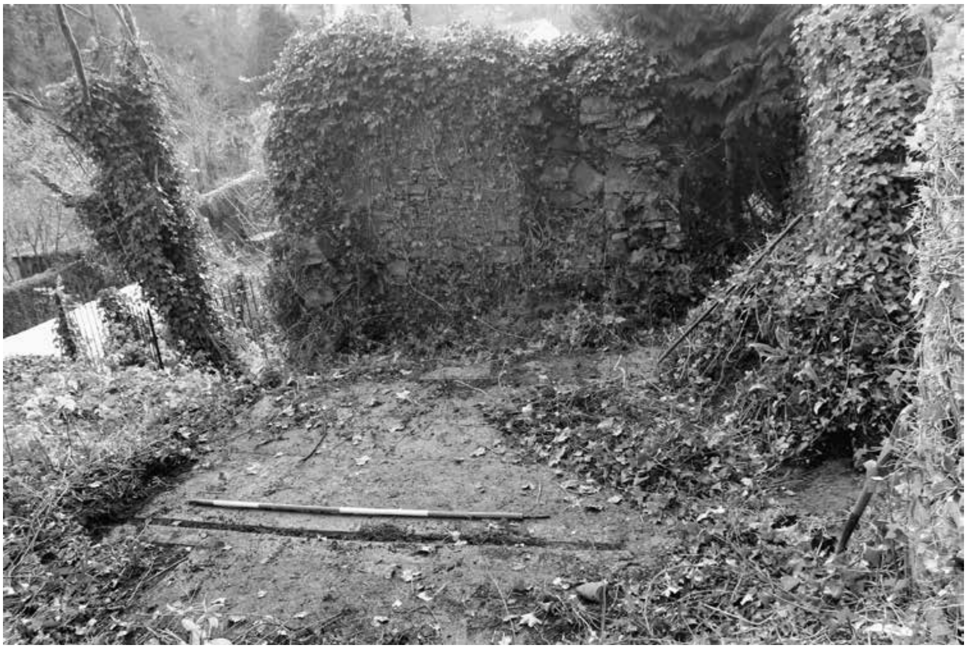

Figure 4. The concrete floor (floor 27) and drainage channel, from the north.

A concrete floor surface (Figures 4 & 5/27) was found in the central interior of the building with a narrow channel cut within it, sloping to the east wall, and probably acting as a means of draining the surface. In two places the concrete floor abutted sandstone slabs. This suggests that the original floor surface may have been composed entirely of such slabs, and the concrete flooring was laid as a later improvement or repair. A remnant tree stump and rubble heaped in the northern part of the interior obscured the nature of the floor surface here. The concrete floor did not extend fully over the southern part of the interior. Here a rubble-filled void was found. Joist sockets in the internal south gable wall elevation and in a cross wall visible under the southern edge of the concrete floor indicate that here the floor was carried over a narrow cellar, perhaps with a sub-floor of planks or boards laid directly on the joists. The main access to the building appears to have been an opening in the centre of the west wall (Figure 5/4) almost opposite the entrance to the ice-house on the other side of the access track to the site.

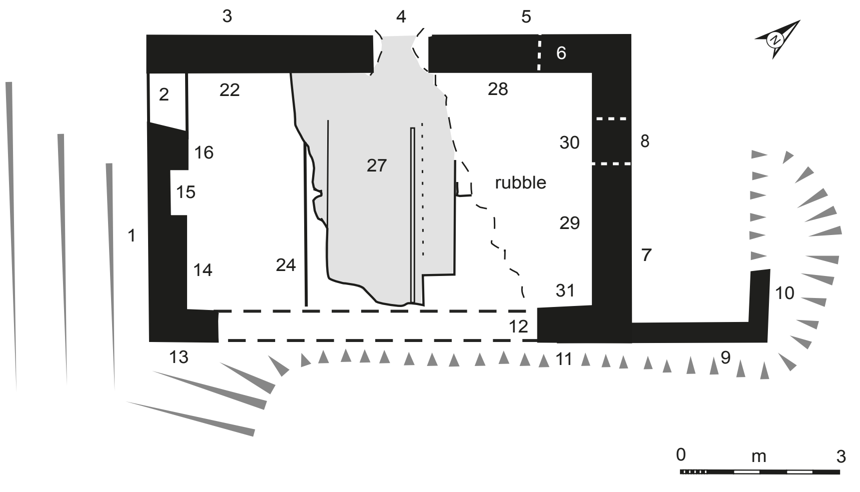

Figure 5. Ground plan of the fish house. (Drawing by John Pickin)

South Gable Wall – External Elevation (Figure 6)

The south gable wall was 5.55m wide, 0.70m thick and survived to a maximum height of 3.45m at the south-east corner (Figure 6/1). It was constructed of roughly dressed stone, randomly coursed, with large granite quoins at each corner. Personal communication received from a neighbouring resident during the survey informed that the gable had been partially dismantled in the last 30 years for safety reasons. The top of the wall is now a horizontal course corresponding to the height of the eaves level or wall head of the intact west wall.

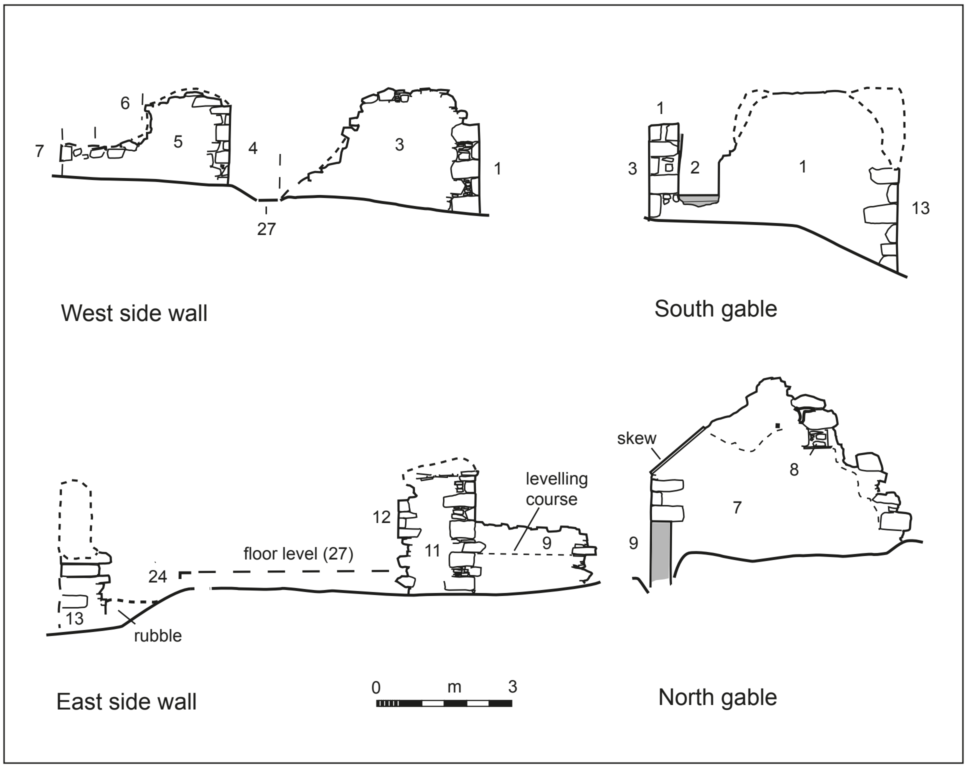
6
7
5
4
3
1
27
West side wall
1
3
2
1
13
South gable
skew
8
levelling
course
12
floor level (27)
11
9
24
13
rubble
7
9
East side wall
0
m
3
North gable

Figure 6. North and south gables and east and west wall external elevations.
(Drawing by John Pickin)

A 0.90m wide opening at the very west of the elevation, survived to a height of 1.45m, and had a cement render on both of its sides and to its sill (Figure 6/2). The opening was splayed inward on the east side so that the internal width of the opening was 1.10m. This feature was initially interpreted as a window. However since the height of the sill corresponds with the internal floor level, this is more likely to have been a door opening. This is despite the fact that the ground level outside the building was approximately 0.60m below the sill level. There may have been an external step previously, now removed.

South Gable Wall – Internal Elevation (Figures 7 & 8)

Located centrally in the internal elevation was a recessed fireplace 0.85m wide and set back into the wall by 0.35m (Figure 7/15). The back wall of the recess was lined with large flat porphyry slabs set on their edges. The upper part of the recess tapered into a chimney flue, now largely removed through the partial dismantling of the gable wall.

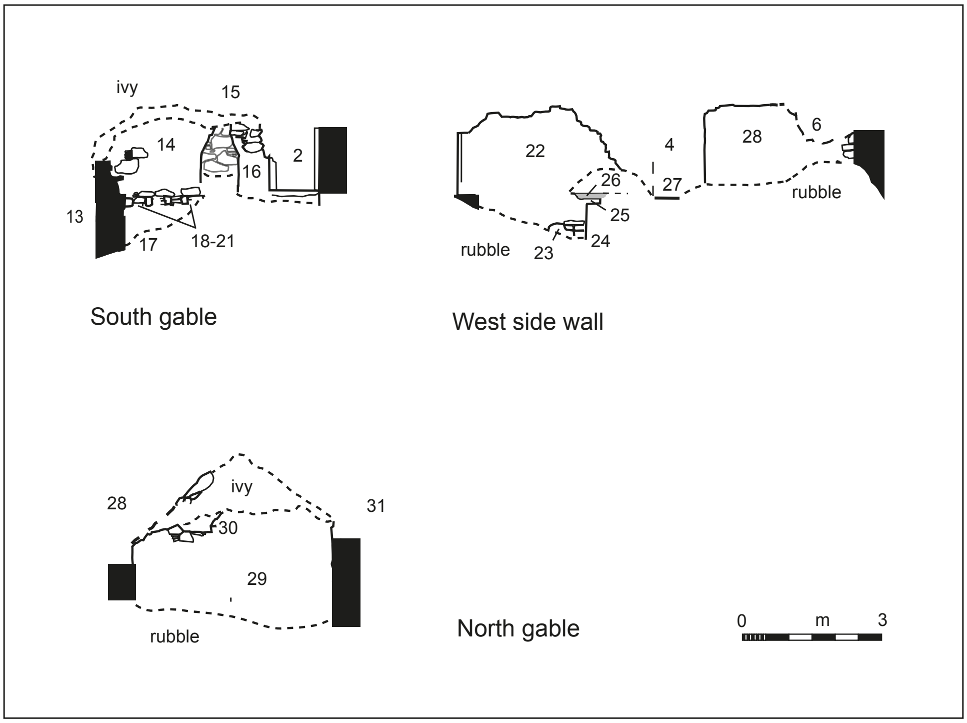
ivy
15
14
2
16
13
18-21
17
South gable
22
4
28
6
26
27
25
rubble
24
rubble
23
West side wall
28
ivy
31
30
29
rubble
North gable
0
m
3

Figure 7. South gable, west wall and north gable internal elevations. (Drawing by John Pickin)

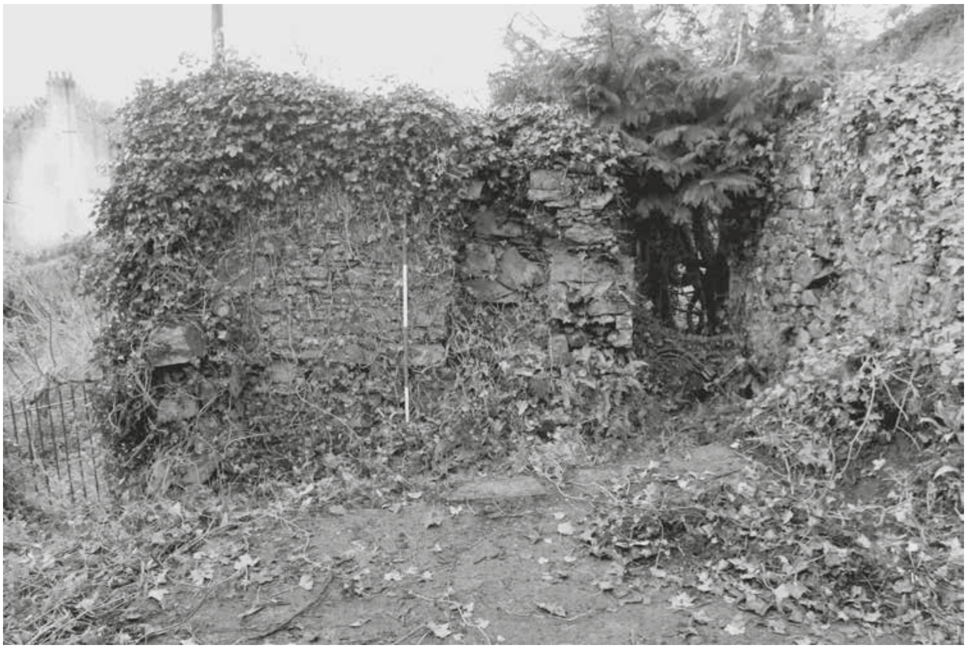

Figure 8. Internal view of the south wall.
Note fireplace to right of range rod and door in south-west corner.

Four evenly spaced joist holes were set into the east section of the wall (Figure 7/18–21). These indicated the floor level and corresponded to the base of the fireplace and the probable doorway in the west part of the wall, and to the joist hole in the cross-wall (Figure 7/25). The void below the floor would appear to have been have been a small cellar, but its rubble infill limited further investigation

West Wall – External Elevation (Figures 6 & 9)

The west wall was 9.35m long, approximately 0.70m thick and survived to a maximum height of 2.40m (Figure 9). It was constructed of roughly dressed greywacke and porphyry stone rubble randomly coursed, with squared granite quoins. The south end of the wall (Figure 6/3) was particularly well-built with snecked rubble around the granite quoins at the south-west corner and elsewhere.

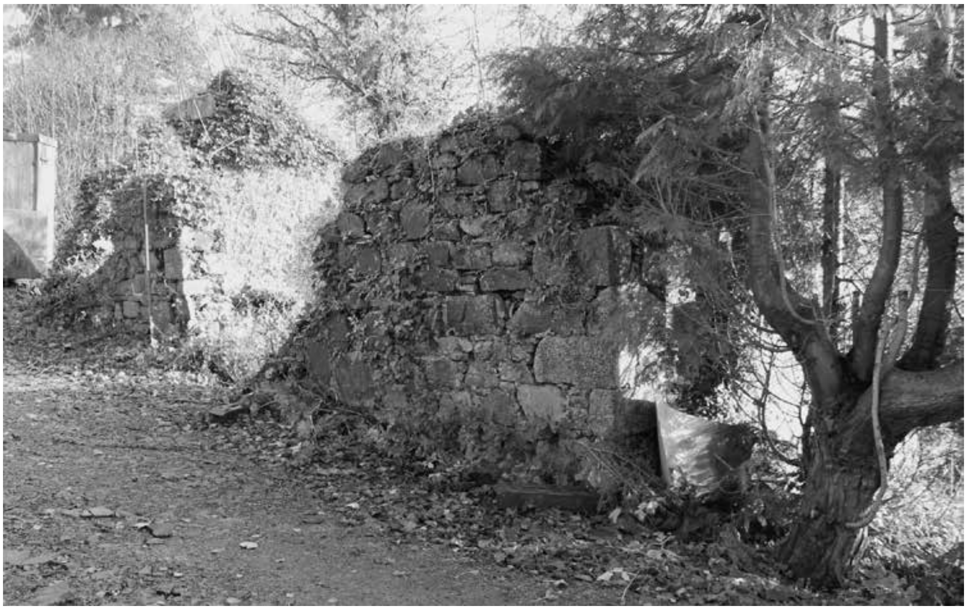

Figure 9. The west wall from the south-west.

Slightly off-centre in the wall was a door opening, approximately 1.16m wide (Figure 6/4). The north side of the opening survived to a height of 1.56m (Figure 6/5). Here the granite side stones/quoins were set on their edges. One of these had a circular hole presumably to receive a door-bolt. The south side of the opening had collapsed, except for the very lowest course above floor level. The concrete floor (Figure 6/27) extends into the threshold of the opening between the north and south wall sides. The north part of the north section of the west wall had largely collapsed (Figure 6/5), but a surviving vertical facing stone (Figure 6/6) may be evidence to suggest a window opening here.

West Wall – Internal Elevation (Figure 7)

A wall (Figure 7/24) was found to project below floor level from the west wall and ran parallel to the north and south gable walls. It continued approximately 4.20m towards the line of the east wall, and defined the extent of the rectangular cellar at the southern end of the building. The maximum observed depth of the wall to the rubble fill of the cellar was 0.80m.

A joist hole (Figure 7/25) was found set in the top course of the wall. Its level corresponded to the four joist holes (Figure 7/18–21) located in the internal elevation of the south gable wall. The concrete floor covering the centre of the building could be seen to lie over the joist hole (Figure 7/26).

North Gable Wall – External Elevation (Figure 6)

The north wall was 5.50m wide and survived to a maximum height of 3.95m, almost to the top of the gable (Figures 6/7 & 10). The upper part of the gable was structurally very unsound and near to collapse. It was approximately 0.70m thick and constructed of roughly dressed greywacke and porphyry stone randomly coursed, with granite quoins. The lower east line of the gable was intact with sandstone coping stones or skews still in their original position. The west side of the gable had partially collapsed. Here there was a blocked opening with a sandstone sill, probably evidence for an original small gable window (Figure 6/8).

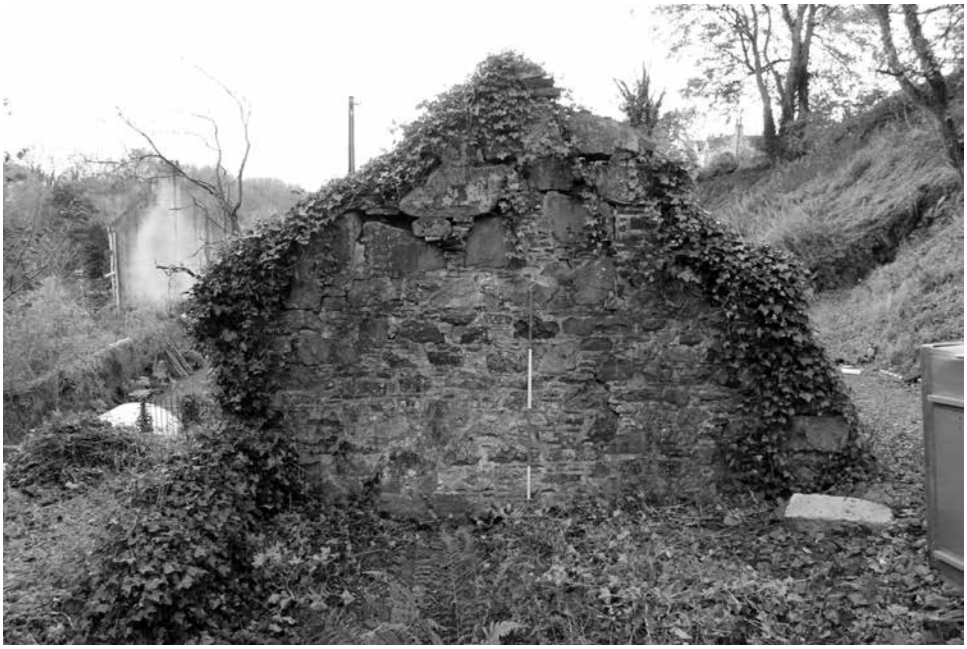

Figure 10. The extension (walls 9 & 10) and north gable wall (wall 7) from the north.

Extension from North Gable Wall (Figure 6/9)

Projecting from the north gable wall at the north-east corner of the building was the east wall of an extension (Figure 5/9), following the line of the east wall of the main building. The extension wall was approximately 2.80m long and survived to a height of 1.65m. It was partly bonded into the north-east corner of the building, and there was a neat levelling course approximately 1m above the present ground surface. However its courses were butted against the large granite quoins indicating that it was a later addition to the original structure (Figure 6/9 & 11).

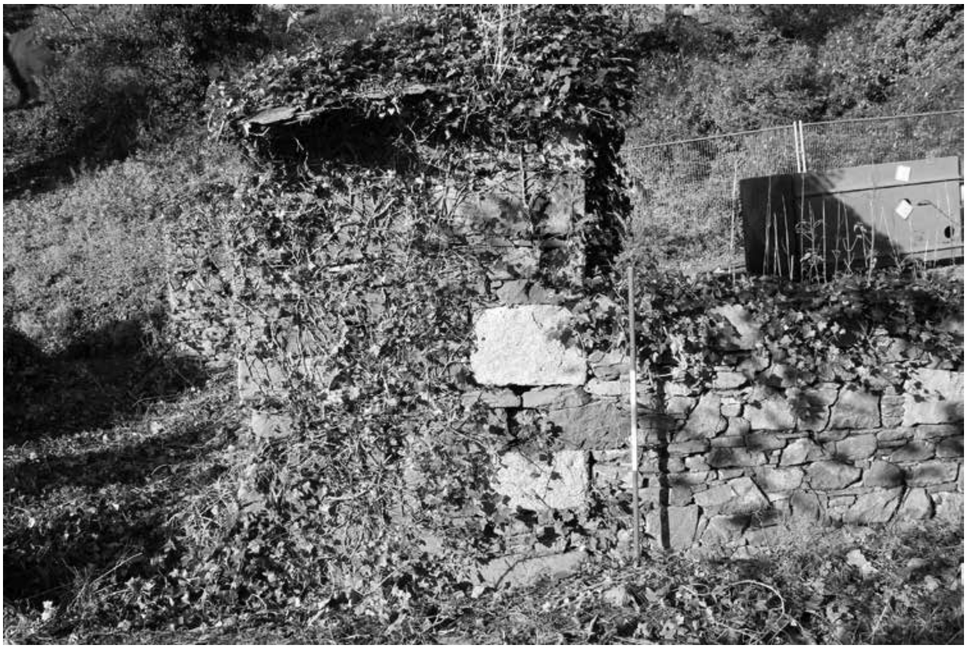

Figure 11. North end of the east wall (wall 11) with roof slates on the wall head, from the east.

The line of the north wall of the extension was partially indicated by a 0.90m long stub of walling foundation (Figure 5/10) and by a robber trench continuing the line. The interior of the extension was filled with rubble, so no evidence was evident to establish the nature of its floor.

East Wall – External Elevation (Figure 6)

The east wall of the building had been largely removed to below floor level, but the northern stub of it (Figures 6/11 & 11) survived for a length of 1.20m and to a height of approximately 2.80m to eaves level, where the bottom course of roofing slates was found still *in situ* against the lowest of the sandstone coping stones of the north gable.

As elsewhere the wall was constructed of roughly dressed stone randomly coursed. The north edge of a window or door opening in the wall was evident 1.80m from the external north-east corner (Figure 6/12). Traces of a cement render were found on the lowest of the edge stones. The southern section of the east wall survived only as a stub of masonry projecting approximately 1.15m from the south-east corner of the building (Figure 6/13).

Interpretation

Function

Consideration of the layout of the site suggests that the fish house and adjacent ice-house (Figures 12 & 13) were operated as a unit. Anecdotal evidence[4] indicates that in the late 1920s / early 1930s the fish house was used during the fishing season (February to early September) to store salmon packed in boxes of ice. The ice came from the ice-house, which was re-stocked over winter with river ice. The fish boxes were made at the St. Mary's Isle Estate sawmill at Mute Hill, near Kirkcudbright. Boxes of fish were sent daily to Kirkcudbright Railway Station. The door opening in the west wall of the building provided direct access to the ice-house entrance across the access track though the site. Boxes of salmon would probably have been dispatched from the site this way, loaded on to horse-drawn or motor vehicles. It might be assumed that there would have also been an entrance in the east wall of the fish house to bring the salmon catch in from the riverbank, but as the east wall has been totally removed, there is no evidence for this. The provision of a smooth concrete floor with drainage provision in the centre of the building would be consistent with the packing and storing of salmon in boxes of ice.

The function of the narrow cellar at the south end of the building is not clear. In a small area near the west wall, the concrete floor extended over it, but it is not obvious whether there was any internal access or not from the ground floor to the cellar. Its size may suggest that it was for storage — perhaps temporarily for salmon or for packing boxes — rather than any activity. The rubble fill of the cellar and around the dismantled east wall obscured any evidence which would indicate external access from the riverside to the cellar, although this might be presumed. (Observation during the redevelopment of the building in May 2016 confirmed the existence of a riverside door opening to the cellar, and a small window opening between it and the south-east corner of the building.)

The provision of a small fireplace in the south gable wall appears an inconsistent feature in a room where it might be assumed that it was imperative to maintain a low temperature to reduce the rate of ice melting. However, noting that the doorway in the south-west corner of the building gave direct access to this part of the interior, it may be that there was a small office area here, partitioned off from the rest of the interior. No doubt there would have had to have been some provision for record-keeping on the site to record the salmon catch and its distribution.

No evidence was found to indicate the function of the extension from the north gable wall of the building, but the storage of packing boxes and other materials, or fishing nets and other equipment might be assumed.

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[4] Information from Mr Roy Graham, held in the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright: Mr Graham's father, Willie Graham, worked there under Bob Webster, the last Head Fisherman employed at Tongland by the St Mary's Isle Estate.

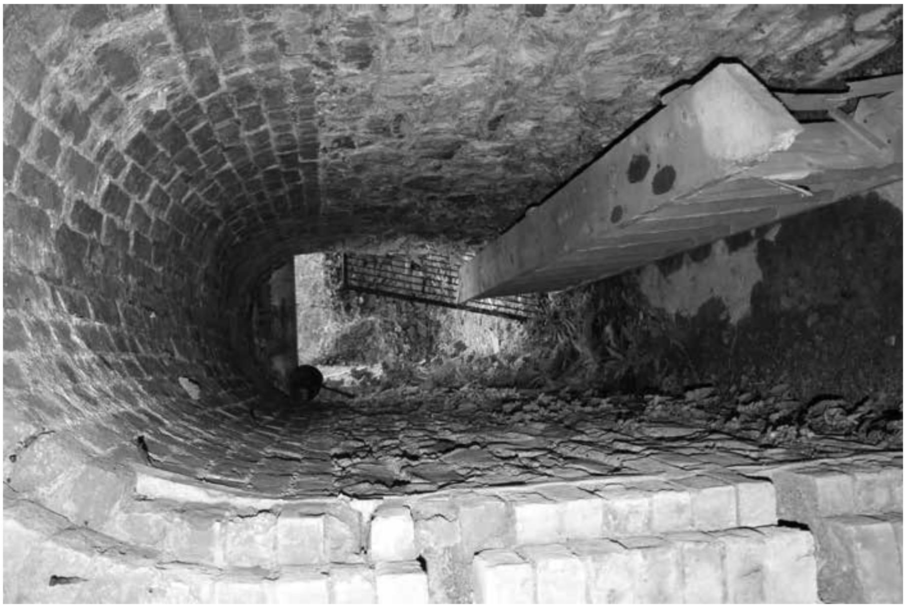

Figure 13. View from the ice-house to the fish house.

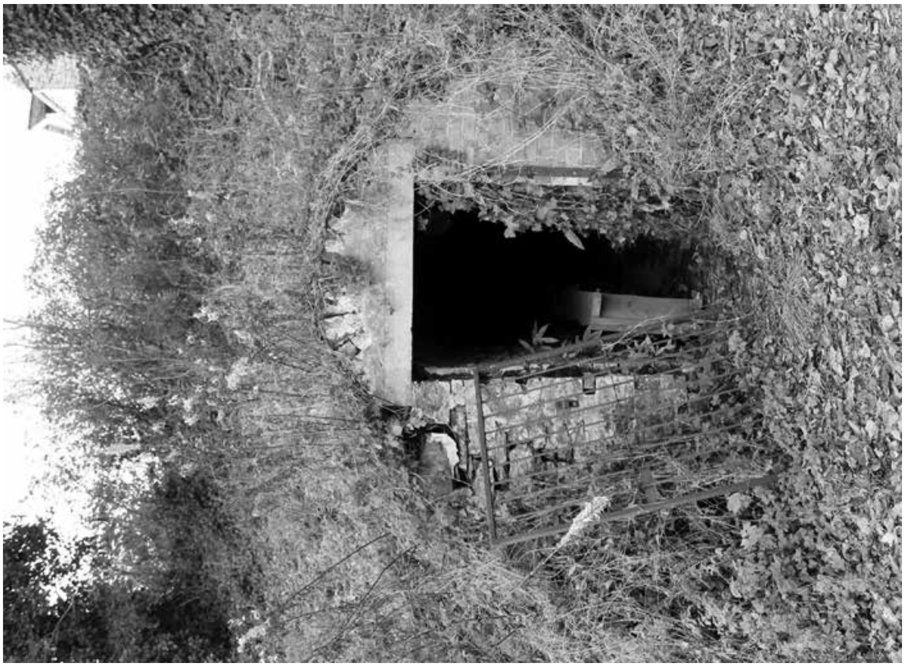

Figure 12. The entrance to the ice-house.

Date

The large granite quoins in the structure indicate a date after 1800 when granite from local quarries was becoming a more commonly used building material, but perhaps more likely a date after 1830 when outputs of building materials from both Dalbeattie and Kirkmabreck increased considerably.[5] The slate roof may be indicative of a mid-nineteenth century date, when slate became the predominant roofing material in the Kirkcudbright area. It might also be assumed that the ice-house and fish house were built at the same time as a phase of capital investment in the Tongland fishery. The ice chamber in the ice-house is lined with hand-made, rather than manufactured, bricks. The latter became more common in the Kirkcudbright area after the construction of the railway branch line in 1865 facilitated the bulk transport of building materials. On these assumptions, the most likely construction date for the fish house is in the period 1830–1865.

Site History

The Structure – Cartographic and Other Evidence

A series of plans of the River Dee at Tongland and the Doachs stretch below the fish house was drawn by local land surveyor John Gillone in 1794[6] and 1797.[7] The 1794 plan of the River Dee indicates a fish house at the east end of Tongland Port, on a site which was shortly after taken up by the approach road to the new Tongland Bridge, designed by Thomas Telford and constructed 1804–1808. The extent of this plan also covers the site of the present fish house, but no structure is shown here. The coverage of the 1797 plan of the Doachs does not extend as far as the site but does label the road leading from the present fish house as ‘from the Fisher’s House’. This may possibly be a reference to the present fish house.

The first 6-inch Ordnance Survey map of the area, surveyed in 1848–50 and published in 1852, provides the first plan of the fish house structure, and the associated ice-house (Figure 14). This appears to show a building of the same length as the present main room and the north extension, but with a further extension to the east from the main room, and an extension to the west from the north extension. Neither of these extensions is now visible on the ground. The next map in the Ordnance Survey series is the 25-inch survey published in 1895 (Figure 15). Here the plan appears to be the same as today, with a roofless enclosure where the present north extension is. In the 25-inch survey published in 1908, the north extension is shown roofed, and the plans subsequently published on the 1910 and 1951 6-inch maps are identical to this. In 1882, the fish house was visited by Archibald Young, Inspector of Salmon Fisheries. He records in his report that:[8]

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[5] Ian Donnachie, *Industrial Archaeology of Galloway* (1971) pp.110–11.

[6] National Records of Scotland, Plan RHP6553.

[7] National Records of Scotland, Plan RHP6754.

[8] Archibald Young, ‘Second Report to the Fishery Board for Scotland – Salmon Rivers Falling into the Scottish Side of the Solway Firth and the Rivers of Ayrshire’, Appendix G in *Annual Report of the Fishery Board for Scotland for the Year ended 1883*.

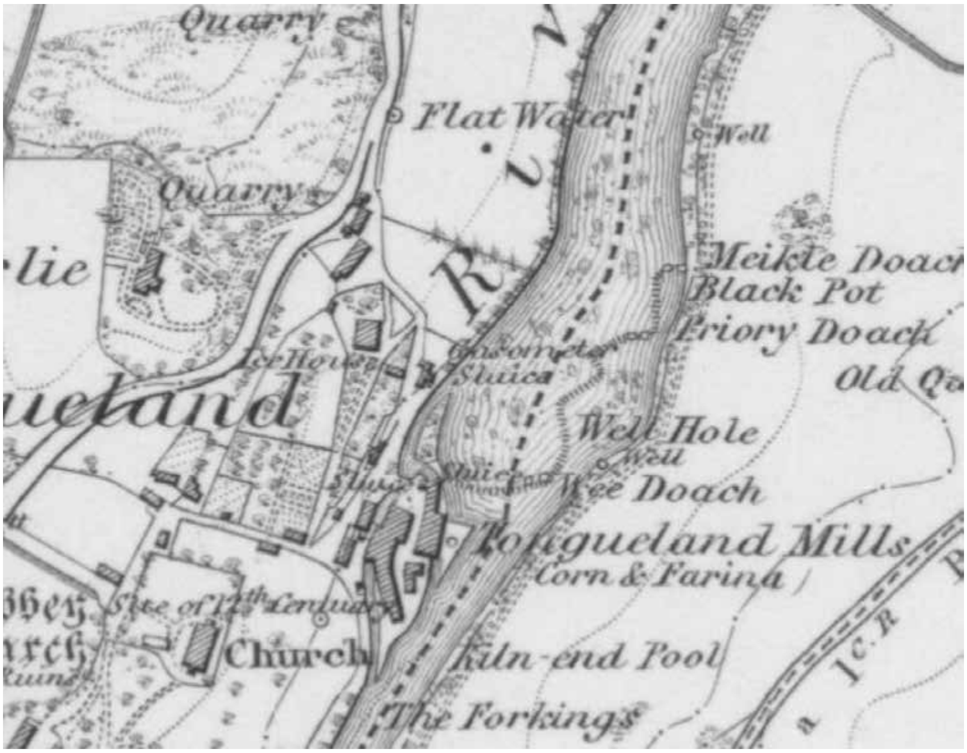
Quarry
Flat Water
Well
Quarry
lie
R
Meikle Doach
Black Pot
Priory Doach
Old Q
Ice House
Gasometer
Sluice
ueland
Well Hole
Well
Wee Doach
Sluice
Sluice
Tongueland Mills
Corn & Farina
Site of 12th Century
Church
Kiln-end Pool
The Forkings

Figure 14. 6-inch O.S. map (1852) – enlarged.

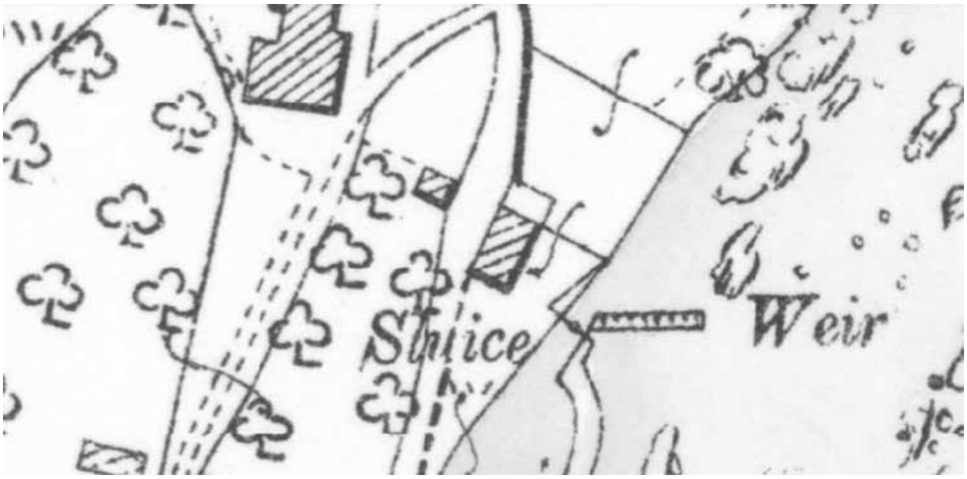
Sluice
Weir

Figure 15. 25-inch O.S. map (1895) – enlarged.

> When at Tongueland, I saw a number of grilse lying in the fish-house and as the grilse in the Dee run large, I had three of the biggest taken up and weighed and their united weight was 29.5 lbs or an average of nearly 10 lbs.

Site Owners and Tenants

The Gordons of Kenmure owned the Tongland fishings until the 1740s when it was purchased by the Murrays of Broughton. The County Valuation Rolls provide information on the owners and tenants from 1859.[9] It remained part of the Murray's Cally Estate until 1905, when Col. J.W. Murray-Baillie, heir to Horatio Granville Murray-Stewart, (who died in 1904), sold it. From 1905 it passed briefly to another major local landowner, David Maitland of Dundrennan, whose residence was at nearby Cumstoun House. However, by 1909 in was in the possession of Captain John Hope R.N., of St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright, and then his successor Captain Charles D. Hope (later known as Sir Charles Hope-Dunbar) from around 1915 until 1932. In 1917 Captain Hope sold most of the property,[10] including the Tongland Mill, but excluding 'the subjects presently used as a fish-house', to the Galloway Engineering Company, who converted the Tongland Mill into a hydro-electric power plant for its factory on the opposite bank of the river. He retained the 'alvens or bed of the River Dee and the whole salmon and other fishings in the said River Dee'. However by 1932, the fishings had been purchased by the Galloway Water Power Company, the developers of the Galloway Hydro-Electric Power Scheme. The Valuation Rolls appear to indicate that the fishings continued to operate until 1936, but ceased thereafter. Tongland Power Station was built in 1934 and the Galloway hydro-electric power scheme became operational in 1936.

The earliest known tenant of the Tongland fishery was a Walter Paterson in 1741.[11] The names of several tenants thereafter are recorded in the papers of the Murray Family of Broughton and Cally in the National Archives of Scotland. The first tenant recorded in the Valuation Roll was Adam Rankine in 1859. From at least as early as 1867, the fishings were held jointly with Tongland Mill. From 1867 to around 1877, the tenants were William Martin and John Gillone, then John and James Gillone from around 1877 to around 1880, then James and William Gillone from around 1880 to around 1892. The heirs of James Gillone and William Gillone remained the tenants for much of the 1890s, but from before 1898 an Edinburgh fish merchant, Andrew Greig Anderson, was the tenant until 1904. Thereafter his representatives held it for at least a further two years until 1906. Sometime before 1909, the site owner, Captain John Hope R.N., had taken the fishings under the direct management of the St Mary's Isle Estate. Direct management appears to have continued under the Galloway Water Power Company's ownership until the demise of the fishery in or shortly after 1936.

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[9] Held in the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright (incomplete series) and the Ewart Library, Dumfries (near complete series).

[10] Photocopy of Minute of Agreement dated 1917 between Sir Charles Dunbar Hope-Dunbar and the Galloway Engineering Co. Ltd. [copy held by David Devereux].

[11] National Archives of Scotland: GD10/1192 in the collection 'Papers of the Murray Family of Broughton, Wigtownshire and Cally, Kirkcudbrightshire'.

It is notable from the Valuation Rolls, that the annual rental of the Tongland fishings was considerably more than the adjacent Tongland Mill. Through the 1870s to the 1890s it was greater by a multiple varying from 4 to 6, and during this time members of the Gillone family were the tenants of both enterprises. In the period from 1859 to 1906, the annual rental ranged from £490 to £620. The assessed rental valuation declined thereafter from £494 in 1909 to £262 in 1936, but in this period the fishery was operated directly by the proprietors. Information on earlier rental valuations is given in a pamphlet published in 1851 by the Rev. Williamson of Tongland.[12] Between 1825 and 1851 the rental of the fishings varied from £350–£705. He also states that immediately prior to 1824, the fishery was let on a nineteen year lease for £220 per annum.

Historical Context

The earliest reference to salmon fishing on the River Dee occurs in a charter of 1325 signed by Robert I in Arbroath.[13] In this the canons of Whithorn Priory are confirmed in their possession of 'half a salmon fishing of Dee, with a salmon haul in the Dee at Kirkcudbright when and where they wish'. Given that the stretch of rapids and pools at the Doachs of Tongland was prized in later history for its plentiful salmon fishing , it is possible that the Tongland fishings were included in the 'half a salmon fishing' mentioned. Tongland Abbey, like Whithorn Priory, was a Premonstratensian house, and possibly the Tongland canons enjoyed the other 'half a salmon fishing'.

The first specific reference to the Doachs of Tongland can be found in the *Antient and Modern Valuation Roll* printed in Dumfries in 1778.[14] The 'Antient Roll' here is the 1642 Land Tax roll; it lists under Tongland parish:

> The fishing of Tongland worth an hundred and thirteen pound – £113
>
> More for the fishing of the Doiches fortie pound is – £40.

In the 'Modern Roll' for Tongland, that is the 1777 valuation, the equivalent line is given simply as 'Fishings – £154'. It would appear that the rentals for the general Tongland fishings (probably from the high water tidal mark on the Dee to the Doachs) and the Doachs were amalgamated by this time. The equivalent line under Tongland parish in the subsequent 1819 Valuation Roll for the Stewartry (Dumfries, 1820) appears as '[Proprietor] Alexander Murray [of Broughton] – Fishing – £154'.

The Tongland fishings are next mentioned in the Rev. Andrew Symson's *A Large Description of Galloway* originally written in 1684.[15] He writes:

> '… at the Abbacy of Tongueland … are great rock sand craigs, that, in a dry summer, do hinder the salmon from going higher up; and here it is that the

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[12] Rev. Dugald Stewart Williamson, *Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Salmon* (1852). [copy held in The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright].

[13] Duncan, A.A.M., *The Acts of Robert I, King of Scots 1306–1329*, p.535, no.275.

[14] Copy of the *Antient and Modern Valuation Roll of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright* (1778). [copy held in The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright].

[15] Rev. Andrew Symson, *A Large Description of Galloway* (1823).

> Vicecount of Kenmuir, as Bayly to the Abbacy of Tongueland, hath priveledge of a Bayly-day, and fenceth the river for eight of the days in the summer-time, prohibiting all persons whatsoever to take any salmon in that space; so that, at the day appointed, if it have been a dry season, there is to be had excellent pastime; the said Vicecount, with his friends, and a multitude of other people, coming thither to the fishing of salmon, which being enclosed in pooles and places among the rocks. Men go in and catch in great aboundance, with their hands, speares, listers &c. yea, and with their very dogs.'

The Tongland fishings or fishery is first described in detail in the First Statistical Account of the Parish of Tongland.[16] This account is credited to the Rev. William Gibb, but was probably written in 1793 by his brother and successor as minister, Alexander Gibb. In this a passing reference is made to the fishery around 1730. The author describes the River Dee as abounding with salmon in the fishing season, 'but few of them get above the works, termed the Doachs, erected across the river, nearly opposite to the corn mills and church of Tongland'. He describes the different ways of fishing then employed, and comments that the most effective was the use of the shoulder net at night-time. He states that the rental for the fishings and land associated with it was £305 sterling per annum. Interestingly, he notes that the same fishings and land were let for only £8 sterling per annum around 1730. Both these figures appear to be contradictory to the valuations given in the 1777 and 1819 Valuation Rolls. The fishery is briefly mentioned in the Rev. Samuel Smith's *General View of the Agriculture of Galloway* published in 1813.[17] In this he states that the rental value of the Tongland fishery was £900 per annum. The equivalent value today would be approximately £45,000.

Notwithstanding the variation in these valuations, the Tongland fishings was clearly a valuable economic asset, with potential to provide a large catch of salmon each season to supply a wide market. The First Statistical Account for Tongland states that, 'The principal markets for salmon are Manchester, Liverpool and Whitehaven. Early in the season some few are sent to London by land carriage'. It is understandable therefore that the proprietors were ready to defend their fishing interests vigorously against neighbouring landowners both upstream and downstream. In 1797 the Stott brothers of Kelton brought an action against James Murray of Broughton and Cally claiming that the fish traps or doachs at Tongland were illegal and therefore injurious to their fishing upstream. The case eventually went to the House of Lords in 1806, but seems to have never been properly resolved.[18] The plans by John Gillone, referred to above, were used in this case.[19]

In 1804, the Trustees of the late James Murray of Broughton took legal action against the Earl of Selkirk and the Magistrates of Kirkcudbright claiming that the fishing yairs on the Dee below the high tide mark were illegal under the Salmon Fishing statute of 1563.

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[16] Rev. William Gibb, *Parish of Tongland* in the First (Old) Statistical Account of Scotland, (1791–99).

[17] Rev. Samuel Smith, *General View of the Agriculture of Galloway* (1813).

[18] Thomas S. Paton, *Cases decided in the House of Lords upon appeal from Scotland from 1753 to 1813* (1854), Vol. IV pp.274–86.

[19] National Records of Scotland, Plan RHP6553 and Plan RHP6754 .

The case concluded in 1807 when the yairs were deemed to fall within the exception of the statute and allowed to remain.[20]

Further, in 1817 Alexander Murray of Broughton took legal action against the curators of the Earl of Selkirk over his use of stake-nets in the lower estuary of the Dee, which had been introduced after 1807. They were blamed for a decrease in the salmon catch at Tongland. After going to the House of Lords in 1824, the action concluded in Murray's favour and the stake-nets were removed.[21]

The Second Statistical Account for the Parish of Tongland written in 1843 by the Rev. Williamson,[22] gives an extensive description and commentary on the fishery, noting also that the present tacksman or tenant, Mr Gillone, was experimenting with salmon breeding. Williamson notes that the fishery was currently let on a 15 year lease [to Mr Gillone] but that it had been previously let on a four year lease at £705 per annum. He refers to seven modes of salmon fishing in operation, including the doachs which he describes as illegal, and detrimental both to the interest of proprietors both upstream and downstream of Tongland and to the conservation of salmon stock. He also describes the other fishing methods in detail. Interestingly, he observes that improvements in communication — steamboats and railways — with Liverpool, Manchester and London and other large towns had resulted in a rise in salmon prices. By this time, there was a regular paddle steamer service between Kirkcudbright and Liverpool. He recounts that, 'Fifty years ago, salmon was so abundant and so cheap, that servants in this neighbourhood, on being hired, made it a part of their bargain, that they were not to be fed on it more than twice a week'. From 1865 there was direct access to railway transport with the opening of the Kirkcudbright branch line from the main line at Castle Douglas.

Following a poor salmon season on the Dee in 1847 the Rev. Williamson wrote further on this subject in a pamphlet entitled '*Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Salmon'*, written in 1851 and published the following year.[23] In this he describes the three fisheries on the River Dee — the Tongland Fishery (belonging to the Murrays of Broughton and the most valuable), the 'Town Fishery' (belonging to the Burgh of Kirkcudbright, and the least valuable) and the Isle Fishery (belonging to the Earl of Selkirk). The pamphlet is particularly valuable for the statistics he gives for the salmon catch at Tongland from 1825–1850. He thought that the main cause of the salmon scarcity was primarily due to the 'irregularity of the seasons', exacerbated by the introduction of bag-nets in the Dee estuary from 1837.

In 1882 the Fishery Board for Scotland instructed their Inspector of Salmon Fisheries, Archibald Young, to inspect the 'Salmon Rivers on the Scottish side of the Solway Firth and the Salmon Rivers of Ayrshire'. His report appears as an appendix in the Board's Annual

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[20] Patrick Shaw, *Cases decided in the House of Lords on appeal from the Courts of Scotland 1824 (1828)*, Vol. II pp.299–309.

[21] Patrick Shaw, op. cit.

[22] Rev. Dugald Stewart Williamson, *Parish of Tongland* in the Second (New) Statistical Account of Scotland (1843).

[23] Rev. Dugald Stewart Williamson, *Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Salmon* (1852). [copy held in The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright].

Report for 1883.[24] Like the Rev. Williamson earlier, Young questioned the legality of the doachs in operation at Tongland but noted that the fishery proprietor robustly defended their use. He also remarked on the uniqueness of the use of the shoulder-net at Tongland, mentioning John Richardson, who had died a few years previously at the age of 70, as being particularly skilled in its use (Figure 16).

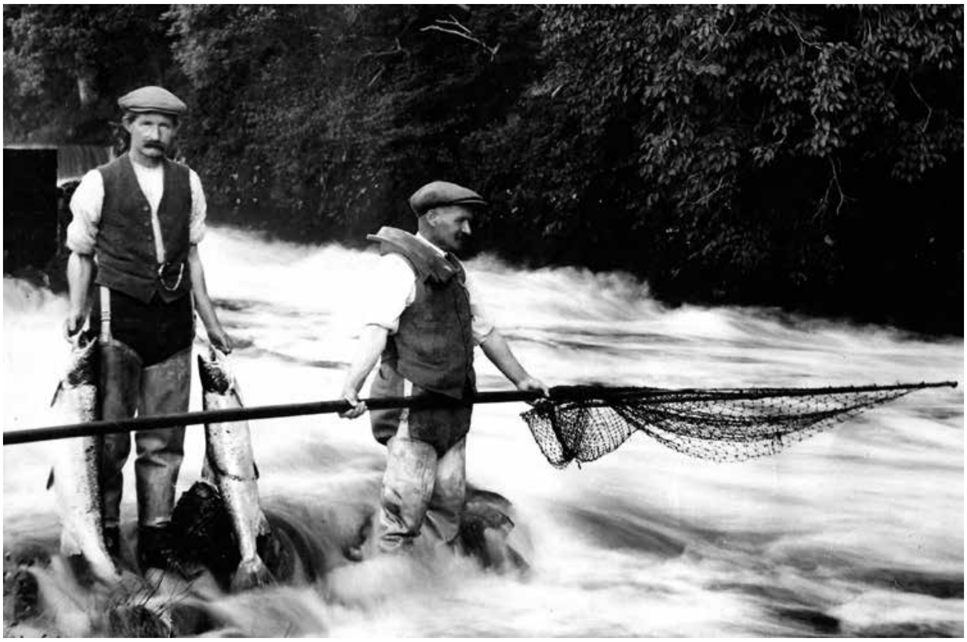

Figure 16. David McGuffog (left) and Bob Webster (right) shoulder-netting in the 'Black Pot' pool at the Doachs of Tongland c.1930.
(Photograph courtesy of The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright)

One of the last accounts of the Tongland fishery occurs in W.L. Calderwood's account of salmon rivers and lochs in Scotland published in 1921.[25] He also remarks on the use of the shoulder-net, but commented 'to bale fish out of rocky pools in a Scottish river, where salmon are all too scarce, seems to me to be a most improvident sort of operation.'

The fishery received a brief mention in the Third Statistical Account of the Parish of Tongland, written by Rev. George Tuton in 1952.[26] He wrote:

> The coming of the Galloway Power Company put an end to the lucrative salmon fishery on the River Dee; at the height of the season up to 100 prime fish were taken out of the doachs each evening. Four married men were constantly employed on the Tongland side of the river.

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[24] Archibald Young, op.cit.

[25] W.L. Calderwood, *The Salmon Rivers and Lochs of Scotland* (1921).

[26] Rev. George Tuton, *Parish of Tongland* in the Third Statistical Account of Scotland (1965).

Summary of Findings

Salmon fishing on the River Dee at Tongland was an important economic activity from the mid-seventeenth century until the 1930s, and was quite possibly undertaken earlier by Tongland Abbey from its foundation in 1218 until its closure in the mid-sixteenth century. The Fish House at Tongland, and its associated ice-house, is therefore significant as the remaining structural evidence of this activity. Examples of other former fish houses are existent in Kirkcudbright, downstream on the River Dee near Seaward, in Twynholm parish and at Carsluith on the Cree estuary.

The building materials used in the fish house would be consistent with a construction date in the period 1825–1850, although it could be of earlier date if it is identified as the ‘Fisher’s House’ indicated, but not drawn, on John Gillone’s plan of 1797. A date in this period would comply with the available map evidence, which shows the building in existence in 1848–1850 but with a larger floor area. It may have been built to replace the earlier Fish House shown at Tongland Port which was presumably demolished in 1804–1808 for the building of Tongland Bridge. By 1895 the building had been reduced to its present plan. The fish house and ice-house may have been constructed at the same time and if so would represent a significant capital investment, probably by the proprietors or possibly the tenant. Such investment is probably more likely to have been undertaken in connection with a long tack or lease, and might be identified with a 15 year lease held by a Mr Gillone in the 1840s, as described in the Second Statistical Account of 1843.

There is no evidence for the use of the building after the 1930s, but some anecdotal evidence for its partial demolition in the 1970s, as a result of it becoming ruinous and potentially dangerous.

THE ALLEGED PARISH OF IRVING, DUMFRIESSHIRE

James M. Irvine[1]

The claim that there was a pre-reformation parish of Irving, which took its name from the local family and was later incorporated into the present parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming in Dumfriesshire, was first raised in the Statistical Account of 1794, and is still a popular understanding today. On the other hand the claim was questioned by Chalmers as early as 1807, and was declared to be 'a myth' by Adamson in 2010. This article lists extensive relevant evidence pertaining to the parishes of Irving and Kirkpatrick Fleming, including some taken from hitherto unpublished family papers, and goes on to discuss why the alleged parish, if it did exist, was so named, where it was located and when it was conjoined, and also why Kirkpatrick Fleming was so named. It becomes clear that all the contemporary evidence points towards there never having been a parish of Irving, and that the parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming was so named before the Irving family became significant landowners in the area. The article then considers the sources that seem to explain why and by whom the alleged parish was 'invented', and shows that both its likely proponents, a laird and a minister, soon abandoned their fabrication. Finally the likely origin of the Dumfriesshire surname of Irving is attributed to the medieval Ayrshire port of Irvine. While the authors of the Old Statistical Account give valuable insights into contemporary life, this cameo is an example of why we should be less trustful of their recording of local history.

Introduction

Many writers and authorities have claimed that there was once a medieval parish of Irving in Dumfriesshire. This claim has recently been challenged,[2] and it might be expected that this challenge would be contested, if only by members of the Irving family. This article, prepared as a contribution to the emerging corpus of Scottish medieval parish churches,[3] assembles and discusses the relevant evidence, concludes that the alleged parish never existed, and develops some thoughts on when and by whom the claim was conceived and then abandoned, but how the legend has nevertheless endured and been embellished.

References Relevant to the Alleged Parish and Church of Irving

The claim that there had been a Dumfriesshire parish named Irving was apparently first recorded in the *Statistical Account* of 1794, when the minister, Rev. A. Monilaws, wrote:[4]

> The parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleeming, comprehending in its present state the united parishes of Kirkconnell, Irving, and Kirkpatrick-Fleeming, (annexed some time before the Reformation), extends. … The origin of [the names] Fleeming and Irving

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[1] 11 Agates Lane, Ashtead, Surrey, KT2 2NG.

[2] Adamson, Duncan and Sheila, *Kirkpatrick Fleming: On the Borders of History* 2010, 7, 23.

[3] `http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/index.php`, [accessed 1 December 2014].

[4] *Old (First) Statistical Account – Parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleeming (OSA)* 1794 xiii, 248–9.

> is likewise evident; these being the names of two very ancient and respectable families, who in former times enjoyed large and considerable possessions in this part of the country, and whose consequence seems, for the sake of distinction, to have given name to its respective parish.

In 1807 Chalmers raised some reservations on the origin of the parish's name, but identified its location:[5]

> The old parish of Irvine is supposed to have obtained its name from the family of Irvine, who were the chief proprietors of the district. It is, however probable that the proprietor took his name from his place, as the Johnstons, the Corries, the Huttons, the Moffats, the Kirkpatricks, all took their local names from places in Dumfriesshire. The verdant banks of the Kirtle, which gave their name of Irvine, probably obtained this appellation from the speech of the British people, Ir-vin signifying the green margin or edge. The Irvine, in Ayrshire, derived its descriptive name from the same source. This small parish forms the middle part of the united parish of Kirkpatrick.[6]

In 1856 Wilson's *Gazetteer* added nothing new:[7]

> Irving, an ancient parish, now comprehended in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming in Dumfries-shire. It takes its name from a very ancient and respectable family which, in former times, enjoyed large possessions in this part of the country. … The present parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming comprehends the ancient parishes of Kirkpatrick, Irving, and Kirkconnel. … The ancient Irving, small in its dimensions, forms the middle part of the parish.

In 1866 Scott's *Fasti* identified when the alleged parish ceased to exist:[8]

> Kirkpatrick-Fleming. – The church was dedicated to St.Patrick. The name Fleming was given to the parish by the family of Fleming of Redhall, to which most part of the land here long pertained. …
>
> Kirkconnel. – Was united to Kirkpatrick-Fleming 24th June 1609. The church was dedicated to St.Conal.
>
> Irving. – This parish was united to Kirkpatrick-Fleming and Kirkconnel in 1609.

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[5] Chalmers, George *Caledonia* 1807 v, 195.

[6] In 1839 Alexander Peterkin (*The Book of the Kirk of Scotland*, 313) listed in the Diocese of Glasgow a parish of Irving, apparently that of Irvine in Ayrshire, and a parish of Irwing, apparently in Kirkcudbrightshire. The latter did not exist and the preceding entry suggests it may have been a misrepresentation of Kirkpatrick-Irongray.

[7] Wilson, Rev. John M. *Topographical, Statistical and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland* Fullarton 1856 ii, 56, 192. The quote here is from 2nd edn, *The Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland* 1868 ii, 149, 267.

[8] Scott, Rev. Hugh *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* 1866, 1917 ii, 243, 246, 250, 252.

In 1895 Groome's *Ordnance Gazetteer* added nothing new: [9]

> Irvine or Irving, an ancient parish in Annandale, SE Dumfriesshire, now forming the middle part of Kirkpatrick-Fleming parish. The Irvings, who either took name from it or gave it name, held large possessions here, and had their chief seat at Bonshaw Tower on Kirtle Water.

In the same year a lengthy but unpublished monograph on the Irving family[10] cited the 1794 and 1856 sources but inferred the Irvings of Bonshaw saw little significance in the parish name: 'an ancient parish of that name [Irving], long since annexed to a neighbouring one, existed in Annandale'.

In 1907 Irving[11] likewise made little of the connection, quoting from the 1856 source and simply adding that Irving was: 'an ancient parish, now part of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, which joins or runs parallel to Bonshaw, in the parish of Annan.'

In 1947 Black's seminal dictionary of Scottish surnames perpetuated the old parish of Irving in Dumfriesshire as a territorial origin of the surname.[12] Most subsequent surname dictionaries still follow Black.

In 1960 Reid and Cormack evidently built on Scott's interpretation:[13]

> Amongst [the East Dumfriesshire churches destroyed in the 1540s] was probably the group of small pre-Reformation parishes centred round Kirkpatrick-Fleming — Gretna, Ecclefechan, Rainpatrick, Kirkconnel, Irving and Luce, the last three of which may never have been rebuilt but absorbed by Act of Parliament in 1609.

In 1962, in the Third Statistical Account, the minister Rev. A.H. Mackenzie added nothing significant:[14]

> The parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming includes the former parishes of Irving, Kirkconnell and Kirkpatrick-Fleming, which were united after the Reformation.

However in 1967 Cowan offered a radical reappraisal for the medieval parish of Irving (Glasgow, Annandale):[15]

> Although this church does not appear in any valuation rolls of the diocese of Glasgow, it was, according to Chalmers, following the Old Statistical Account, an independent parish within the patronage of Irving of that Ilk. No record evidence has been found to support this assertion (*OSA* xiii, 249; Chalmers, Caledonia, v. 195).

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[9] Groome, Francis H. *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* 1895 iv, 326, 435.

[10] Irvine, Rev. Christopher *Memoirs Historical and Genealogical of the Irvines or Irvings* 1895.

[11] Irving, Col. John B. *Book of the Irvings* 1907, 20, 60, 233–4.

[12] Black, George *The Surnames of Scotland* 1947, 378. Another territorial origin, more likely, is Irvine in Ayrshire.

[13] Reid, Dr R.C. and W.F. Cormack 'Two Mediaeval Crosses at Kirkpatrick-Fleming' in *TDGNHAS* 1960 xxxiii, 125.

[14] Houston, G. (ed.) *Third Statistical Account, The County of Dumfries* 1967, 298.

[15] Cowan, Ian B. *Parishes of Medieval Scotland* SRS 1967 xciii, 91.

In 1968 Maxwell-Irving accepted the existence of the parish but sought to rationalise the details:[16]

> When Malcolm Caenmor introduced the parish system, towards the end of the 11th century, the Irvings' lands in Kirtledale became the parish of Irving, which retained its identity as such until the end of the 16th century, when it was broken up and divided between the revised parishes of Annan and Kirkpatrick-Fleming.

In 1995 Thomson gave an unsubstantiated interpretation:[17]

> At the beginning of [the] 12th century much of Scotland was divided into parishes and the area of Kirtledale was named the Parish of Irving, which indicates the importance of the family of this name.

In 1997 the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS)[18] categorised Irving church (NGR NYc.26 70, i.e. 1 mile west-south-west of the village of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, close to the nineteenth century hamlet of Irvington) as 'possible', citing *OSA* viii, 248; Chalmers 1890, iv, 195; Scott 1917, ii, 250; and Cowan 1967, 91.

In the same year Slade made a carefully reasoned but inconclusive appraisal:[19]

> Although there is a tradition (*OSA*, XIII, 249) that Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish consists of three earlier parishes viz. Kirkconnel, Irving and Kirkpatrick, the evidence for Irving is scanty. Col. Irving of Bonshaw expanded on *OSA* by adding that Irving '… joins or runs parallel to Bonshaw, in the parish of Annan' (Irving, J.B. 1907, 20). On the other hand, the tradition was not repeated in the NSA and Ian Cowan points out that 'Although this church does not appear in any valuation rolls of the Diocese of Glasgow, it was, according to Chalmers, following the *OSA*, an independent parish within the patronage of Irving of that Ilk, [but] no record evidence has been found to support this assertion.' (Cowan 1967, 'Irving'). One might comment that Kirkconnel likewise does not appear in the valuation rolls mentioned (ibid, 119). However the existence of Irving parish at present depends on the unquantifiable reliability of these two, late, references (*OSA* and Irving, 1907). Nonetheless, this tradition, even if not supported by record, would be quite consistent with what is known, or surmised, about the formation of the medieval parish in Scotland, namely for Kirkpatrick and/or Kirkconnel parishes and possibly also Dornock and Annan, to have, at an early date, gained parts of a suppressed parish or proto-parish, remembered only by vague tradition but whose abandoned burial ground and church-remains may await discovery.

In 2000 Brooke noted, uncritically:[20] 'The nearby former parish of Irving (*OSA*, iv) has no surviving church.'

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[16] Maxwell-Irving, A.M.T. *The Irvings of Bonshaw* 1968, 3.

[17] Thomson, John A. *History of Annan* 1995, 26.

[18] RCAHMS *Report for Eastern Dumfriesshire* (1997 pp.244, 323 n1785; NY27SE 45).

[19] Slade, Harry G. 'The Buildings Survey' in Mercer, Roger (ed.) *Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire* 1997, 82.

[20] Brooke, C.J. *Safe Sanctuaries* 2000, 329.

In 2009 Maxwell-Irving still accepted the parish's existence, but dismissed its etymological value:[21]

> The origin of the name 'Irving' itself must remain a subject for conjecture. One source may be the town of Irvine in the Cunningham district of Ayrshire, another the place 'Irvine' in Eskdale, and a third the old parish of 'Irving' in Kirtleside (later part of Kirkpatrick-Fleming). … Did the Irvings take their name from Irvine in Eskdale, or the parish of Irving, or did they give their name to these places? We shall probably never know.

However in 2010 Adamson declared Monilaws's claim that there had been a parish of Irving to be 'a myth', finding 'no trace of such a parish in the [contemporary] documents', and remarked that if the parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming had really been named after its most prominent family it would have been called Kirkpatrick Irving.[22]

The current CANMORE website[23] is very similar to RCAHMS 1997, but adds the reference of Brooke 2000, and perpetuates Scott's statement that the parish of Irving was united with that of Kirkpatrick Fleming in 1609.

There are also several 'non-references', i.e. works which make no mention of a parish named Irving even though it is to be expected they would have done so had such a parish existed:[24 & 25]

~ Various dates: valuation and taxation rolls of diocese of Glasgow.[26]

~ 1275: List of 32 parishes within Annandale included in a valuation for tithes. The list includes several ancient parishes which have since disappeared or been amalgamated, but there is no hint of a parish of Irving. One parish in the list is unnamed, but its context implies it is probably Brydekirk, and it is clearly not in Kirtledale.[27]

~ 1543: List of parishes in Annandale to which Wharton intended to lay waste:[28] 'Dumfries, … Dronoke, Reidkyrk, Gretnoo, Kyrkpartick, Eglefleghan, Penersarkes, and Carudders'

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[21] Maxwell-Irving, Alastair M.T. 'The Origin of the Irvings' in *TDGNHAS* 2009 lxxxiii, 88.

[22] Adamson, Duncan and Sheila, *Kirkpatrick Fleming: On the Borders of History* 2010, 7, 23.

[23] `http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/67127/details/kirkpatrick+fleming+parish+church/`, [accessed 1 December 2014].

[24] Alexander Peterkin (*Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, 1839) listed two parishes of Irving in the Glasgow diocese in 1586. From their context one would appear to be in Ayrshire, the other in Kirkcudbrightshire, where 'Kirkpatrick Irwing' is apparently a misprint for 'Kirkpatrick Irongray'.

[25] To this list of 'non-references' might be added *Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices* of the 1560s (Donaldson Scottish History Society 1949; Kirk 1995), *Register of ministers … after the period of the Reformatio*n (Macdonald Maitland Club 1830), and *Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation 1540–1574* (C.H. Haws, SRS 1972, 116) but, as Reid and Cormack pointed out (1960, 125), the parish would not have had a minister then even if it had existed, so the omission from these works cannot be considered significant in the present context.

[26] Cowan 1967, 91. Bannatyne Club 1843 *Reg. Epis. Glasguensis* i, lxvi, lxxiv.

[27] Findlater, Alex Maxwell 'Another Look at Bagimond' in *TDGNHAS* 2008 lxxxii, 63–4.

[28] McDowall, William *History of Dumfries* 1972, 205.

~ 1566: Irving marriage contract refers to the 'parish of Kirkpatricfleeming'.[29]

~ 1606: George Irving of Woodhouse was in possession of the teinds of Kirkpatrickfleming.[30]

~ 1609: Private Act on behalf of the Archbishop of Glasgow for uniting certain kirks in Annandale:[31]

> therefore his majesty and estates ordain and statute an union to be of the kirks and parishes after following: that is to say, the kirks of Meikle Dalton, Little Dalton and Mouswald, the said three kirks to be united in one, the place of resorting for hearing of the word and ministration of the sacraments to be at Little Dalton; the kirks of Cummertrees and Trailtrow, the place of resort to be Cummertrees; the kirks of Redkirk and Graitney, and the place of the kirk to be at Graitney; *the kirk of Kirkpatrick and Kirkconnel and the kirk to be at Kirkconnel*; the kirks of Middlebie, Tundersacks and Carruthers, the place to be at Middlebie; the kirks of St Mungo and Tundergarth, the seat and place of the kirk to be at Tundergarth; the kirks of Sibbaldbie and Applegarth, and the place of the kirk to be at Applegarth; the kirks of Hoddom, Eaglesham and Luss, the place of the kirk to be at Hoddom near the town thereof; the kirks of Corrie and Hutton, the place of the kirk to be at Hutton; and likewise the kirk of St Leonards to be united to the kirk of Lanark where the same has been continually served in times past; which kirks his majesty and estates of this present parliament unite and annex respectively as they are above-expressed, and ordain the same to remain in time coming as parishes united and incorporated, having for their place and seat for hearing of the word, receiving of the sacraments, marriage and other benefits of the kirk, the particular kirks and places above-designed, and ordain the inhabitants of the said parishes to contribute for the building and repairing of the said kirks according to the quantity of their lands and possessions, and letters to be directed from the lords of session to that effect.

~ 1617: List of 32 parishes within the Stewartry of Annandale reported by the Justices of the Peace concerning the number of horses that these parishes are able to furnish for pulling the King's carriage:

> the parrochine of Wamphra; the parrochine of Johnnestoun; the parrochine of Lochmabe; the parrochine of Mouswal; the parrochine of Meckle and Litill Daltonis; the parrochine of Ribell; the parrochine of Cummertres and Trailtrew; the parrochine of Dryisdell; the parrochine of Castelmilk; the parrochine of Tundergarthe; the parrochynnis of Hoddum, Line, and Egilfechane; the parrochynnis of Pennisex, Middilbie, and Carrutheris; the parrochynnis of Kirkpatrik, Kirkconnell, and Mortoun; the parrochynnis of Graitnay and Rempatrik; the parrochine of Dornok; the parrochine of Annand; the parrochine of

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[29] National Records of Scotland (NRS) RH2/2/14. This and the three preceding references were apparently unknown to Reid and McCormack (1960, 125) or to Adamson (2010, 6).

[30] NRS PS1/75, 35–6; Reid 1960, 125.

[31] Thomas, T. and C. Innes eds *The Acts of Parliament of Scotland* (1814–75) iv, 441; 1609/4/35, June 24.

> Moffett; the parrochine of Kirkpatrik-Juxta; the parrochynis of Apilgirt, Sibelbie, and Dynwiddie; the parrochynnis of Huttoun and Corrie;[32]

~ c.1680: Dr. Christopher Irvin's unpublished monogram *The Original of the Family of the Irvins etc.*,[33] a eulogistic account of the family which sought to promote the status of the Bonshaw branch of the name.

~ c.1800, Anon, thought to be JR Irving of Bonshaw:[34] a much embellished version of Irvin c.1680, unpublished.

~ 1811, Playfair:[35] an abbreviated version of Irvin c.1680.

~1834, New Statistical Account, 'drawn up by Rev. Thomas Landells':[36] 'The parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming includes the old parishes of Kirkpatrick and Kirkconnel, which were united after the Reformation.'

~1866, anon.:[37] letters including a history of the Irvings of Annandale.

~1898, Fitzmaurice:[38] a small book on the Irvings of Annandale.

~1903, Bailey:[39] an embellished version of Irvin c.1680.

~1968, Maxwell-Irving:[40] a small book on the Irvings of Bonshaw.

All this source material raises a number of questions.

If There Once Was a Parish of Irving, Why Was It So Named?

Monilaws (1794) believed that, like 'Fleming', the parish of Irving took its name from an *'ancient and respectable family'*. However Chalmers (1807) noted that local proprietors usually took their names from a local place rather than vice-versa, an argument still supported by modern etymologists.

Instead Chalmers went on to suggest that here, as in Ayrshire, the placename Irvine came from the verdant banks of the nearby river, in this case the Kirtle. In fact this suggestion now appears ill-founded: extant contemporary records suggest that Irvings had settled in other parts of Dumfriesshire before they settled in Kirtledale: they are found at Morton and Buittle in 1376/8, Trailtrow in 1459, Harstanemuir in 1483, Hoddom in 1490, Pennersax in 1493, Luce in c.1500, Hoddam in 1504 and Stakeheugh in Eskdale and Skaill in Gretna in 1506, but surviving records only show them in their Kirtledale residences of Bonshaw from 1506,[41] Robgill from 1530, Kirkconnel from 1542, Woodhouse from 1543, Wysbie from 1566, and Cove from 1582.

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[32] Burton, J.H. and others eds 1877–1970 *The Registry of the Privy Council of Scotland* (RPC) xi, 198.

[33] Irvine, James M. (forthcoming) *Dr Christopher Irvin and his 'Original of the Irvins'*.

[34] Irvine, forthcoming.

[35] Playfair, William *British Family Antiquity* 1811 vii, *889*.

[36] *New Statistical Account of Scotland (NSA)* – Parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming 1834 iv, 274. Rev. Landells does not appear in *Fasti* vol. ii.

[37] Anon (Gardner, J.) *Walks in Annandale* 1860, 25–30, 80–5.

[38] Fitzmaurice, J.T. *Bonshaw Tower, The Irvings and some of their Kinsfolk* 1898.

[39] Bailey, Lt.Col. F. *The Irvines of Fermanagh* 1903.

[40] Maxwell-Irving, A.M.T. *The Irvings of Bonshaw* 1968.

This evidence of the early settlements of the Irvings in Dumfriesshire, collected subsequent to Maxwell-Irving's article of 2009, suggests that even if the alleged parish ever existed it is most unlikely that the family took its name from this parish, and that even if the family did give its name to an independent parish it is unlikely this would have occurred before about 1500, i.e. much later than Maxwell-Irving had proposed in 1968.

If a new parish of Irving had been created in medieval times there would have been two motives: money, in the form of teinds, and power, in the form of patronage. Teinds were nominally collected from heritors for the upkeep of the church and its staff, but over the years had become a source of income that the patron of the parish could, if he so wished, lease out to third parties.[42] Cowan (1967) suggested that the parish of Irving was 'an independent parish within the patronage of Irving of that Ilk'. In fact there has never been an 'Irving of that Ilk', and the absence of any Irvings in Chalmers' review of the patronage of the parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming[43] implies that this family had no patronage rights in the combined parish and hence, by implication, in none of its predecessors. And as Adamson points out,[44] while an ambitious Irving laird might have coveted the privileges of his own parish, the existing patron would have been most reluctant to relinquish such privileges.

If There Once Was a Parish of Irving, Where Was It?

Chalmers (1807) claimed 'This small parish forms the middle part of the united parish of Kirkpatrick', and this was repeated in the Wilson and Groome Gazetteers. Irving (1907) remarked, ambiguously, that the parish 'joins or runs parallel to Bonshaw, in the parish of Annan'. RCAHMS 1997 places the possible parish church in the southern part of the parish, but does not justify this; the proposed location is near Irvington, but reasoning on the basis of this name would be ill-founded as this hamlet only dates from the 1850s.[45]

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[41] The tradition recorded by Irvin c.1680 that Bonshaw existed c.1300 is not supported by any contemporary records. It can however be inferred that Bonshaw may have been owned by the Irvings in 1484, but it seems unlikely they owned it before 1459. And of course Bonshaw lies in the parish of Annan, not Kirkpatrick Fleming. See also Maxwell-Irving 2009, and Irvine (forthcoming).

[42] For example George Irving of Woodhouse, a younger son of Bonshaw, was in possession of the teinds of Kirkpatrick-Fleming in 1606 (NRS PS1/75, f35; Reid 1960, 125).

[43] Chalmers 1807, 194–5.

[44] Adamson 2010, 8.

[45] See Crawford's map of Dumfriesshire 1804; OS map LVIII surveyed 1856; Slade 1997, 104.

The sixteenth century Irving settlements in Kirtledale listed above suggest a narrow strip straddling the Kirtle, from Bonshaw to Kirkpatrick. This area does not include the location of the possible church proposed by RCAHMS. It could include Kirtle Church at the entrance to Bonshaw drive which dates from 1837/40, but there is no suggestion this was built on an earlier church site. As Maxwell-Irving points out, the demise of a parish of Irving would have involved re-aligning the parish boundary of Annan to include Bonshaw, the seat of the dominant branch of the Irvings, while Robgill was in the parish of Dornoch before 1832.[46]

It thus appears that the postulated locations for a parish church rest entirely on the supposition that there was a parish of Irving, rather than on any other tradition or on any archaeological evidence.

If There Once Was a Parish of Irving, When Was It Joined With Kirkpatrick Fleming?

Monilaws (1794) said ‘some time before the Reformation’, Mackenzie (1962) ‘after the Reformation’, Maxwell-Irving (1968) ‘the end of the 16th century’, and Scott (1866) ‘in 1609’. However, it is apparent from the quote above of the Act of Parliament of 1609 that Scott was trying to reconcile the alleged existence of a parish of Irving with the rationalisation of other neighbouring kirks and parishes (including Pennersax, Ranpatrick and Trailtrow) in 1609, whereas in fact this Act makes no mention of any kirk or parish of Irving in Dumfriesshire.

Why Was The Parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming So-called?

The earliest references to the parish and its church are simply to Kirkpatrick:

~ 1187–9: ecclesia de Kirkepatric.[47]

~ 1204x07: ecclesia de Kirkepatric.[48]

~ 1223: church of Kirkepatric.[49]

~ 1265, ratified 1330: church of Kirkepatrik.[50]

~1279: church of Kirkepatric.[51]

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[46] Neither Bonshaw nor Robgill are mentioned in any of the *OSA* accounts, apart from ‘the late Mr Irving of Bonshaw’ (*OSA*, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, 274).

[47] Bannatyne Club 1843 *Reg. Epis. Glasguensis* i, 64 no.72; Brown W ‘Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne’ *Surtees Society* 1891, 340–3, 346–350, 450; Neilson, George and Gordon Donaldson ‘Guisburgh and the Annandale Charters’ *TDGNHAS* 1954 xxxii, 148.

[48] RSS ii, 418; Brown 1889 no. 1176; Neilson 1954, 145.

[49] Brown 1889 no. 1885; Neilson 1954, 149.

[50] Brown 1889 no. 1888; Neilson 1954, 151, 153.

[51] Brown 1889 no. 1179; Neilson 1954, 146.

As has been shown, this name was still in use in 1543, 1609 and 1617. However, there were three other similarly named parishes in Dumfries and Galloway,[52] so inevitably some means of distinguishing between these parishes was desirable. Initially the name Kirkpatrick juxta Gretno was used,[53] but this was apparently soon superseded by Kirkpatrick Fleming:

~ 1461: Mr William de Kere rector of Killpatrick Flemyng.[54]

~ c.1480: John Doby, rector of Kirkpatrick Fleming.[55]

~ 1526: Sir John McKynnell parson of Kirkpatrik Flemyng.[56]

~ 1543/4: Peter Steuard rector of Kirkpatrick Fleming.[57]

~ 1577: teinds due from 'the parsonage and vicarage of kirkpartik flemyng'.[58]

~ 1607: references to the parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming.[59]

The claim that the Fleming suffix derived from the 'ancient and respectable family' was first made by Monilaws in 1794. But as Adamson says there are apparently no contemporary records of Flemings residing in the area in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries,[60] so Monilaws seems to have confused — whether innocently or opportunistically is unclear — the Redhall in Kirkpatrick Fleming with the Red Hall in Berwick. It was the latter which was the headquarters of Flemish merchants in Berwick in the late thirteenth century, and where the 30 Flemings to which Monilaws refers died while defending it against Edward I in 1296.[61] In fact the Redhall in Kirkpatrick Fleming was long occupied by a branch of the Johnston family. But there certainly had been Flemings in the area earlier: a Richard le Fleming owned a salt pan in Gretna at end of the twelfth century, and Flemings witnessed Bruce charters locally in c.1190, 1304, 1305 and 1349.[62] These individuals may have been connected with two local placenames: one in Kirkconnel called 'the Flemynglands' in 1422 and Fleminglands in 1426,[63] the other half a mile south of Kirkpatrick called Flemingraw in 1619 and Flemyngraw/Flemingrau in 1632.[64] So there is some evidence to support the claim that the Fleming suffix is attributable to a family that apparently died out locally in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. Further research is required, but in the context of this article it is noteworthy that the name of Kirkpatrick Fleming had been adopted *before* the Irvings became a powerful local family.

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[52] Kirkpatrick Juxta or Kirkpatrick juxta Moffat at Beattock in Annandale, Kirkpatrick Durham and Kirkpatrick Irongray in Nithsdale. The Latin *juxta* means near, beside.

[53] Reid, R.C. and W.F. Cormack 1960 'Two Mediaeval Crosses at Kirkpatrick-Fleming' *TDGNHAS* xxxviii, 124.

[54] NRS GD26/3/992.

[55] Adamson 2010, 20.

[56] NRS GD10/7.

[57] NRS RH1/2/931.

[58] NRS CH4/1/1 Register of Presentations to Benifices i, 149v.

[59] Reid, 'The Bonshaw Titles', *TDGNHAS* 1958, 57, 58.

[60] Apart from a reference to some Flemings in 1585 (Adamson 2010, 25) and, perhaps, from the alleged incident involving Fair Helen, of indeterminate date, a saga first recorded by Pennant in 1772; see CANMORE NY27NE 1.01. at `https://canmore.org.uk/site/67054/kirkconnel-old-parish-church-fair-helens-tombstone`, [accessed 1 December 2014].

[61] *OSA*, 271–2; NSA iv, 279; Barrow *Robert Bruce* 1992 9, 10, 71.

[62] Buccleuch mss Nos. 66, 67; Adamson 2010, 7. I understand Flemings witnessed Bruce charters locally in c.1190, 1304, 1305 and 1349.

[63] Maxwell-Irving *The Border Towers of Scotland — The West March* 2000, 175; Adamson 2010, 7.

A further issue of nomenclature arose in 1609, when the Act decreed that the kirk of the combined parish was to be Kirkconnel. The combined parish was named Kirkconnel and Kirkpatrick Fleming in 1684,[65] but in practice was soon referred to as simply Kirkpatrick Fleming. This may have been because Kirkconnel kirk was in a relatively inaccessible location, and the Maxwells treated it as their private chapel.[66]

How Can the Apparent Conflict Between the Evidence of 1609 and 1617 Be Explained?

Although the Act of 1609 decreeing that the parishes of Hoddom, Luce and Ecclefechan, of Pennersax, Middlebie and Carruthers, of Kirkpatrick and Kirkconnel, of Gretna and Rempatrick, of Applegarth and Sibbaldbie and of Hutton and Corrie should be combined was (largely) implemented by the church, parishes had secular significance too, and the list of 1617, and another of 1787,[67] suggest these secular administrative divisions remained unaffected by the Act. And more significantly to this article, an earlier deed refers to the Stewartry of Annandale having had 32 parishes (alas unnamed) in 1563/6,[68] just as it did in 1617, while a deed of 1633[69] implies that this had been so since the early fifteenth century, and another of 1275 that this had been so even earlier.[70]

All this contemporary evidence strongly suggests that there was never a parish of Irving, clerical or secular, in the Stewarty of Annandale.

How Reliable Are the Two Sources (*OSA* and Irving 1907) On Which Slade Suggests the Whole Justification of a Parish of Irving Depends?[71]

Irving 1907 is a lengthy volume that received good reviews at the time and has remained popular amongst those bearing the surname. In fact its text contains many errors and its author, Col. JB Irving of Bonshaw, drew extensively from other writers, notably Rev. C Irvine (author of the 1895 monograph) and John Bell Irving (grandfather of A Maxwell-

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[64] Sasine NRS RS22/1, 202v; National Register of Archives (Scotland) 121/2/3; Irving 1907, 66; Adamson 2010, 177.

[65] RPC3, ix, 620.

[66] Slade 1997, 82.

[67] *Valuation Book of the Sheriffdom of Dumfries; Comprehending the Stewartry of Annandale, and Five Kirks of Eskdale*, published in Dumfries in 1787.

[68] Armstrong, *History of Liddesdale* 1883, Appendix LXX.

[69] RPC v, 288.

[70] Findlater, Alex Maxwell 'Another Look at Bagimond' in *TDGNHAS* 2008 lxxxii, 63–4.

[71] It is unclear why Slade did not take Thomson 1995 into account. Thomson does not cite the sources that would support his interpretation and so I have felt obliged to treat his material as tertiary.

Irving). In the present context Col. Irving only introduced one additional detail, his brief and ambiguous comment on the location of the alleged parish. Neither Rev. Irvine (of whose work Slade was not aware) nor Col. Irving discussed the credibility of the *OSA* statement, or claimed that the association of the parish and family names had any significance. In short both the 1895 and 1907 sources should be regarded as secondary.

Rev. Alexander Monilaws (c.1757–1834) was Minister of Kirkpatrick Fleming for 50 years, from 1784 till his death. In 1787 he married Catherine Irving, a daughter of Irving of Ellerbeck. He wrote the *OSA* account of Kirkpatrick Fleming between 1792 and 1794, 'assisted by an anonymous gentleman'.[72] This raises the question of this gentleman's identity. He may well have been John Robert Irving, the fourth cousin of Monilaws' wife, who had inherited the entailed estate of Bonshaw as an infant in 1772 and was its laird until his death in 1839. He became an advocate in 1793, and was Professor of Civil Law at Edinburgh University 1800–1827. He married in 1803; his two sons both pre-deceased him, and his two daughters both emigrated to Australia. He remarried in 1816 but was divorced four years later. The little more known of this individual is not flattering: a contemporary caricature suggests he had a corpulent figure;[73] in 1805 a James Dundas wrote 'I am perfectly satisfied that unless Bonshaw is authorised to sell part of his Estate he cannot pay his debts';[74] and he was later described as 'a great spendthrift, always head over ears in debt, lived chiefly in Edinburgh, and did the old place [Bonshaw] a deal of harm: amongst other things, he cut down most of the trees on Bonshaw. … He died in great poverty.'[75]

John Robert Irving was apparently interested in his family history. It was probably he who in 1788 annotated a copy of Dr Irvin's *Original* of c.1680,[76] and who in c.1800 wrote a much embellished version of Dr Irvin's tale, though this text too has remained unpublished.[77] So it would not be out of character for such an individual to have given Rev. Monilaws some of the material for his Statistical Account in c.1792, including the anecdote about the parish of Irving.[78]

The 'invention' of this parish could have been an innocent embellishment over generations of oral recounting of the fact that Irvings had once owned the teinds of the parish. But if so there was no obvious motive, for example subservience to a patron, for the minister to include this anecdote in his account. There was, however, plenty of motive for the young, impecunious bachelor laird of Bonshaw to impress both his creditors and the parents of a potential bride by prevailing on a local minister (whose wife was a distant relative) to vouch that long ago his line had given its name to an old parish now defunct, a line which became more illustrious than the family after which the parish was now named.

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[72] I have been unable to trace this individual being described as a 'reliable gentleman' (Adamson 2010, 6).

[73] Irving 1907, 80.

[74] Aberdeen University Special Collections MS2973. The letter was written 20 Oct. 1805 to Lieutenant General Paulus Aemilius Irving of Robgill.

[75] Irving 1907, 80.

[76] Irving 1907, 18.

[77] See Irvine (forthcoming). When Lt. Gen. P.A. Irving of Robgill submitted the genealogy to the Heralds College in 1809 that William Playfair reprinted two years later he did not choose the c.1800 version written by his first cousin and neighbour, the Laird of Bonshaw. It is unclear whether this was because he was unimpressed by the excesses of his cousin's new version or because he was unaware of it — maybe he and his cousin were not on speaking terms.

[78] Another such anecdote was the association of Woodhouse with the Irving family and Robert the Bruce, an association not found previously in any family papers (*Old Statistical Account — Parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleeming* 1794 xiii, 273).

Whatever the motive for publicising the alleged earlier name of the parish may have been, within a decade this laird of Bonshaw had apparently recognised that the anecdote was too audacious to be repeated, for he does not include it in his embellished c.1800 version of Dr Irvin's *Original*.[79] Nor, more significantly, is the claim repeated in the NSA account of the parish in 1834.[80] In the context of this article the contrast between the texts of the Old and New Statistical Accounts of Kirkpatrick Fleming is significant: the former is the first and apparently only substantive suggestion that there had once been a parish of Irving, the latter implies there had been no such parish. Although the latter account was written a few months before his death and signed by his assistant minister, Thomas Landells, Monilaws was its main correspondent,[81] and his text clearly implies he had changed his mind on this issue. Conversely, perhaps to disguise or balance this volte-face, he reinforced his anecdote about the Fleming suffix: 'The name of the lord of the manor, Fleming, during the 14th and 15th centuries, was added to distinguish it from others of the same name.'

How Did the Surname Irving Originate?

If the Irving families of Kirtledale did not give their name to, or take their name from, the alleged parish, where does this name come from? The earliest surviving contemporary references to Irvings in the Western Borders are in 1376/8 when Gilcristo Herwynd and John de Herwyne were tenants of James Douglas Earl of Morton in the parishes of Morton and Buittle respectively. Elsewhere in Scotland and Ireland many earlier references to the surname are also preceded by 'de', and as the town of Irvine in Ayrshire was a major port in medieval times it seems reasonable to suppose that sailors and traders from there who settled elsewhere adopted or were given this locative surname.[82] This hypothesis is consistent with DNA evidence which suggests that, contrary to tradition, the many branches of the surname across Scotland did not share a common paternal ancestor.[83]

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[79] Nor is the alleged parish referred to in any subsequent history of the family, apart from Irving 1907, as quoted above.

[80] NSA iv, 274.

[81] Adamson 2010, 80. The commentary of Adamson, an eminent local historian, on the authorship of the 1834 Account is unverified, but seems very credible, while his failure to comment on the omission of any reference to the alleged parish in the 1834 Account is uncharacteristic.

[82] This connection with Ayrshire was first suggested in *The Families of Scotland* by Sir George Mackenzie in 1672 (Scottish Record Society New Series Vol. 31, 2008.)

[83] See `www.dnastudy.clanirving.org`.

Conclusion

It is thus apparent that there are no contemporary records to justify the claim first made in 1794 that there had once been a parish of Irving in Dumfriesshire. Many subsequent writers have accepted this claim uncritically, and several have added minor embellishments. However, the background to the claim was questioned as early as 1807 and, unlike the authors of many of the books on the origins of Scottish surnames, none of the Irving family historians, apart from one brief exception, have succumbed to the temptation to exploit the alleged parish for the embellishment of their family histories — with one brief exception. More significantly, the relatively objective minds of Cowan, Slade and particularly Adamson have thrown serious doubt on the claim.

This article has identified and developed further circumstantial evidence, particularly the lists of the 32 medieval parishes in Annandale and the amalgamation of some of these parishes in 1609, to show that the alleged parish of Irving is indeed a myth and should now be discounted, and that the suggested dates and location of the parish and the derivation of its name are misleading. It has also shown that a possible origin and motive for the claim can be postulated, and that the probable original perpetrators of the claim of the alleged parish, Laird Advocate John Robert Irving and Rev. Alexander Monilaws, both soon changed their minds on the matter.

That the legend they briefly championed has endured for so long is attributable to the respect earned by The Statistical Account of Scotland of 1794, but also testament to how some elements of local history can and should be challenged by modern research.

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REV. JOHN SEMPLE OF CARSPHAIRN

David Bartholomew[1]

John Semple was a revivalist preacher who rose to prominence during the Ulster Revival. Appointed the first parish minister of Carsphairn, he quickly became renowned for his powerful preaching and drew people from far and wide to his communion seasons. He inspired a deep Christian faith and commitment in many who came under his ministry, and his influence helped establish south-west Scotland in its strong Covenanting sympathies. A neglected figure in recent years, it is proposed that he had far more influence on the years of the Covenanting struggles than has been recognised.

There is a brass plaque in Carsphairn Church on the wall near the organ with the words:

> In Memory of John Semple, First Minister of Carsphairn Parish c.1646–c.1677.
>
> A Stern Upholder of the Covenant Who Resisted Decrees of Parliament and Survived.
>
> He is abune that guides the gully.

He was not the first minister associated with the church at Carsphairn. A church building had been constructed by the people of the area themselves in 1635–6 after they had petitioned the Commission for the Plantation of Kirks in 1633 that their land might be set apart as a new parish.[2] Rev. John Adamson ministered there in 1637 and was later commissioned in 1644 by the General Assembly to minister in Ulster until he was ejected by Charles II in 1661. He was succeeded by Rev. Hugh Henderson in 1638 — but he was only there for a year before moving to Dalry where he served until 1643. The General Assembly then sent him to Ireland for five years. He returned in 1648 to become the popular minister of Dumfries until he was deprived of his position in 1662.[3]

However, it was only in 1645 that the Parish of Carsphairn was officially created by an Act of Parliament and the following year John Semple was appointed as its first full-time parish minister. Little is known about his earlier life. He was born around 1602 and went over to Ireland as precentor for one of the Scottish ministers who were active in supporting the new Protestant settlement of Ulster. He settled in County Down where one day he was singing a psalm before the minister arrived to preach and was moved to speak on the psalm that he was singing. The minister, when he arrived, noticed he had a remarkable gift for preaching and after giving him some private trials, gave him license to preach in private houses. The Covenanter Rev. Gabriel Semple describes how, once he had this freedom, he travelled around Ulster and gathered quite a following, often filling houses and even barns and was the happy instrument in converting many souls to God.[4] It was a time of great revival amongst the Scottish emigrants in Ulster.

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[1] The Manse, Dalry, Castle Douglas, DG7 3PJ.

[2] Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707. 8 March 1645. Act anent the erection of the kirk of Carsphairn.

[3] *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, vol.2 (1917), p.400.

When he left Ireland he came to Kirkcudbright where he passed his trials for the ministry despite his limited education and his lack of the Latin language and was called to minister amongst the hill folk in the new parish of Carsphairn.[5] The Presbytery must have seen this passionate, revivalist preacher as the ideal first minister to gather together the rough independent hill folk of the new parish and their choice was an inspired one. There he quickly made a name for himself. The Covenanter Patrick Walker who gathered and published stories of six celebrated Covenanters (including Alexander Peden) included John Semple amongst that number. He published his booklet on Semple in 1727[6] and later all six of his booklets were gathered into one volume under the title *Six Saints of the Covenant*.[7] John Semple is also included in John Howie's *The Scots Worthies*.[8]

Walker wrote:

> Mr Semple, by his singular piety and exemplary walk, was had in such veneration that all ranks and sorts of people stood more in awe of him than of many ministers; yea, he was a great check upon the lazy corrupt part of the clergy, who were much afraid of him. … He was very painful and laborious among his own people, preaching frequently on week-days, which is now rarely done in country-places. The Lord's presence with him in preaching, catechising, and in the exercise of church discipline, reclaimed that people, who were scarcely civilised before; several of whom became eminent Christians, and were endued with the grace of prayer; of which Mr Peden used to say that they had just place at the court of heaven beyond many Christian professors of religion that he knew. He sometimes had the Lord's Supper administered two Sabbaths together in the year, to which many godly people came from a great distance; of whose edification he was so tender that the ministers, who were countenanced with their Master's most gracious presence, were invited by him from remote places to feed God's children.[9]

So his ministry clearly reached to the encouragement and spiritual strengthening of his fellow ministers. Carsphairn's communion cups are dated 1647 and Semple must have procured them at the beginning of his ministry.

> He was much given to secret prayer, and ordinarily prayed in the kirk before the sacramental occasions, because the kirk was more retired than the manse. He set apart the Friday for wrestling with his Master for his gracious presence on the Communion-Sabbath; and he being favoured with merciful returns, to the great comfort of both ministers and people, he appointed a week-day for thanksgiving

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[4] Semple, Gabriel, 'Life'. In: D.G. Mullan ed. (2008) *Protestant Piety in Early-Modern Scotland*. p.149.

[5] Semple, op.cit. pp.149–50.

[6] Walker, P. (1727) *Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr John Semple*.

[7] Walker, P. *Six Saints of the Covenant,* Vol.1. D. Hay Fleming and S.R. Crockett ed. (1901) Hodder & Stoughton, pp.181–202.

[8] Howie, J. (1775) *The Scots Worthies.* First published under the title of *Biographica Scoticana.*

[9] Walker, P. *Six Saints,* op.cit.

> to God. … When he visited his parish, he caused every head of a family pray after he had prayed, and exhorted every member of the family; this method of obliging heads of families to pray, before the minister and family, has been remarkably followed with success, although many now refuse it; but they were all so subject to him that few positively refused.[10]

One story that shows how he drew people to Carsphairn from far and wide and how he had a heart for young people, as well as proving that communion tokens were used at Carsphairn even at that early date, is repeated here:

> He gave tokens to two youths, one of fourteen the other sixteen years, that they might come to the Lord's table at Carsphern. Before he gave them the tokens he prayed for advice (they being come from afar, some say from Fife), and after examination he found them endued with a great measure of Christian knowledge; but some ministers quarrelled his giving tokens to such boys; wherefore he desired these ministers to catechise them, which the ministers did, and allowed of their admission to the Lord's table; and after the communion, they gave satisfying accounts of their case, and proved solid Christians; of whom Mr Semple said to the rest of the ministers, these are God's bairns, and had more grace than many who were far older, and therefore he could not deny them God's food to their souls; they came from afar to meet with the Lord, whom they had heard to be sometimes remarkably present at Carsphern, and he hoped they would not repent their journey. He dismissed the lads with encouraging exhortations to be steadfast in the faith, and to make good use of their Bibles.[11]

Rev. Gabriel Semple, whose first ministry was at Kirkpatrick Durham, relates in his life story:

> When a student I had frequent occasions to be at communions in that country [the South-West], much countenanced by God, at none more than at Carsphairn, where my friend Mr Semple was minister. He always employed the most lively ministers he could have in Galloway or Dumfries presbyteries, but none was more countenanced than himself, especially at the breaking up of the action before the tables, in laying their sin before them, and calling them to humiliation for the same, and then in praying, confessing sin, and engaging anew to the Lord to be his and to walk in his way, at which there used to be a great consternation and elevation of spirit in the congregation. He gave the sacrament twice every year and as he had the choice of ministers, so the choice of the people in Galloway and Nithsdale ordinarily repaired there, even 20, 30 miles off. He was no scholar nor bred at universities or Latin schools. He had as much of an apostolic gift of preaching and in a thundering way as I knew any of the ministry.[12]

John Semple was known as one with the gift of prophecy. At times he had remarkable insights into future events and into the lives of people who crossed his path. He made it clear that God revealed these things to him as he spent time in personal prayer with his Lord. He has been criticised for speaking of manifestations of the devil and for pointing to evidence of the work of the devil in the lives of some people, even to the extent of accusing one of witchcraft; but he was a child of his time and must be judged in that context.

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[10] Walker, P. *Six Saints*, op.cit.

[11] Walker, P. *Six Saints*, op.cit., pp.181–191.

[12] Semple, Gabriel, op.cit., pp.148–9.

When some Scots regiments passed through Carsphairn in 1648 in their march south to Preston on the Duke of Hamilton's 'Engagement' some of the soldiers, on hearing that the Sacrament was to be dispensed the next Lord's day, put up their horses in the kirk and went to the manse and destroyed the communion elements in a most profane manner. Semple was not at home when they did this, but the next day he complained to the commanding officer, emphasising the vileness of their actions, and made such an impression on him that the officer apologised to him, punished those most guilty and even gave a generous gift to replace the destroyed communion elements.[13]

He was not afraid to stand up to the most powerful in the land. Thomas MacCrie in his book *Sketches of Scottish Reformation History from the Reformation to the Revolution* describes how, in 1653, Oliver Cromwell marched into a meeting of ministers in Edinburgh and harangued them for nearly an hour:

> … in his usual style of rhapsody, and copiously interlarded with quotations from Scripture. The members looked at one another in bewildered amazement, till at length an old minister, Mr John Semple of Carsphairn, rose up and said: 'Moderator, I hardly know what the gentleman would be at this long discourse; but one thing I am sure of, he was perverting the Scripture.' For this speech the honest minister was punished by six months' imprisonment.[14]

After the Restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660 there was a meeting at a private home in Edinburgh in August of that year of ten ministers and two elders from the Protesters party who wanted the National Covenant still to be upheld in Scotland. John Semple was one of them, and the only minister from south-west Scotland. They drew up a letter to the king:

> Congratulating his return, expressing their entire and unfeigned loyalty, humbly putting him to mind of his own and the Nation's Covenant with the Lord, and earnestly praying that his reign might be like that of David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah.[15]

The Committee of Estates got to hear of their meeting and broke it up, arresting them and confiscating all their papers. They were imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle and ten months later their leader Rev. James Guthrie of Stirling was hanged. At that point John Semple and the others were released. In the meantime he had his stipend taken from him and he was deprived of his pastoral charge. It is likely that at this time he was unable to return to Carsphairn and in the following years a succession of three curates were imposed on Carsphairn.

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[13] Walker, P. *Six Saints.* op. cit., pp.185–6.

[14] MacCrie, T. (1841) *Sketches of Scottish Reformation History from the Reformation to the Revolution*. pp.362–3.

[15] Wodrow, R. (1828) *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland,* Vol.1. Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co., pp.66–68.

The next time we hear of him is just after the Pentland Rising when on 4 December 1666 a proclamation was issued by the king 'against rebels in the west who had taken up arms in rebellion against the government.' John Semple is mentioned in this proclamation along with about 60 other individuals and the former Carsphairn minister was assumed by all to be the man referred to. However, he had not been involved and Wodrow records that on 13 December John Semple petitioned the Council:

> … that whereas one of the same name with him is insert in the late proclamation as among the rebels, whereby he and his family living peaceably these 15 months at Currie [just outside Edinburgh] in their old age, he being sixty-four and his wife seventy years, are brought to great trouble, craving redress.[16]

This being found to be true the Council permitted him to continue living there, but confined him to that place and four miles around it. This is the only place where we discover that he was married; there is no record of him having any children.

On 3 September 1672, a number of ministers who had been outed from their parishes were granted indulgence to return to certain named parishes, and John Semple was allowed to return to Carsphairn parish along with William Erskine, who had previously been minister of Girthon. There is no record of Erskine ever taking up residence at Carsphairn, but Semple is believed to have returned home. Ministers who accepted the terms of the Act of Indulgence were often criticised for capitulating to the authorities. It is likely Semple acquiesced for the greater good of being back as a pastor among his people to strengthen them in the faith. He missed his parish among the hills and had been grieved to hear of his people's sufferings. But he was still unapologetically his own man. None of the indulged ministers in Kirkcudbrightshire observed 29 May 1673, the anniversary of the Restoration. All, including Semple, were fined and lost half their stipend for this omission.[17]

In 1677 he and a number of other indulged ministers were cited to appear before the Privy Council in Edinburgh, and on 11 August he appeared before them and was threatened with death or banishment, most probably for attendance at illegal conventicles. He answered boldly, 'He is abune [above] that guides the gully [knife].[18] My God will not let you either kill or banish me; but I will go home and die in peace, and my dust will lie among the bodies of my people.' He returned, preached in the parish, and died soon afterwards aged 75.[19] He was buried in Carsphairn kirkyard. He was so much concerned for the salvation of his people that when on his deathbed he sent for them and preached to them fervently, showing them their need of the Saviour and expressing sorrow that he left many of them as graceless as he had found them. He left a considerable sum of money to the poor of Kirkcudbright, so he must have been a man whom birth had blessed with some independent means.[20] He also left a heritage of faith that inspired a whole generation in the south-west of Scotland and beyond.

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[16] Wodrow, R. (1836) *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Vol.2. p.36.

[17] Morton, A.S. (1914) *Galloway and the Covenanters*. pp.144–6.

[18] This is an echo of our Lord's defiance of Pontius Pilate (John 19:11).

[19] Wodrow, R. (1836) *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Vol.2. p.348.

[20] *Minute Book of the War Committee of the Covenanters in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright*. pp.179–80.

THE DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY ENLIGHTENMENT

Edward J. Cowan[1]

This article seeks to explore and assess enlightenment influence upon the inhabitants of Dumfries and Galloway. There is a substantial and ever-increasing literature about the subject for Scotland as a whole, though almost nothing concerning our three south-western counties. That has now changed during the last few years with the appearance of several studies which are of great assistance in our doonhame quest.

‘In every science, the writings of Scottish authors furnish the best means of instruction. In proportion as industry has been increased, and knowledge improved, the enjoyments of life in Scotland have been exalted and refined’.[2] So wrote Robert Heron of New Galloway in 1799 on the last page of his massive History of Scotland. He was paying homage to the phenomenon now known as the Scottish Enlightenment, of which he himself was a product, the great outpouring of intellectual speculation and literature during the eighteenth century by some of the finest minds that the country has ever nurtured. Heron would have disagreed with those historians who have traced the birth of enlightenment to the Treaty of Union in 1707. Rather, anticipating modern scholarly opinion, he detected the origins of early enlightenment, or perhaps late renaissance, Scottish ideas in the second half of the seventeenth century. He wrote that in 1700 the Scots ‘were animated with a spirit for the internal improvement of their country, as well as for the extension of its trade, which if it had not been checked by the fatal influence of the union with England would have rapidly raised Scotland into a very flourishing state’. He may well have had Dumfries and Galloway very much in mind when he noted that a further barrier to Scottish improvement was ‘the rage for the colonization of North America’.[3] In 1792 Heron, whom posterity has rendered a sadly traduced and misunderstood individual, set out on a tour to ascertain the impact of enlightenment ideas upon his native country.

The Scottish Enlightenment remains a controversial, if highly stimulating subject. At its core was an enquiry and debate about human nature and everything which impacts upon humankind from the cradle to the grave, such as (to pick a few items from a very extensive list) environment, weather, food, clothing, social organization, government, education, religion, language, science, and so on. Another mission was the pursuit of useful knowledge, particularly in such fields as the sciences, medicine, geography, natural history, geology, the classification of new species of flora and fauna, and antiquities. Indeed, just about anything could be deemed ‘useful knowledge’. The philosophers of the day also speculated about the possibility of perfecting the human race, while pondering such topics as improvement and progress.

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

[2] Robert Heron, *A New General History of Scotland from Earliest Times, to the Aera of the Abolition of the Hereditary Jurisdictions of Subjects in Scotland in the year 1748*, 5 vols. Perth, 1794–9, vol. V, 1253.

[3] Heron, *History*, vol. V, 1248.

Robert Heron had a good knowledge of the works of Scottish luminaries such as Hutcheson, Smith, Reid, Wilson, Richardson, Millar, the Foulis brothers, Black, Cullen, Hume, Ferguson, Stewart, Finlayson, Playfair, Blair and Robertson, some of whom he knew in person.[4] He, like present-day authorities, suggested that the works of René Descartes brought about an intellectual shift, thus dating the 'radical enlightenment', as it is now known, to the second half of the seventeenth century.[5] To enlightenment there is hopefully no end, but in Scotland its use as an historical label is generally taken to end with the death of Sir Walter Scott in 1832, an acceptable date, if treated as an approximation.

Seventeenth-century Scotland and especially the south-western part of it, might seem to be too obsessed with religion to be in any way enlightened, but even in Dumfries and Galloway there were signs of a thawing. Andrew Symson (1638–1712), episcopalian minister of Kirkinner, completed his invaluable *A Large Description of Galloway* in 1692, a commission from Sir Robert Sibbald who planned a survey of Scotland, which would have been a kind of forerunner of the Statistical Accounts. Sibbald's project was never completed but Galloway is fortunate to have found a recorder in Symson. His account, begun in 1684, was interrupted by the troubles which virtually eradicated his congregation. He provides a gazetteer of the parishes of Galloway, confessedly more detailed in relation to Wigtownshire. Other topics include agriculture, wildlife, parks, rivers, antiquities and some folklore. His poetry might cast doubt on whether he can be described as 'enlightened' but when he left Galloway he became a printer and bookseller which would imply that he was at least *au fait* with current works.[6]

More promising was Peter Rae (1671–1748) minister of Kirkbride, Penpont parish and then of Kirkconnel. Some of his flock complained that he was distracted from his ministry by his interests in mathematics and mechanics. In later life he made an astronomical clock for the third Duke of Queensberry. He was also a publisher who seems to have experimented with lead type, possibly after being consulted on some engineering problems in the lead mines at Wanlockhead. He published the first-known book in the south of Scotland, a *Latin Grammar* (1711). When his press moved to Kirkgate, Dumfries he produced the burgh's first published work, enthrallingly entitled, *Sober-Mindedness Press'd upon Young People* (1715)! His own book, a fascinating history of the 1715 Jacobite rebellion,[7] is much concerned with the union of 1707 and the security or otherwise of the Scottish Church, a topic he also discussed in *Gospel Ministers, Christ's Ambassadors* (1733), *A Treatise on*

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[4] Edward J. Cowan, 'Robert Heron of New Galloway (1764–1807): Enlightened Ethnologist', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 26 2014: 25–41.

[5] Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity Books on the Scottish Enlightenment 1650–1750*, (Oxford, 2001). For a fresh discussion of the historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment see Mark R.M. Towsey, *Reading The Scottish Enlightenment Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750–1820*, (Leiden, 2010).

[6] Andrew Symson, *A Large Description of Galloway*, in Alexander Mackenzie, *The History of Galloway from the Earliest period to the Present Time*, 2 vols. (Kirkcudbright, 1841) vol. 2 Appendix, 23–134.

[7] Peter Rae, *The History of the Late Rebellion: Rais'd Against His Majesty King George, by the Friends of the Popish Pretender*, (Dumfries, 1718). It has often been claimed (wrongly) that this was the first book published in Dumfries.

Landed Oaths and Perjury (1749) and other tracts.[8] He is of great interest as a staunch defender of the covenanted kirk, who yet confronted new technologies.

We would not expect to find much enlightenment influence among the heroes of the Covenant. Quite the opposite indeed, yet an intriguing group of radical ministers may make us think again. John Brown, (c.1610–1679), born at Kirkcudbright, became minister of Wamphray in 1665 but after seven years he was exiled for opposing episcopacy. A close associate was Robert McWard (c.1625–1681) born at Glenluce, who, while a regent at Glasgow University preached a sermon, as early as 1661, rejecting all anti-covenant acts of parliament that might be passed in time coming. For such impolitic impudence he was exiled and spent the rest of his life abroad. Both Brown and McWard were profoundly influenced by the great Samuel Rutherford, minister of Anwoth, banished to Aberdeen for his dissidence and author of *Lex Rex or The Law and the Prince* (1644), arguably the most influential political publication to come out of seventeenth-century Scotland. James Renwick (1662–1688) was born in Knees Cottage, Moniaive. Having joined 'The Hillmen', so called because they hid out in the high country of Galloway, Ayrshire, north Dumfriesshire and Lanarkshire, he spent the rest of his short life preaching and avoiding arrest. He is best known for his *Apologetical Declaration* issued at Sanquhar in 1684 promising that government persecution, or state terror, would be met with retaliation. A second proclamation, the Sanquhar Protestation, solemnly excommunicated James VII and all who opposed the Societies. In the face of increasing oppression by the government the covenanting movement had fallen apart, splitting into various groups, sects, or societies, as they were known, becoming subsequently the Cameronians (named for their leader Richard Cameron, c.1648–1680) and latterly the Reformed Church of Scotland. Renwick was eventually captured and hanged. He was aided and abetted by another young activist, Alexander Shields (1660–1700), author of a biography of Renwick and *A Hind Let Loose*, basically a *Lex Rex* for the 1680s. Another covenanting worthy, briefly minister of New Luce, was Alexander Peden, known as the 'Prophet'.[9]

These men are of great interest in their own right. Their extravagant expression, homely use of biblical rhetoric and folksy turn of phrase can intrigue, as much as weary, the reader. They confidently write of Heaven, Hell and Eternity, which are somehow rooted in Scottish language and landscape. They were the original whigs or whiggamores, words thought to derive from the term, 'wiggam', used in the south-west when driving horses.[10] But, when their numerous writings and preachings are stripped of all their religious accoutrements they are shown to be centrally concerned with freedom and the legality of resistance to tyranny. As such they were writing in a Scottish tradition of political thought extending back to the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320, which appeared to be endorsed by the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688–9 when, as the Scottish Claim of Right stated, James VII forfeited his right to the throne. 'Whig' became a proud political label which signified someone who was probably enlightened, possibly concerned about social union, and certainly opposed to tyrannical government. All of those covenanting exiles had strong links with the Netherlands where Brown and McWard, for example, spent the rest of their lives. The first generation of covenanters who produced the National Covenant of 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 were affected and inspired by literature resulting from the Dutch Revolt against Philip II of Spain. Significantly Alexander Henderson, one of the drafters of the National Covenant, in his *Instructions for Defensive Arms* (1639), published right at the beginning of the revolution, quoted a passage from Johann Althaus, the philosopher of the Dutch revolt: 'The people make the magistrate [i.e. the king] but the magistrate maketh not the people. The people may be without the magistrate but the magistrate cannot be without the people. The body of the magistrate is mortal, but the people as a society is immortal'.[11] Such a statement, pointing forward to the British (1688), American (1776) and French (1789) revolutions, might be expected to resonate with the enlightened but many of them were Tories who deplored and feared any kind of constitutional change. Furthermore, those of all political persuasions detested the covenanting opposition to toleration; they defined freedom narrowly in their own terms and in their own image. Freedom was not a commodity to be shared with other Christians such as Catholics, Anglicans or even some members of the Church of Scotland. For the religious activists faith came first and philosophy followed, suggesting as some would argue, that faith blocked enlightenment, that the two were incompatible, yet in the final analysis their core ideas fed seamlessly into the Scottish tradition of political thought, which broadly favoured subjects over kings.

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[8] Julia Muir Watt, *Dumfries and Galloway a literary guide*, (Dumfries, 2000) 172–5.

[9] On all of these men the classic account is John Howie of Lochgoin, *The Scots Worthies, Containing A Brief Historical Account of the Most Eminent Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers, and Others Who Testified or Suffered for the Cause of Reformation in Scotland from the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century, to the Year 1688*, (Glasgow, 1775; 1845). For excellent (and mercifully short) modern assessments see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, Online, `http://www.oxforddnb.com/`. See also Edward J. Cowan, 'The Covenanting Tradition in Scottish History' in *Scottish History The Power of the Past*, eds. Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay (Edinburgh, 2002) 121–146.

[10] John Jamieson, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, etc. 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1808) Vol. 2, p.663. Available online at: `http://www.scotsdictionary.com`.

The period when the exiles of the 'suffering, bleeding remnant' were in the Dutch provinces coincides neatly with the first stirrings of enlightenment when a significant number of Cartesians, followers of the philosophy of René Descartes (1596–1650), the Frenchman who based himself mainly in the Netherlands and who is credited with almost unknowingly shifting the custodianship of truth from God to humanity. In the eyes of the devout he opened the gates to deism and atheism and hence could not be expected to win covenanting admirers. However, no matter that the Societies and their ilk may be considered deluded, they were avid readers, all had substantial libraries, and they undoubtedly exercised their profound intellects in order to know, and thus destroy, their enemy. Is it entirely fanciful to imagine that in, say, Groningen, Cameronian and Cartesian neighboured one another, debating philosophy and religion over a garden fence?

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A roll call of those who operated on the cusp of Enlightenment would have to include William Paterson (1658–1719) born at Skipmyre, Lochmaben who was almost certainly of covenanting stock. He supported the Glorious Revolution. He devised a system of water supply for north London. In 1694 he founded the Bank of England and then moved on to the Darien Scheme, promising that Darien on the isthmus of Panama would prove the 'door of the seas and the key of the universe' by providing a link between the Pacific and the Atlantic.[12] And the man who had envisaged a canal in Panama linking two great oceans, added that 'if a canal for water carriage can by the means of sluices be made between the Forth and the Clyde, this would not only be a great ease and convenience to the trade of this end of Britain, but generally to that of all of this side of Europe'.[13] Another of his ideas, unfulfilled at the time, was a proposal to create a public library specialising in works about economics and commerce in order to promote Scottish trade. Paterson was overwhelmingly pro-union. He believed that Scots and English alike were embarked in one common cause: 'the defence of religion and liberty, where every good subject ought to play his part. … May we now, then, be so happy as at this time to act like good patriots, not only of a part, but of the whole of these nations: and may the proceedings of our present Parliament be such as may render us easy at home, and honoured and respected abroad'.[14]

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[11] Edward J. Cowan, 'The Making of the National Covenant' in *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context*, ed. John Morrill, (Edinburgh, 1990) 81. See also Edward J. Cowan, 'The Solemn League and Covenant' in *Scotland and England 1286–1815*, (Edinburgh, 1987) 182–202.

In the latter endeavour he was partnered by the first Earl of Stair, son of one of the luminaries with a Galloway association, namely James Dalrymple, first Viscount Stair (1619–1695), brilliant lawyer, sometime president of the court of session, member of parliament for Wigtownshire, plotter and lifelong political animal with a well-deserved reputation for deviousness. The latter was actually an Ayrshire man who acquired his Carscreuch estate, near Glenluce, through marriage. Andrew Symson drily observed that his property might have been more pleasant if it had been in a more pleasant place.[15] Stair was a true giant whose much praised *The Institutions of the Law of Scotland* published in 1681 was largely written at Carscreuch. He is an interesting example of one whose personal experience and convictions impacted upon his professional concerns. After graduating from Glasgow University he served in the covenanting army but returned as a regent, becoming heavily involved in legal studies while keeping a covenanter's eye on the complex political manoeuvres under Cromwell and Charles II. Opposition to Stewart absolutism drove him to exile in the Netherlands, returning at the Revolution as senior judge and statesman. Like his eldest son who had become joint secretary of state for Scotland and first Earl of Stair, he supported the measures leading to the Glencoe massacre, probably due to his experience of the Montrose war of 1644–5 when Scots Gaels, many of them catholic, massacred thousands of covenanters. As he asserted in his published *Apology* Stair had jeopardised his career three times, 'rather than comply with the corruption of the time, or sign anything whence they had not clearness of conscience'.[16]

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[12] George Pratt Insh, *The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies* (London and New York, 1932) 73, quoting *A proposal to Plant a Colony in Darien* (1701) MS. (British Museum).

[13] William Paterson, *The Writings of William Paterson, of Dumfriesshire, and a citizen of London; founder of the Bank of England, and of the Darien Colony*, ed. Saxe Bannister, 3 vols. (London, 1859) vol.3, 21.

[14] Paterson, *Writings of William Paterson*, vol.3, 105.The most recent study of Paterson is Andrew Forrester, *The Man Who Saw the Future*, (London, 2004).

[15] Symson, *Galloway*, 78.

[16] A.J.G. Mackay, *Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple, first Viscount of Stair*, (Edinburgh, 1873) 227.

He would not go as far as the Societies but he did support some of their principles. He also, for most of his career, believed in the independence of Scots law as fiercely as he supported the freedom of the Scots Kirk. Both had to be defended against interference from, and the tyranny of, the crown. He was also too well aware, as he reminded any overly enthusiastic readers, that freedom was limited in various ways.[17] Four of his sons rose to high Scottish legal positions, the fifth becoming physician to the queen. They, with their five sisters, were well capable of sensing the new intellectual forces sweeping Europe.

Suitable local monuments to the transitional decades in Dumfries and Galloway under discussion might be Drumlanrig Castle, built by William Lockup 1679–1681, and the Midsteeple at Dumfries, 1706. The great houses of the region as centres of refinement with their libraries, furniture and paintings are not part of the present investigation but would repay future research. Their owners were of course important locally; many were involved in national and indeed international affairs thus channelling culture and ideas back to their estates. The Scottish Enlightenment was not parochial; it imported learning, art, science and philosophy wherever they were to be found, not least in England.

John Ruskin (1819–1900) who was, of course, English, was extremely proud of his Wigtownshire ancestry. Indeed W.G. Collingwood stated that in habits, tastes, character and associations Ruskin was a Scotsman. Through his paternal grandmother he was related to Tweddales (Tweddles), Agnews, Adairs, Maitlands and Rosses. John Adair, surgeon-general had attended the dying General Wolfe on the heights of Abraham in 1759. The Rev. John Adair, minister of Glenluce had an original copy of the National Covenant in his possession. In the last section of *Praeterita*, Ruskin's remarkable autobiography, or memory of 'past things', written when his powers were failing and his mind was corrupted by madness, he wrote movingly of the south of Scotland. He was intrigued by the power exercised on the characters of all good Scotchmen by 'the two lines of coast from Holy Island to Edinburgh, and from Annan to the Mull of Galloway'. A visit to the Borders and 'the Solway shores from Dumfries to Whithorn' prompted the reflection that 'this space of low mountain ground, with the eternal sublimity of its rocky seashores, of its stormy seas and dangerous sands; its strange and mighty crags, Ailsa and the Bass, and its pathless moorlands, haunted by the driving cloud, had been of more import in the true world's history than all the lovely countries of the South, except only Palestine'.[18] His reflections clearly represent the hyperbole of a man on the edge of sanity but his observations are not entirely without merit for the galaxy of talent in this region during the enlightenment era is truly remarkable.

The most conspicuous and early improvers were agriculturalists. Robert Maxwell of Arkland, Kirkpatrick-Durham (1695–1765) was the moving spirit in founding 'The Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland' in 1723. It soon had 300 members among them the aforementioned Peter Rae of Kirkconnel, John, second Earl of Stair at Castle Kennedy, Charles Areskine of Tinwald, Patrick Heron of Heron, Heron of Bargallie, and Robert Riddell of Glenriddell. All were involved in various experiments and trials with crops, livestock, drainage, ploughs, linen and indeed every aspect of agriculture. Maxwell believed that agriculture comprehended 'more parts of philosophy than any other profession, art, or science in the world'; it was the sole source of wealth and national independence.[19] He advocated the appointment of professors of agriculture and inspectors of improvements. After the '45 rebellion the society declined and so did Maxwell's fortunes though he worked as a farming consultant and he continued to publish, notably a work on bees. He deliberately wrote in accessible language 'for the poor and unlearned'. When he became bankrupt he lectured on agriculture. While he died a disappointed man he is credited with founding the first agricultural society in Britain. He wrote, 'May the Merit of the Dead be always faithfully recorded in History, that Honour and Praise may be paid to their Memories by all succeeding Generations'.[20]

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[17] For his views on freedom see James, Viscount of Stair, *The Institutions of the Law of Scotland*, ed. David M. Walker, (Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1981) 96–9. On Stair, *ODNB*, Online, `http://www.oxforddnb.com/`.

[18] John Ruskin, *Praeterita and Dilecta*, intro. by Tim Hilton, (London, 2005) 486, 487; Helen Gill Viljoen, *Ruskin's Scottish Heritage A Prelude*, (Urbana, 1956) chapter 3 and notes.

The minister of Kirkpatrick Durham founded a 'Sympathetic Society' to assist those in need, while reviving the local fair and introducing horse-racing to attract visitors and thus commerce to the village.[21] Other notable improvers were the Stairs, as was Lord Daer, brother of the fifth Earl of Selkirk, and ministers Bryce Johnstone and Samuel Smith, among others. The truly ambitious, such as the Murrays of Broughton and the Douglases not only improved their estates but also founded towns, respectively Gatehouse of Fleet, Castle Douglas and Newton Stewart.

The small parish of Kirkbean nurtured some remarkable achievers. The harbour at Carsethorn, while still preserving the piles of an ancient pier whence ships departed, has a modest memorial to the folk who emigrated from there. Willielma, Lady Glenorchy (1741–86) the indefatigable founder of chapels, was born in Kirkbean, daughter of a medical doctor in Kirkcudbright who died before her birth. She subsequently married John Campbell, Viscount Glenorchy, the son and heir of the third Earl of Breadalbane. Her evangelicalism represented a blend of Presbyterianism and Methodism, inspiring a desire to establish chapels in both Scotland and England, but she seems to have been more of a meddler than a missionary.[22]

William Craik of Arbigland (1703–1798) played cards with Allan Ramsay and was a lifetime college friend of Lord Kaimes. According to his daughter Helen, a poet, he learned Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and Italian, having interests in architecture, chemistry and many other subjects. His passion was agricultural improvement, cajoling and threatening his tenants in equal measure. Today he would be called a micro-manager. He schooled apprentice farmers and presided over the first meeting of 'The Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture within the Counties of Dumfries, Wigtown and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright' in 1776, rejoicing in 'a new and almost incredible spirit of improvement … now diffusing through all ranks'.[23] The society's transactions are preserved in the Dumfries and Galloway Archives. Craik's illegitimate son James (1727–1814), brought up with the rest of the family, became a doctor and emigrated to America where he eventually became personal physician and confidant of George Washington whom he accompanied in his later years on expeditions into the wilderness, attending him on his death-bed.[24]

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[19] Thomas Murray, *The Literary History of Galloway*, (2nd edition, Edinburgh, 1832) 171. See also Robert Maxwell of Arkland, *Select Transactions of the Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland 1743 Directing the Husbandry of the different soils for the most profitable Purposes, and containing other Directions, Receipts and Descriptions, Together with an Account of the Society's Endeavours to promote our Manufactures*, (Edinburgh, 1743).

[20] C.W. Shirley, 'Two Pioneer Agriculturalists', *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.XIII (1925–6) 150–161.

[21] Robert Heron, *Observations Made In A Journey Through The Western Counties of Scotland; in the Autumn of M.DCC.XCII. Relating to the Scenery, Antiquities, Customs, Manners, Population, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Political Condition, and Literature of these Parts*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1793) vol.2, 108–9.

[22] *ODNB*, Online, `http://www.oxforddnb.com/`.

A contemporary of the Craiks was Admiral John Campbell (c.1720–1790) son of the local minister. As a midshipman he was soon promoted master's mate on a voyage round the world under Commodore George Anson (1697–1762). A fellow midshipman was the future Admiral Augustus Keppel (1725–1786). Thanks to such connections his promotion was rapid, gaining great kudos as a result of his part in the battle of Quiberon Bay in 1759. Early in his career he became interested in astronomical navigation particularly with reference to the Hadley quadrant. Essentially, Campbell made modifications to the instrument which made it much more user-friendly. He became heavily involved in the whole longitude obsession, testing various hypotheses, as well as improving other naval instruments of measurement. He is best described as a naval scientist. Late in life he became Governor of Newfoundland.

Richard Oswald (1705?–1784) was a native of Caithness who made a colossal fortune out of Glasgow's transatlantic trade, dealing in sugar, tobacco and anything else that came within his grasp, notably slaves, in which he became one of Britain's largest dealers. After the Seven Years War he acquired the estate of Cavens, Kirkbean, though evidence is lacking that he spent much time there. He was principal negotiator of the Treaty of Paris 1783 which ended the American War.[25] Opposition to slavery and support for abolition generally signifies enlightenment. It clearly by-passed many in the south-west who depended on profits from the plantations and the inhuman trade. William Dickson from Moffat was an active abolitionist having worked for thirteen years in Barbados. He had in his possession a plan of the slave ship, *Brooks*, now used as an illustration in almost every book about slavery. Ironically the ship was to become the property of the Tod brothers who also came from Moffat![26]

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[23] Shirley, 'Two Pioneer Agriculturalists', op. cit. See also Edward J. Cowan, 'Agricultural Improvement and the Foundation of Early Agricultural Societies in Dumfries and Galloway', *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.LII (1977–8) 157–167.

[24] On James Craik see 'The Death of George Washington, 1799', EyeWitness to History: `www.eyewitnesstohistory.com` (2001) in which Craik is described as Washington's 'earliest companion in arms, longest tried and bosom friend'; Shirley, 'Two Pioneer Agriculturalists' 160–161; Edward J. Cowan, 'Sober attentive men: Scots in eighteenth-century America' in *Making for America Transatlantic Craftsmanship: Scotland and the Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, eds. V. Habib, J. Gray and S. Forbes, (Edinburgh, Society of Antiquaries, 2013) 12.

[25] *ODNB*, Online, `http://www.oxforddnb.com/`.

[26] On this subject, which is far too large for discussion here, see Lizanne Henderson, 'Scotland

One who often gazed across the Solway and who may well have been inspired by Campbell's exploits was John Paul Jones (1747–1792), son of a gardener on the Arbigland estate. He joined the merchant navy in Whitehaven, Cumbria, to begin a remarkable adventure which led to his legend as the founder of the American navy, as well as to service in Russia and France. One of the keys to Jones's success was his association with the Masons, commencing when he joined the Kirkcudbright Lodge. They proved extremely helpful when he arrived in America; 'my favourite country from the age of 13, when I first saw it' he said. He headed for Fredericksburg hoping for accommodation from his older brother, William Paul who had emigrated there, but discovered that he had died.

Fredericksburg was a fortuitous destination. George Washington spent his formative years there from age six to twenty (1738–1752) at Ferry Farm on the banks of the Rappahannock, later developed by Washington's sister and her husband as a substantial plantation. The place was named Kenmore after it was purchased by Samuel Gordon who emigrated in 1783 from Lochdungan, Kirkcudbright, in honour of Kenmure Castle, the headquarters of the Gordon earls. John Lowe (1750–1798), son of a gardener at Kenmure Castle, was educated at schools in Kells and Carsphairn, serving briefly as an apprentice weaver to Robert Heron's father before attending Edinburgh University as a student of divinity. He became a tutor to the McGhie family at Airds. When the fiancé of Mary McGhie drowned at sea Lowe composed his most famous poem, 'Mary's Dream'. He later emigrated to Fredericksburg where he tutored the children of George Washington's brother.

John Paul Jones became famous for his attacks on Whitehaven and St Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright, on behalf of the Americans. His astounding victory over the English at Flamborough Head sealed his fame. Despite his British reputation as a foul traitor he considered himself an enlightened individual. He read the poems of James Thomson and the Ossianic creations of James MacPherson, trying his own hand at poetic composition, an art at which he persevered for the rest of his life. His rhetoric, in pronouncing himself a citizen of the world, was also enlightenment-inspired.[27]

Jones decided to seize a British dignitary whom he could trade for the release of American prisoners but he displayed his somewhat limited horizons when he chose the fourth Earl of Selkirk, a man of liberal views, and an admirer of the American revolution, as his hostage. The fourth earl spent ten years at Glasgow University studying Latin and Greek to became an authority on ancient philosophy. It was said of him that 'he came into the world more fit to be a professor than an earl'.[28] When Jones arrived in Kirkcudbright the earl was absent, leaving the countess to greet the invader. To her he was gallantly polite as he relieved her of a silver tea service and other objects. He later protested to the Selkirks, 'I am not in arms as an American nor am I in pursuit of riches. … I profess myself a citizen of the world,

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and the Slave Trade: Some South West Connections', *Scottish Local History*, 72 (Spring 2008): 47–53.

[27] For some discussion of Jones and other doonhamer emigrants to America see Cowan, 'Sober attentive men' 1–22. The article includes splendid portrait paintings of Robert Lenox from Kirkcudbright and his wife. Lenox became one of the most successful and most prosperous of New York merchants. An article by the present writer on 'John Paul Jones: Scot' is forthcoming.

[28] *The Scots Peerage*, ed. Sir James Balfour Paul, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1910) vol.7, 521.

totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart and set bounds to philanthropy'.[29] His posturing rhetoric, a subject taught in enlightened curricula, is reminiscent of that of the younger James Currie and also of Robert Burns. The whole Selkirk affair was a total fiasco. One has to wonder what Jones's family made of the sad business. In 1830 his niece, Ms Janette Taylor of Dumfries, arrived in New York with bound folios of her uncle's letters and documents, the main materials for the study of his life. When Selkirk's heir Lord Daer, the friend of Burns, met Jones in Paris he told his brother that he was not as sinister as he was reputed.

* * *

Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk (1771–1820) never expected to succeed to the title. He was a seventh son whose six older brothers all predeceased him. He was sent to Palgrave School in England, an alternative academy, where the headmaster's wife was Anna Aitken, from Kirkcudbright, an author of children's books and a poet in her own right. Douglas's family were well-known for their reforming sympathies. He attended Edinburgh University where he fell under the spell of philosopher Dugald Stewart (1753–1828) and befriended Walter Scott (1771–1832). With his brother-in-law, the scientist Sir James Hall (1761–1832) he visited France in 1791 where he met several of the major players of the revolution such as Condorcet, the economist and mathematician who worked on the theory of probability, Lavoisier, Robespierre, George Danton, Jean Paul Marat and Thomas Paine. Two years later he travelled to Italy and Switzerland, with, in between, a trip through the Scottish Highlands. His first publication was a pamphlet on poor relief based upon a scheme that had been trialled in Kirkcudbright. In Arran he studied geology. In 1801 he had thoughts about an emigration project, which involved sending catholic Gaels to North America and he devised a scheme for transporting catholic Irish rebels to Louisiana. From 1802 he personally funded emigration programmes to Prince Edward Island, which was regarded as a failing colony, earning widespread criticism and rancour, as Dugald Stewart had warned him would happen, because there was opposition to emigration on all sides by those who feared a consequent reduction in the workforce and a scarcity of recruits to the army and navy. Emigration was considered such a bad idea that legislation of 1803 attempted to limit it. He tried to establish a colony at Baldoon across Lake Sinclair from Windsor, Ontario, but that failed due to its fatal malarial location. One emigrant for whom Selkirk made provision and who seems to have been quite well known in Prince Edward Island was his lovechild, Mary Cochrane, daughter of Nelly Cownche of Kirkcudbright.[30]

The year 1805 saw the publication of his best known work, *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland*, a true catalyst in the literature of British emigration, heralding Selkirk's career as a coloniser extraordinaire in Canada. In his introduction he refers to the great progress made by the Gaels in the last sixty years, the inspiration we may think for the subtitle of Scott's first novel, *Waverley — 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, the writing of which he dated to 1805, the year *Observations* was published.[31] Selkirk perceived that the Gaelic way of life was under threat and the best way of preserving the language and culture was through emigration and colonisation. His book, intended as a highly sympathetic response to the 'Highland problem' is still very readable and informative. The ultimate chosen destination was the Red River, western Canada, where Selkirk unfortunately was caught in a civil war between two rival fur-trading companies both of which had significant numbers of Scottish employees, and both of which despised settlers as being incompatible with their trade which depended on alliances with people of the First Nations. The scheme, while not entirely wrong-headed, might have been expected to fail, but in fact the colony survived. In his *A Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America* (1816) he exposed the corrupt and exploitive practices of the fur traders.[32] Matters did not improve when Selkirk went back to Canada that same year. His experiences had shattered some of his earlier liberal views and legal wranglings took a heavy toll on his health.

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[29] Robert C. Sands, *Life and Correspondence of John Paul Jones including His Narrative of the Campaign of the Liman from Original Letters and Manuscripts in the Possession of Miss Janette Taylor*, (New York, 1830) 91.The best modern study is Evan Thomas, *John Paul Jones Sailor, Hero, Father of the American Navy*, (New York, 2003).

[30] J. M. Bumsted, *Lord Selkirk: A Life*, (East Lansing, 2009) 177–8. This is by far the best book on Selkirk by a scholar who has made a career-long study of his subject.

Selkirk was a true product of the Scottish Enlightenment. A diary which he kept in 1803 and 1804 as he travelled in eastern Canada and America sheds some interesting light on his personality and reflections.[33] Throughout he is objective and non-sectarian, a veritable sponge soaking up information about everything and everybody he encounters, sometimes in tedious detail. He consistently refers to native shelters as 'whigwams' but he is becoming less 'whig' with the passage of time. He encounters huge problems with the existing settlers who are prejudiced against newcomers but they are impressed by his imperfect Gaelic. He meets the renowned Alexander Hamilton (1755–1804), born in the West Indies, of Scottish descent, who rose to become Secretary of the Treasury in Washington's administration and who a few months later would be killed in a duel. He is heavily critical of the American constitution, believing democracy had gone too far and that the country was heading for chaos. He writes at length about the native peoples. Like most travellers in his day he is particularly interested in immigrants from his own neck of the woods. At Pictou he notes 'Low Country Scots from Galloway. … Our landlord McGeorge is from Galloway, about Water of Orr, settled about twelve years'. Some of the mercantile people, as he calls them, include Messrs Pagan, Copland and Dawson, 'all originally from Dumfries and Galloway', as also Thomas Lowden whose business is shipbuilding. Most of these men are involved in the timber trade. The two miles along the West River from Pictou harbour, Nova Scotia, 'is almost entirely settled by the Galloway Colony', folk who emigrated in 1774–75 who 'seem very industrious and successful; their houses bear every mark of comfort and their countenances of content. … They retain many peculiarities of Galloway'. The girls wear Galloway hats and hand out shortbread. Thorle pippins are grown in orchards.[34]

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[31] Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, *Observations on The Present State of the Highlands of Scotland With a View of the Causes and Probable Consequences of Emigration*, (London, 1805) 10.

[32] Both of the cited works by Selkirk are in *The Collected Writings of Lord Selkirk*, ed. J.M. Bumsted, 2 vols. (Manitoba Record Society, Winnipeg, 1984–88).

[33] *Lord Selkirk's Diary 1803–1804. A Journal of His Travels in British North America and the Northeastern United States*, ed. Patrick C.T. White, (The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1958).

[34] Thorle pippins are a type of apple originating in Scotland, first described in 1831. See `http://www.gardenappleid.co.uk/index.php/alphabetic-list-of-`

Anthony McLellan who emigrated as an infant with his father from Buittle (Buille in text, mistranscribed) holds 500 acres of land. At Truro he remarks that dairying, as in Galloway, is a responsibility of females. He mentions a MacCulloch of Culmalzie at Niagara, where he visits Thomas Clark from Dumfries. He remarks that the accommodations of the old settlers in Glengarry County, the last county in eastern Ontario, are as comfortable as those of farms worth £100 to £150 in Galloway. When he crosses into Quebec or Lower Canada he notes that the first house or farm is owned by McKee from Minnigaff who had originally settled in Albany, New York. He runs a tavern.

Selkirk empathises with the Quebecois, badly treated as they are by the English. With remarkable insight, he writes, 'The only chance of reconciling the people would have been either to use every effort to change them entirely in language and institutions and make them forget they were not English — or keeping them as French to give a Government adapted to them as such, and keep every thing English out of sight — neither of these plans has been followed and the policy of government has been a kind of vibration between them'. He adds that when the English re-established the French militia they refused to arm them lest the weapons were turned on the oppressor. Religion is a mess, education a shambles and the new constitution of 1791 a total disaster.[35] As he travels he is planning a new settlement on the Grand River, Ontario, in Dumfries township established by William Dickson of Conheath, Dumfries, of whom see below.

It is a noteworthy coincidence that the first-ever Scottish colony was launched from Kirkcudbright in 1622, under the auspices of Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar and Kenmure,[36] while the burgh also produced the greatest promoter of emigration in Scottish history, motivated by the purest of humanitarian motives in a climate of hostility and fierce opposition. Emigration, which resulted in such a great loss for Scotland as a whole, and Dumfries and Galloway in particular, can be viewed positively as the ultimate enlightenment act. It was emphatically concerned with improvement of self and family, with a better life in another country, with the discovery and experience of the new, with adventure, hopefully with progress and prosperity, with self-determination, and with breaking the ancient suffocating constraints of landlords and feudalism which rendered the much-vaunted Scottish search for freedom much more attainable abroad than it ever was at home. It was the supreme act of a new enlightened age, and while it certainly generated some casualties, for the vast majority it undoubtedly paid off.[37]

Another individual who found a brief berth in Canada was the inimitable John MacTaggart (1791–1830), a native of Borgue, author of the *Gallovidian Encyclopedia*. He was immensely proud of his Scottish nationality and of the country's peasantry, an honour to Scotland and the whole world! From their ranks Robert Burns and James Hogg, the Ettrick

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`apples/130-thorle-pippin.`

[35] Selkirk, *Diary*, 217–9.

[36] Edward J. Cowan, 'The Myth of Scotch Canada' in *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia, c.1700–1990*, ed. Marjory Harper and Michael Vance, (Halifax and Edinburgh, 1999) 49–71.

[37] Edward J. Cowan, 'Scottish Emigration and the Creation of the Diaspora' in *The Modern Scottish Diaspora Contemporary Debates and Perspectives*, eds. Murray Stewart Leith and Duncan Sim, Edinburgh 2014, 17–31.

Shepherd had arisen, proving peasant ability to 'produce learned men and philosophers', their 'Euclids and Socrates's'. Until very recently the folk of whom he wrote were ignored by travellers and historians; it was only when they learned to write that their story could be told. Wheelbarrowfuls of books had been written about kings, queens and 'ither big fowk' but hardly anything about the 'people'.[38] MacTaggart's great work was intended to preserve the culture that he feared was disappearing, at the same time informing an audience that was growing apart from that culture. His work essentially concentrates on the folk, folkspeak, folklore and folk literature of Galloway, illustrated by hefty chunks of his own verse and as such it is as unique as it is irresistable. A few examples from his stock of lore should convey the flavour of his magnum opus which had to be withdrawn shortly after publication because it offended certain local sensitivities. Although 'not a bottle man' McTaggart praised *ackavity* or whisky. When the famous gypsy, Billy Marshall, was told that whisky was a slow poison he responded that it must be slow indeed, for he had been tippling for over a century and was still alive![39] A *blutter* was an idiot male, *brilch* a short thick impudent person, *mim-mou'd*, an affected way of speaking, a *smeerikin*, 'the sweetest of all kisses; the kiss one lover gives another when they are quivering in one another's arms: few joys on earth exceed a *smeerikin*'.

MacTaggart parallels Heron in his near ethnological approach, and Selkirk in his concern for a fading culture. His experience working as an engineer on the Rideau Canal produced the delightful *Three Years in Canada,* which is both a travelogue and an informatory guide for would-be emigrants. The book excels in the author's descriptions as he attempts to satisfy his unbounded appetite for knowledge. In addition to his technical expertise as a canal engineer — as a young man he was patronised by John Rennie (1761–1821), builder, among many other projects, of the Ken Bridge, New Galloway — he discusses the familiar and the foreign, writing on the Atlantic, the rivers, lakes, forests and wildernesses of Canada, together with her cities, mills, mines, weather, natural history and much more besides. Many colourful characters adorn his pages. In an inspired passage describing an acquaintance last encountered at the 'Fair of Minnyive' back home, he writes, 'all the humour of Dunscore was depicted in his countenance'. He is fascinating on Americans for whom he has scant regard. He admires their enterprise but deplores their speech and their lack of learning. Also they tend take undue credit for the inventions of others; they claim to have invented steamboats, 'whereas Miller of Dalswinton, is the undoubted author; and these boats were first plied in Miller's fish-pond, which is near the town of Dumfries'. He visits Captain Andrew Wilson R.N. at his home, Ossian Hall on the banks of the Rideau, which contains 'the best library that was ever taken into the wilderness, books of all sorts'. Sadly, however, this Scot turns out to be an egotistical blowhard.

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[38] *John MacTaggart, The Scottish Gallovidian Encyclopedia, or, The Original, Antiquated, and Natural Curiosities of the South of Scotland; Containing Sketches of Eccentric Characters and Curious Places, with Explanations of Singular Words, Terms, and Phrases; Interspersed with Poems, Tales, Anecdotes etc and Various Other Strange Matters; the whole illustrative of the peasantry, and manners of Caledonia; drawn out and alphabetically arranged*, (London, 1824) x–xi.

[39] Marshall's gravestone in Kirkcudbright is inscribed 'The remains of Wm Marshall, Tinker, who died 28th Novemr. 1792 at the advanced age of 120 years'.

MacTaggart, like many of his countrymen, was favourably impressed by the First Nations, stressing the disparity between stereotype and reality; ‘it were surely a blessing bestowed on earth if all the nations of human beings thereon, were as good as they are’. He urged the necessity of fuller exploration of Canada. The country’s coasts and even parts of the Arctic were known but the interior was ignored: ‘we never examine the mountains or the lands at all remote from the main rivers and lakes; we never follow up the small streams, and explore the unknown wealth embosomed in the forest’.[40] Sadly the great Galwegian who was John MacTaggart contracted fever in the Rideau wilderness and was sent home to die before he was forty.

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The rest of Galloway was not exactly slumbering. Heron the weaver presented his cousin Alexander Murray of Dunkitterick (1775–1813) with a Hebrew lexicon that had belonged to his son, Robert Heron. Murray developed a genius for languages by memorising the English bible which enabled him to work out any other languages into which it was translated. He became minister at Haugh of Urr and later Professor of Oriental Languages at Edinburgh. He proved that Hebrew was not the language of the Garden of Eden, so potentially questioning biblical teachings and his own faith. His discoveries were as important as other revolutionary nineteenth-century breakthroughs, in science, natural history and geology.[41] The Rev. Alexander Macgowan of Dalry (1745–1826) wrote but did not publish *A Skeleton of Universal Elocution*, a tract on speech and rhetorical delivery which my have been inspired by Murray.[42] John Gordon Barbour (1775–1843) from Bogue near Dalry was a writer, folklorist and severe critic of organized religion. His book title links scenery and Scottish character.[43]

Another antiquary was poet and folklorist Joseph Train, (1779–1852) who resided in Newton Stewart and Castle Douglas while a gauger or exciseman. He told Walter Scott, ‘Every vale in Galloway is a cradle in which superstition has been unceasingly nursed’. Train it was who, so to speak, introduced Scott to Old Mortality, historically Robert Paterson (c.1713–1801), whose wife ran a school in Balmaclellan to earn an income while he indulged his obsession, travelling around the country restoring covenanting monuments. Train also furnished Galloway material which was incorporated into novels such as *Guy Mannering*, *Redgauntlet* and the wizard’s finest production, *The Antiquary*. He was so smitten by the great man that he passed him several artifacts for his Abbotsford collection. His attempt to present Scott with St John’s Chair from Dalry was prevented when the locals revolted; it still remains in the village.[44]

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[40] John MacTaggart, *Three Years in Canada: An Account of the Actual State of the Country in 1826–7–8,* 2 vols. (London, 1821) vol.1, 42; vol.2, 123, 142,192, 269–74. See also Edward J. Cowan, ‘The Scots’ Imaging of Canada’ in *A Kingdom of the Mind How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, eds. Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb, (Montreal and Kingston, 2006) 3–21.

[41] Alexander Murray, *History of the European languages; or, Researches into the Affinities of the Teutonic, Greek, Celtic, Sclavonic, and Indian Nations with a life of the author*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1823) vol. 1, xxix–cxxvii.

[42] I am indebted to Rev. David Bartholomew for this reference.

[43] Cincinnatus Caledonius (John Gordon Barbour), *Lights and Shadows on Scottish Character and Scenery*, (Dumfries, 1824).

[44] Watt, *Literary Guide*, 286–91.

John Ramsay MacCulloch (1789–1864), now regarded as the first professional economist, was born in Whithorn.[45] He specialised in the economic theories of David Ricardo (1772–1823), thought at the time to be of special interest and relevance to farmers. It is reported that when the great man returned periodically to Whithorn and the Isle:

> … his chief amusement was found in gathering the choicest drouths of the place around him and entertaining them right royally in the Red Lion. [He] enjoyed the hilarity of these orgies amazingly.
>
> A little nonsense now and then
> Is relished by the wisest men.[46]

Further west, John Ross (1777–1856) from Inch near Stranraer and his nephew James Clark Ross (1800–1862), were two of the greatest Arctic explorers of the nineteenth century or any other. They were together on two voyages in search of the north-west passage, that of 1818 and the extraordinary expedition of 1829–1833, the longest period any exploring party had ever overwintered in the Arctic. James later led the remarkable four year excursion to the Antarctic, leaving his name on the Ross Sea and the Ross Shelf.[47] Dr John Richardson from Dumfries contributed to the north-west passage quest by making three overland trips to the Arctic Ocean. He was author of the attractive, trail-blazing *Fauna Boreali Americana* series, beautifully illustrated with a text to match.[48]

A man who knew dozens of enlightenment figures, locally and nationally, was Henry Duncan (1774–1846) minister of Ruthwell, supporter of numerous good causes, rescuer of the Ruthwell Cross, founder of the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, founder of Savings Banks, supporter of Dumfries University and prolific writer. It is a great pity that the university proposed by Elizabeth Crichton (1779–1862) in the 1820s, using a very handsome bequest of £100,000 from her late husband James (1765–1823) who made his money in India, never came to fruition.[49] It could have become Dumfries and Galloway's greatest enlightenment legacy since it had the potential to completely transform the culture and economy of the region. The idea was not new. Around 1692 the Rev. George Campbell of Dumfries suggested building a college in the 'Castle Garden & lands contiguous … with some professors of Philosophy etc'. He thought students would be attracted from Ireland and the north-west of England as well as the surrounding area. Robert Edgar, historian of the burgh, reported that later one of the burgh's provosts planned, in a very modern-sounding way, to 'apply to some monied men born in the shire of Dumfries who lived in the West of England, men who had great wealth and no issue, traders who would have left to this good work two or three thousand pounds for the honour of their names in the erection'. Doonhamers in Britain, Ireland, Holland, France and the Plantations were also to be approached. Unfortunately the Dumfries folk had 'no taste for learning and too little of public spirit'. Edgar himself, writing in 1746, advocated another attempt, citing the recent achievements at Harvard, which did not actually solicit donations. He believed that naming the college Queensberry or Douglas might open at least one liberal (preferably aristocratic) purse.[50] Nothing happened. Henry Duncan suggested moving St Andrews University to Dumfries and he drew up ambitious plans for the institution but in vain. He joined the Free Church in 1843.[51] Ms René Anderson, formerly curator of the Savings Bank at Ruthwell, has shown the numerous enlightenment contacts that Duncan enjoyed, a subject more than worthy of a separate paper, but where faith was concerned Duncan trod the path of principle.[52]

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[45] D.P.O'Brien, *J.R.McCulloch A Study in Classic Economics*, (London, 1970). He receives more of a mention in Edward J. Cowan, 'The Founding of Our Society, 1862: Contemporary Context and Cultural Climate', *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.87, (2013) 23.

[46] James Cannon, *Droll Recollections of Whithorn and Vicinity*, (Dumfries, 1904) 23–4.

[47] M. J. Ross, *Polar Pioneers John Ross and James Clark Ross*, (Montreal and Kingston, 1994); Edward J. Cowan, 'The Longest Winter: The Ross Expedition 1829–33', *New Orkney Antiquarian Journal*, vol.7 *Special edition: John Rae 200 Conference Proceedings*, (Orkney Heritage Society, Kirkwall, 2014) 34–46.

[48] Robert E. Johnson, *Sir John Richardson Arctic Explorer, Natural Historian, Naval Surgeon*, (London, 1976). His *Fauna Boreali-Americana; or the Zoology of the Northern Parts of British America Containing Descriptions of the Objects of Natural History Collected on the Late Northern Land Expeditions Under the Command of Captain Sir John Franklin R.N.*, (London, 1829–37) was published in four parts: *The Quadrupeds*, *The Birds*, *The Fish* and *The Insects*. Many of Richardson's papers survive in the collections of the Dumfries and Galloway Archives.

[49] Alexandrina Anderson, *Crichton A Widow's Might*, (Dumfries, n.d.) 2. Despite her subtitle, *The early attempts to establish a university at Dumfries* the author appears to miss the information provided by Robert Edgar.

It is noteworthy that Dumfriesshire produced the fewest number of Free Church foundations in the country, which is odd in view of its much vaunted and celebrated covenanting heritage.[53] Ministers, some of whom are described as 'liberal and enlightened', are the subject of too large a chunk of Thomas Murray's *Literary History of Galloway*. It would appear that many others were infected by the intellectual vapours of the age, becoming Church of Scotland moderates and thus adhering to the established kirk at the Disruption of 1843.

Dr William Jameson (1704–1790) minister of Rerwick published his *Essay on Virtue and Harmony* (1749). He was reckoned an expert on the deists whom he opposed but he thought it advisable to suppress a book of his own on the evidences of Christianity.[54] William Macartney (1762–1828), born at Penninghame, minister of Haddington was a moderate who broke ranks by joining the evangelicals, well known for his translations of Cicero.[55] Thomas Brown (1778–1820), a son of the manse of Kirkmabreck trained as a doctor but became Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh.[56] Some partook of the new learning in this era of intellectual challenge but seemed uncertain what to do with it. The Rev. James M. Ray of Knockreoch, Kells (1746–1816) was a biblical translator who in other works attempted, somewhat unconvincingly, to reconcile Christianity and science.[57] James Hyslop (1798–1827), a native of Kirkconnel, composer of the poem 'The Cameronian Dream' was a herd who became a teacher and a tutor in the navy, but who despaired at his lack of lasting success.[58] Stewart Lewis of Ecclefechan (1756–1818) was a poet and chapman who established a library and debating club in his native village yet who died of drink and destitution.[59] All lived in a period of change when the old ideas and assumptions were severely challenged.

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[50] Robert Edgar, *An Introduction to the History of Dumfries*, ed. R.C. Reid, *The Records of the Western Marches*, (Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, Dumfries, 1915) 38–42.

[51] George John C. Duncan, *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D. Minister of Ruthwell*, (Edinburgh, 1848).

[52] I am most grateful to René Anderson for allowing me to read and reference her fascinating unpublished notes on 'Dumfriesshire Literary Figures 1770–1870'.

[53] James M'Cosh, *The Wheat and the Chaff Gathered into Bundles: a statistical contribution towards the history of the recent disruption of the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment*, (Perth, 1843) 12–13.

[54] Murray, *Literary History*, 188–191.

[55] Murray, *Literary History*, 214–218.

One individual who triumphed but is now largely forgotten was Benjamin Bell (1749–1806) of Dumfries who is regarded as Scotland's first scientific surgeon and as the father of the Edinburgh School of Surgery. He also founded a medical dynasty. Between 1783 and 1788 he published his massive six-volume *System of Surgery* which was translated into several languages and highly regarded in America. He prescribed opium for pain relief following surgery. He also published on ulcers, urology and venereal disease, as well as, more remarkably perhaps, such subjects as taxation and the National Debt. His *Essays on Agriculture* (1802) were highly praised by Adam Smith. He associated with enlightenment luminaries at home and abroad and he had his portrait painted by Henry Raeburn. He was undoubtedly one of Dumfries's most distinguished sons.[60]

John McDiarmid (1790–1852) was one of the founders of *The Scotsman* who took over the editing of the *Courier* from Henry Duncan. An attractive writer, he was part of the *Edinburgh Review* circle and a lifelong whig keenly interested in social reform.[61] The author of *Sketches From Nature* (1830) and *Picture of Dumfries* (1832), he was particularly insightful on agricultural matters and on the subject of emigration.

John Loudon McAdam (1756–1836), the 'Colossus of Roads', of Waterhead, Carsphairn, as a young man spent some time in America which, as a loyalist, he was forced to quit at the end of the Revolutionary War. His legacy was 'macadamized' roads, a response to the highly unsatisfactory turnpike system. 'I beg to observe, that the object to be attained in a good road, as far as regards the surface, is to have it smooth, hard and so flat as that a carriage may stand quite upright; those objects are not attained by the present system, because no scientific principles are applied; but it is presumed they are perfectly attainable in all parts of the country'.[62] Through him the sophisticated building of roads became a family business.

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[56] Murray, *Literary History*, 293–304.

[57] Murray, *Literary History*, 259–263.

[58] Watt, *Literary Guide*, 164–7.

[59] Watt, *Literary Guide*, 58–60.

[60] *ODNB,* Online, `http://www.oxforddnb.com/`; B. Bell, *The Life, Character and Writings of Benjamin Bell FRCSE, FRSE*, (Edinburgh, 1868); I.M.C.Macintyre, 'Scientific Surgeon of the Enlightenment or "plagiarist in everything"': a reappraisal of Benjamin Bell (1749–1806), *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians Edinburgh*, 41/2 (2011): 174–181.

[61] Watt, *Literary Guide*, 105–107.

[62] W.J. Reader, *Macadam The Macadam Family and the Turnpike Roads 1798–1861*, (London, 1980) 32.

The greatest engineer that Scotland ever produced, who suggested a completely different approach to the 'problem of the Highlands' from that advanced by Selkirk, was born at Westerkirk, the son of a shepherd. Thomas Telford (1757–1834), of radical sympathies in his youth and a great admirer of Burns, built such wonders as the Pontcysyllte Aqueduct, the Menai Straits Bridge and the Dean Bridge, Edinburgh. He also designed an entire scheme of improvement for Gaelic-speaking Scotland which included road networks, bridge-building and the provision of kirks, as well as the stupendous concept of the Caledonian Canal boldly improving upon the natural waterways of the Great Glen to link Inverness and Fort William in a scheme intended to attract industry and settlement along its banks. That it was redundant almost before it was completed does not detract from the brilliance of the concept.[63]

Westerkirk was a veritable hotbed of genius. A welcome addition to the historical literature of Dumfriesshire, *The Inner Life of Empires An Eighteenth-Century History*, has demonstrated the enlightenment views of the extensive Johnstone of Westerhall family who dispatched their members to America, the Caribbean and as far as India. One of their number William Pulteney (1729–1805), who changed his surname when his wife inherited the Earl of Bath's fortune, was reputedly the wealthiest man in Britain and among other things, a patron of 'Tammy Telfer'.[64] Professor Rothschild's study not only shows that the Johnstones were personally in contact with some of the major figures of the Scottish Enlightenment — David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson and James 'Ossian' Macpherson, among others — but she demonstrates how they consumed enlightenment ideas and moulded them to suit their own needs and concerns. Their women were notably possessed of independent minds, apparently encouraged by their menfolk. Almost all of the family were touched, to a greater or lesser extent, by an unquenchable curiosity about the world as well as their own inner beings.

Sir John Malcolm (1769–1833), described by Walter Scott as 'the Persian envoy, the Delhi Resident, the poet, the warrior, the politician and the borderer', and by a modern authority as 'a man of real intellectual genius', was born at Burnfoot, Westerkirk. Three of his brothers, James (1767–1849) Lieutenant Colonel, the Royal Marines; Pulteney, (1769–1833) a rear-admiral and Charles, (1768–1838) a vice-admiral, were also knighted, the two latter commissioned by their uncle, Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley (1734–1808), brother of Gilbert Pasley (1733–81), Surgeon-General of Madras. As commander of the St Helena Station in 1816 Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm came to know the most famous man in the world, namely Napoleon Bonaparte, who greatly admired him. Pulteney's wife, Clementina Elphinstone, kept a diary recording discussions between the two men.[65] The Malcolms, known as the 'Four Knights of Eskdale', belonged to a family of seventeen children born to

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[63] Thomas Telford, *The Life of Thomas Telford*, (London, 1838); L.T.C. Rolt, *Thomas Telford*, (London, 1958); Anthony Burton, *Thomas Telford*, (London, 1999).

[64] Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires An Eighteenth-Century History*, (Princeton, 2011).

[65] *A Diary of St Helena The Journal of Lady Malcolm (1816,1817) Containing the Conversations of Napoleon with Sir Pulteney Malcolm*, ed. Sir Arthur Wilson, (London, 1899;1929); Robert Richardson, *The Apocalypse of Napoleon Bonaparte His Last Years from Waterloo to St Helena: A Medical Biography*, (Shrewsbury, 2009) 57, 59 and index.

George Malcolm of Burnfoot (1729–1803) and Margaret Pasley (d.1811).[66] The fortunes of these two families were closely intertwined, the Pasleys (formerly Paisleys; they allegedly removed the 'i' in sympathy with Nelson's sight problems) residing at Craig directly across the Esk from Burnfoot, Langholm. So much talent in one bend of the Esk is truly extraordinary.

Up in the parish of Ewes Thomas Beattie of Muckledale (1736–1827) carved out a career for himself as a wealthy stockman in farms mainly rented from the Duke of Buccleuch. He went to school in Langholm with the future poet William Julius Mickle (1734–1788). A classmate at Edinburgh University was James Boswell (1740–1795). Beattie was very fond of the works of English poet, Edward Young (1683–1765). A civilized neighbour with many interests including Roman antiquities, of which there were many in Eskdale, was John Maxwell of Broomholm (d. 1806) who became involved with Beattie in establishing a weekly club in Langholm for 'Improvement in Literary Acquirement', modelled on some of the Edinburgh debating clubs. Members performed Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* to raise funds for a penniless colleague to study medicine at Edinburgh. Beattie wrote a special prologue for the event. He supplied Scott with a lengthy version of the ballad 'Gilpin Horner'.[67] He was no great intellect but he does indicate how the quest for self-improvement was pushing into some of the darkest recesses of the Borders. An excellent recent study explores the role of improvement on the great ducal estates of the Borders.[68] More studies of this type are to be encouraged.

Annandale also produced its share of notables. The blind poet Thomas Blacklock of Annan (1721–1791) was among the first to recognize the genius in Burns's Kilmarnock edition. Hugh Clapperton (1788–1827) after a stumbling start became a distinguished naval officer, first joining a merchant vessel and then jumping ship. He was eventually commissioned as a midshipman through the good offices of Lt-General Alexander Dirom of Mount Annan and Luce (1757–1830) and Sir Thomas Pasley, his brother-in-law. Following an adventurous and exciting naval career he became involved in an expedition to cross the Sahara from the north in search of the course of the Niger River, a quest begun by Mungo Park of Selkirk (1771–1806). Clapperton died at Sokoto on a second expedition.[69] His Annan neighbour and lifelong friend, Edward Irving (1792–1834), attended Annan Academy with Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881). Irving abandoned Scotland for London where he founded the Catholic Apostolic Church in which he preached a mystical millenarianism. For a while he was at the centre of a well-patronized cult but he was eventually unhinged by prophetic mysteries and speaking in tongues.[70]

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[66] John Malcolm, *Malcolm Soldier, Diplomat, Ideologue of British India. The Life of Sir John Malcolm (1769–1833)* (Edinburgh, 2014) Chapter 1. For other Malcolms and Pasleys see *ODNB,* Online, `http://www.oxforddnb.com/`.

[67] *Chronicles of Muckledale Being The Memoirs of Thomas Beattie of Muckledale, 1736–1827* ed. Edward J. Cowan. This is now available on the European Ethnological Research Centre website `http://dumfriesandgalloway.hss.ed.ac.uk/written-word/`.

[68] Brian Bonnyman, *The Third Duke of Buccleuch and Adam Smith Estate Management and Improvement in Enlightenment Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 2014).

[69] James Bruce Lockhart, *A Sailor in the Sahara The Life and Travels of Hugh Clapperton, Commander RN*, (London, 2008).

[70] The University Library of Guelph, Ontario holds a large collection of Irvingite literature.

Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe of Hoddam (1781–1851), a friend of Scott, was a genteel, if wasp-tongued, eccentric, who published on ballads and witchcraft. General Dirom, like so many doonhamers, made his pile in India. He was said to have spent £20,000 purchasing and £30,000 improving his Mount Annan estate. According to an earlier contributor to these *Transactions*, 'it has been said that Dirom more than any other man of his time was responsible for rousing Dumfriesshire out of the lethargy of the previous century'.[71] If so, and the commentator may have exaggerated just a little, he had pretty fierce competition, as should by now be obvious. It is clear that far too many folk were touched by the enlightenment to mention them all.[72] Furthermore not all were to be found among the great and the good.

Recent research has shown how enlightenment impacted upon readers throughout the region. There were early subscription libraries in Stranraer, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, Westerkirk and Wanlockhead. The records show three female borrowers at Kirkcudbright, who had inherited the memberships of their dead husbands. Their library constitution stipulated that it was for rural as well as urban members, the local minister reporting that his parishioners enjoyed access to 'all the improvements in literature and politics'.[73] There were seven women members out of a membership of sixty-three at Wigtown. Five women borrowers in the burgh achieved 150 loans between 1796 and 1799, out of a total of 898. Dumfries Presbytery Library, founded in 1706 with one hundred books, has unique borrowing registers extending from 1732 to 1826. As would be expected, the collection, numbering 2,350 by 1784, was overwhelmingly used by ministers and students, though lay borrowers were not excluded; what is perhaps rather surprising is that the library in the second half of the eighteenth century owned enlightenment titles by some of the authors already mentioned as well as by James Beattie, Hugh Blair and George Campbell. The most popular books were David Hume's *History of England* (the 'Great Infidel' being best known as an historian in his own lifetime), the historical works of William Robertson, Kaimes' *Sketches of the History of Man*, Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and James Hutton's *Theory of the Earth*.[74] Although we cannot know how readers responded to these publications we are, for the first time, at least somewhat aware of what was available and in demand, in Galloway and Dumfriesshire. Many commentators commented on the literacy of the region's inhabitants. By 1820 a number of commercial, circulating libraries had been established. There were eight in Dumfries, two in Kirkcudbright and one each in Annan, Castle Douglas, Lockerbie, Newton Stewart and Stranraer.[75]

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[71] John Roddick, 'Lieut-General Alexander Dirom (1757–1830)' *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.XXXV, (1956–7) 20–32.

[72] This is an important point. An article of this length cannot possibly mention all the people who should be included as 'enlightened'. Apologies for those omitted through choice, ignorance or forgetfulness.

[73] *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Kirkcudbright, 209.

[74] Towsey, *Reading The Scottish Enlightenment*, 56–7, 63–7.

[75] Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, 95.

Patrick Miller (1731–1815) was born at Glasgow into a talented family much taken with enlightenment and culture. His elder brother was Sir Thomas Miller (1717–1789) lord president of the court of session who had an estate at Glenlee in the Glenkens. Patrick became a very successful banker. Perhaps with a view to protecting his shipping interests he claimed to have developed the carronade, made by the Carron Company and other pieces of artillery, though he was most likely an investor rather than an inventor. In the 1780s he bought the Dalswinton estate which he extensively improved, by draining and altering the course of the Nith to prevent flood damage. He also introduced new machinery and crops, planting woodlands and building a fine new mansion house. He famously offered Burns the tenancy of Ellisland. Miller, in partnership with William Symington (1764–1831) born in Leadhills, Lanarkshire, an engineer who worked at the Wanlockhead leadmines, is credited with the testing of the first-ever steamboat on Dalswinton Loch in 1788. Nobody has ever been able to prove for certain that Burns was present at this epoch-making event. Both men took their experiments further but appear to have run short of funds. Symington was a major pioneer of steam-ships and of steam engines in coal mines. Miller's importation of fiorin grass was marked by the construction of Clonfeckle Tower, Kirkmahoe, known to locals as 'Miller's Worm'.[76]

The Cunningham family were among Miller's other tenants. It is noteworthy that two generations of Cunninghams achieved seven entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Allan Cunningham (1784–1842), poet, sculptor and folklorist is the best known, if only for the ruse he played on R.H. Cromek, discussed below. Fifty years after the publication of James Macpherson's sensational Ossianic poems, allegedly translated into English though the Gaelic originals were never produced, Cunningham and others were still seduced by fraud and forgery, while editors often failed to acknowledge authorship of literary contributions. Hence Cromek was happy to rip off Cunningham who was acknowledged only as an informant rather than a co-editor. Allan's brother, Thomas Mouncey Cunningham (1777–1844), contributed 25 of 57 anonymous songs to James Hogg's *The Forest Minstrel*. Thomas also wrote the song, 'The Hills of Galloway' which was long attributed to Burns. When Allan published his four-volume *Songs of Scotland* (1825) he happily inserted many of his own compositions, immodestly implying he was up there with Scott, Hogg and Thomas Campbell (1777–1844).

The oldest Cunningham brother, James (1776–1832) (not in *ODNB*), was a mason who published some articles in periodicals, a friend of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, when he was herding at Mitchellslacks. Peter Cunningham (1789–1864) a doctor, served on the hulks sailing to Australia. It was his proud boast that under his care no convicts, in four voyages, died. He wrote an Australian classic, *Two Years in New South Wales*[77] as well as *Hints for Australian Emigrants* (1841). He named his estate in the Hunter Valley,

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[76] *ODNB*, Online, Patrick Miller. `http://www.oxforddnb.com/`. Fiorin grass, rediscovered in Ireland, is particularly suited to wet climates and makes enriched hay, William Richardson, *New Essay on Fiorin Grass, Including the History of its Discovery and an Account of its Valuable Qualities*, (London, 1814). Clonfeacle in Ireland is where Richardson conducted his research on the grass.

[77] Peter Cunningham, *Two Years in New South Wales* 1827, ed. David S. Macmillan, Royal Australian Historical Society, (Sydney, 1966).

Dalswinton, later managed by a nephew, John Harley Pagan from Dumfries. Four of Allan's sons are also in *ODNB*. Joseph (1812–1851) enjoyed a distinguished army career in the East India Company but more creditably published histories of the Sikhs. Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893) fought in two Anglo-Sikh wars becoming a major-general and later archaeological-surveyor to the government of India and an expert on Buddhism about which he wrote several pioneering studies introducing the subject to the west. Peter (1816–1869) apparently gained dubious entry to *ODNB* by writing a two-volume *Handbook of London*. Francis (1820–1875) also served in India before retiring to London and the pleasant obscurity of a literary antiquarian.[78]

William Dickson (1769–1846), from Conheath by Dumfries, first emigrated to Quebec and then to the Niagara peninsula where he built the region's first-ever brick house. He was an opportunistic land speculator, eventually carving Dumfries township out of the Six Nations' lands on the Grand River, naming a tributary the Nith. A block facing Lake Erie was sold to Lord Selkirk for a colonial scheme that was not pursued. Dickson recruited colonists from Dumfriesshire and the Borders, by all accounts offering them very generous terms. One of his emigration agents was James Hogg (1770–1835), a prolific and prodigious writer, among whose output was a short story, 'Emigration' about a family leaving from the port of Annan, heading for 'Loch Airy' in Ontario. William's brother Robert Dickson (c.1765–1823) entered the fur trade in which he fiercely resisted American encroachment. He married To-to-win, daughter of a Santee Sioux chief, and became an expert on the languages and culture of the First Nations, some of whom he recruited to fight for the British during the war of 1812. He became agent and superintendent for the Indians of the western nations and an ally of the great leader Tecumseh. He was often based at Michilimackinac, at the Straits of Mackinac, linking Lakes Huron and Michigan, crossroads of the fur trade. He became a visionary champion of the rights of the native people and Métis, advocating the creation of a separate republic for them west of the Great Lakes, extending to the Pacific and straddling the Canadian/American border. Latterly he worked with Selkirk at Red River.[79]

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Women are remarkably scarce among nineteenth-century local celebrities; Julie Muir Watt includes only four in her *Literary Guide*. Malcolm Harper's anthology of Galloway poets represents only three women. Innes MacLeod has a handful of female entries in his anthology. This is a topic that requires a great deal of further research because women were certainly not as inconspicuous historically as they are in publications. Dr Robert Trotter (1798–1875) was the first member of the Glenkens medical dynasty who was also a writer.

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[78] On the Cunninghams see *ODNB* and Rev. David Hogg, *The Life of Allan Cunningham*, (Dumfries, 1875). See also Allan Cunningham, *Traditional Tales*, ed. Tim Killick, (The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, Glasgow, 2012) vii–xxv.

[79] Louis Arthur Tohill, 'Robert Dickson, British Fur Trader on the Upper Mississippi', *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, 2 (1928), 5–49; 3 (1929), 83–128, 182–203. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Online, `http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/dickson_robert_6E.html`. Edward J. Cowan, 'From the Southern Uplands to Southern Ontario: Nineteenth-Century Emigration from the Scottish Borders' in *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society*, ed. T.M. Devine, (Edinburgh, 1992) 61–83.

His wife Maria was born Maria Nithsdale Maxwell (1803–79) at Baraar, Penninghame. Her eldest son, Robert de Bruce Trotter (1833–1912), edited her reminiscences of social life in Wigtownshire 'to a great extent in the old lady's own words'.[80] Her sister-in-law, Isabella Trotter (1796–1847) wrote a biography of her father, also Robert Trotter, the 'Muir Doctor' of New Galloway (c.1736–1815), as well as essays and poetry, extracts from which were published by her nephew, Alexander Trotter (1835–1901).[81] Other published female poets who, like Isabella, favoured scenery and nature were Anna M'Gowan of Dalry (c.1812–65),[82] and Susanna Hawkins (1787–1868) of Burnswark,[83] who, since she hawked her verses around the region, could be described as a 'chapwoman'. Anna Lockhart Gillespie (1784–1849), a daughter of Kells manse, wrote poems and religious tracts.[84]

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There can be little doubt that the region's greatest cultural asset was Robert Burns. 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, all the while loyally adding to the legend of the bard.

Burns was a dazzling product of enlightenment. He was well-read and closely acquainted with some notable luminaries among the *philosophes*. Nonetheless it may be suggested that the central premise of enlightenment enquiry, namely the perfectability of humankind and the improvement of society in general, was not part of his own experience. Such was the major disappointment of his short life, repeatedly expressed in his poetry and his letters. However, if Dumfries basked in the glow of the fires that animated Burns, there is a good case for suggesting that the region repaid him handsomely in forging the image of the man and poet that has endured, a doonhame creation by women and men highly conscious of enlightenment sensitivities, feelings, taste, and above all genius, combined in preserving the memory of Burns across the widest possible social spectrum. Ayrshire's part in the memorialization and mythologisation of Burns is, of course, not to be overlooked, but it was doonhamers who first stepped forward to ensure the immortality of the man and his works. All this is the more remarkable when it is recalled that it was not until Whitsun of 1788 that Burns took over the lease of Ellisland that Patrick Miller had offered him.

The bard's first true memorialist was Robert Heron of New Galloway, a polymath steeped in enlightenment literature who had visited Burns in Dumfries, but he first met him at the Edinburgh home of Thomas Blacklock the 'blind poet of Annan' (1712–1791). Burns satirised Heron in a poem for failing to deliver a letter to Blacklock, distracted as he allegedly was by his 'drouth' and 'some dainty fair one', shared interests for which Burns could hardly blame him. Among Heron's works, to the annoyance of Burnsians ever since, is his *Memoir of the Life of the Late Robert Burns* which Maurice Lindsay, mistakenly and unkindly described as 'apparently designed to blacken' the poet's character.[85] In fact Heron seems to have recognized in Burns a kindred spirit. Like himself he had been brought up in humble circumstances, so how were the genius and accomplishments of both to be explained? Heron argued that both were children of Nature and as such must one day return to their origins in nature. He was concerned to depict Burns in the round but there was absolutely no malice in the portrait. He believed it was the duty of the biographer to confront all the changes and external influences experienced in and by his subject throughout life and to show his influence 'upon Nature and on Human Society in the sphere within which they were exhibited and employed'. Heron could personally attest to the impact the Kilmarnock Edition had on young and old contemporaries alike, as the poetry conveyed, in language completely familiar to them, imagery and sentiments which were perfectly recognisable. His own response is as memorably apt as it is effusive:

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[80] *Galloway Gossip Sixty Years Ago: Being a Series of Articles Illustrative of the Manners, Customs and Peculiarities of the Aboriginal Picts of Galloway*, ed. 'Saxon' (Robert De Bruce Trotter) (Choppington, 1877).

[81] Trotter, *East Galloway Sketches*, 307–12. See also pp. 290–306 on the Trotter family.

[82] Trotter, *East Galloway Sketches*, 352–6.

[83] Watt, *Literary Guide*, 70–1; Frank Miller, *The Poets of Dumfriesshire*, (Glasgow, 1910) 238–41. See pp.315–23 for a discussion of late nineteenth-century female poets. Several others are to found throughout Miller's study.

[84] Trotter, *East Galloway Sketches*, 287–9.

> Almost all the sentiments and images diffused throughout the poems of Burns, are fresh from the mint of nature. He sings what he himself had beheld with interested attention, — what he had himself felt with keen emotions of pain and pleasure. You actually see what he describes: you more than sympathize with his joys: your bosom is inflamed with all his fire: your heart dies away within you, infected by the contagion of his despondency. He exalts, for a time, the genius of his reader to the elevation of his own; and, for the moment, confers upon him all the powers of a true poet.[86]

In other words Burns brings out the poetic sensitivity in all of us.

One sensational item was the memoir (perhaps assessment is a more accurate word) published by Maria Riddell (1772–1808) in the *Dumfries Journal* of 1796 and reprinted by Currie. She was married to Walter Riddell (1764–1802), brother of Burns's friend Captain Robert Riddell of Glenriddell (1755–94) who lived at Friar's Carse, next door to Ellisland. Burns wrote the Glenriddell Manuscript for Glenriddell in whose house he met Francis Grose (1731–91) the English antiquarian who commissioned 'Tam o' Shanter' for his *Antiquities of Scotland* (1791). The bard clearly took a shine to the attractive, independent-minded, well-educated Maria Riddell, who admired his talent but had no time for his male chauvinism. As Thornton points out, her memoir expresses a litany of 'irregularities', 'frailties', 'wild effervescence of desires', 'imprudencies, 'rancorous malevolence', 'inconstancy and caprices', 'sensations of pique', fondness for 'the joy-expressing bowl' and much more besides. Perhaps it was love that allowed her to be so explicit in conveying a notion of just how awkward a person he could be but that was doubtless also down to his poetic genius.[87]

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[85] Maurice Lindsay, *The Burns Encyclopaedia*, (London, 1959) 115. To be fair Lindsay later produced a more appreciative and balanced view of Heron's *Memoir*, 'Burns' First Biographer Honest Master Heron', *Scottish Field*, cx No. 721, 1963, 34–36 and 73. I am grateful to my friend Chris Rollie for this reference.

[86] Robert Heron, *A Memoir of the Life of the Late Robert Burns; written by R. Heron*, Edinburgh, 1797, 49–50. Lindsay, *Burns Encyclopaedia*, 115–128. For a fuller discussion of Heron's admiration for Burns see Edward J. Cowan, 'Robert Heron of New Galloway (1764–1807): Enlightened Ethnologist', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 26 2014: 37–39.

James Currie (1756–1805), Burns's first editor and biographer, from Kirkpatrick Fleming was the man who ensured that the memory of Burns would survive together with many of his papers, with assistance from other doonhamers including John Syme who accompanied the poet on their Galloway tour of summer 1794. While Burns was dying, Syme wrote to Edinburgh lawyer Alexander Cunningham (d. 1812) indicating that something must be done to sustain their friend's widow and her children. Cunningham, having quite independently reached the same conclusion, advocated a subscription for the family and the sale of 'posthumous works, letters, songs etc', though he feared that Burns's frailties were so well known and exaggerated, as to inhibit subscriptions. Currie imperfectly put together what appeared to be the bard's surviving literary remains. Had he not stepped forward a large corpus of Burnsiana might well have disappeared. Educated in Dumfries, he spent time in Virginia where he became convinced that the rebelling colonists had right on their side. He became a doctor in Liverpool and reluctantly tackled the Burns editorship largely because nobody else would take on the task. Of Burns Currie wrote, in a letter to John Syme on the day of the funeral, 'I never saw this original genius but for a few minutes in [May] 1792' in the streets of Dumfries but during their brief conversation he could clearly distinguish 'that bold, powerful and ardent mind' which he thought in different circumstances might have 'influenced the history of nations'. He went on to report that he had heard Burns was far from correct in his conduct and there was rumour that he died of habitual drinking; however, he was aware that men of genius were likely to be envied and even hated 'by cold-blooded mediocrity and selfish prudence'. For him Burns was 'a singular man of whom much will now be said and much enquired in future times'.[88] George Thomson (1757–1851) editor of *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* deplored Burns's 'frailties'. Alexander Young another Edinburgh lawyer described the bard as 'a man who drinks from the cask'. It is diagnostic that none of these men, whether friend or foe, nor anyone else at the time, attempted to play down Burns's alcoholic and sexual adventures; all regarded him as an excessive individual in an age of excess; that was emphatically part of the mystery.

Right after the funeral, Syme and a hastily convened committee set about sealing up such documents as were available, hoping for a swift publication. The many problems were not anticipated since few of those involved had any expertise in editing or publishing. The committee burned some material deemed absolutely useless. The question of the confidentiality of some of the letters was raised, as indeed, was their ownership. Syme wondered if Clarinda's correspondence, for example, should be destroyed or sealed away forever. He thought some of the poet's epigrams should be suppressed. He returned copies of songs in Burns's handwriting because they had already been published. Self interest sometimes exceeded regard for the bard. Maria Riddell succeeded in suppressing all of her correspondence, as did Robert Ainslie (1766–1838), veteran of the Border Tour of 1787, who introduced Burns to Mrs Maclehose, 'Clarinda' (1759–1841). Letters to Margaret Chalmers (?1763–1843), his beloved songstress, were destroyed. Mrs Dunlop (1730–1815) proved difficult.

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[87] Lindsay, *Burns* Enyclopaedia, 161–4; Robert Donald Thornton, *James Currie The Entire Stranger & Robert Burns*, (Edinburgh, 1963) 316–7.

[88] Thornton, *James Currie*, 337–8.

For a while Syme thought Dugald Stewart might take on the editorship and Maria Riddell was briefly considered. People were reluctant because copyright was poorly understood at this time and there was fear of litigation. The wishes of individuals were respected as paramount. Politically times were complex; it was dangerous for folk to be associated, even in unsolicited correspondence with republican sentiments. Some of the material was indiscreet, indecent and offensive. Cunningham, for one, refused to be involved. Eventually the project was saved by two people, Currie and another doonhamer Walter Nicol (1744–97) from Annan, an Edinburgh dominie with a vicious reputation, but one who wrote elegantly and feelingly about Burns's death. 'All his remains should be carefully collected, but not all published'. He counselled that some aspects of his life should be 'touched with delicacy' by a biographer 'who can conceive his character, and the highly-wrought sensibility which laid the foundation of his excellencies, and perhaps of his defects'. In due course a 'huge and shapeless mass' of documents was sent to Currie and the four-volume edition of 1800 was the result. It set a precedent by opening with an account of the Scottish peasantry which became *de rigeur* for future editors. Burns's poetry was considered an accurate depiction of Scottish social history. Very few poets, if any, have ever received similar treatment, suggesting that his work was as important historically as it was artistically and a dual key perhaps to his enduring popularity.[89]

Two individuals who helped forge the doonhame creation of Burns are best discussed together. An unlikely devotee of Burns was Robert Hartley Cromek (1770–1812) emphatically not a doonhamer, except through enthusiasm, but an English engraver and 'literary entrepreneur' who spent a year collecting materials for *Reliques of Robert Burns, consisting chiefly of original letters, poems, and critical observations on Scottish songs* (1808), a kind of supplement to Currie, designed to cash in on the popularity of the edition and the bard. Scott called him 'a perfect brain-sucker'. Cromek confided that 'an earnest wish to possess a scrap of the handwriting of Burns, originally led to the discovery of most of the papers that compose' his volume. He considered his publication akin to feeling 'something of that sublime and heart-swelling gratification, which he experiences, who casts another stone on the cairn of great and lamented chief'. He followed this with a publication of Burns songs[90] but meanwhile, still in the hunt for Burnsiana, he met up with Allan Cunningham (1784–1842) who was raised at Sandbed, directly across the Nith from Ellisland. As is now well known, Cunningham blatantly passed off much of his own material as 'traditional and ancient' for Cromek's *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song* (1810);[91] 'every article but two little scraps was contributed by me'. 'Honest Allan's' duplicity now seems pointless and even cruel. Thomas Murray considered the episode 'an instance of literary dishonesty, of which in this country I know no example so flagrant'.[92] Some of Cunningham's Burns reportage appears equally suspect. Indeed he contributed significantly to the Burns mythology. He was later to produce an edition of Burns poems and songs.[93]According to John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854), Cunningham recollected:

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[89] Thornton, *James Currie*, 336–358.

[90] R.H. Cromek, *Select Scottish songs, ancient and modern; with critical observations and biographical notices by Robert Burns*, (London, 1810). Note how Burns is dragged into the title.

[91] R.H. Cromek, *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway song, with historical and traditional notices relative to the manners and customs of the peasantry*, London, 1810. Burns is quoted on the first page of the introduction. The volume contains some Burns material and a Burns epigraph. It also continues Currie's social history emphasis. On Cunningham see David Hogg, *The Life of Allan Cunningham with Selections from his Works and Correspondence*, (London, 1875).

> I once heard Burns read Tam o' Shanter. I think I hear him now. His fine manly voice followed all the undulations of the sense and expressed as well as his genius had done, the pathos and humour, the horrible and awful, of that wonderful performance. As a man feels so will he write; and in proportion as he sympathises with his author, so will he read him with grace and effect. [94]

That Cunningham was all of six years old at the time may detract from the authenticity of his account. He would have been eleven when he claimed to have attended Burns's funeral walking right up to the lip of the grave, a very doubtful claim in the presence of 'an immense crowd', with the Dumfries Volunteers marching alongside the coffin and surrounding the grave. Equally suspect is the tale, still oft repeated, that *Tam o' Shanter* was composed at Ellisland in a day, a claim purporting to have originated with Jean Armour but put about by R.H. Cromek, doubtless informed by Cunningham. Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) descended from his eyrie at Craigenputtock to utter some platitudes at a dinner in honour of Cunningham in 1833 before delivering a speech in memory of Robert Burns, perhaps partially intended as an oblique criticism of 'Honest Allan'.[95]

The final doonhame touch was provided by Dumfries merchant, William Grierson (1773–1852), first secretary of Dumfries Burns Club and also secretary of Dumfries and Galloway Horticultural Society. As a serial secretary he also acted in that capacity for the group, which commissioned the Burns Mausoleum and Turnerelli sculpture. Grierson was present when the bard's grave was opened:

> A spectacle was unfolded which, considering the fame of the mighty dead, has rarely been witnessed by a single human being. There were the remains of the great poet, to all appearance nearly entire, and retaining various traces of vitality, or rather exhibiting the features of one who had newly sunk into the sleep of death: the lordly forehead, arched and high, the scalp still covered with hair, and the teeth perfectly firm and white.[96]

This episode represented nothing less than the beatification of Robert Burns but, needless to say, the splendid spectacle swiftly turned to dust at the very moment of Burns's apotheosis.

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[92] Murray, *Literary History*, 275.

[93] *The Complete Works of Robert Burns with Life and Notes by Allan Cunningham*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1835).

[94] J.G. Lockhart, *The Life of Robert Burns*, Enlarged Edition Revised and Corrected by William Scott Douglas, (London, 1892) 197; Edward J. Cowan, 'The Creation of Burns' *Tam o' Shanter'* in *Tam o' Shanter A Tale by Robert Burns Illustrated by Alexander Goudie,* (Edinburgh, 2008) 1–11.

[95] Hogg, *Cunningham*, 308–9.

[96] *Apostle to Burns The Diaries of William Grierson*, ed. John Davies, (Edinburgh, 1981) 242.

Such was the legacy of the dazzling period when Dumfries mattered as a provincial capital and the inhabitants of the hinterland rejoiced in the remarkable achievements of their own people. In the age of enlightenment it was the enlightened among doonhamers and their associates who first attempted to ensure that Burns would not be forgotten, that the greatest product of the Dumfries and Galloway enlightenment who appealed above all to their own 'inner beings', was a gift not only to the south-west but to all of Scotland and the world, as was the enlightenment itself.

Note

The following publications arrived too late to be included in the foregoing discussion.

Bob Harris. *A Tale of Three Cities: The Life and Times of Lord Daer 1763–1794*. Edinburgh, 2015.

Stuart J. McCulloch. *A Scion of Heroes: The World of Captain James Murray*. Kibworth Beauchamp, 2015.

Lizanne Henderson. Witchcraft *and Folk Belief in the Age of Enlightenment, Scotland 1670–1740*. Basingstoke , 2016.

THE *LOVELY NELLY* OR: THE HISTORY OF ST JOHN'S ISLAND LOT 52: 1767–1777

Frances Wilkins[1]

This article is based on a bundle of papers forming part of a case at the Court of Session in Edinburgh between William Kirkpatrick of Conheath and Thomas Chisholm formerly of Kirkbean, both near Dumfries, discovered during research into the life and times of David Currie of Newlaw (one of Kirkpatrick's partners) in 2011. These papers provide new information about Lot 52 on St John's Island and the voyages of the Lovely Nelly *of Whitehaven, carrying settlers there in 1774 and 1775.*[2]

> *'Lot 52 had been drawn by three people, all by the name of Douglas. The settlement was neglected until 1775, when it was taken over by people named Tead [sic], Dodd, Curry [sic] and Fontenalle. They, too, did not bring out settlers (part of the requirements for ownership of lots), so the land reverted back to the Crown for dispersal'.*[3]

Because there were so many St John's in Canada, including in Labrador, Newfoundland and New Brunswick, in 1799 St John's Island in the Gulf of St Lawrence was renamed Prince Edward Island, after George III's fourth son Edward, Duke of Kent.

Background

In 1777, Thomas Chisholm charged William Kirkpatrick before the Sheriff of Dumfries with a debt of £274 4s 0d owed for his expenses on a voyage to the Island, making the settlement there and returning home to Dumfries, together with £100, 'as a reasonable gratification for his trouble', and £50 for damages and expenses since then. The problem was that Chisholm had lost all his books, papers, accounts and other writings in a fire on board the ship *Jupiter*, during his voyage home. This meant that he could not prove his expenditure with any accounts or vouchers. The Sheriff was prepared to accept his oath as sufficient proof.

William Kirkpatrick was expected to produce all his letters, letter books, account books, memorandum books and every document relating to Lot 52 since May 1775, when Thomas Chisholm sailed for the Island. These included two private letters to David Currie, which were subsequently used by Chisholm in his case against Kirkpatrick. These provide a useful insight into what Captain George Fead's partners were contemplating. Dissatisfied with the Sheriff's conclusions, Kirkpatrick transferred the case to the Court of Session.

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[1] 8 Mill Close, Blakedown, Kidderminster, Worcestershire DY10 3NQ.

[2] NRS: CS271/44,442.

[3] The Town of Montague the Beautiful: History at `www.townofmontaguepei.com`, retrieved 29 July 2015. Montague was built on what had been Lot 52.

Kirkpatrick's argument was that Chisholm had a free passage on board the *Lovely Nelly* and was given fifteen guineas [£945 in modern currency] in expenses, thought to be more than sufficient to settle the people, who had signed articles of agreement with Kirkpatrick, on Lot 52 and to persuade the settlers sent out by Captain George Fead in 1774 to move from the neighbouring Lot 59. Chisholm would return by the *Lovely Nelly*, still for free, unless he chose to become a settler on the Island himself.

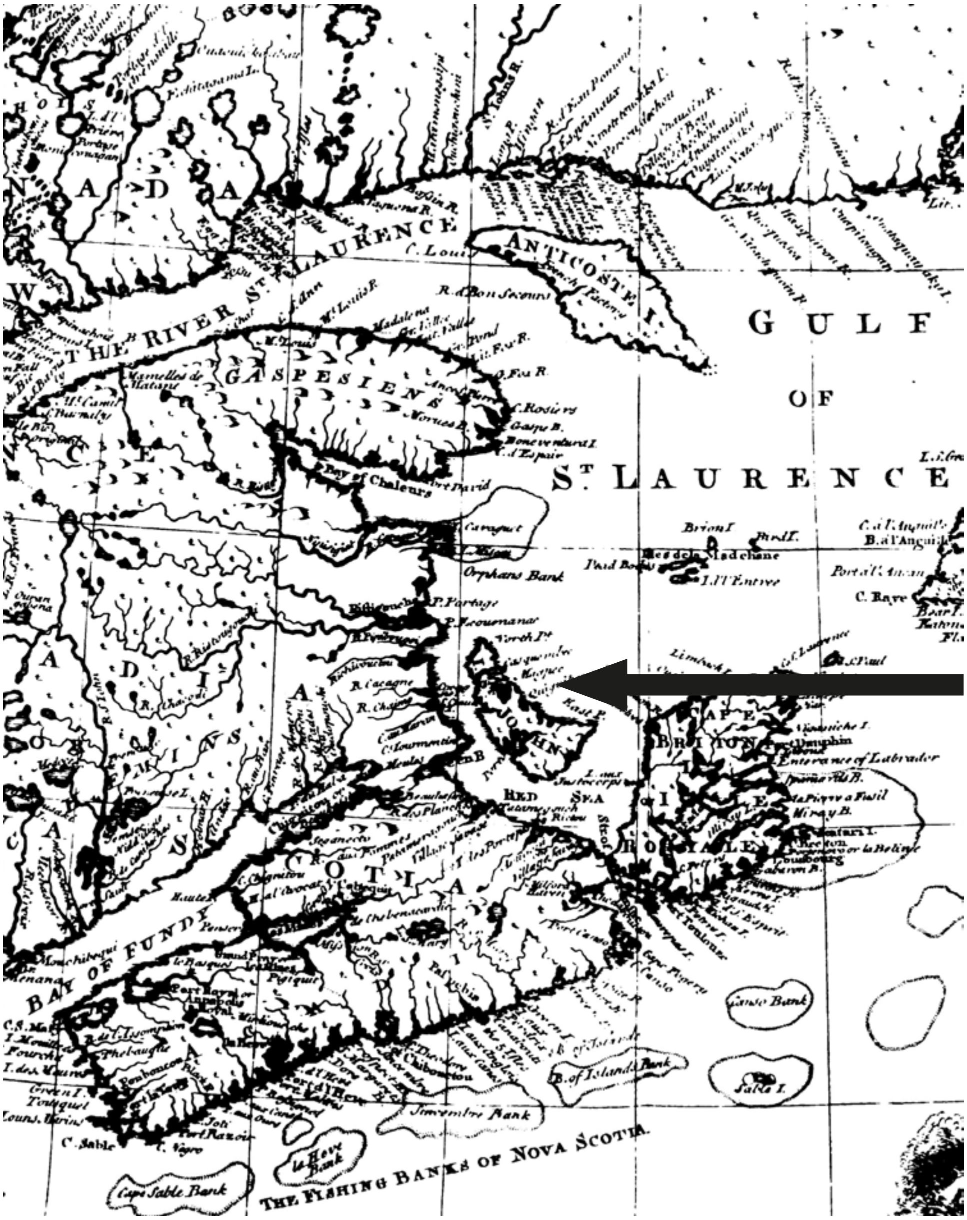
GULF OF St. LAURENCE
THE RIVER St. LAURENCE
ANTICOSTI I.
GASPESIENS
Bay of Chaleurs
Orphans Bank
Brion I.
Bird I.
C. Rosiers
Gaspe B.
Caraquet
S. JOHN
East P.
RED SEA
CAPE BRETON
Louisbourg
BAY OF FUNDY
NOVA SCOTIA
Sable I.
B. of Islands Bank
Cansso Bank
Cape Sable Bank
la Have Bank
C. Sable
THE FISHING BANKS OF NOVA SCOTIA

Figure 1. Detail from 'A New & Accurate Map of the Islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, St. John and Anticosta; together with the Neighbouring Countries of Nova Scotia, Canada &c.' made by Emanuel Bowen in 1747.

Instead of obeying these orders, Thomas Chisholm entered into a new contract with the settlers, 'of a most hurtful nature and incurring an expense that no person in their right senses would have thought of subjecting themselves to'. He did not return on board the *Lovely Nelly* but stayed on the Island. Kirkpatrick was charged with 'all the wild Quixotic adventures, which he [Chisholm] undertook in consequence of the powers he assumed to himself'. He was justified in being 'disgusted with the behaviour of Mr Chisholm, in pretending to take upon himself the management of affairs for which he neither had any authority from me nor was by his education or abilities entitled to'. At the same time, Kirkpatrick had been informed that Chisholm made 'a very improper connection' with a merchant on the Island. He refused to pay Chisholm's bills, 'as I had every reason for disapproving of his conduct'.

Thomas Chisholm's argument was that William Kirkpatrick and his partners did not appreciate the expenses involved in settling people on St John's Island. They had allowed Lot 52 'to go to ruin for want of money' and then they refused to reimburse him for his essential expenditure or to reward him for his services, which had been far in excess of what everyone had expected: he had succeeded in settling sixteen families, including sixty people both young and old, on the Lot.

St John's Island to 1774

The French explorer Jacques Cartier claimed Canada for France in 1534. He described what was to become Île de St Jean as 'the finest land 'tis possible to see; full of fine meadows and trees'. Despite this, the French made no attempt to develop the Island's supposed potential either at this stage or throughout the seventeenth century. During the first half of the eighteenth century the Island was partially developed as it passed between the British and the French. Finally, in 1763 France ceded Quebec, Île Saint-Jean and Cape Breton to Britain as part of the Treaty of Paris at the end of the Seven Years War. The Island was renamed St John's.

A detailed survey of the Island was undertaken by Samuel Holland. Attached to his report describing the climate, soil, produce, timber, birds, beasts and fishes was a map, dividing it into sixty-seven lots. (Figure 2) On 1 July 1767, the Board of Trade and Plantations granted two lots to the first British settlers, including David Higgins, who had made improvements on the Island since 1764. The other lots were allocated by ballot.[4]

Lot 52 was granted to Stuart, William and Stair Douglas of Kelhead, Annandale. They agreed to establish settlers on their Lot and to pay quit rents to support the costs of governing the Island. These quit rents were based on the value of the land: 2, 4, or 6s per 100 acres. They were payable on half the land after five years (1772) and on the whole Lot after ten years.

The Irishman, Captain Walter Patterson, who had served in the 80th Regiment of Light-Armed Foot in America during the Seven Years War, was granted Lot 19 with his brother John. He was appointed Governor of the Island on 14 July 1769 and arrived there on 30 August 1770. The following month, the Island's Executive Council decided that the best

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[4] From: Journals of the Board of Trade and Plantations, Volume 12: January 1764 – December 1767.

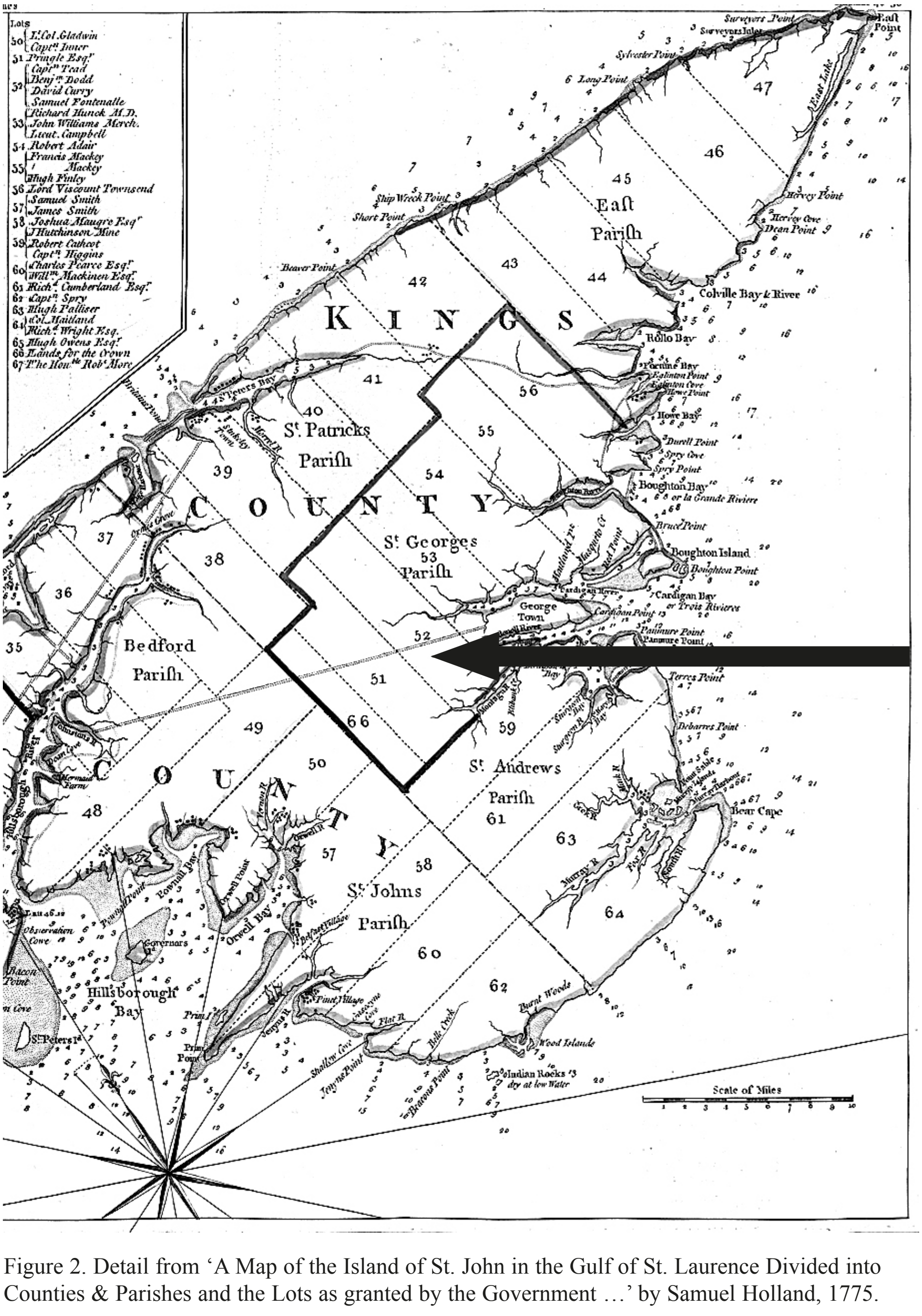
Lots
50 Lt. Col. Gladwin, Captn. Inner
51 Pringle Esqr.
52 Captn. Tead, Benjm. Dodd, David Curry, Samuel Fontenalle
53 Richard Hunck M.D., John Williams Merch., Lieut. Campbell
54 Robert Adair
55 Francis Mackey, Mackey, Hugh Finley
56 Lord Viscount Townsend
57 Samuel Smith, James Smith
58 Joshua Maugre Esqr.
59 J Hutchinson Mine, Robert Cathcot, Captn. Higgins
60 Charles Pearce Esqr., Willm. Mackinen Esqr.
61 Richd. Cumberland Esqr.
62 Captn. Spry
63 Hugh Palliser
64 Col. Maitland, Richd. Wright Esq.
65 Hugh Owens Esqr.
66 Lands for the Crown
67 The Honble. Robt. More
KINGS COUNTY
QUEENS COUNTY
East Parish
St. Patricks Parish
St. Georges Parish
Bedford Parish
St. Andrews Parish
St. Johns Parish
George Town
Hillsborough Bay
East Point
Colville Bay & River
Rollo Bay
Boughton Bay
Boughton Island
Cardigan Bay or Trois Rivieres
Bear Cape
Wood Islands
Indian Rocks dry at low Water
St. Peters Bay
Scale of Miles

Figure 2. Detail from 'A Map of the Island of St. John in the Gulf of St. Laurence Divided into Counties & Parishes and the Lots as granted by the Government …' by Samuel Holland, 1775.

method of raising funds was to enforce the payment of quit rent, when it became due in two years' time.[5]

The Douglas brothers did not attempt to settle Lot 52. Instead they continued their careers in the army and navy. Either they gave up their land before the quit rents were due in 1772 or it was put up for sale by Governor Patterson after the first meeting of the Island's Assembly in 1773.

'As a reward for his services in America all last war', Captain George Fead of the Royal Artillery, 'like many other officers, got grants of land in the Island of St John's and other parts of America after the peace took place'. He was allocated Lot 52, together with Captain Benjamin Dodd and Samuel Fountenelly (Fontenalle). There is no further information about Fontenalle.[6]

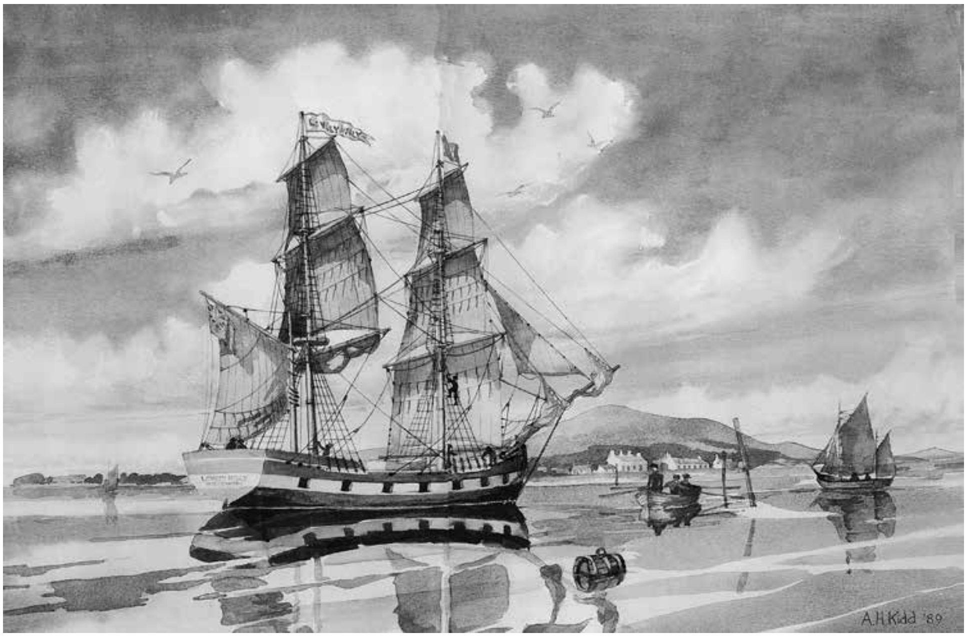

Figure 3. The 'Lovely Nelly' entering the River Nith with Carsethorn in the background, from a painting by Arthur Harry Kidd, made in 1989 as a commission for Bryce Marshall. She was a two-masted merchant vessel of the Snow class, built in 1762 and registered at Whitehaven. (Print published by the Robert Marshall Clan, Nova Scotia in 1991; courtesy of Albert Marshall and Dumfries and Galloway Family History Society)

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[5] Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online at `http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/patterson_walter_4E.html`.

[6] Proprietors of P.E.I. Lots in 1767, and changes in Lot Ownership until 1810 at `www.islandregister.com` accessed 29 July 2015.

Fead obtained leave of absence and visited the Island, ‘where he found many gentlemen of the army engaged in procuring settlers for their Lots’. He contacted Governor Patterson and was told about ‘the terms on which these gentlemen engaged their settlers and he returned to Scotland, his native country, where he understood the spirit of emigration prevailed, in order to engage a few settlers to go out and fix upon his ground’.[7]

The 1774 and 1775 settlers on Lot 52

In 1774, George Fead contracted with ‘sundry families’ to settle his part of Lot 52. He freighted the *Lovely Nelly* of Whitehaven, William Sheridan master, to carry his settlers to the Island and paid their passages. (Figure 3) His costs were more than £400 [£24,000].

At this stage, Fead was posted to Minorca so that he was unable to obtain further leave of absence and return to the Island with his settlers. Instead he gave them a letter to David Higgins of Lot 59, ‘who had made great professions of friendship for him while he was in that Island’.

According to William Kirkpatrick:

> Mr Higgins acted a most unworthy part and, on the people’s arrival, in place of settling them on Captain Fead’s property, in terms of their engagement, he was guilty of a most flagrant breach of trust and seduced them to break off their agreement, by giving them more advantageous offers to settle with himself, which they accepted.

Thomas Chisholm claimed the problem with the first voyage was that the organiser (he names William Kirkpatrick, who was not involved at this stage, so that the problem lay with George Fead himself) was ‘ignorant of everything necessary to be done in planting down an infant colony’. He simply agreed the quantity of land allocated to each settler. At the same time, the people, ‘equally ignorant’ did not ask for anything, ‘thinking they had nothing to do when out but set quickly down upon their possession’:

> By this means, when they arrived, they had neither bread to eat nor a house to put their heads in. They were without cattle, without corns, without implements of husbandry, without tools to clear ground, which was a perfect desert, in a state of nature, and destitute of money to procure any one of all these.

In other words, the people had no alternative but to settle with David Higgins on Lot 59.

This meant that George Fead still needed settlers. His main problem was finance because ‘though a brave man and a good soldier he has not been enriched in the service of his country. On the contrary he was poor’. He asked William Kirkpatrick, David Currie of Newlaw and Thomas Wilson of Crossfield, near Penrith ‘to take a share with him in his Lot of land, the management and settlement whereof he was to take the sole direction of. Knowing him to be a man of worth and honour [they] took a share, more with a view of serving Mr Fead than benefitting themselves’.[8]

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[7] Between 1770 and 1775 approximately 1,000 new settlers arrived on the Island, mostly from Scotland.

[8] Although George Fead married Elizabeth Kirkpatrick at Dumfries in 1772, there is no evidence that she was related to William Kirkpatrick.

In the meantime, 'the worthless' David Higgins worsened the situation:

> … flushed with the acquisition he had obtained at Captain Fead's expense (though more at the expense of his own character and reputation) [he] sent over proposals by Captain Sheridan, offering land on much lower terms than Captain Fead had agreed with the people sent out but with this difference that they were to be at the sole expense of transporting themselves.
>
> And the people who went out in 1774 also wrote their acquaintances and friends, giving a most favourable account of the Island and the low terms in which they could rent land.

On 10 April 1775, William Kirkpatrick and Thomas Wilson met at Dumfries. They decided to send a letter to Governor Patterson, thanking him for helping Captain Fead in his absence and asking him to encourage the people to settle on Lot No. 52 and so 'fulfil their engagements'. At the same time they hoped the Governor would ask David Higgins for the letter from William Dodd, agreeing to the division of Lot 52 so that Fead's section could be divided between all his settlers (1774 and 1775), Kirkpatrick paying the governor's expenses.

There was another meeting, at Conheath two days later. This time David Currie was present. The three men decided that it was 'for their advantage' to have settlers on Lot 52, even on the terms offered by David Higgins, 'rather than that it should remain unsettled'. It is not known what terms George Fead had offered but the lower terms offered by Higgins were:

> four years free of rent
>
> the next ten years at 3d per acre
>
> the next ten years at 9d per acre
>
> and then the rent to be raised to one shilling but never to be higher.

These would be offered to the new settlers and if the people sent out in 1774 would settle Lot 52 after all then they would be offered the new terms, regardless of what had been agreed with Fead.

In addition, the 'necessaries' they needed after the first year would be sent out 'at first cost, only adding the freight and charges' provided that in exchange the people delivered to the ship's captain wood for the same value.

Several people, 'who were desirous to emigrate but anxious to go upon some certain footing', applied to William Kirkpatrick. Their names are listed in the court case:

> Robert Bryden, Joseph Clark, William Clark, Anthony Culton, James Douglas, William Graham, David Irving, James McCulloch and Robert Marshal.[9]

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[9] The *Lovely Nelly*'s passenger list for 1775 can be seen online at `www.islandresgister.com.` This list includes their age, where they came from, their occupation and why they wanted to emigrate. All the names mentioned in the court case are also on this list. There are several other references to the passengers online. See also 'Passenger

On 29 April 1775, these nine men signed formal articles with William Kirkpatrick and in return they were allocated a total of 2,100 acres on Lot 52.

William Clark was William Kirkpatrick's gardener at Conheath. Kirkpatrick told his partners that Clark had 'the character of an honest man and has behaved himself as such'. He believed that the man might be 'useful to the concern in prevailing with others to settle on the lands'. Because Clark had 'little more money than will pay his and his wife's passage' it was agreed to allow him credit for some meal and other supplies and to give him a small gratuity for his trouble. There is no information about the future relationship between Clark and Thomas Chisholm, who joined the voyage at the last minute.

According to William Kirkpatrick, Thomas Chisholm was 'an exceeding good judge of land. He had the direction of the improvement of a gentleman's estate in this country, which he executed in a most masterly manner and with the greatest judgement and frugality'. This estate, described as Torrone or Torrany near Dumfries has not been identified. Chisholm was also described as a farmer at Kirkbean. In April 1775, he was 'out of employment'. Having heard about the emigration to St John's Island and the opportunity of a vessel to take him there, Chisholm went to see Kirkpatrick, telling him that 'if it pleased him and answered the description he had got of it, he promised to become a settler himself and to take a considerable quantity of land'.

Despite the fact that he had appointed William Clark to this task, William Kirkpatrick saw a better solution to his problems and asked Thomas Chisholm how much he would charge to settle the 1775 passengers 'in terms of the articles they had entered into' and to recover the 1774 people from Lot 59. Chisholm's response was encouraging:

> He would leave it to me to give him any allowance or not as I pleased, upon which I gave him fifteen guineas, which was more than Chisholm himself demanded, and I also agreed with Captain Sheridan for his passage to and from the Island of St John's.

Thomas Chisholm was given a power of attorney, a letter of instructions 'so plain and simple that they could not possibly be misunderstood by any person possessed of the least degree of understanding' and a letter of recommendation to the Governor, all dated 2 May 1775. Kirkpatrick wrote in Chisholm's instructions, 'it is impossible to give you a particular direction as to a great many things that may occur. In the course of your endeavours to settle the people sent out last year you must just take such measures as appear to you most prudent and most conducive to Mr Fead's interest and I am persuaded the Governor will give you his best advice on every material occasion'.

In his letter to Walter Patterson of the same date William Kirkpatrick explained that he was impressed by Chisholm, who was 'a very honest man' and he hoped the Governor's 'best advice and assistance may not be wanting to further his endeavours'. Kirkpatrick

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List of the "Lovely Nelly" 1775', *Dumfries and Galloway Family History Society Newsletter*, No. 4, March 1989; 'Passenger List of the Lovely Nelly 1775', *Dumfries and Galloway Family History Society Newsletter*, No. 5, July 1989; 'Painting of the Lovely Nelly by Harry Kidd, description and passengers' reasons for leaving', *Dumfries and Galloway Family History Society Newsletter*, No. 11, July 1991.

believed that David Higgins would continue to do 'everything in his power to hurt Captain Fead in his scheme of settling his Lot' and this might cause Chisholm problems.

From time to time, Chisholm must charge Kirkpatrick for any money laid out in settling the people on Lot 52 'in the most just and equitable manner, agreeable to the respective quantities each has subscribed for'. In the meantime, he was given the fifteen guineas and a letter of credit to Messrs Ferguson at Cork, 'in case the vessel should touch there and it should be thought advisable to carry some provisions from thence for the use of the settlers'.

From: the Collector's Quarterly Accounts for Dumfries:[10]

Dumfries: 1 May 1775

Lovely Nelly of Whitehaven, William Sheridan master, for the Island of St John's in North America
20 chests & 30 parcels containing household furniture and wearing apparel.
20 boxes & 4 barrels containing utensils for agriculture and axes, saws, hammers &c.
All British manufacture, belonging to 120 passengers in said ship.
No utensils in the above packages made use of in the cotton, woolen & silk manufactures of this Kingdom.
Free

Victualing Bill for the ship *Lovely Nelly* of Whitehaven,
British built about 100 tons burden, and navigated with three men and three boys all British besides William Sheridan, a British man, master for the Island of St John's in North America
8 tierces of Irish salted beef; 10 cwt biscuit
20 bags and 6 barrels containing 8 quarters of oatmeal; 15 bags containing 25 bushels of potatoes
being for the sustenance of the crew of said ship, & 120 passengers.

It is not known if the *Lovely Nelly* called at Cork but she did arrive safely at St John's Island. Thomas Chisholm landed the people 'upon the grounds destined for their future settlement'. Now he began 'to perceive the difficulty of the task he had undertaken'.

The people were 'almost destitute of provisions'. As soon as they arrived, they were offered more favourable terms than those agreed with William Kirkpatrick and 'could hardly be prevented from accepting them'. As a result, 'it was with the utmost difficulty that he and Captain Sheridan could prevent them leaving the grounds immediately'.

Three of the settlers, 'pitched upon by the rest' went with Chisholm to see Governor Patterson. Having delivered the letter from William Kirkpatrick, 'I told the Governor the people had not sufficient provisions to keep them over winter and that each family demanded a cow, as they heard it was the custom of the country'. His problem was that he had no orders from Kirkpatrick 'to do any thing of that kind'.

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[10] NRS:E504/9/4.

The Governor 'disapproved much' of Kirkpatrick's contract with the new settlers because it would be a long time before the rent paid by them was 'worth noting'; the people had been given more land than they were capable of clearing and, because they were mostly poor, they would never be able to pay the agreed rent.

New articles of agreement were made out 'in proper terms' by Phillips Callbeck, the governor's secretary, and were signed by Thomas Chisholm and the settlers. According to these articles:

> by 1 October 1775, 60 barrels of flour, 30 barrels of beef or pork and 300 gallons of molasses would be divided between the settlers;
> by 1 November 1775, each family would be given 20 bushels of potatoes, two spades and three hoes, a cow and calf and 2 cwt. of cod fish and
> before 1 May 1776, they would be supplied with seed grain for 4 acres.

These supplies would be paid for by the settlers in four years with interest at 6%, 'according to the custom of the Island'.

The Governor dissuaded Thomas Chisholm from asking the 1774 settlers to join the others on Lot 52, 'as the people were much in debt to David Higgins, who would undoubtedly ruin them and prevent their being of advantage to any one, if they attempted to leave him'.

Thomas Chisholm acted 'with zeal and perseverance in the service of his employers'. A plan was made of George Fead's section of Lot 52 and the settlers drew lots for their land. Several of them refused to accept what they had been allocated by this method and 'it was not till after a great deal of confusion and much trouble that they were a second time prevented from leaving the settlement'. Now Chisholm helped them build their huts and saw them settled on the land.

According to the Governor's letter to William Kirkpatrick, dated 13 October 1775, Chisholm had landed 'with near a hundred souls on an Island at that time in want of bread for its present inhabitants and without two months bread for those he brought with him'. He went out 'over almost the whole face of the Island to procure some little provisions till more could be got from the continent'.

There were no spare cows on the Island and so Chisholm went to Nova Scotia, where he was forced to take 'long and fatiguing journeys … among the distant habitations of the planters scattered over the face of the continent'. He was only away from the St John's for five weeks but according to a letter from James Curtis to William Kirkpatrick, dated 2 December 1775, in the meantime 'the people were reduced to the necessity to sell a great part of their clothes to the French inhabitants for potatoes'.

Thomas Chisholm desperately needed more provisions, 'which these unhappy times made hard to get, as every port but Quebec was shut up' because of the 'rebellion' in America — fighting that was to lead to the War of Independence had broken out in April 1775. Chisholm went out to sea repeatedly, hoping to meet a ship going to Quebec so that he could commission her to bring him provisions from there. He was about to go to the continent himself, when he met a schooner loaded with provisions and dry goods. At last, he was able to make a considerable purchase of food. But the master wanted him to take all the provisions and the dry goods as well.

Chisholm needed to find a merchant, who could store the ship's cargo and then give the flour, meat and molasses to the settlers at the appropriate time. He chose James Curtis, 'a very honest friendly young man', based at Three Rivers on the Island. As part of their contract, Curtis would supply Kirkpatrick et al. with timber. There was a profit of £100 'and the people would be better supplied than what they would have been otherways'.

A bill (£245) was drawn on William Kirkpatrick for the value of the schooner's cargo of provisions and utensils. Curtis took notes totalling £215 from the settlers to pay for their supplies. These were payable in four years with 6% interest, as agreed. The notes were given to the Governor and then sent to Kirkpatrick, in case 'any accident' happened to Chisholm.

The agreement with James Curtis produced a clash with Phillips Callbeck, who was a merchant as well as being in government office. He had offered to help Chisholm find supplies for the people and had planned to purchase the schooner's cargo himself so that he was 'deprived of the profit that he would have derived from supplying them out of his own store'. Now he attempted to prejudice William Kirkpatrick against Curtis, describing him as 'an adventurer of fortune' in his letter dated 27 October 1775. Callbeck had warned Chisholm that if he persisted in his connections with Curtis then 'I should inform you'. His main objections to Curtis were that he was 'not a person of the best character nor was he worth a single six pence before he met Mr Chisholm':

> The fund that he had to commence merchant and factor has arisen from Mr Chisholm being led to assist in the purchase of a stock upon which the supplies are grafted that the tenants are to have. So that in fact Captain Fead's money has been applied first to purchase the supplies and they are sold to him again at an enhanced price. This sort of traffic is in fact paying a man's own money twice. …
>
> I assure you, notwithstanding of what I have said, I look upon Chisholm to be a strictly honest man. It was his misfortune to meet with people more knowing than himself. The only part he has been blameable in was in not desisting, after being informed of the contractors he had to deal with and that at a time when he could have retracted.

Callbeck concluded:

> while supplies continue at such extravagant prices he imagined emigration at the expense of a proprietor must stop, especially to a country dependent on her neighbours. These, says he, were my objections to Mr Chisholm's entering into the contract &c.[11]

According to Thomas Chisholm, if he had taken help from Phillips Callbeck then he would not have been able to buy provisions at a reasonable price himself and have them stored for the people, to be paid for at a later date. Callbeck would have supplied them out of his own store, 'in which case the expense would have been much greater'.

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[11] It is possible that James Curtis arrived on St John's Island in 1770, as footman to Phillips Callbeck. He was later a clerk to Callbeck and then David Higgins, before setting up his own store. Wikipedia at `https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Curtis_politician`, retrieved 29 July 2015.

There had been no fish or potatoes for the settlers on board the schooner and Chisholm was forced to purchase these locally. He left bills of exchange with James Curtis so that he could purchase the seed grain, when required, and 'what other necessaries they needed'. William Kirkpatrick accused Curtis of not handing out the provisions left with him. In his letter dated 28 January 1776, Phillips Callbeck merely reported to Kirkpatrick, 'one Irving and another of the settlers came to me with complaints of their not having got their things delivered them'. According to Thomas Chisholm, Curtis did help the people. 'Notwithstanding two great misfortunes that attended numbers of them in the loss of their cows and the damaging their potatoes in the severe season — he brought them finely through the winter and was at very great pains to gather provisions from all quarters for their support during the spring'. There is no further information about what happened to the cows.

Thomas Chisholm could not stay on the Island, because 'his business at home was urgent'. He asked James Curtis to write to William Kirkpatrick 'on the subject of the plantation to give him an account of the soil and climate with the proper methods of culture and of clearing the grounds, so as Mr Kirkpatrick might pursue the proper plans'. The settlement on Lot 52 was left 'in the most promising, not to say flourishing, way of any upon the Island for a new plantation. The people all contented and happy, giving him letters at his departure to their friends in this country containing flattering accounts of their situation'. He boarded the *Jupiter* for Boston.

At 4 o'clock in the morning of 26 November 1775, 'when it blew a hurricane, the ship was struck with lightening and instantly set on fire. She burnt so furiously that the people had hardly time to save their lives and every one on board lost every article belonging to them. Chisholm was below in bed at the time she took fire. But hearing the noise he threw on some clothes and run up on deck to see what the matter was, when he found the ship in flames'. By this time, one of the boats was in the sea and the rest of the people still on board were trying to launch another one. 'Chisholm immediately lent his assistance and got into the boat the moment it was launched without hat, shoes or stockings and in which condition he was taken up with the rest next day, almost starved to death, by the *Mercury* man of war who landed them at Boston in about a week after'.

On 2 December 1775, Thomas Chisholm appeared before William Winter, a notary public in Boston. He made an oath that the ship *Jupiter* and her cargo were wholly lost together with all his possessions. He was in 'the most destitute situation'. Having been given a hat, a pair of shoes, a pair of stockings and a shirt by four captains of the fleet, Chisholm met someone who knew him so that he was able to obtain a passage home.

Back in Scotland at last, Thomas Chisholm went to Dumfries, where he stayed at the George Inn. On 11 February 1776, he sent a letter to William Kirkpatrick:

> I beg you would write me what time would be most convenient for you and I will meet you at Conheath and make out a state of accounts as well as I can, having unfortunately lost them all and had nothing but my memory and a journal book, the latter is not yet arrived.

Thomas Chisholm's Accounts

Thomas Chisholm claimed 'there never was a settlement made on that Island of St John's at so moderate an expense'. William Kirkpatrick responded 'all this may be true. But still the expense upon us is intolerable and what we had no reason to expect'.

It was difficult for Kirkpatrick to understand Chisholm's accounts. It is even more difficult to interpret them nearly two hundred and fifty years later. Despite this, an attempt had been made to understand what was involved.

The following items are discussed in William Kirkpatrick's defence against Thomas Chisholm's claims:

The hand notes given to James Curtis by the settlers and forwarded by the Governor: £214 7s 7½d

Kirkpatrick had not given Chisholm any authority to trust the people or to give them any value for these notes. They were poor, starving and not worthy of credit at the time this was done. Chisholm had not produced an account of what they had been given and, because of Callbeck's remarks, Kirkpatrick believed that the goods did not cost more than half the amount charged. This money would not be paid back by the people until the end of four years, 'by the increase of their cattle and from the produce of the land'. According to the Governor, the people would be unable to pay their rent by this stage let alone any other costs.

On 29 February 1776, William Kirkpatrick wrote to David Currie about these hand notes. What should the partners do? If Curtis's bills were not paid, he would seize the settlers' cattle etc., 'the consequence of which will be these poor devils would be reduced to the greatest distress and be obliged to abandon the settlement'. Then the money they had invested in the settlement so far would be lost.

The remaining three items totaling £708 15s 0d [£42,525 in modern currency]

These items included the fifteen guineas given to Chisholm for his expenses when he left Scotland plus bills drawn by Thomas Chisholm: £568 16s 0d and his additional expenses: £124 4s 0d. This is not the figure claimed in the Sheriff Court.

Kirkpatrick's comments about the articles included in the last two items are summarised below:

goods in Mr Higgins' store for the use of the settlers to be delivered by James Curtis per Note No. 1	£245 15s 0d
goods and sundries applied to the use of Kirkpatrick's settlers per Note No. 2	£12 3s 6d

Note No.1: Kirkpatrick had not given Chisholm any orders to buy these goods. He never saw any account of the first cost or from whom they were bought or any discharged account for the price.

He was confused (one can see why). In the court papers there was a receipt from Curtis for £59. In addition there were three items totalling £130, not mentioned in the receipt:

800 lb. of beef and pork £20
500 bushels potatoes £50
flour or potatoes £60.

This meant that the goods did not cost much more than half the amount claimed.

In addition there were orders upon Allan & Lawson for 120 bushels of wheat and on Miller for salmon: £60 although this wheat and salmon were never delivered. There was a charge of £24 for salmon, despite the fact that according to their new articles of agreement the people were to be given cod.

Note No.2: included tobacco and snuff, clothing, a gun and sundry items from Phillips Callbeck etc. Chisholm had no power or authority to furnish 'his settlers' with these items and they were not included in his contract with them:

expenses with the settlers at Carsethorn, passage to Whitehaven, expenses there and sea store	£5 8s 0d
freight and passage paid to Captain Sheridan	£14 0s 0d
loading and unloading the meal	£2 7s 0d
fish & feathers from Captain Sheridan	£2 6s 0d

Chisholm's passage on board the *Lovely Nelly* was free out and home. The price listed for the meal was clearly an overcharge and this should be offset against the account of its sale, which was not produced. No instructions had been given to receive fish or feathers from Sheridan.

boat hire	£2 15s 0d
expenses at Three Rivers and Charlestown and that part of the Island with schooners' men	£16 2s 0d
Gavin Johnston for assisting in setting of the settlers lots 16s & John Crocket for a line to measure them 2s	18s 0d
wild geese and a dog	£3 10s 0d
expenses while in Nova Scotia buying and driving cattle and putting them on board	£12 12s 0d
schooner hire	£45 0s 0d

Kirkpatrick accepted the items for boat hire and expenses at Three Rivers etc., as these appeared necessary to get the people settled on Lot 52. The payments to Johnston and Crocket were objected to because the people had not been settled 'in terms of the agreement he made with them'. There had been no orders to purchase the geese or a dog and Chisholm had not been instructed to go to Nova Scotia or hire a schooner.

The Reverend Mr Eagleman for expenses going to Halifax to negotiate bills	£7 0s 0d
Eagleson Harper miller in balance in hand till the bills are paid	£12 7s 0d

There was no evidence that Chisholm had paid the Reverend Mr Eagleman's expenses and he had no authority to send him on such an errand. Kirkpatrick found the next item 'not intelligible' and anyway he had no connection with Chisholm's transactions with these people.

goods lost at sea	£36 3s 6d
clothes for Chisholm in America and London per note No. 3	£12 8s 0d
board in the George Inn 9 weeks the time I waited on you to get matters settled @ 9s per week	£4 1s 0d

Kirkpatrick never agreed to indemnify Chisholm for any losses at sea. If he had returned by Captain Sheridan, as ordered, this would not have happened. If Chisholm had wanted Kirkpatrick to be liable, he should have sent him an inventory of his effects with their value before he sailed from St John's Island so that these could be covered by insurance. When Kirkpatrick sent Chisholm out to Canada, he did not ask for nor was promised any clothes. There was no question of paying the accommodation bill because Chisholm had not even 'waited upon him half a week to get matters settled'.

At a late stage, Chisholm produced an additional list of his expenses on the journey home:

£3 10s 0d: expenses and sea store at [blank]
£1 10s 0d: expenses at Boston sea store and protest
£18 0s 0d: expenses from Boston to Dover passage etc per receipt
10s 0d: for expenses from on board to Dover
£2 0s 0d: expenses from Dover to London
£7 0s 0d: expenses from London to Dumfries
£10 0s 0d: expenses in London
£42 10s 0d in total

There are no comments from Kirkpatrick but it is unlikely that he acknowledged this account.

Finally, Thomas Chisholm claimed £100 'for his trouble'. Yet he had agreed to go out to St John's Island 'without fee or reward', leaving it to Kirkpatrick et al. 'to give him an allowance or not, as they thought his services merited'. According to Kirkpatrick, 'from the slightest view of his proceedings it appears his service merited no acknowledgement, as he executed no part of the plan he was sent out upon'.

In Chisholm's defence, the Governor would write on 3 March 1776, about the £100 'which I must say, considering what I saw of him and what he had [illegible] and to perform, is not in my opinion unreasonable. The time was unfavourable. Every thing the settlers stood in need of was dear and difficult to be had. But that cannot be a fault of his'.

The Governor added: 'if the people you have got through his means will stay upon your land, and are contented, they are a great acquisition and you will some time afterwards be well satisfied with your present expense. For, unless to those who have experienced it, there is no having an idea of the difficulty, which attends making a new settlement, nor of the great advantage it is to an uncultivated tract, when once it is made'.

He concluded: 'if there be nothing against him [Thomas Chisholm] but expense, I think you will do well to be cautious of condemning him on that ground. As I am certain the business he had to execute could not be performed for a small sum'.

William Kirkpatrick was shocked by the amount of money claimed by Thomas Chisholm. On Tuesday afternoon, 27 February 1776, he met Thomas Wilson at Conheath. As Kirkpatrick wrote to David Currie two days later, 'it's a very great disappointment for us that you did not come down, as our situation in respect to Chisholm is really embarrassing and we are much at a loss what to do for the best'.

James Curtis had written to William Kirkpatrick on 16 October 1775, explaining that there was still 'a great part' of the items promised by Chisholm's articles of agreement still required, 'which I will endeavour to supply by whatever articles I can pick up'. Having described the general situation on the Island, he added 'this will I hope give you enough [of an idea] how fully necessary it will be to get a vessel out here with provisions and save your settlers, as I can assure you your present settlement in a great manner depends upon a rigorous attempt to supply them next year. It is needless to think they can be fully furnished here for every article has at present an advance of 100 to 200%'.

Now in February 1776, Kirkpatrick wrote to David Currie 'to make the best of a bad bargain', if the shipmaster William Lowden, who had gone to Glasgow, managed to purchase a vessel then they could send out a cargo according to the list that Chisholm had brought back with him. This might produce £100 per cent profit. They could send Chisholm on board the ship, 'as he is now tolerably well acquainted and might be useful, particularly to get the effects out of Curtis's hands'. If Lowden were not successful in purchasing a vessel, 'what must be done?'

The partners would need £1,200 credit to pay the bills that Kirkpatrick had refused to accept and to purchase the vessel and cargo. 'But it is impossible I apprehend to get this sum so soon as it will be wanted'.

Thomas Chisholm had stated that he could have made 'a great deal of money', if he had taken the settlers to Nova Scotia, where the conditions were 'more to their advantage than they are at present'. He could find men there, who would take charge of the people, 'settle them more to their liking and who will indemnify and pay us every shilling of the expense incurred by him in settling them on our Lot'. Kirkpatrick asked David Currie, 'what would you think (in case he goes out with Lowden) to let him make that bargain?' It appears that some of the settlers did move to Nova Scotia.

On 26 April 1776, James Curtis wrote to William Kirkpatrick:

> I beg your vessel may be forwarded with plenty of provisions, sailcloth, cordage, cables etc. and coarse cloth trimmings etc. otherwise your people will be in a most shocking situation. What is worse, all the disbursements that has already been laid out will be lost for I can't with the least presumption say I shall be able to get one barrel of meat or flour the whole season for them. I have only little more than 1 cwt. of different species to furnish my vassals with and if it should be want that drives any of the people away I could not stop them on your account, as I have no power of attorney or authority to act and that they will know.

The *Mally*, William Lowden master, sailed from Kirkcudbright to Halifax, Nova Scotia in May 1776. Her cargo, supplied by William Kirkpatrick and David Currie, is listed in the Appendix. She returned the following year.

From: the Collector's Quarterly Accounts for Kirkcudbright:[12]

Kirkcudbright, 11 August 1777
Mally of Kirkcudbright, William Lowden master, from the Island of St John's, North America
4 pieces containing 60 feet square Pine Timber, 2 pieces containing 20 feet square Oak Timber
1 piece containing 10 feet square Maple Timber. All the produce of His Majesty's Colonies
in North America as per oath of William Lowden annexed. Free.

What happened next?

According to an article about the Passenger List of the *Lovely Nelly* 1775, a number of the people did move to Nova Scotia, where they were known as the Dumfries Settlers. They included William Kirkpatrick's former gardener, William Clark.[13]

The second letter from William Kirkpatrick to David Currie was dated 4 December 1777, 'wherein he lays down a plan for taking off [as he calls it] Lord Selkirk, who had given Thomas Chisholm his countenance in obtaining justice. That is bringing over his Lordship to withdraw his protection from Chisholm, who had served him in the quality of overseer since his return from America'. In 1803, Thomas Douglas, Lord Selkirk sponsored 800 settlers from the Scottish highlands. Was it a coincidence that Chisholm had worked with the Earl of Selkirk?

David Higgins ran into financial difficulty. He was captured by an American privateer and the cost of his ransom was so high that he ran out of money and had to sell his land on St John's Island. He died at Charlottetown in 1783. John Aitken had arrived at Lot 59 in 1779.

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[12] NRS:E504/21/4.

[13] 'Passenger List of the Lovely Nelly 1775', *Dumfries and Galloway Family History Society Newsletter*, No. 5, July 1989. See also *The South of Scotland People in Pictou County, Nova Scotia* at `http://www.kirkcudbright.co/historyarticle.asp?ID=274&p=29&g=4`.

Walter Patterson was recalled as Governor of St John's Island in 1786 and criminal charges were brought against him in London in 1789. He died in England in 1798. As part of the enquiry into Patterson, Phillips Callbeck was removed from office in 1789. He died on the Island in 1790. James Curtis had a very successful career as a merchant, politician, judge and land agent. He died in 1819.[14]

Both David Currie and William Kirkpatrick died bankrupt. George Fead continued his career in the army. He died at Woolwich in 1815, aged 86 years. Nothing further is known about Thomas Wilson.

Appendix

Source: the Collector's Quarterly Accounts for Kirkcudbright [NRS: E504/21/4]

Kirkcudbright, 30 April to 13 May 1776

***Mally* of Kirkcudbright, William Lowden master, for Halifax in Nova Scotia, North America**

Food

20 tons 7 cwt. & 5½ lb wheat flour
7 tons 22 cwt. 23 lb shelled barley
30 qrs. & 1 bu. oats Winchester measure
17 tons 35 cwt. 3 qrs. 4 lb oatmeal
2 Winchester qrs. pease
1 Winchester qr. beans
17 cwt. 24 lb refined sugar manufactured at Ayr
14 cwt. biscuit

Drink

195 doz. & 8 chopin bottles strong beer [a chopin was a quart]
406 doz. & 7 chopin bottles Portugal red wine
2,609 gall. rum
562 doz. & 9 chopin bottles British green glass

Clothing

16 pieces and 30 doz. and 10 odds quantity 519 sq. yds British printed linens and handkerchiefs
2 pieces quantity 278 yds Scotch osnaburghs [coarse linen cloth]
2 pieces quantity 47 yds Irish linens
2 pieces quantity 59½ yds Scotch diaper
5 pieces 122¾ yds Scotch striped bed tykes [ticks]
1 doz. quantity 10 yds Glasgow checked handkerchiefs
5 pieces quantity 125 yds British linen

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[14] The information about David Higgins, Walter Patterson, Phillips Callbeck and James Curtis comes from various internet sources. It has not been substantiated.

3 pieces quantity 64 yds Scotch Harris
2,735 lb woollens
14 doz. pair Scotch woollen stockings
384 lb tanned leather breeches
2,324 lb tanned leather shoes
134 lb tanned leather.

Household Goods
6 pots and 4 kettles
1,024 lb tallow candles
15 tons coals from Greenock

Tools
20 axes
5 doz hoes
12 doz spades
nails

60 lb cordage
12 pieces quantity 506 yds sail cloth
12 saddles

1 chest containing wearing apparel.

Acknowledgement

The writer would like to thank Stuart Faed for information about George Fead and his family.

JOHN HEATHCOAT'S STEAM PLOUGH

Martin Allen[1]

John Heathcoat was the inventor of a steam ploughing engine which he demonstrated on marshland near Dumfries in 1837. The organisers were disappointed with its performance, and thereafter it was believed that the machine had sunk into the marsh; but there is evidence against that account of its fate.

Before the Highland Show acquired its title of Royal, and its permanent showground outside Edinburgh, its venue varied from year to year. In 1837 it was the turn of Dumfries. An unusual attraction at that year's show, held in the first week of October, was to be a demonstration of ploughing by steam power, a revolutionary concept at the time. The use of steam was still in its infancy, and the idea of tilling the soil by any other means than muscle-power, whether human or animal, seemed remote from the realm of practical possibility.

The tackle to be tested was not designed for land that could be ploughed with horses, but was intended to bring almost impassable bog land into cultivation. The site chosen for the trial was the small farm of Grain, five miles outside Dumfries at the southern tip of Torthorwald parish.[2]

Grain — its name perhaps seen as a good omen at the time of the trial — is shown and named on the 1965 one-inch Ordnance Survey map at grid reference NY 028707. On the west side some fifty yards of marshland then separated it from the boundary of the extensive Racks Moss spruce plantation. On the east, a similar distance lay between it and Horseholm, its nearest neighbour, the two facing each other across a narrow strip between the two plantations of Racks Moss and Ironhirst Moss. Down the east side of the non-forested strip ran the Mouswald Burn, now deeply channelled, and along the middle trickled the marshy Racks Burn, which was once the more important of the two, its twisting course there forming the boundary between the parishes of Torthorwald and Mouswald.

Afforestation of the two mosses is relatively recent: nineteenth-century maps and many later ones show them as expanses of marshland, all lying below the 50-foot contour. Many more changes have taken place since the one-inch map was published. The farmhouse of Grain is a ruin, pointed out to me by Mr Martin of Horseholm Farm.[3] It is almost hidden by mature larches which occupy the former marshland around and behind it, and no longer appears on any map. The Racks Burn no longer flows between the two farms, being diverted further upstream to become a tributary of the Mouswald Burn. Showing no sign of having once been a marsh, the land between Grain and Horseholm is now succulent and well-drained pastureland supporting Mr Martin's large herd of beef cattle.

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[1] Member of the Society; Durisdeer Schoolhouse, Thornhill, Dumfriesshire DG3 5BQ.

[2] *Dumfries & Galloway Courier* of 11 and 18 October 1837 gives the name of the farm, but wrongly places it in Caerlaverock parish. The newspaper names its tenant as Robert Wilkin, who, however, does not appear in the 1841 census for Torthorwald or any neighbouring parish. At the census Grain was occupied by two agricultural labourers named Milligan, Thomas (30) and Jacob (25) with their wives and Thomas's four children, suggesting that it was not then farmed as a unit.

[3] To whom I owe thanks for giving me directions and for indicating the area where the trial is believed to have taken place.

The machine was the creation of John Heathcoat (1783–1861), industrialist, parliamentarian and inventor. He was a Derbyshire farmer's son, who after serving apprenticeships in the textile trade had by the age of 33 invented and patented a machine for making lace — previously a cottage industry — and had set up his own factory in the Leicestershire town of Loughborough. Then, in 1816, it was raided by the Luddites and all the machinery smashed. Anticipating trouble of that kind in the East Midlands, where Luddism was rife, Heathcoat had already, in the previous year, bought a large, modern woollen mill two hundred miles distant, no doubt at a favourable price as the sellers' business had ceased to be profitable.

The mill was at Tiverton in Devon. By 1824 relocation was complete; Heathcoat had brought many of his experienced workers with him, to impart their skills to local men thrown out of work by the failing woollen industry, and had built new machines to his own improved designs in a foundry attached to the factory, using its spare capacity to make and repair farm implements and probably also to make prototypes of some of the steam plough's components.[4]

Unlike later ploughing engines which worked in pairs, advancing a furrow-width at a time and winching a plough backwards and forwards between them, Heathcoat's tackle employed only one engine which travelled along the centre line of the area being ploughed. To prepare its track in advance, parallel ditches were dug seven yards apart; the weight of the engine would squeeze enough moisture from the intervening strip to enable horses to plough it later.

With a six-ton load of fuel — either coal or peat — the engine weighed thirty tons. It was not unlike later traction engines in appearance except that only the top of its high funnel rose above its mammoth-sized caterpillar tracks of wood and canvas, each 7½ feet wide and impelled by 8-foot rollers with centres 26 feet apart. The engine's weight was so spread by this 'mobile floor' that its ground pressure was calculated at only a fraction of that imposed by a walking man.

The engine was not built for speed. It moved, literally, at a snail's pace: one inch per second, or around one twentieth of one mile per hour. Not that its funereal pace mattered, for it was required to move only a double furrow-width of 18 inches at a time, then standing while its two attendant ploughs zipped through the peat at the comparatively breakneck speed of two miles an hour.

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[4] Heathcoat's early life, invention of lace-making machine, establishment of business and move to Tiverton: W. Gore Allen (late father of the present writer), *John Heathcoat and his Heritage,* London, Christopher Johnson, 1958, Chapters 2–6. Foundry making agricultural implements: *ibid*., p.111.

The ploughs, each weighing over half a ton and needing two men to keep it on course, were attached to narrow iron belts running to pulleys anchored a quarter-mile apart on opposite headlands. When the ploughs completed their outward run they were moved into position for their return journey, and while they returned the pulleys were likewise repositioned. The whole tackle was staffed by nine men and a boy, and was reckoned to be able to plough between eight and nine acres in a twelve-hour day.[5]

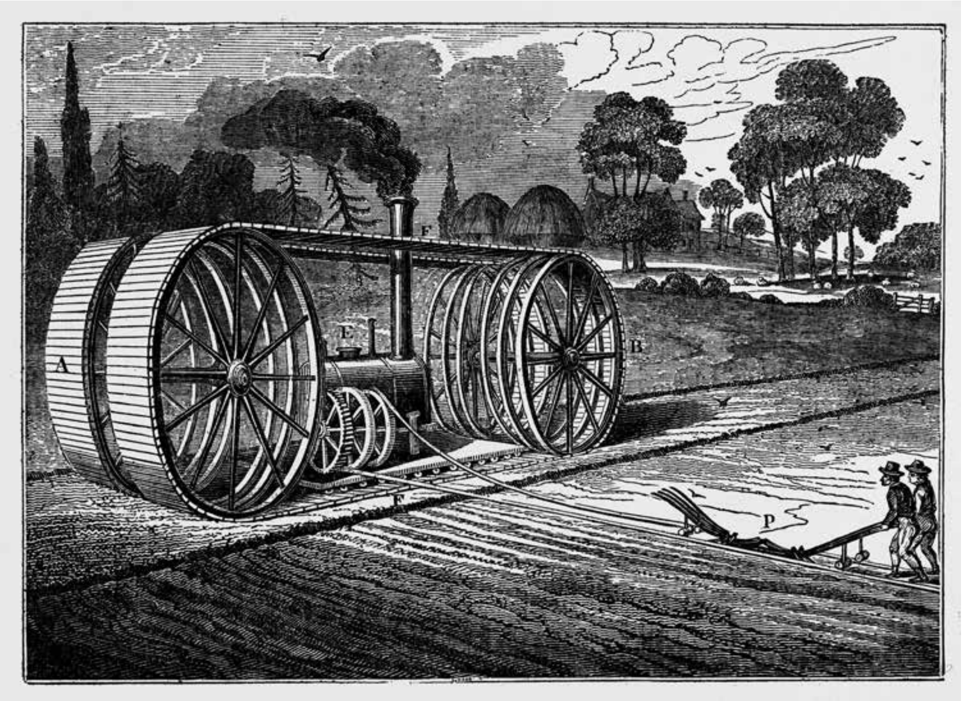

Figure 1. 'Mr. Heathcoat's Steam-Plough' from *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, No.856, 7 October 1837.

The machine was built by a Lancashire engineer, Josiah Parkes, and was tested in April 1837 on the Red Moss, close to his works, in the presence of observers from the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland. They were so impressed with its performance that the local branch of the Society requested a further trial in its own area to coincide with the Highland Show being held at Dumfries. The machine was therefore dismantled and shipped to Glencaple, three miles from the scene of its second public appearance.[6]

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[5] Description of construction and operation: *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland*, Vol. IV, 1839, pp.72–80.

[6] Machine built by Parkes: *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, Volume 7, 1837, p.227. Shipped to Glencaple: *Dumfries & Galloway Courier* of 11/18 October 1837.

Well before the show was due to open, much interest was shown locally in the arrival of the machine and its reassembly on Scottish soil. In July the *Dumfries Courier* greeted it with boyish enthusiasm as 'a wizzard [*sic*] machine' and hailed its inventor as a genius, filling a closely-printed column with details of its construction and operation gleaned from the contemporary *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*.[7]

The trial was duly held, but the tone of the press reports is distinctly subdued. 'It is a great thing to see so huge a machine moving at the rate of four miles an hour over a surface which would swamp the stoutest horses,' says the *Courier*; despite the exaggeration of its speed, the machine is no longer 'wizzard'. Something had gone wrong. All we learn, though, is that the crowd of spectators — charged sixpence a head in a vain attempt to keep the numbers manageable — had so churned up the soil that the Highland Society's officials had been unable to judge the machine's performance.[8]

The *Dumfries Times* reports a banquet marking the close of the show. In proposing Heathcoat's health, the Chairman of the Highland Society 'regretted' that the steam plough 'did not appear to be adapted for working upon ordinary lands; but in course of time, and that a short time, he trusted it would'. There was no seat at the top table for its inventor; he was merely 'present', and 'would, no doubt, favour the meeting with a statement of what were his expectations in regard to the matter'.

We do not know what reply Heathcoat made. Accustomed to addressing noisy sessions of the Commons, he could certainly have made himself heard had he wished.[9] However, he was not heard by the man from the *Dumfries Times,* who writes, 'From the position in which we were placed' — further evidence that Heathcoat was not seated among those who mattered, whose every utterance is recorded — 'and the low tone in which he spoke, we were unable to catch the purport of his observations.'[10] Clearly there was disappointment all round.

The builder of the machine did not share its inventor's reticence. A week after the banquet the *Courier* published a long letter from Parkes, vehemently defending what he calls 'my machine' and self-righteously quoting the words in which he had snubbed a spectator who dismissed it as 'gey fine, but no sae fine as a balloon'. The machine, he wrote, worked perfectly until the final afternoon of the three-day trial, when, whatever else may have happened, it ran out of steam. The fault lay with the spectators — two thousand of them, floundering in mud already churned by two days' trampling. Parkes, manning the engine, had to be able to see when to stop the ploughs at the limit of their travel, but the crowds blocked his view and then hindered the return of the ploughs by surging forward to examine them. The delay caused a dangerous build-up of steam pressure which apparently could be reduced only by setting the machinery in motion or damping down the fire. Once damped, the time it took to return to working temperature was too great for the officials' patience.[11]

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[7] *Dumfries & Galloway Courier* of 26 July 1837.

[8] *Dumfries & Galloway Courier* of 11 October 1837.

[9] Heathcoat had represented Tiverton in Parliament since 1832.

[10] *Dumfries Times* of 11 October 1837.

[11] *Dumfries & Galloway Courier* of 18 October 1837.

Heathcoat had invested more than £10,000 in the project — a huge sum then, worth several millions of today's money — and would surely not have abandoned it if what Parkes had written was the whole truth. It would have been easy enough to arrange another trial, on a virgin site and before a hand-picked audience of experts and potential customers. But no further trial was held. The machine stayed where it was … or did it?

Received opinion, ever since, has followed that of Alexander Ramsay, historian of the Highland Society, who wrote four decades after the event: 'After the exhibition, the machine disappeared in the night, having sunk in the moss! It has been said that portions of the machine may have been recovered, but that, as a whole, it has not yet been brought to the surface.'[12] The source of Ramsay's information is unknown, and it appeared too late to be confirmed or denied by the exhibitors, as Parkes had died in 1871 and Heathcoat a decade earlier.

This was followed in 1937 by no less an authority than Professor J.A. Scott Watson, who wrote with May Elliot Hobbs: '… when, after the trial, the engine was left standing on the moss overnight its "buoyancy" proved unequal to the occasion, and it disappeared completely, never to be recovered'.[13]

Their lead was followed in turn by Gore Allen: '… when some of [the] spectators returned to Lochar Moss next morning … they found, to their amazement, that no trace of engine, auxiliary carriages or ploughs remained in sight. […] But soon it was admitted that, while the buoyancy of the apparatus was sufficient to carry it on the mosses of Lancashire, it was not enough for Scottish peats.'[14]

In 1960 the *Dumfries & Galloway Standard* published this excerpt from a magazine article sent in by a reader, who had received it from a relative in Canada: '… on the night when the show closed, the plough disappeared, sinking completely into the moss — and with it, it seems, went the Society's interest in steam as an aid to agriculture'.[15] The newspaper gave no author's name or publication details, so it is impossible to say when the article was written; but the author was mistaken in supposing that the Highland Society was no longer interested in steam-power after Heathcoat's demonstration. The Society's offer of a premium of £500 for successful application of steam power to cultivation remained open until 1843. It was then withdrawn for several years, but in the 1850s a lower premium of £200 was offered 'for the practical application of steam or water power to the ploughing or digging of land' and was won in 1857 by John Fowler of London.[16]

Another version, which Gore Allen quotes only to dismiss it, is that the machine disappeared into a bog in Ireland. Heathcoat is likely to have had Ireland in mind when he invented it: as early as 1825 he had helped to found a society to improve Irish agriculture, and later as an MP he took much interest in Irish affairs.[17] But could so huge a machine have been dismantled and its separate parts transported three miles by horse and cart to a waiting ship, all in the space of an October night and unnoticed by the local press? And if that were possible, could so newsworthy a machine have been unloaded at an Irish quayside, carted overland, reassembled and launched on a bog with no word reaching British ears?

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[12] Alexander Ramsay, *History of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland*, Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1879, p.434.

[13] J.A. Scott Watson and May Elliot Hobbs, *Great Farmers*, London, Selwyn & Blount, 1937, p.63.

[14] Gore Allen, *op.cit.*, p.114.

[15] *Dumfries & Galloway Standard* of 23 January 1960.

[16] Ramsay, *op.cit.*, pp.434–5.

Gore Allen was probably right to reject that story, and not only because it conflicts with his preferred version. But that version, when it appeared in Ramsay's *History* in 1879, must have come as a surprise to any readers in Dumfriesshire with long enough memories to recall a very different report that had appeared in the *Courier* twenty-six years earlier and only sixteen years after the Lochar Moss trial. In March 1853 the newspaper recorded that 'in the course of this winter Mr Heathcoate's [*sic*] steam plough has been removed from Lochar Moss; and what is curious enough, the steam engine itself, having been found to be in very fair order, notwithstanding its lengthened abode in the moss, has been despatched to Egypt. …' The remaining tackle had been sold to a local iron-founder.[18]

The *Courier*'s report concludes with some significant background information: 'For several years after [the trial] engineers were engaged upon the project, and various minor improvements effected; but the practical difficulties could not be overcome; for the last six or seven years the machinery has remained untouched.' If the truth of the matter lies in this report then during those six or seven years the wood and canvas of the 'mobile floor' had rotted away, leaving the heavy ironwork to subside gradually into the moss, but not so far as to be beyond recovery.

But was it recovered? Half a century later a boy played in the fields of the now-abandoned farm of Grain; and as an old man in 1972 he told a *Dumfries & Galloway Standard* reporter of his memory of seeing what he understood to be the top of the plough sticking up out of the bog.[19]

My belief is that the 'received opinion', ultimately traceable to Ramsay, was based on nothing but rumour; that Heathcoat's near-silence at the banquet suggests that he knew that there were serious unresolved problems; that what the old man remembered seeing was some piece of ironwork left behind by the local iron-founder; and that the true facts are as recorded by the *Dumfries Courier* in 1853.

References

All the newspaper excerpts quoted in this article are included in a collection of material on Heathcoat's steam plough at the Ewart Library, Dumfries, under reference Db151(8BLA)p.

Acknowledgements

The writer owes thanks to Ewart Library staff for making the above material available; to the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society for copies of the relevant pages of Ramsay's *History* and of Volume IV of their *Transactions;* and to the Director of the Tiverton Museum for providing details of the illustration used in Figure 1.

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[17] Gore Allen, *op.cit.*, p.130.

[18] *Dumfries & Galloway Courier* of 22 March 1853.

[19] *Dumfries & Galloway Standard* of 15 March 1972, p.8.

JOHN RUTHERFORD, SOCIETY MEMBER AND PHOTOGRAPHER OF SCENES IN DUMFRIES

Morag Williams[1]

John Rutherford (1842–1925) was a local photographic pioneer and well worthy of study. Three published papers will result in a fairly comprehensive review of his recording of scenes of South-West Scotland at the end of the Victorian period. The current paper, which is the third and final one, features his photographs of Dumfries. The first paper in the series presented biographical information and a study of the excavations at Birrens in the 1890s, both aspects of Annandale.[2] *The second paper dealt with his photographs of Nithsdale from north to south.*[3] *Each paper has quotations from writings largely contemporaneous with Rutherford's photographic work.*

Introduction

John Rutherford (1842–1925) returned to his native district circa 1874 when he bought the estate of Jardington on the Cluden to the north-west of Dumfries. It was there that he lived in retirement with his wife and family from the young age of 32 years for the rest of his life.

Much of his Dumfries work appears in published works, which the author has chanced upon since interest in him was awakened in the 1980s. There is a guide book to Dumfries:

Dumfries & Round About:
THE LAND OF BRUCE AND BURNS,
OF SCOTT AND CARLYLE.

BY
W. DICKIE.

Swan's Popular Guide,
WITH HISTORICAL & LITERARY NOTES,
OVER FORTY ILLUSTRATIONS AND A PLAN OF THE TOWN.

DUMFRIES:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. SWAN, STATIONER, 63 HIGH STREET.

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

[2] Williams, Morag. (2013). John Rutherford, Society Member and Photographer in Annandale. *TDGNHAS*, 87, pp.135–164.

[3] Williams, Morag. (2014). John Rutherford, Society Member and Photographer in Nithsdale. TDGNHAS, 88, pp.135–180.

The author's introductory notes are dated June 1898. A number of the scenes were recognized as the work of John Rutherford.[4]

A search online for a copy was successful. On receipt, lo and behold, there was the signature of the original owner, J. Rutherford: a remarkable co-incidence. Within the book Rutherford had signed ten photographs as being his work. This could be claimed to be heaven-sent!

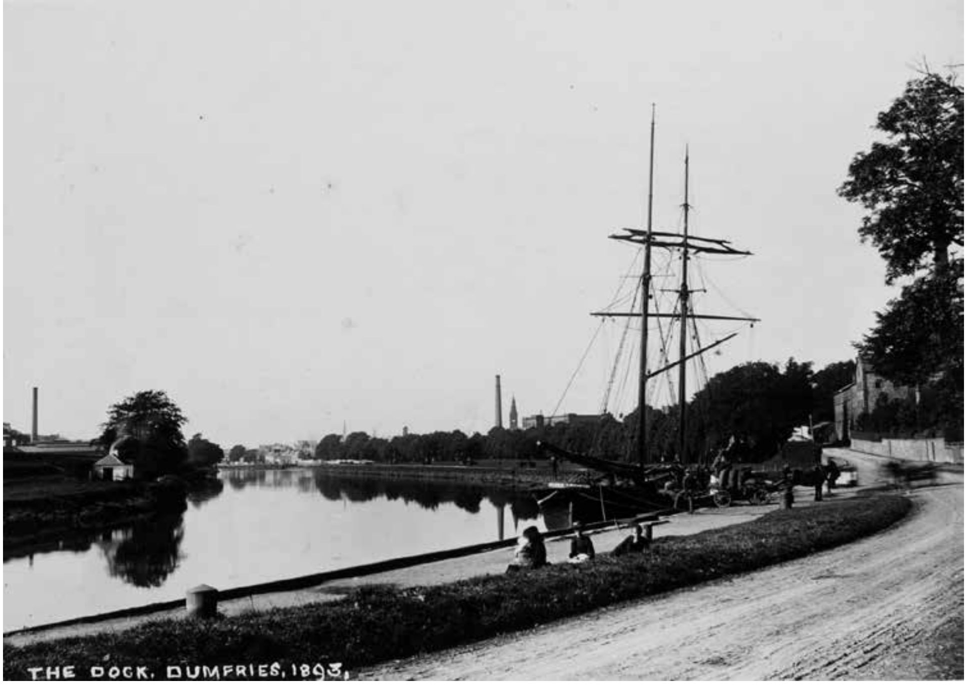

Figure 1. The Dock, Dumfries, showing 'The Dolphin, Lancaster', 1893. The vessel was unloading grain for the mill at Castledykes.
(Album 2, number 67; Figures 1–15, 17–48 courtesy of Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, Information and Archives and the Wellcome Trust; DGH 1/8/1)

The guide book said of the town and its river:

> Dumfries is situated on the Nith, a river whose pellucid stream forms a silver link between the two counties consecrated by the genius of Burns. Before crossing the Ayrshire boundary, it absorbs the 'sweet Afton' of his song.
>
> The river forms the dividing line between Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire … the eastmost of the two counties which are together known as Galloway.

---

[4] Scenes included in this guide book but featured in the second paper published on John Rutherford; from Album 1, Dalswinton Loch (number 32) and Ellisland (number 34); from Album 2, the Choir, Terregles Church (number 50), Caerlaverock Castle (number 75) and Glencaple (number 73). Not featured: the Nith at Ellisland (Album 1, number 35).

> Little more than a mile below the junction with the Cluden, the Nith sweeps with graceful curve around the town that is for the present our chief consideration … the tidal waters of the Solway flow up to Dumfries, where the attenuated current is finally arrested by 'the Caul' or weir, thrown diagonally across the river to collect its waters for supply of grain mills belonging to the burgh.[5]

The Bridges of Dumfries

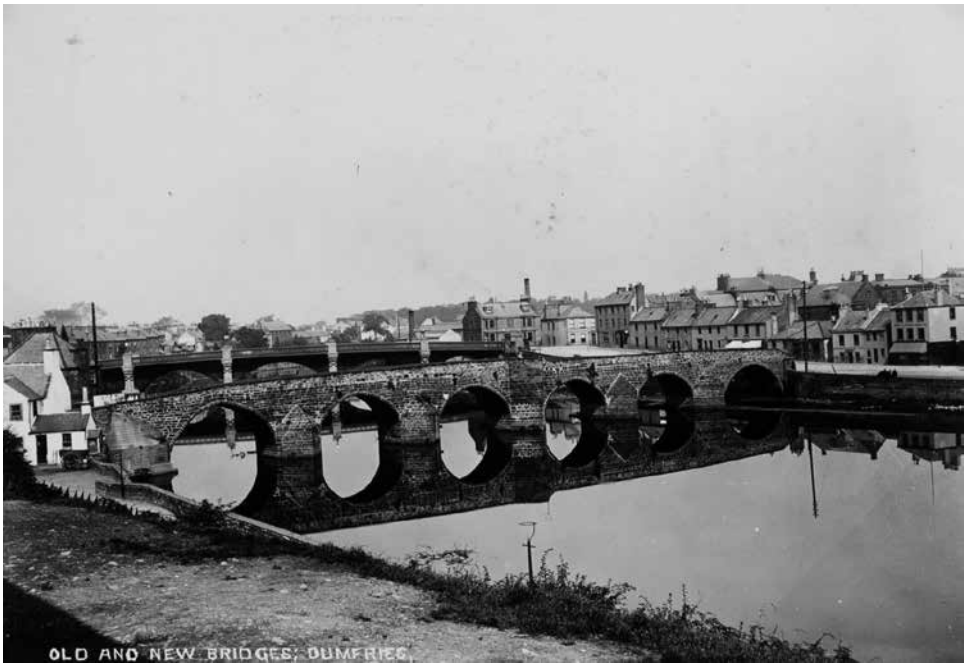

Figure 2. The Old and New Bridges. (Album 2, number 66)

The oldest bridge in Dumfries is the Devorgilla Bridge. Peter Gray's book *Dumfriesshire Illustrated. I. – Nithsdale*,[6] which formed the backbone of the second paper in this series, covers Dumfries as well. Published in 1894, it applies to the period when John Rutherford was very active locally. Quoting from this book, the Devorgilla Bridge:

> … is the oldest structure in the town … originally of nine arches, owing to the contraction of the river by embankment, reduced to six, it was the leading cause of

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[5] Dickie, W. (1898). *Dumfries & Round About: The Land Of Bruce And Burns, Of Scott And Carlyle. Swan's Popular Guide.* Dumfries: J. Swan, Stationer. Henceforth *Dumfries & Round About* by W. Dickie.

[6] Gray, Peter. (1894). *Dumfriesshire Illustrated. I. – Nithsdale, A Series of Descriptive and Historical Sketches of Stra'nith*. Dumfries: J Maxwell & Son. Henceforth *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray. Peter Gray's biographical details are recorded in the second paper of this series.

the early importance of Dumfries, having been for five hundred years the principal avenue of traffic between south-west Scotland and England.

For it the town is indebted to Devorgilla, the wife of John Baliol (sic) and … the foundress of … Balliol College, Oxford. At the time it was built, about 1280, there were not more than two or three bridges equal to it in the whole island.

In 1789, the old Bridge having become somewhat unsafe for the increased traffic … steps were taken by the leading proprietors of Dumfriesshire and the Stewartry [of Kirkcudbright] and the Burgh of Dumfries for the erection of another bridge, a short distance above the old one, for which a contract was made in 1791 … the work was finished in 1794.

The contract price for the bridge alone was £3735, but the formation of new streets on both sides of the river raised the total outlay to £6357.[7]

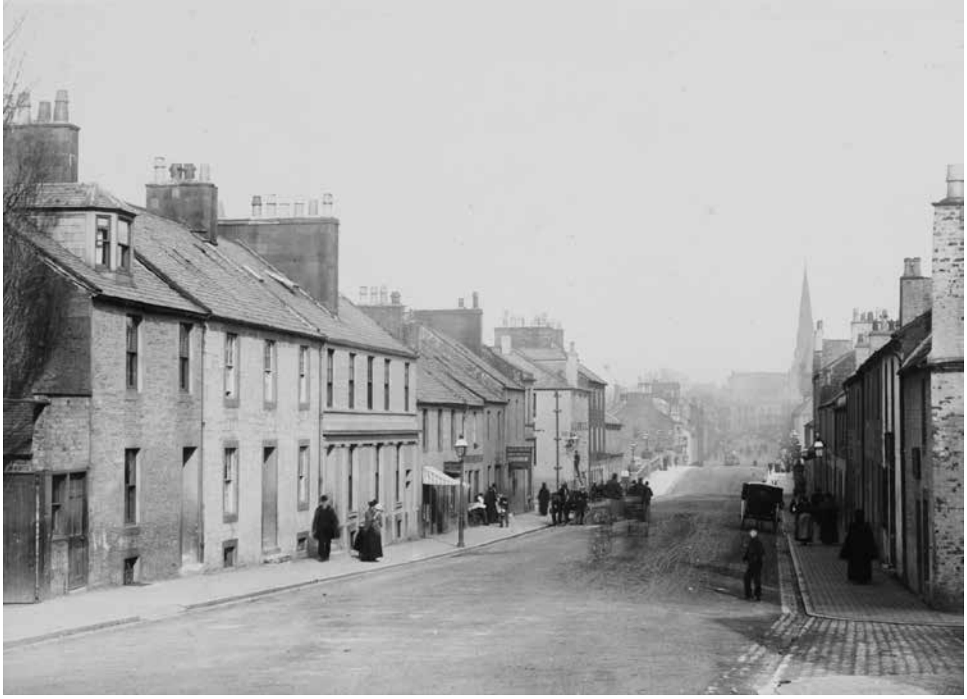

Figure 3. Galloway Street, Maxwelltown, one of the new streets formed after the building of the New Bridge of 1794. (Album 2, number 65)

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[7] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

The Prison

> Until the erection of a new prison with all the modern improvements in Maxwelltown, the town jail stood opposite the old Court-House, with which there was a communication by a subway under the street. It was first erected in 1806, but the site was essentially bad. The building proved damp and unwholesome, as well as too small, and at last it was condemned by the central authority and rebuilt.
>
> The first jail here is memorable as the scene of one of the most serious riots that ever occurred in Dumfries. Hare, the accomplice of Burke, the Edinburgh murderer … was discharged. His way home to Ireland was by Dumfries, and some hints of his probable arrival on that day by the Edinburgh mail having leaked out, the High Street … was crowded by a dense mob. When the coach came in, Hare was taken into an inn for protection; but it was necessary to remove him to the prison for safety. About eight o-clock, a large and ever-increasing mob assembled in front of the jail, attempted to force the iron-bound door, and were about to apply fire when the staff of the local Militia and a strong body of special constables appeared upon the scene, and eventually succeeded in dispersing the people. Hare was smuggled out of the jail in the early morning.[8]

John Rutherford served as photographer to Dumfries Prison, the new one in Maxwelltown, in the 1890s. In that capacity he was able to arrange to take two photographs from the prison tower in 1893, one looking to Dumfries and one to Maxwelltown, which were separate burghs until 1929. The prison was and is located in an off-shoot from Terregles Street in Maxwelltown: therefore the foreground of the Dumfries photograph shows open ground of Maxwelltown, beyond which Dumfries is shown to be well built-up.

Dumfries and Maxwelltown

Dumfries, the largest town in South-West Scotland, is known as ‘the Queen of the South’:

> The Royal Burgh of Dumfries, the county town, the seat of a Circuit and Sheriff’s Court, of a Synod and Presbytery … lies spread out chiefly on the western side and summit of a low hill on the left bank of the Nith.[9]

Peter Gray records favourable impressions of visitors to the town, such as Dr Pococke, Bishop of Ossory in 1714 and 1760; Thomas Pennant (1726–1798) who visited Scotland in 1769 and 1772[10] and Robert Heron, biographer of Robert Burns.

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[8] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[9] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[10] See Pennant in *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*. (Rockwood, C. (2007). *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Chambers.)

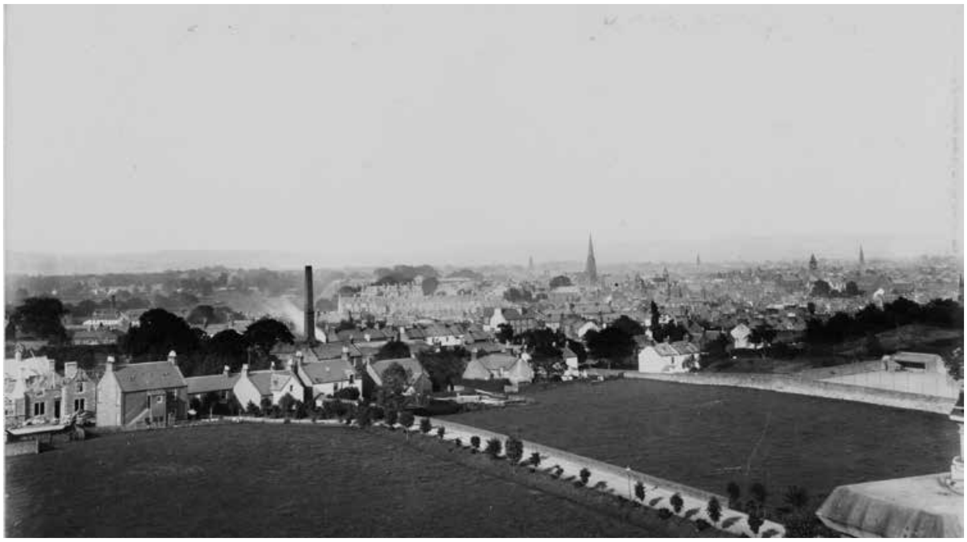

Figure 4. Dumfries from the Prison Tower, 1893. (Album 2, number 51)

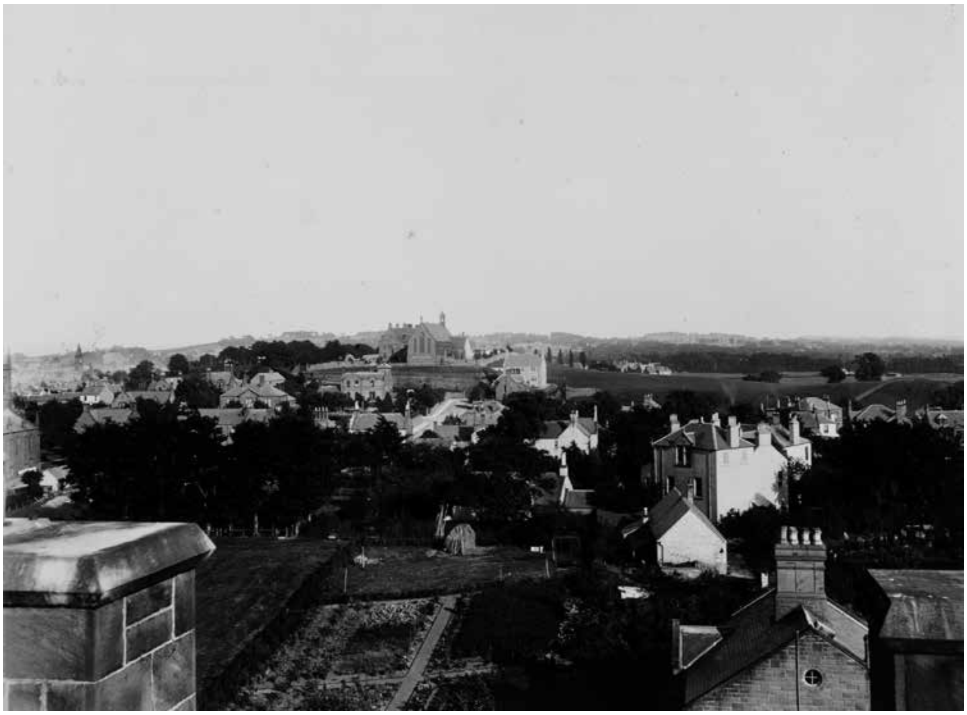

Figure 5. Maxwelltown from the Prison Tower. It became much more densely built-up as the twentieth century advanced than it was at the end of the nineteenth century. (Album 2, number 52)

Maxwelltown, by contrast, on the western bank of the Nith was administered by Kirkcudbrightshire and was on the very fringe of that county. Peter Gray wrote:

> Maxwelltown used to be considerably scorned by her older and bigger sister in former times. The Dumfries juveniles had a rhyme in which she was stigmatised as a dirty place, with a kirk without a steeple,[11] a dunghill at every door and full of Irish people.[12]

The writings of John Rutherford's contemporaries, like Peter Gray, lend meaningful commentary from men who admired his photography sufficiently to invite him to illustrate their written word but, on occasion, to use it without recording due acknowledgement, as will emerge, presumably because he had been commissioned to do the work and they regarded it as their property.

In Dumfries

> … the greatest attraction for visitors is the tomb of Burns, to which numerous pilgrims annually resort from all the English-speaking parts of the world. More than twenty years were allowed to elapse before a more important memorial was raised to the poet than the unpretending stone placed over his remains by his widow.
>
> The credit of the initiative in the erection of the Mausoleum is due to Mr William Grierson, a tradesman of Dumfries, and an acquaintance and admirer of the bard. Mr Grierson's first step was to obtain a committee to collect subscriptions.
>
> Money flowed in freely, a plan was furnished gratuitously by Mr T.F. Hunt, a London architect, and the foundations of the structure were laid at a little distance from the place where the poet's remains were first deposited.
>
> The design is that of a circular Ionic temple. In the interior is a sculptured representation of Coila, casting her mantle over the poet, a fine conception of his own, but indifferently expressed by the artist Turnerelli. The tomb bears no elaborate epitaph — simply 'Burns'.
>
> The cost of the building and statuary was £1500. The foundation stone was laid on 5th June 1815 … and on 19th September, the remains of the poet, and of the two sons who had been buried with him, were privately removed to the vault beneath the Mausoleum.[13]

In Swan's Guide, the author W. Dickie said that in 1898:

> Dumfries supplied in Dr Currie and Allan Cunningham the two early biographers of Burns. The latter, while freely criticising the design and execution of the

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[11] Troqueer Church.

[12] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[13] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

sculpture in the Mausoleum, spoke with pride of his native district possessing 'the first monument raised by the gratitude of Scotland to the memory of Burns.'[14]

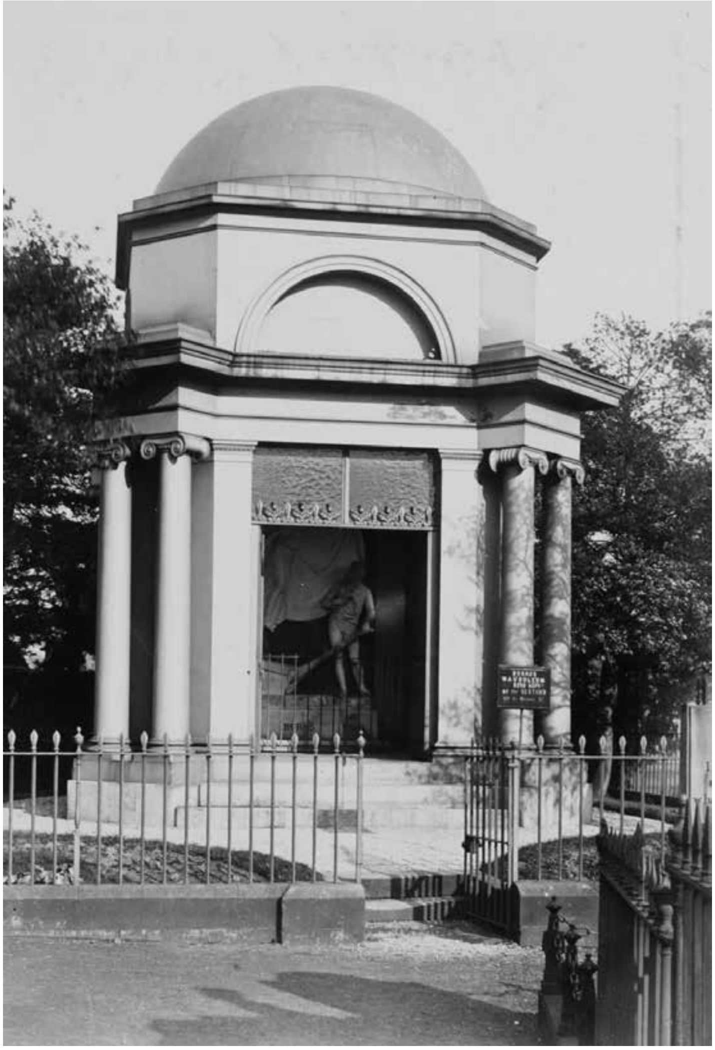

Figure 6. Burns' Mausoleum. (Album 2, number 56)

The Midsteeple, the old town house, situated in the middle of High Street … originated in a rather curious way. In 1697, a committee of the Convention of Royal Burghs purchased the lease of the customs and foreign excise of the Kingdom for the sum of £80,000, and each burgh was allowed a share of the revenue in proportion to the tax it paid.

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[14] The Mausoleum was upgraded and altered in the twentieth century.

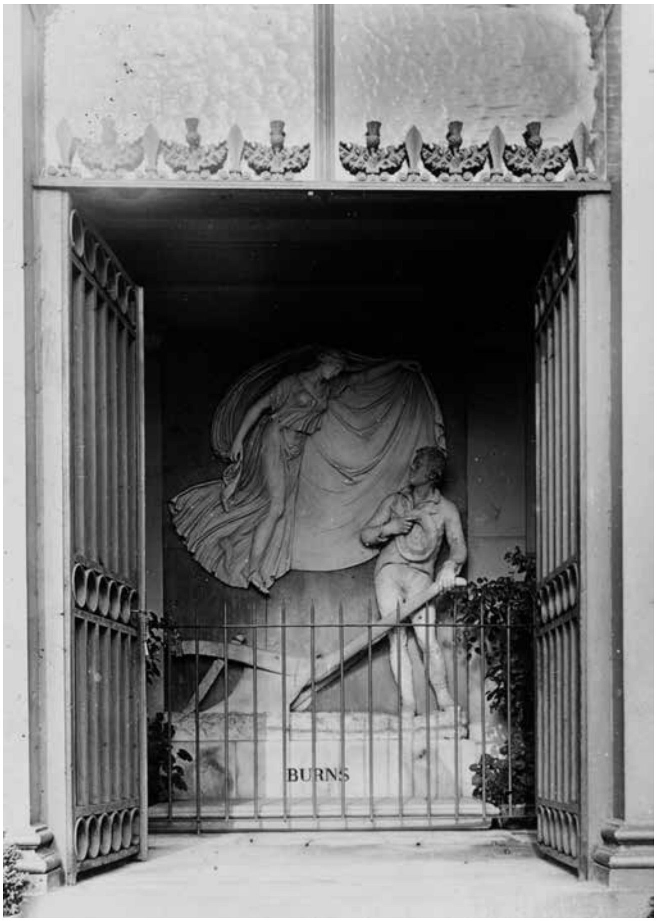

Figure 7. Burns' Mausoleum. (Album 2, number 57)

The Town Council of Dumfries sold their share to John Sharpe of Hoddam, one of their own number, doubtless for a consideration; but the job was too much, even in these corrupt days, and public opinion set strongly against the Council. A body of the inhabitants took legal proceedings against it, with the view of having the bargain annulled, but eventually the matter was settled by arbitration, the speculative member agreeing to pay the burgh £1,111 sterling.

In 1703, it was resolved at a town's meeting that, as there was neither a proper jail, Council Chamber and appurtenances, nor 'ane steeple in the whole toun,' the want of these should be immediately supplied from the funds in question.

John Moffat, a Liverpool architect, furnished plans, and the contract was given to Tobias Bachup a master-mason of Alloa. The foundation stone was laid on 30th May 1705, and the structure was virtually completed in February 1708. …

The hall on the south side, previously used as a Court-House, was occupied as a Council Chamber until the Council removed to the new Town Hall in Buccleuch Street.

The Midsteeple standing in the centre of the High Street is its most prominent and characteristic feature. It is a structure with no architectural pretensions; but for close upon two centuries it has been a landmark to successive generations of Dumfriesians.

The Fountain, occupying a central position in the expanding High Street, is a memorial of the introduction of a gravitation water supply in the town. This enterprise carried out in 1851, was forced upon the community by a recurrence in 1848 of an epidemic of Asiatic cholera, from which Dumfries had also suffered severely in 1832; and it inaugurated an era of great sanitary improvement.[15]

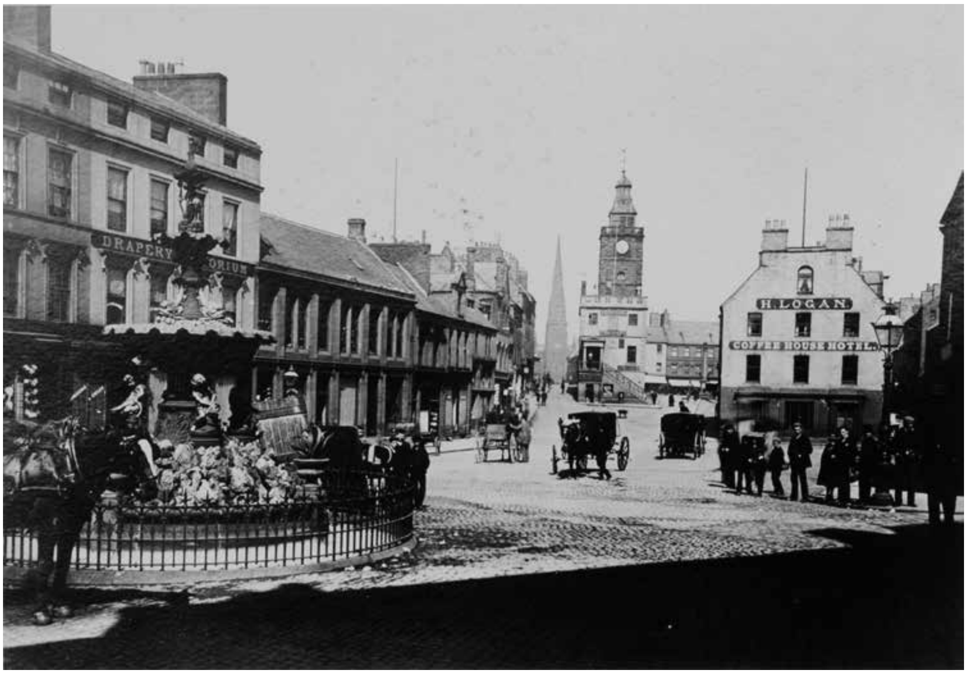

Figure 8. High Street, Dumfries, showing the Midsteeple and the Fountain. (Album 2, number 64)

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[15] *Dumfries & Round About* by W. Dickie.

Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries

James Carmont was Secretary and Treasurer of Crichton Royal Institution, as it was then known.[16] He was born in 1839, the year of the opening of the Institution and at the age of 14 began his long career of nearly 70 years' association with it, by entering the offices of its then (and first) Secretary and Treasurer in the British Linen Bank, Dumfries.

As time went on the Crichton work became especially entrusted to Mr Carmont, who was eventually appointed Secretary of the Institution in 1880, and also Treasurer in 1885, when he also became Joint-Agent of the Bank (along with Mr John Symons, Jr).[17] He held the two Crichton positions until his death on 7 April 1922. Mr Carmont's life was thus contemporaneous with that of the Institution, which he served with unswerving loyalty, fidelity and efficiency, and at the time of his death he was its oldest official.

James Carmont was therefore well-placed to write an authoritative history of the Institution. *The Crichton Royal Institution Dumfries* was printed in Leicester by Raithby, Lawrence & Co., Ltd., De Montfort Press and published in 1896.[18] Some of the splendid illustrations in this book were from originals by John Rutherford and some were by Annan and Sons, Glasgow.

John Rutherford's involvement is not even acknowledged in Carmont's book and yet his very distinctive handwriting appears on some of the photographs. Judging by the number of photographs taken by him that were in Album 1 (which was the reason for the two albums being donated to Crichton Royal Hospital following the death of his grand-daughter, Miss Johnstone, in Moffat in 1977)[19] he must have been commissioned to take a series of photographs in the 1890s, presumably when James Carmont was preparing his book. A set of these photographs were lodged with the Institution because a number of them appear in Dr Easterbrook's book[20] as well as Carmont's book: in other words well before 1977.

In chapter one of James Carmont's book he writes of an unparalleled bequest towards the alleviation of the hardships inflicted on the mentally ill in the nineteenth century. The Crichton Royal Institution owes its origin to the munificence of the late Dr James Crichton of Friars' Carse, who towards the end of the eighteenth century held the position of Physician to the Governor-General of India, and amassed a large fortune in that country. He purchased the estate of Friars' Carse in 1809 and resided there until his death in 1823.

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[16] The name was changed to Crichton Royal Hospital in 1950. See *The Chronicle of Crichton Royal 1937–1971* by G.B. Turner. (Turner, G. B. (1980). *The Chronicle of Crichton Royal 1937–1971*. Cumbria: C.N. Print.)

[17] See *The Chronicle of Crichton Royal* by Dr C.C. Easterbrook. (Easterbrook, C.C. (1940). *The Chronicle of Crichton Royal 1839-1936*. Dumfries: Courier Press. Henceforth *Crichton Royal* by C.C. Easterbrook.) Dr Easterbrook served as Physician Superintendent to the Institution 1908–1937.

[18] Carmont, James. (1896). *The Crichton Royal Institution Dumfries.* Leicester: De Montfort Press. Henceforth *Crichton Royal* by James Carmont.

[19] Williams, Morag. (2013). John Rutherford, Society Member and Photographer in Annandale. *TDGNHAS*, 87, p.138.

[20] *Crichton Royal* by C.C. Easterbrook.

There were no children from his 13-year marriage to Elizabeth Grierson, daughter of Sir Robert Grierson of Rockhall in the parish of Mouswald.

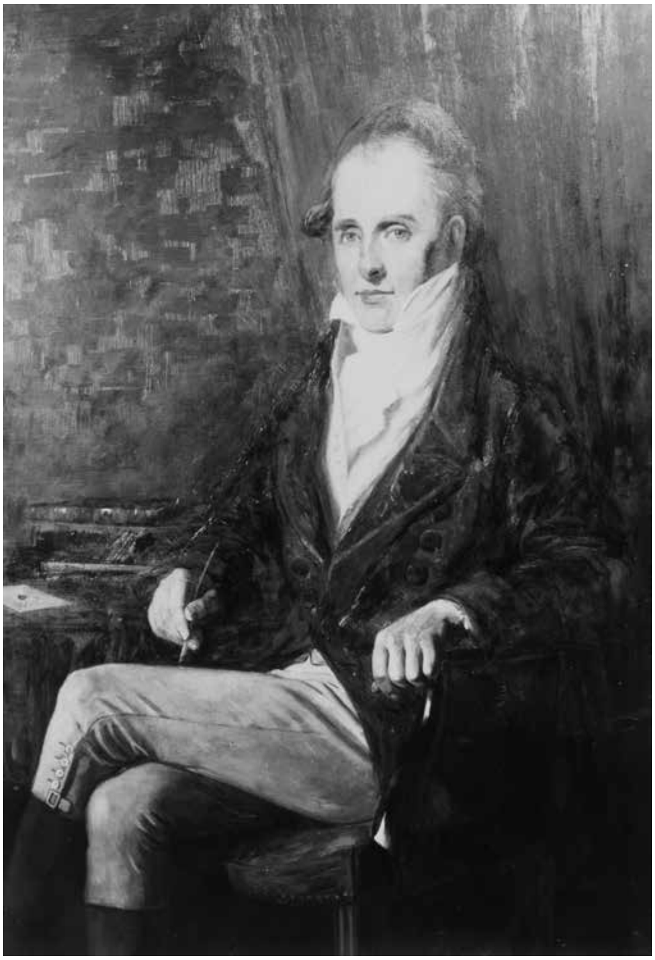

Figure 9. Dr James Crichton of Friars' Carse (1765–1823), founder of Crichton Royal Institution. Rutherford's photograph was not used by Carmont. (Album 4, number 2)

In his will, drawn up in 1821, he made provision for his wife, members of his family and various causes. He outlined how the residue was to be spent:

> It is my wish that such remaining means and estate shall be applied in such charitable purposes … as may be pointed out by my said dearly beloved wife with the approbation of the majority of my said Trustees.[21]

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[21] Williams, Morag. (1989). *History of Crichton Royal Hospital 1839–1989.* Dumfries: Solway Offset.

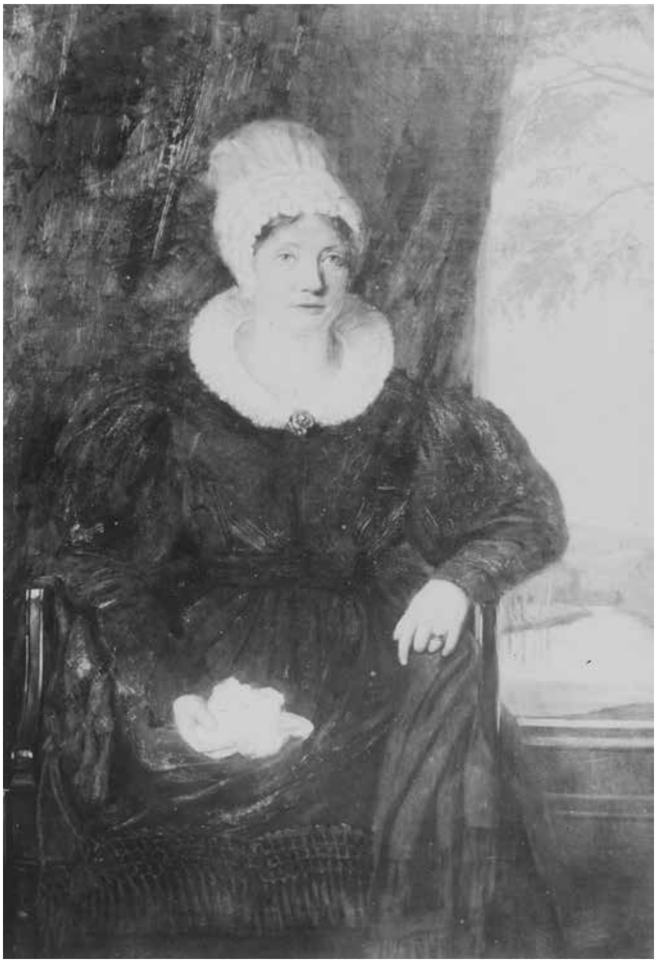
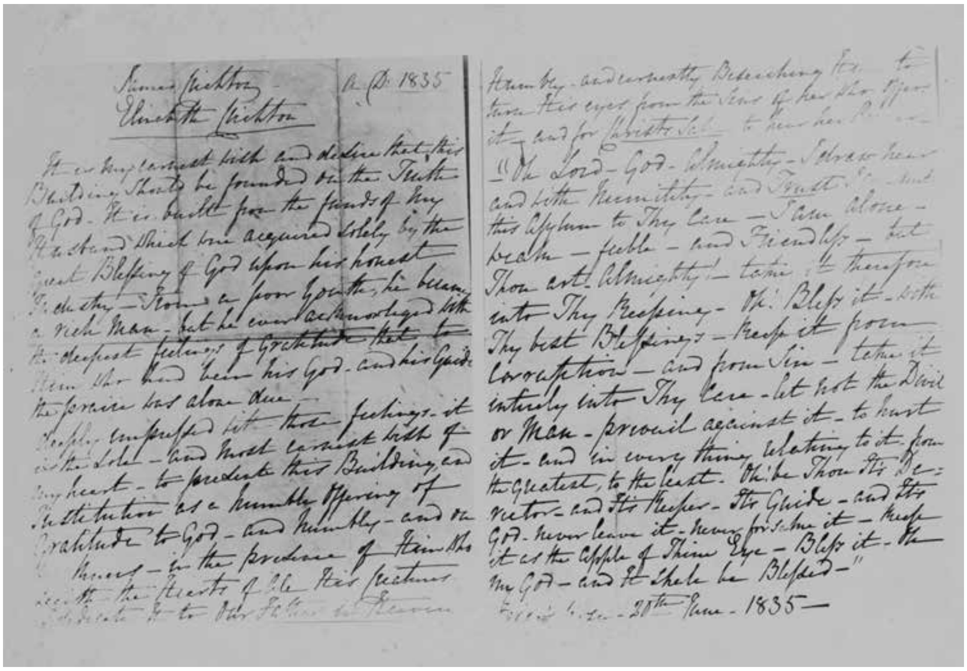


Figure 10. Mrs Elizabeth Crichton, née Grierson, of Friars' Carse (1779–1862), foundress and original trustee of Crichton Royal Institution. Rutherford's photograph was not used by Carmont. (Album 4, number 1)



James Crichton — A.D. 1835
Elizabeth Crichton

It is my earnest wish and desire that this Building should be founded on the Truth of God. It is built for the friends of my Husband which were acquired solely by the great Blessing of God upon his honest Industry — From a poor Youth, he became a rich Man — but he ever acknowledged with the deepest feelings of Gratitude that to Him who had been his God and his Guide the praise was alone due —

Deeply impressed with those feelings it is the sole and most earnest wish of my heart — to dedicate this Building and Institution as a humble Offering of Gratitude to God — and humbly — and on [illegible] — in the presence of Him who [illegible] the Hearts of all His Creatures [illegible] dedicate it to Our Father in Heaven

Humbly — and earnestly Beseeching Him to turn His eyes from the Sins of her who offers it — and for Christ's Sake to hear her [illegible]

"Oh Lord — God — Almighty — I draw near and with Humility — and Truth [illegible] this Asylum to Thy Care — I am alone — weak — feeble — and Friendless — but Thou art! Almighty! — take it therefore into Thy Keeping — Oh! Bless it — with Thy best Blessings — keep it from Corruption — and from Sin — take it entirely into Thy Care — let not the Devil or Man — prevail against it — to hurt it — and in every thing relating to it from the Greatest, to the least. Oh! be Thou its Director — and its Keeper — its Guide — and its God — never leave it — never forsake it — keep it as the Apple of Thine Eye — Bless it — Oh my God — and it shall be Blessed —"

[illegible] 20th June — 1835 —

Figure 11. Mrs Crichton's prayer, delivered in 1835 on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone for the original building, the First House, now known as Crichton Hall. A transcription of the prayer is given in the Appendix to this article. (Album 4, number 3)

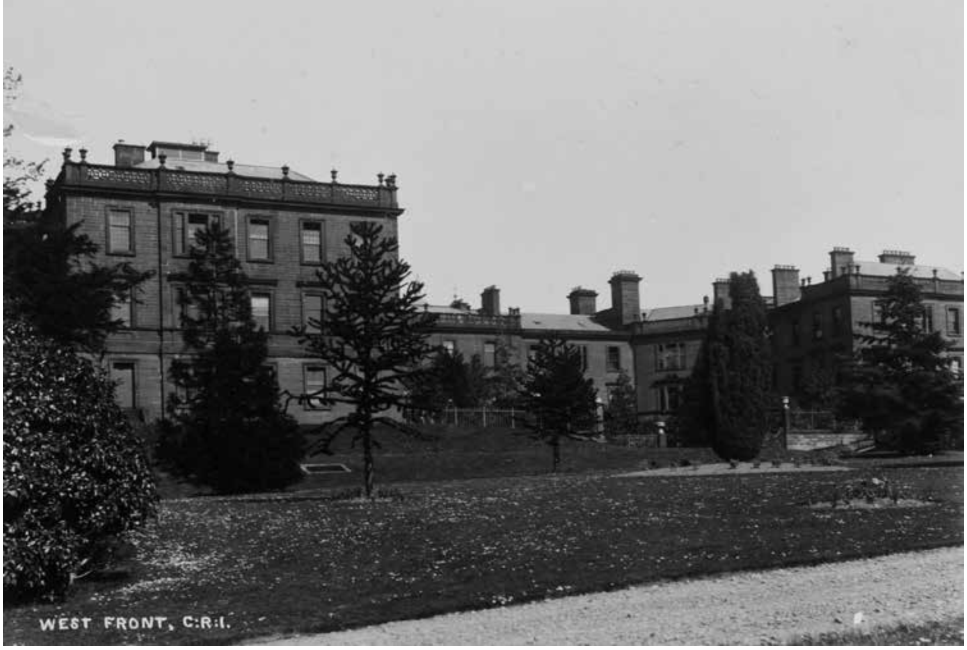


Figure 12. West Front, Crichton Royal Institution. (Album 4, number 9)

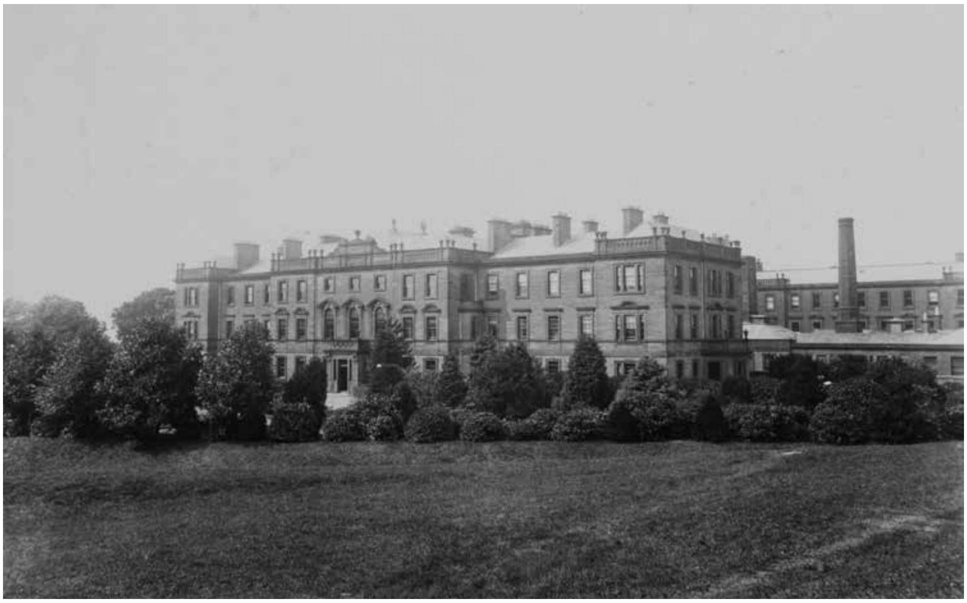


Figure 13. Crichton Royal Institution, south façade. (Album 4, number 11)

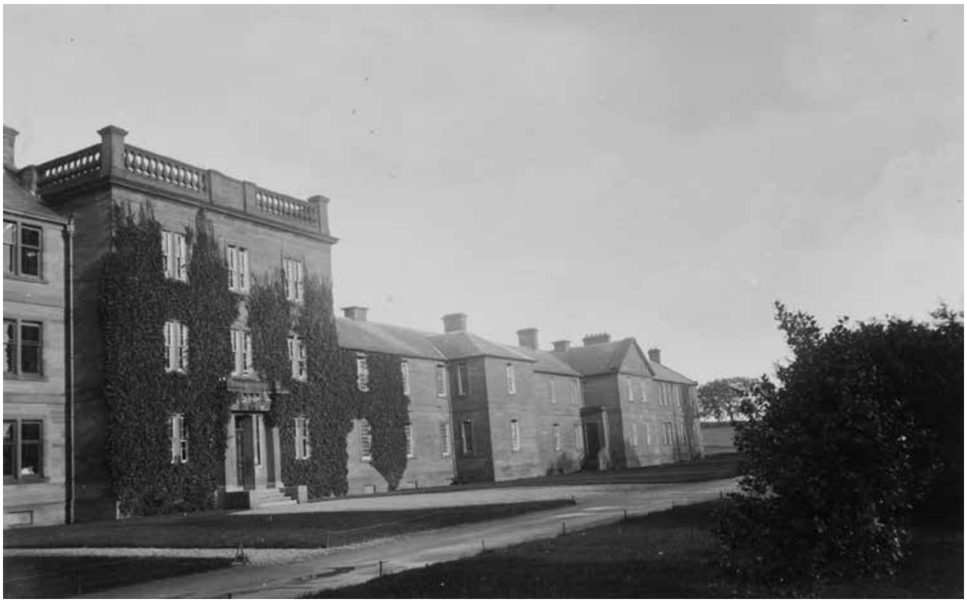


Figure 14. The Southern Counties Asylum, the Second House of the Crichton site. Opening in 1849, it was designed to accommodate 'pauper' patients and leave the First House exclusively for private patients. (Album 4, number 12)

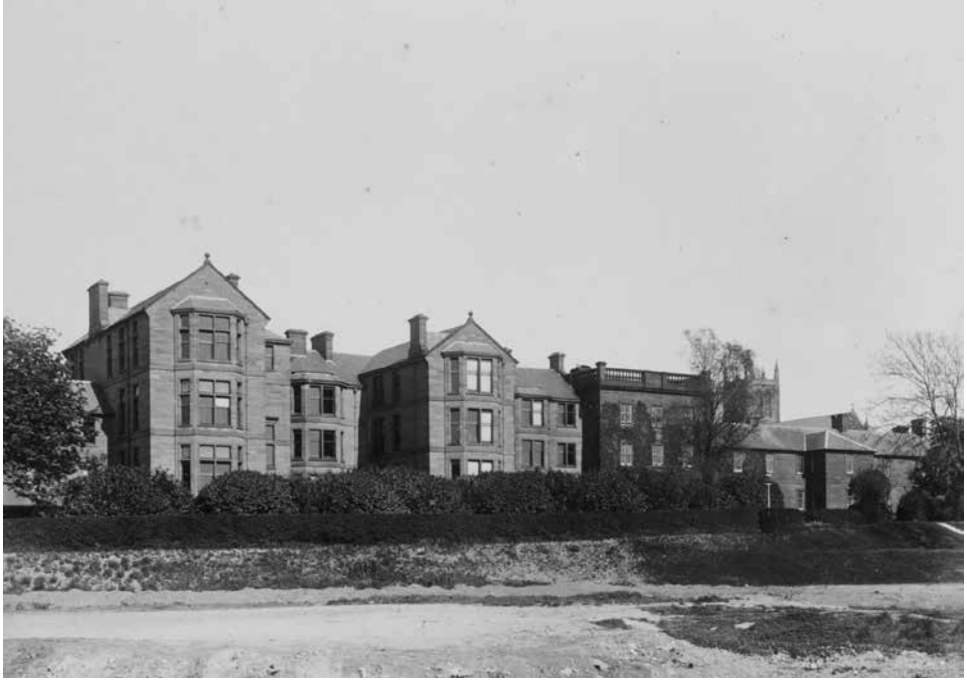


Figure 15. The Southern Counties Asylum required to be extended fairly regularly.
(Album 4, number 10)

In total there were five Trustees. They ultimately decided to found and endow a mental hospital to the south of Dumfries. Elizabeth Crichton remains the greatest beneficiary to the psychiatric cause that this country, Scotland or the United Kingdom, has seen. Her stated aim was that the new asylum[22] should be ‘the best in Europe.’ The architect was William Burn, who was based in Edinburgh, but contributing designs at that time for a number of buildings in Dumfriesshire.

> The [Crichton] Institution was first opened in 1839, providing accommodation for 120 patients, and in the following year it was incorporated by a private Act of Parliament.[23]

Mrs Crichton wished to ensure that the Institution maintained the high standards of care by this method and, as she died in 1862 at the age of 83, she lived long enough to witness the early success of her scheme. Following the passing of the Crichton Act of

---

[22] In the nineteenth century words that are now considered outmoded and even offensive were very acceptable. The word ‘asylum’, meaning a place of refuge and safety, was in common use, likewise ‘lunatic’, ‘pauper’, ‘institution’, while ‘hospital’, strange to claim, had less acceptable connotations.

[23] *Dumfries & Round About* by W. Dickie.

1840 the name of Scotland's seventh and youngest royal asylum became Crichton Royal Institution.[24]

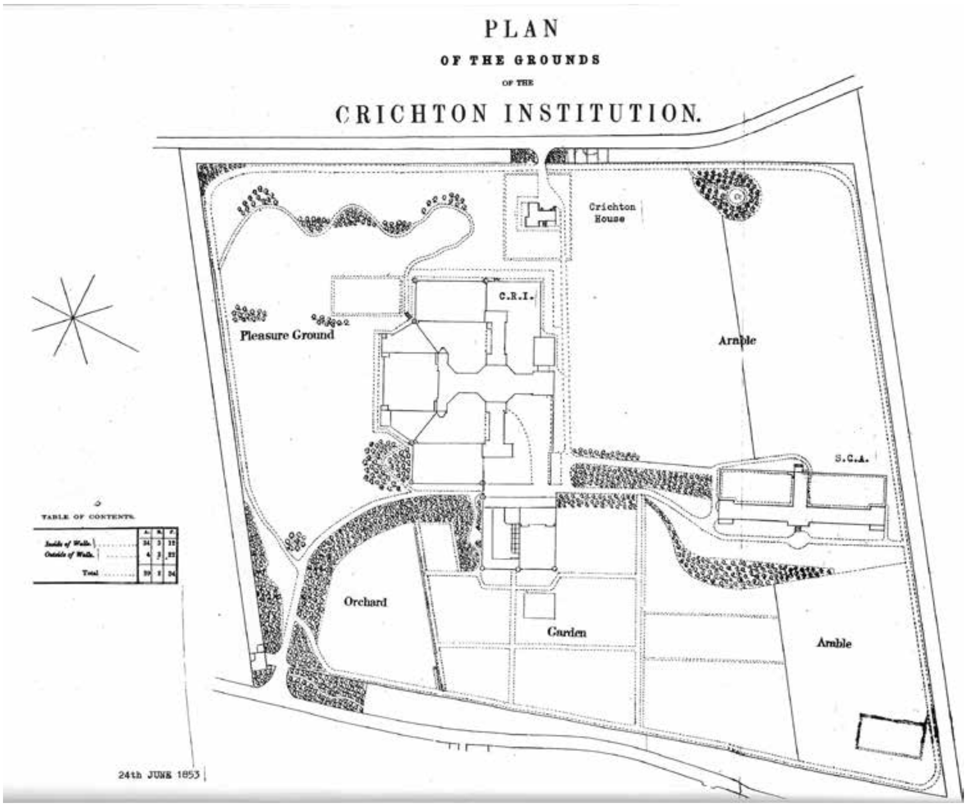

PLAN
OF THE GROUNDS
OF THE
CRICHTON INSTITUTION.
Crichton House
C.R.I.
Pleasure Ground
Arable
S.C.A.
TABLE OF CONTENTS.
Inside of Walls.
Outside of Walls.
Total
Orchard
Garden
Arable
24th JUNE 1853

Figure 16. Plan of the Crichton site, dated 24th June 1853, showing C.R.I. (Crichton Royal Instituation) and S.C.A. (Southern Counties Asylum). (Plan taken from *History of Crichton Royal Hospital 1839–1989* by Morag Williams)

In 1838 as the building of the First House was nearing completion, Mrs Crichton was made aware of a book, published in 1837, *What Asylums Were, Are and Ought to Be*. The author was Dr W.A.F. Browne, the Superintendent of Montrose Asylum, the first of the Scottish Royal Asylums. His description of the ideal asylum found favour with her. She resolved to visit Montrose unannounced. Dr Browne (1805–1885) was appointed in 1838 at the age of 33 years and granted a clean slate on which to put his ideas for overturning the sad lot of the mentally ill that prevailed in Britain.

---

[24] A second up-dated Crichton Act was passed in 1897, again in the reign of Queen Victoria. The Crichton Acts ceased to operate after the passing of the National Health Service Act of 1948 when the hospital came under state control. However, it was only in recent times that permission was sought to remove the Acts from the Statute Book, which required tidying up. (Morag Williams, having served as archivist to Dumfries and Galloway Health Board 1983–2008, acquired considerable knowledge of the history of the hospital.)

James Carmont stated:

> In Dr Browne, the Medical Superintendent (1838–1857) whose services Mrs Crichton and the other Directors of the day had the good fortune to secure for the opening of their Asylum in 1839, a man was found admirably suited for the duty of carrying out every improvement … advocated by … other pioneers of an improved system of treating the insane.[25]

Such was the reputation he gained that when the 1857 Lunacy Act was passed, Dr Browne was invited to become the first of two Commissioners of Lunacy, appointed to effect improvements throughout Scotland.

Two visitors from Canada came in 1890 to inspect mental hospitals and wrote in their report:[26]

> The best asylums seen by us in Europe are without doubt those in Scotland … and the Royal Crichton Institution is the richest and most sumptuous of the asylums of Great Britain.

Crichton Hall was extended southwards in 1868–70. The second half of Burn's plan was not followed in its entirety. As a result the building is not symmetrical.

Carmont, describing the hospital in 1896, wrote:

> The approaches to the Institution are by lodge gates opening upon the public roads from Dumfries, at about a mile from that town, thence to the First House by avenues through a small but beautiful park, studded with trees, and interspersed with shrubberies.[27]
>
> The First House … is a massive, handsome structure in the Elizabethan style of architecture, and is built of dressed red sandstone.[28] It is three storeys in height, and is situated on an eminence, from which a superb view is to be had of the lower basin of the Nith, and of the Galloway Hills.[29]

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[25] *Crichton Royal* by James Carmont.

[26] A copy of which is lodged in the Crichton Royal archives. (Held at Dumfries and Galloway Archives, Ewart Library, Catherine Street, Dumfries DG1 1JB. `http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/?articleid=2300#`).

[27] The Crichton Gardens were laid out in their later form after the First World War. See Card, Jacky. (2012). The Crichton Royal Institution Gardens: From Inception To 1933. *TDGNHAS,* 86, pp.1–16.

[28] Much of the appeal and harmony of the Crichton site lies in the fact that subsequent twentieth century buildings up to 1938 continued to be of the local red sandstone.

[29] *Crichton Royal* by James Carmont.

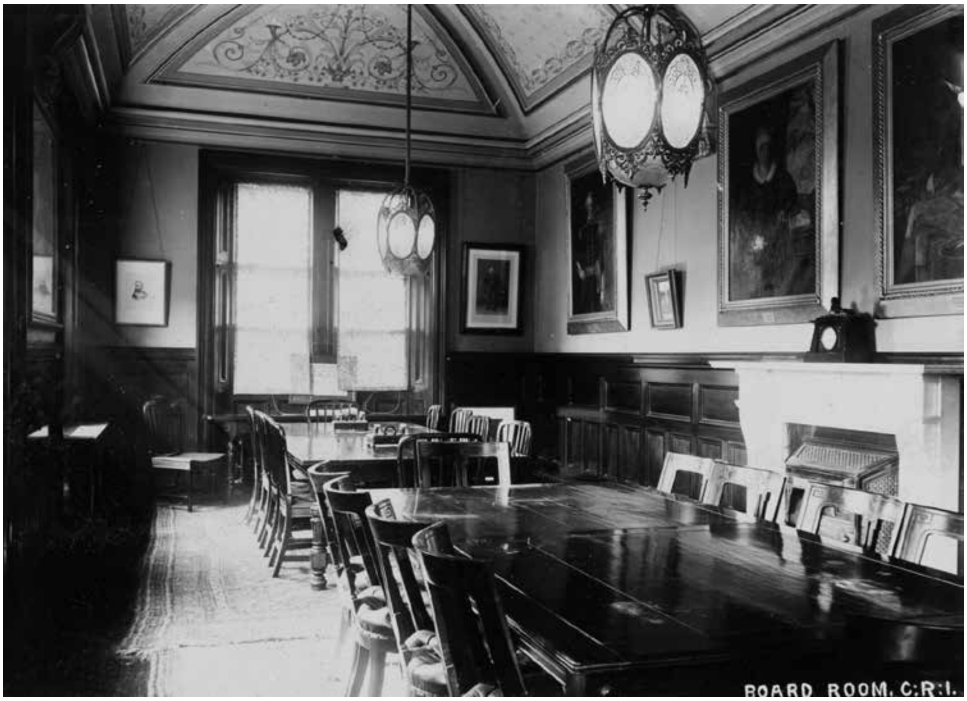

Figure 17. The Board Room in the 1890s. This was the second Board Room but it no longer exists, whereas the first Board Room where Mrs Crichton attended meetings is still part of Crichton Hall, above the central west doorway. (Album 4, number 15)

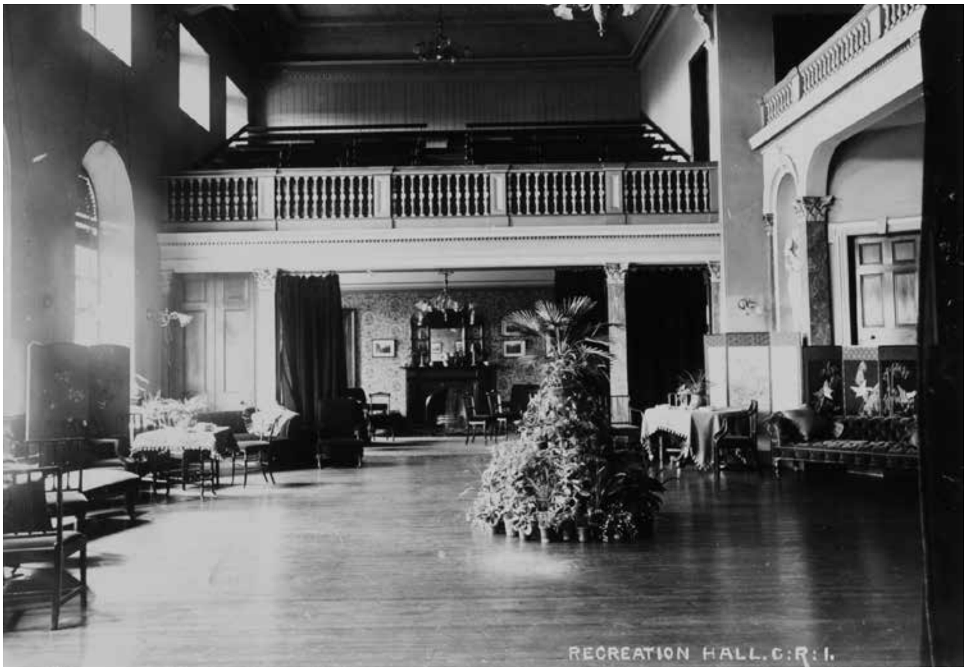

Figure 18. The Recreation Hall. In the 1890s there were three balconies. The one on the right still exists. (Album 4, number 16)

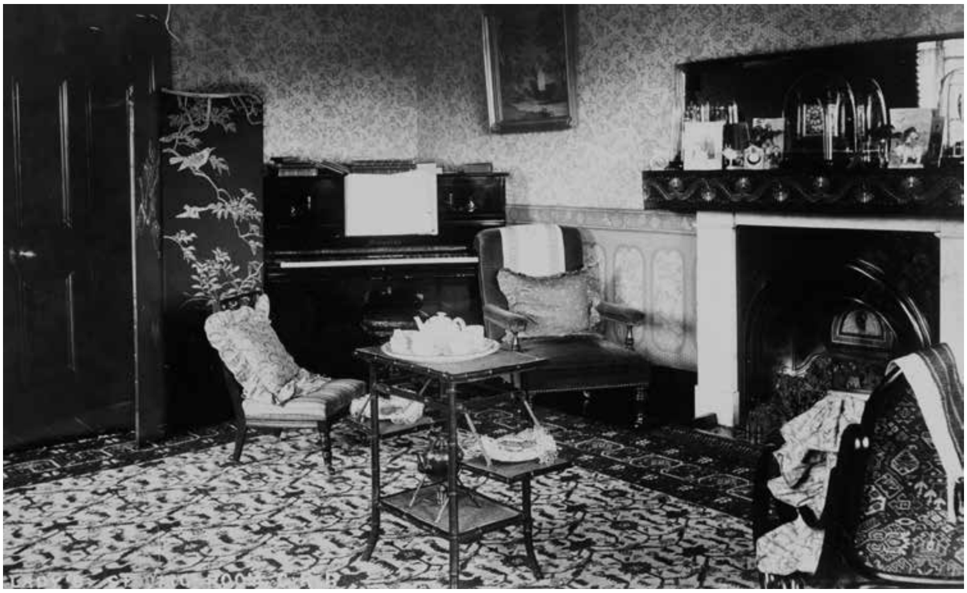

Figure 19. A lady's sitting room. (Album 4, number 17)

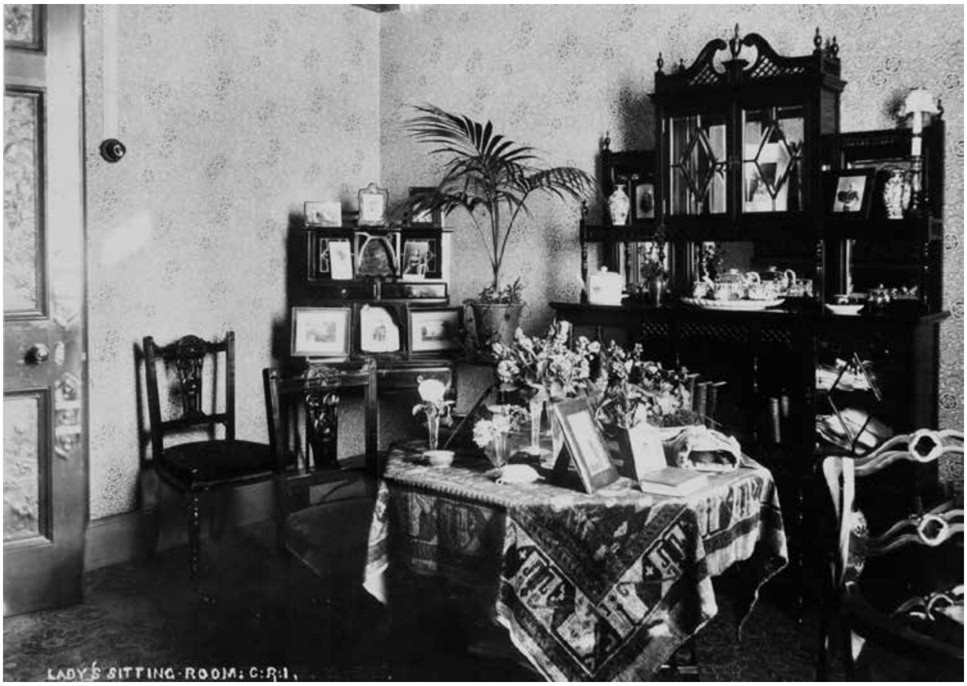
LADY'S SITTING·ROOM: C:R:1,

Figure 20. A lady's sitting room. (Album 4, number 21)

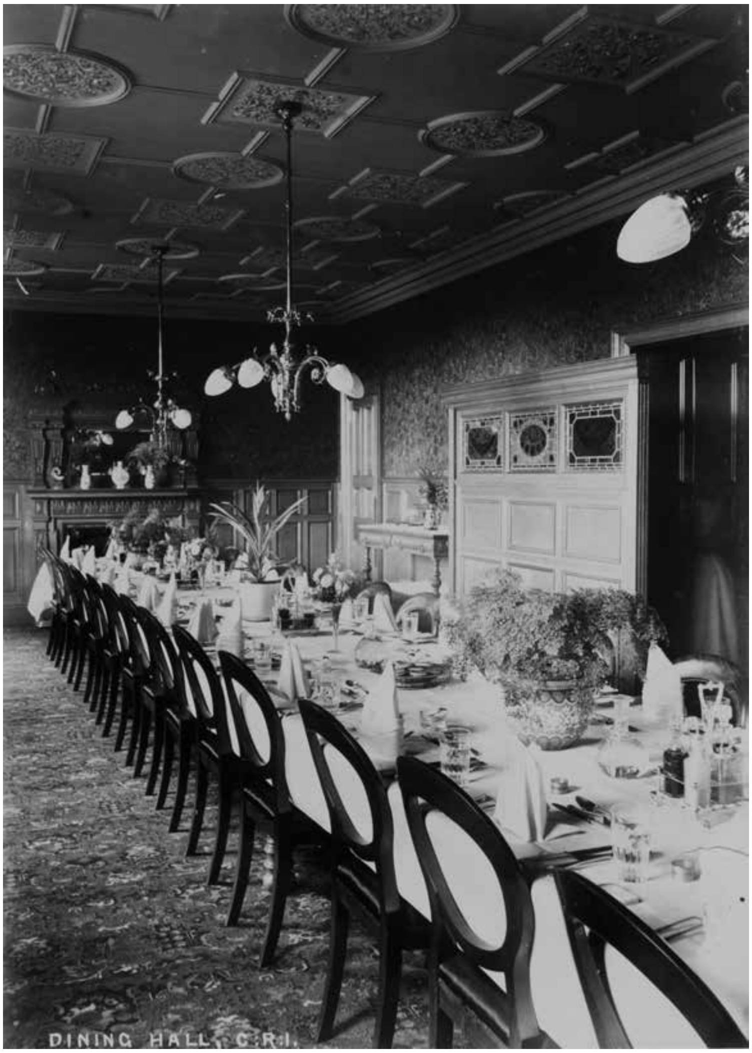

Figure 21. Dining Hall. Previously this was the first Board Room mentioned in the caption to Figure 17. (Album 4, number 19)

Dr James Rutherford (no family connection to John Rutherford), a very capable administrator, served as Physician Superintendent from 1883–1907. The site was greatly enhanced during his period of office. The continuing growth of admissions led to the acquisition of neighbouring smallholdings and the erection of a series of individual new houses to accommodate patients and unmarried staff and a series of staff houses for married men and their families. There were also some grandiose schemes in the 1890s: most notably the farm, the electricity generating station, the artesian well and the Crichton Memorial Church.

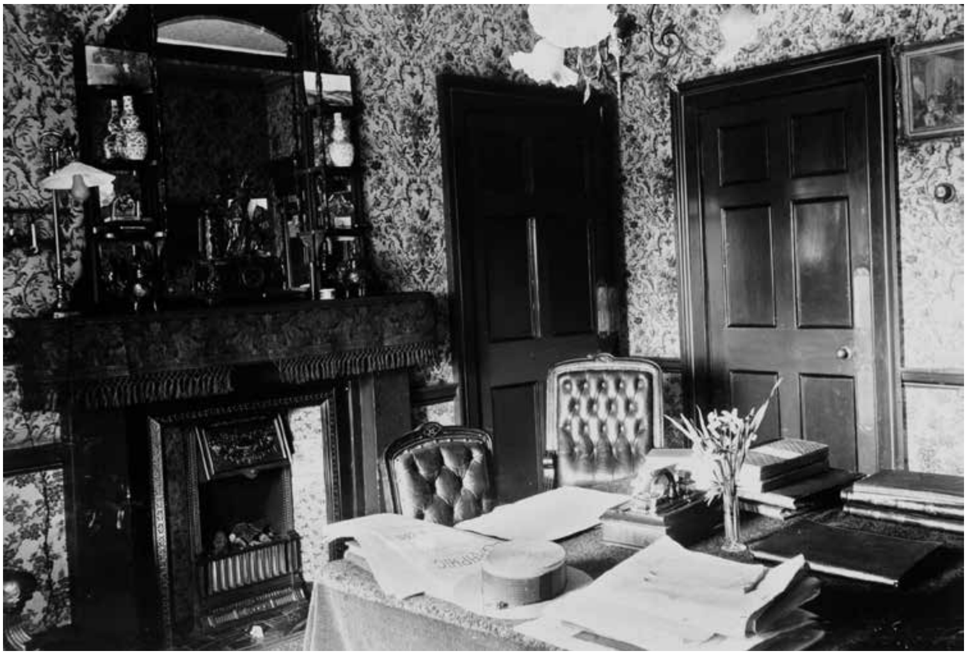

Figure 22. Assistant Doctor’s room (Album 4, number 22)

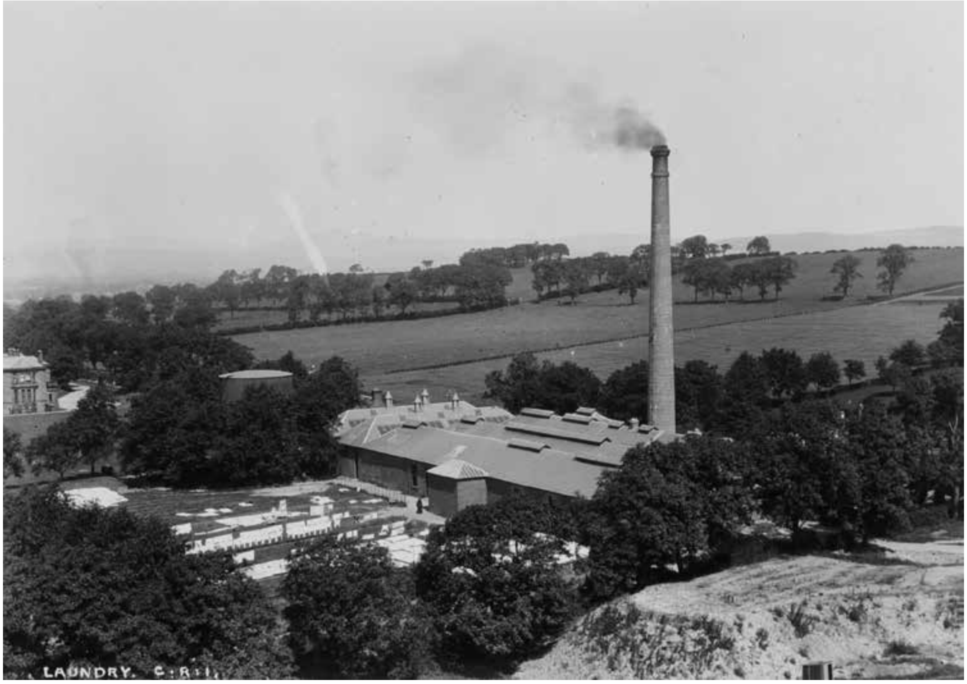

Figure 23. Laundry, taken from the newly erected church tower and showing the laundered items literally on the ‘drying green’. On the extreme left in the Physician Superintendent’s house and on the right is the former water tower. (Album 4, number 23)

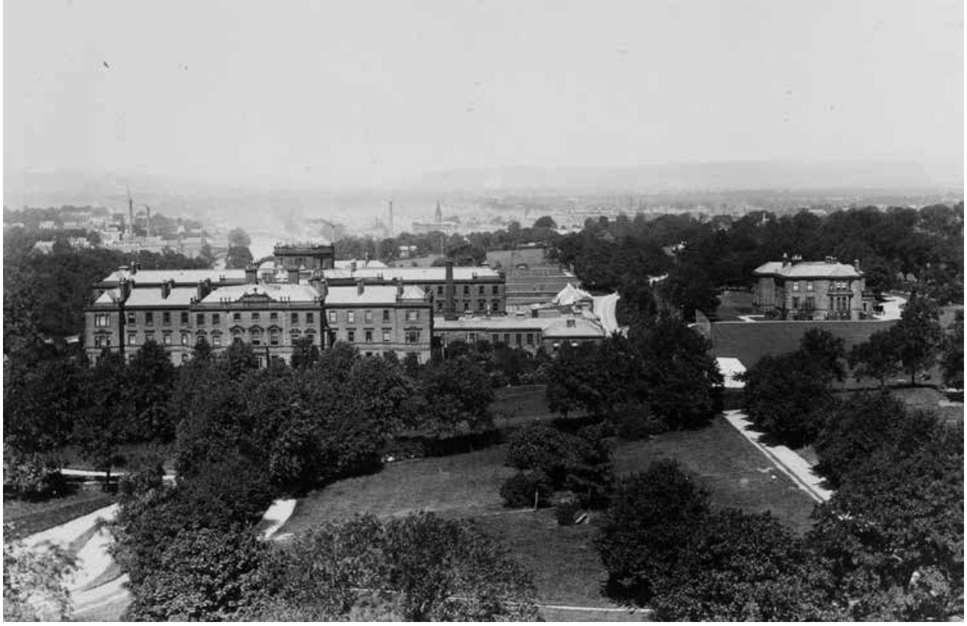

Figure 24. Crichton Hall and Crichton House, the Physician Superintendent's house. (Album 4, number 24)

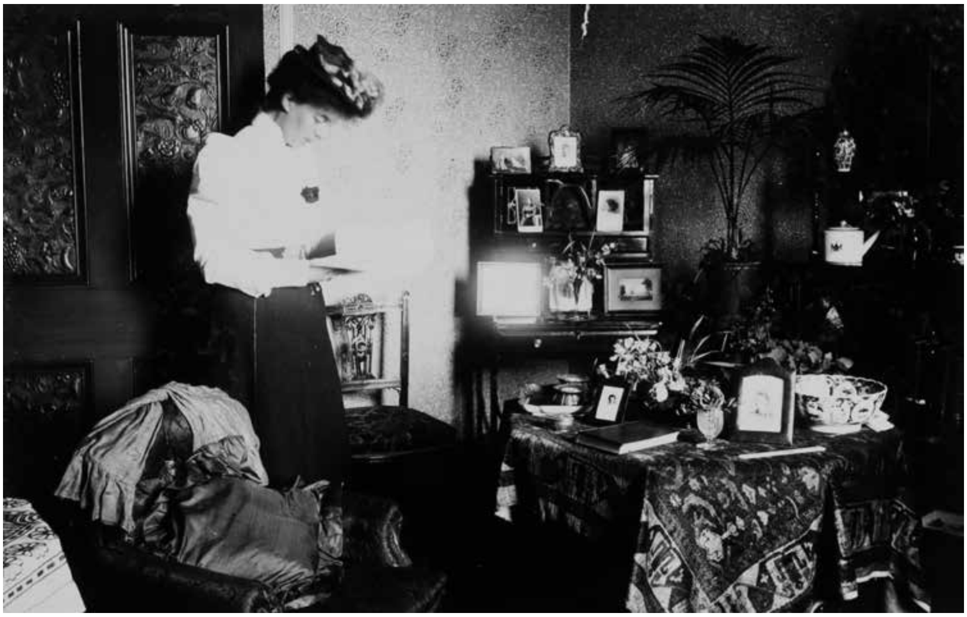

Figure 25. Room at First House. (Album 4, number 32)

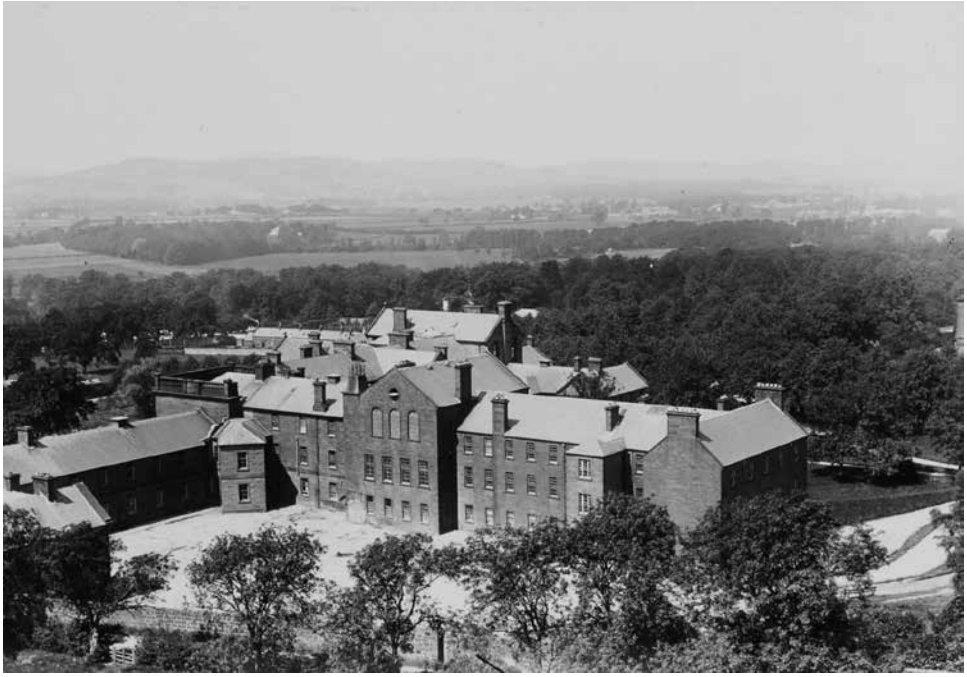

Figure 26. Rear of Second House. It was demolished in stages in the first quarter of the twentieth century. (Album 4, number 25)

The huge farm complex, built round a quadrangle, was designed to be more easily-managed than the units at all the various smallholdings.[30] It provided opportunities for fresh air and exercise for recovering patients:

> The whole forms a picturesque pile, every line of which has been carefully studied, and the effect produced is harmonious and pleasing. The style of architecture is Old Scotch.[31]

The electricity generating station was a very ambitious project, the outcome of which enabled Crichton patients to enjoy the benefits of electric light long before the general public acquired it in their homes. It was carried through under the superintendence of Professor Bottomley, nephew of Lord Kelvin:

> The installation has added much to the comfort of the inmates of the Institution, and though gas is still retained in the corridors in case of accidental breakdown, its use has been practically superseded by the new light. The engines also supply steam for heating and cooking in the First and Second Houses.[32]

---

[30] The Crichton Clerk of Works, John Davidson, advised by Colonel R.F. Dudgeon of the Isle, Kirkcudbright and later of Cargen, inspected notable farm steadings prior to drawing up the plans.

[31] *Crichton Royal* by James Carmont.

[32] *Crichton Royal* by James Carmont.

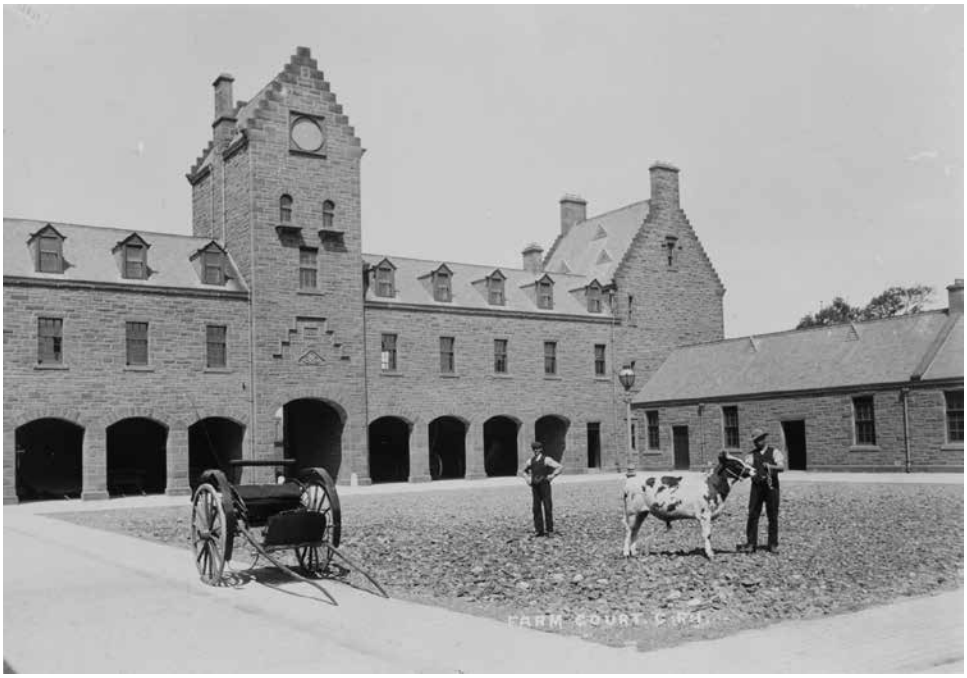
FARM COURT. C.R.I.

Figure 27. Farm court. The central archway was built up and other arched areas were glazed in the early twentieth century. (Album 4, number 26)

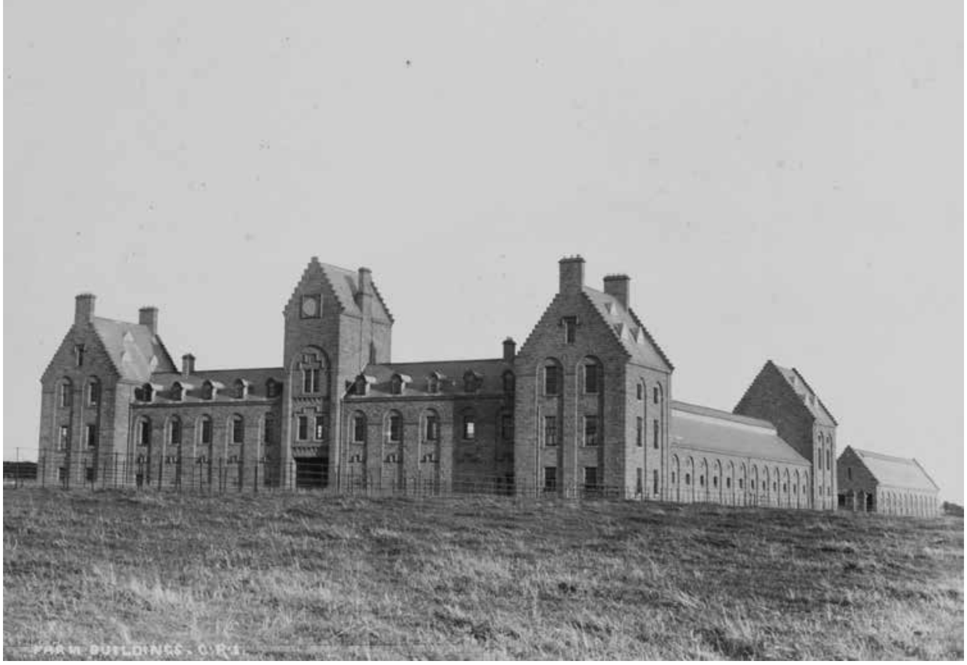
FARM BUILDINGS. C.R.I.

Figure 28. Farm buildings, north (left) and west (right) façades. (Album 4, number 28)

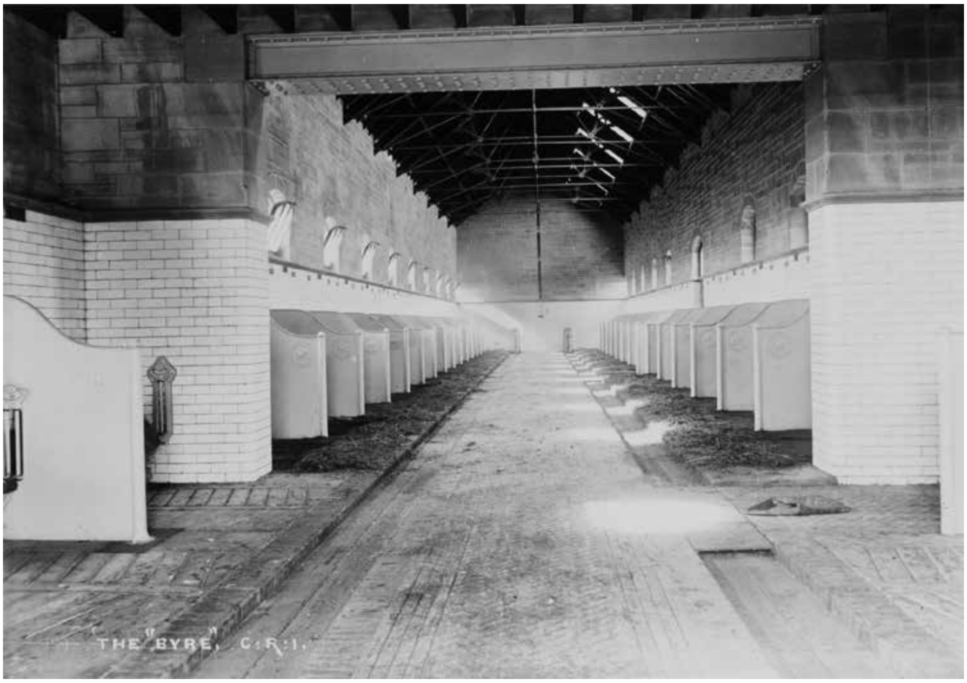
THE "BYRE", C:R:I.

Figure 29. Farm byre. (Album 4, number 29)

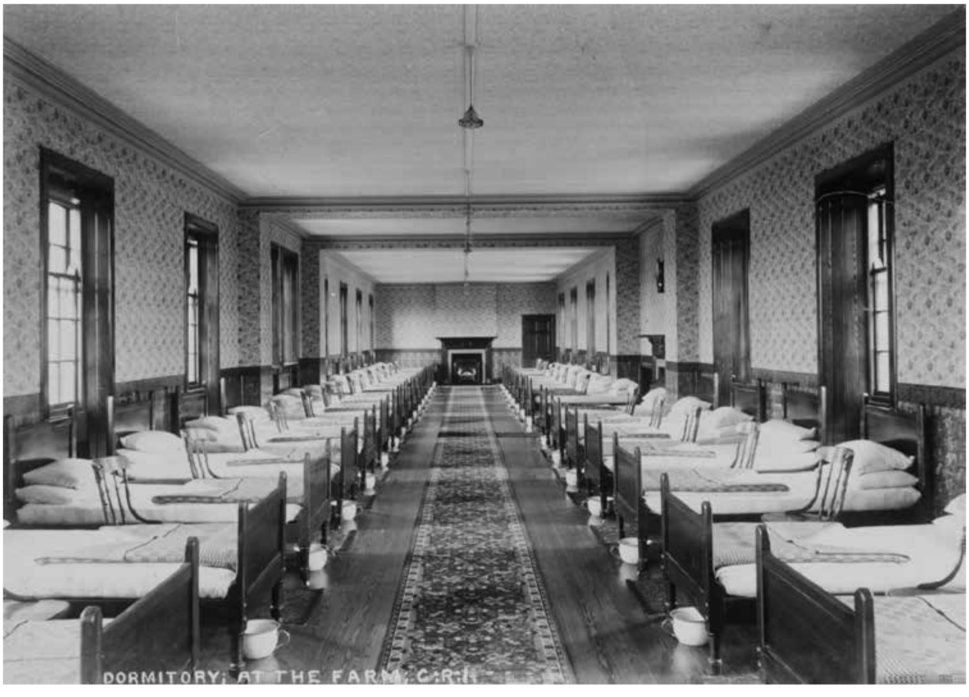
DORMITORY, AT THE FARM, C:R:I.

Figure 30. Farm dormitory. (Album 2, number 31)

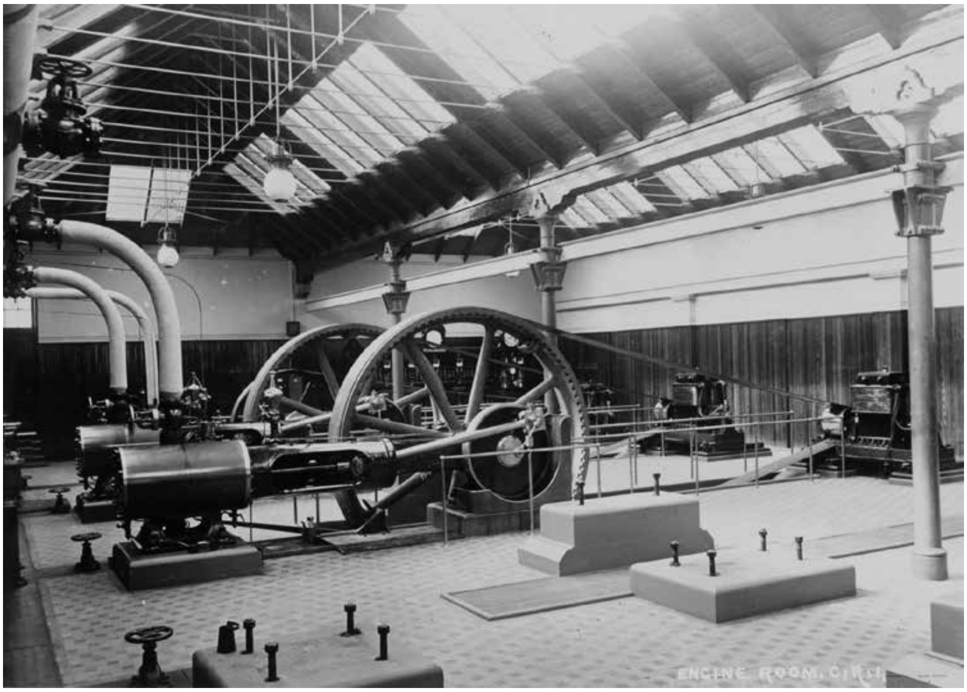
ENGINE ROOM, C.R.I.

Figure 31. Engine room of the electricity generating station. (Album 4, number 34)

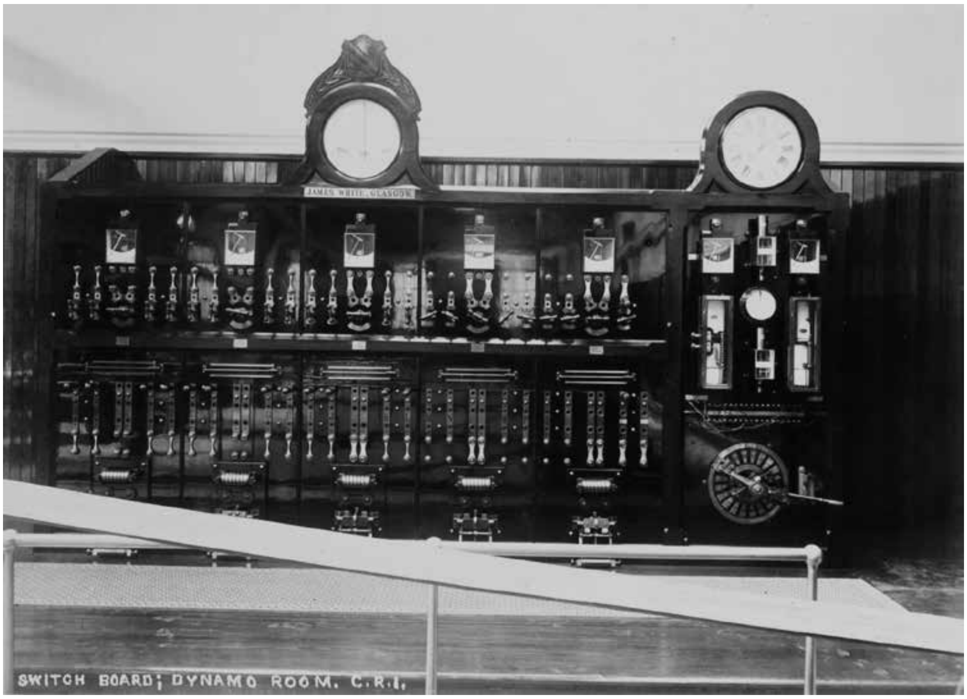
JAMES WHITE, GLASGOW
SWITCH BOARD; DYNAMO ROOM. C.R.I.

Figure 32. Switch board in the dynamo room. (Album 4, number 35)

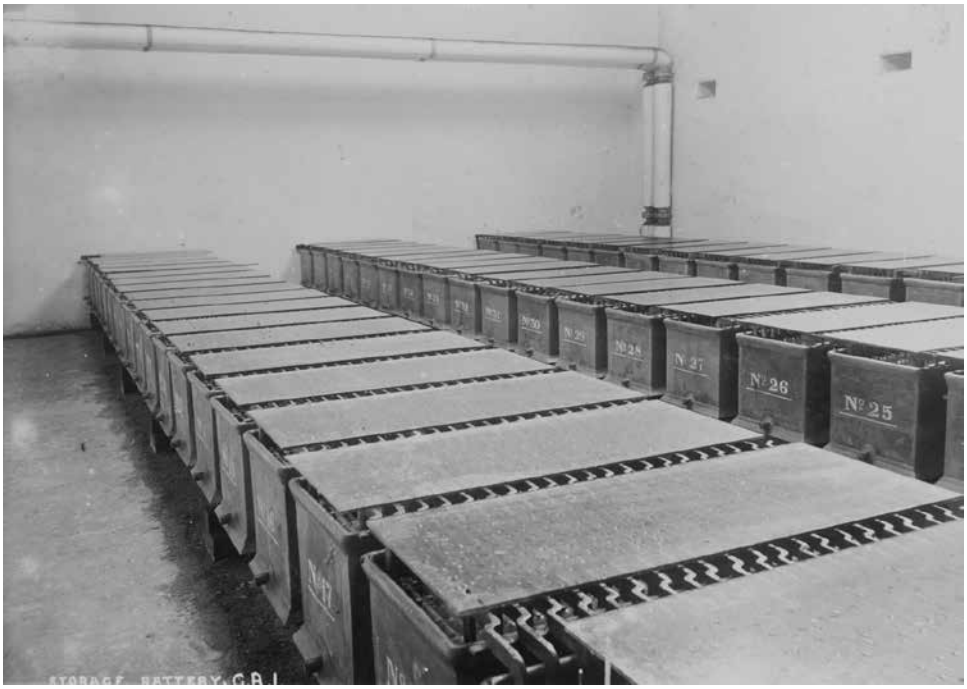
Nº 25
Nº 26
Nº 27
Nº 28
Nº 29
Nº 30
Nº 12
STORAGE BATTERY. C.R.I.

Figure 33. Storage battery. (Album 4, number 36)

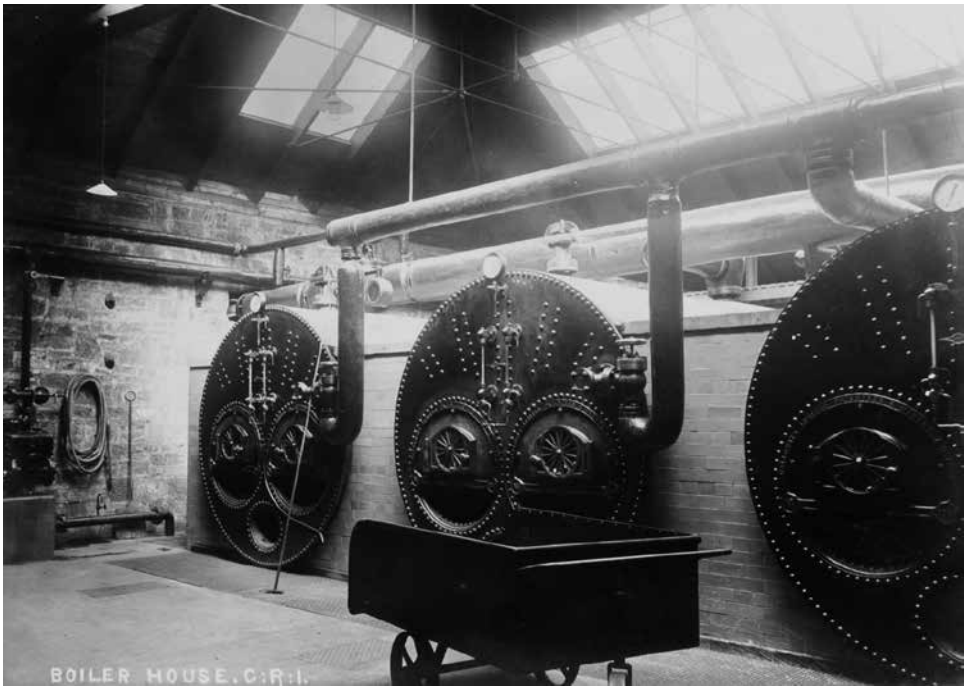
BOILER HOUSE. C:R:I.

Figure 34. Boiler house. (Album 4, number 37)

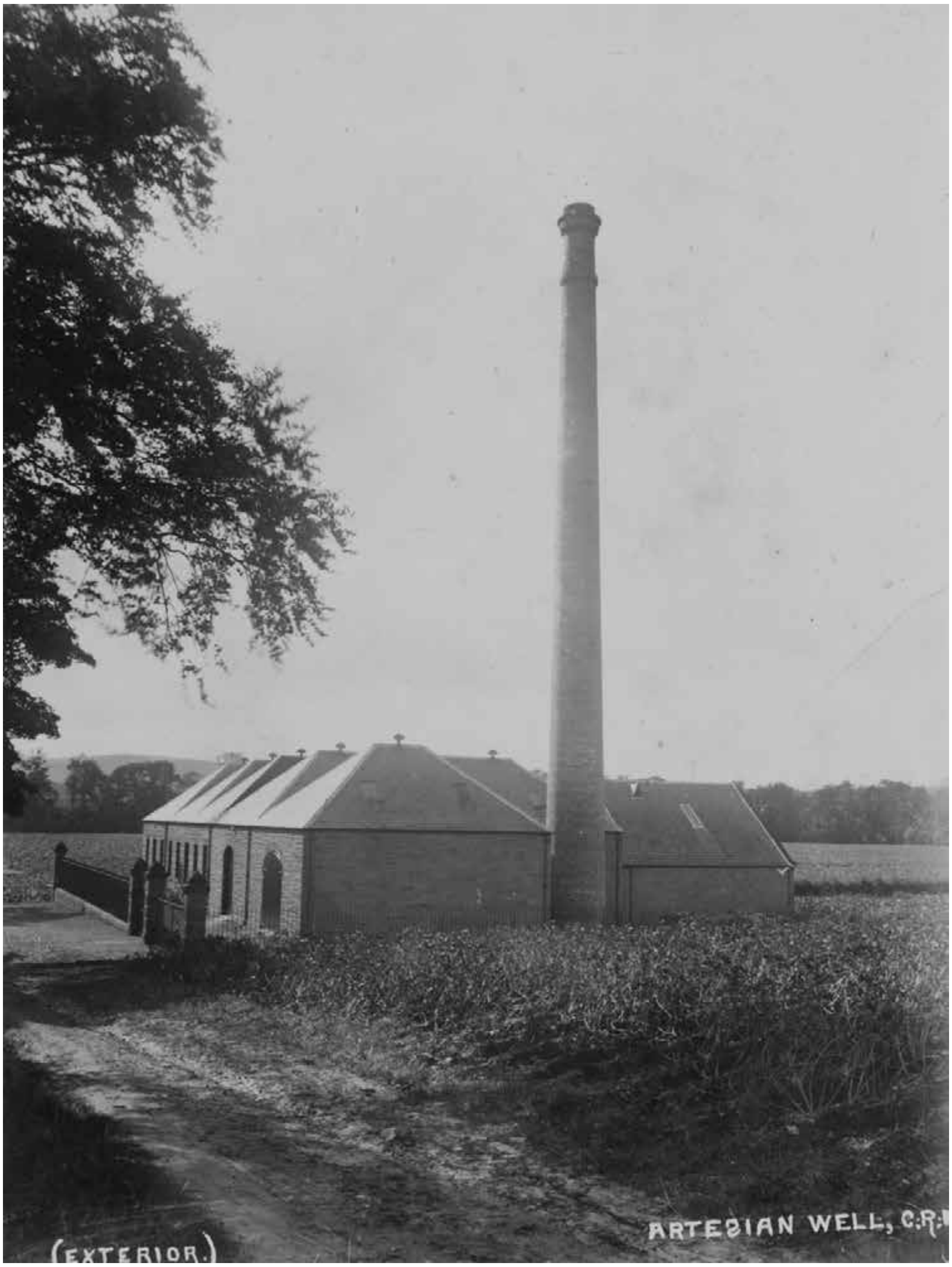
(EXTERIOR.)
ARTESIAN WELL, C.R.

Figure 35. Artesian well. (Album 4, number 40)

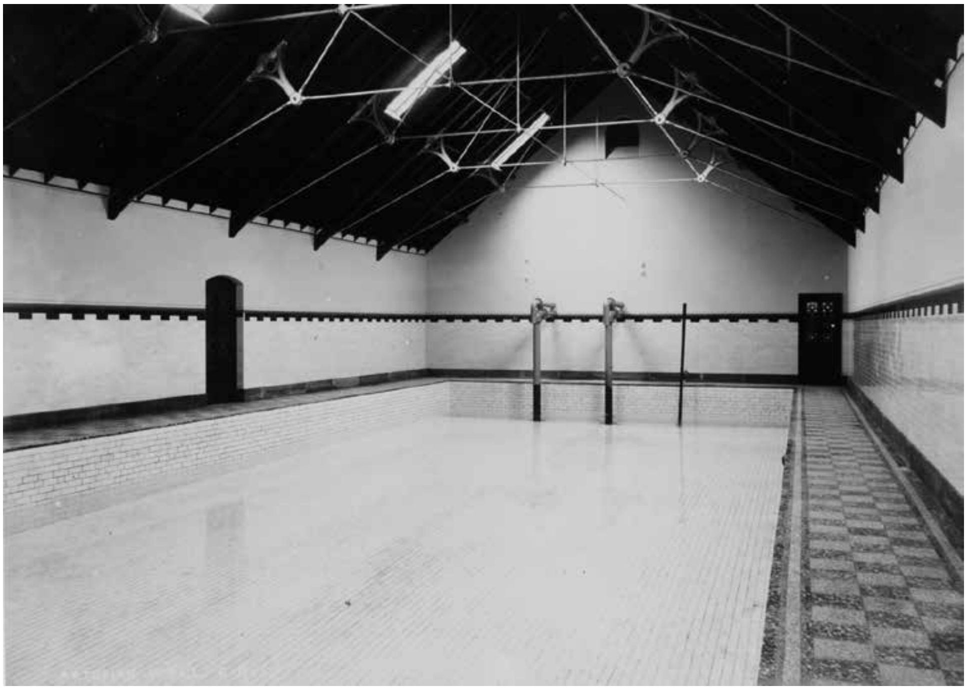

Figure 36. Artesian well. (Album 4, number 41)

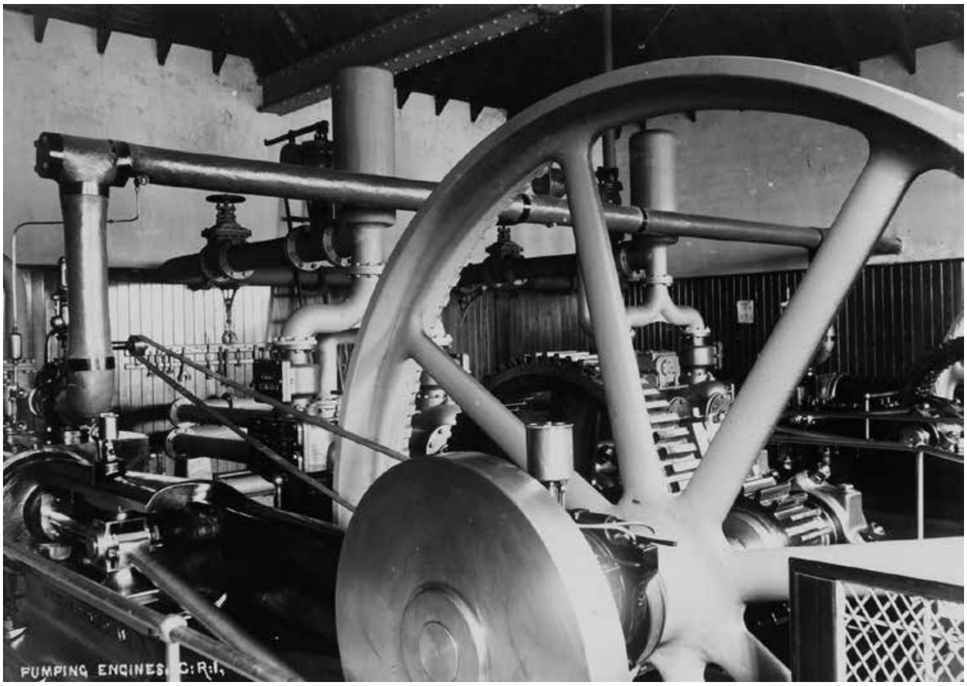
PUMPING ENGINES. C:R:I.

Figure 37. Pumping engines at the artesian well. (Album 4, number 42)

In 1843, Dr Browne turned his mind to improving the quality of the water supply at the asylum. He found it offensive that people drank water taken straight from the River Nith, which at that time had raw sewage floating in it. He arranged to have water pumped from a pumping station at Castledykes to the highest point of the original 40-acre site at Hillhead, where he arranged for the water to pass through a series of sand filter beds. As a result of this no person at the Institution contracted cholera in the outbreak of 1848 even though large numbers of townspeople died from its virulence. It was not known at that time that cholera was a water-borne disease.

As the number of patients being treated at the Institution grew steps had to be taken to find an increased water supply. Eventually a bore hole at Rosehall, at a low point on the estate, struck water. An extensive scheme was undertaken to erect and equip a building where the water could be stored in preparation for pumping it to a building containing a gathering reservoir at the new highest point on the estate at Maidenbower, from which it might supply the needs of the Institution.

Carmont's book was going to print as the scheme was nearing completion:

> These arrangements will have cost about £10,000, but considering the large supply, estimated at 75,000 gallons per day, required for the Institution with its population of upwards of 1000 persons, and for the farm steading, this outlay cannot be regarded as excessive. The lower reservoir, from the beauty and singularity of its appearance, is now considered a very attractive sight for visitors to Dumfries.[33]

A late Victorian tourist attractions had been created.

In 1889 the Institution marked its 50th anniversary. In 1888 the Board of Directors approached Sydney Mitchell of Edinburgh to design a church in Norman or early English style as a memorial to the founders, Dr James and Mrs Elizabeth Crichton. The cost was to be about £5,000. In the end it was a much grander edifice that found favour:

> The Memorial Church is a fine specimen of Gothic architecture, which is not only an ornament to the Crichton grounds, but forms a conspicuous and strikingly beautiful object in the landscape of the eastern side of the valley of the Nith.[34]

Carmont's book was published one year before the church was completed in 1897, yet he seems to be suggesting its aspect with certainty. In his lengthy description of the handsome edifice he describes a feature of the western façade:

> Over the doorway are figures forming a corbel supporting the shafts of a niche for a finely sculptured figure representing Charity, on either side of which are openings deeply recessed and enriched with finely carved foliage.[35]

Charity never took her place in the niche. The costs of the splendid Neo-Gothic architecture of the church escalated to £30,000. It was decided to call a halt and Charity was sacrificed.

---

[33] *Crichton Royal* by James Carmont.

[34] *Crichton Royal* by James Carmont.

[35] *Crichton Royal* by James Carmont.

In Swan's Guide, the author W. Dickie stated that in 1898:

> The Crichton Memorial Church, standing within the grounds of the Institution, is one of the handsomest of modern ecclesiastical buildings to be found in Scotland.[36]

Sydney Mitchell, the architect, had impressed the Board of Directors to the extent that he was associated with the Institution until 1913 and went on to design a further twelve major buildings to accommodate patients. He also designed impressive extensions and upgrading features for the First House.

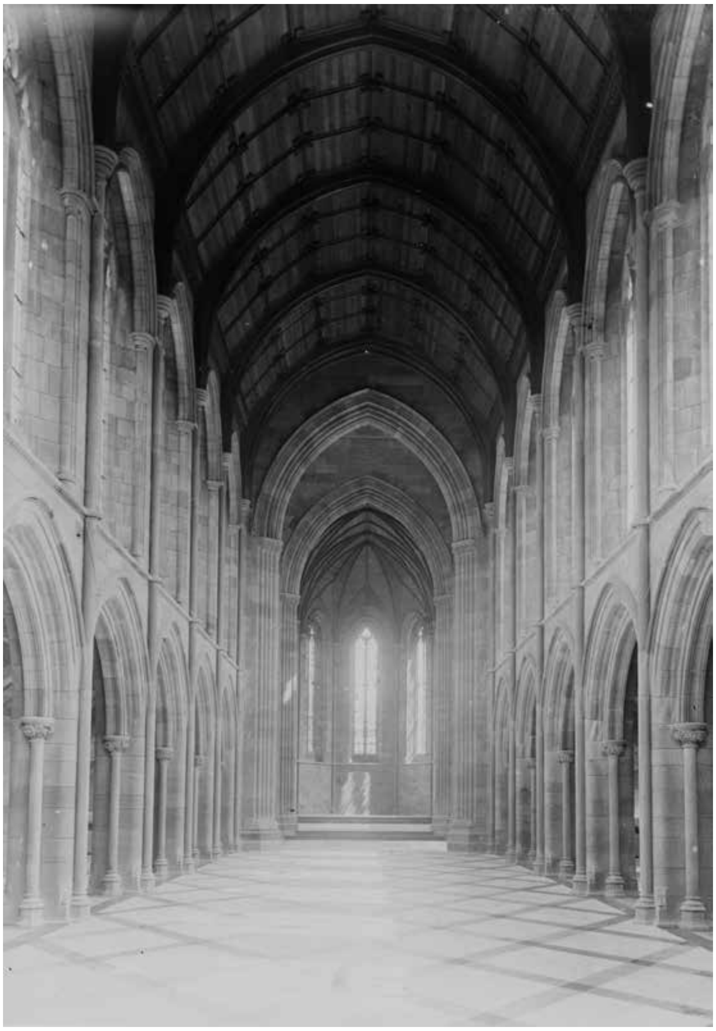

Figure 38. Crichton Memorial Church, interior. (Album 4, number 27b)

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[36] *Dumfries & Round About* by W Dickie.

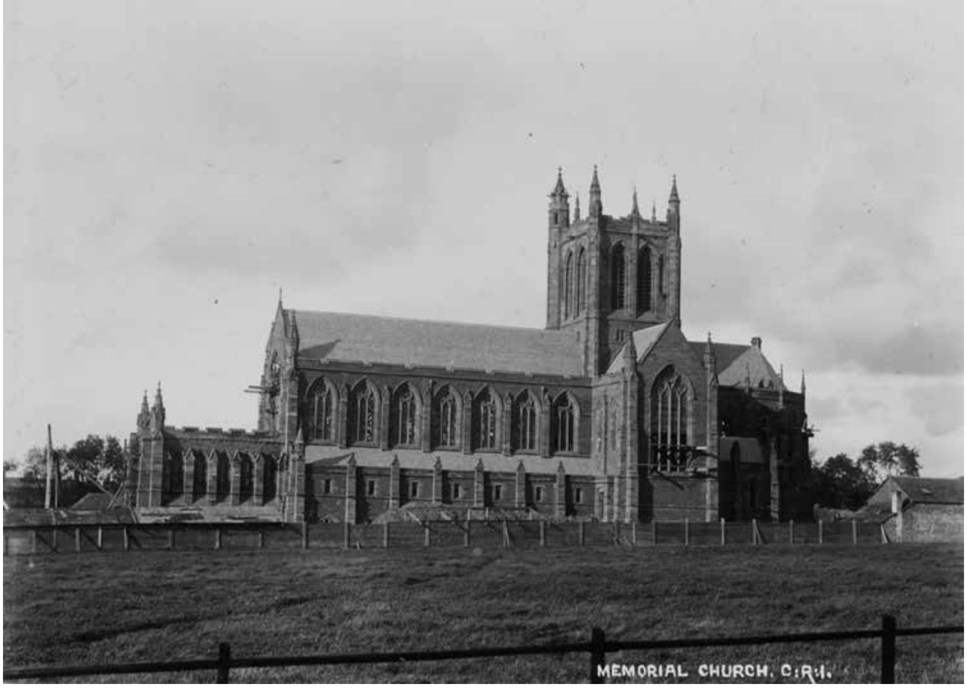

Figure 39. Crichton Memorial Church. (Album 4, number 27a)

Dumfries Academy

The part of Dumfries Academy now known as the Minerva building is imposing. Its origins are described in the 1898–1899 prospectus which was illustrated by Rutherford's photographs.

The history of Dumfries Academy is detailed in the introduction to the prospectus. Dumfries Academy was established in 1804 and managed by the Town Council from 1814 till 1872, when it was transferred to the Dumfries Burgh School Board, as one of the eleven Higher Class Schools of Scotland scheduled under the Education Act of that year:

> The present buildings were erected in 1897 on the site of the old Academy. The principal building, a handsome structure of classical design, contains ample accommodation for carrying on the work of a fully equipped Higher Class School.
>
> The classrooms are commodious, airy, well-lighted, and fitted throughout with the latest and most approved steam heating-apparatus. On the ground floor are the English, Writing, and Classical Rooms. On the first floor are the rooms for Mathematics, Modern Languages, Science, and Art.
>
> The rooms of the Preparatory Department are also on the ground floor, and possess all the modern requirements for the teaching of pupils from the age of five to ten.[37]

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[37] Dumfries Academy Prospectus, 1898–99.

This remained the set-up until the 1930s when a large Art Deco building became the principal section of the Academy and the 1897 Minerva building housed a fee-paying Primary School on the ground floor and retained sections of the Secondary School on the first floor. Subsequently in the twentieth century further buildings were erected on site, all of which now comprise a Comprehensive Secondary School. The Primary School moved into George Street in the 1960s.

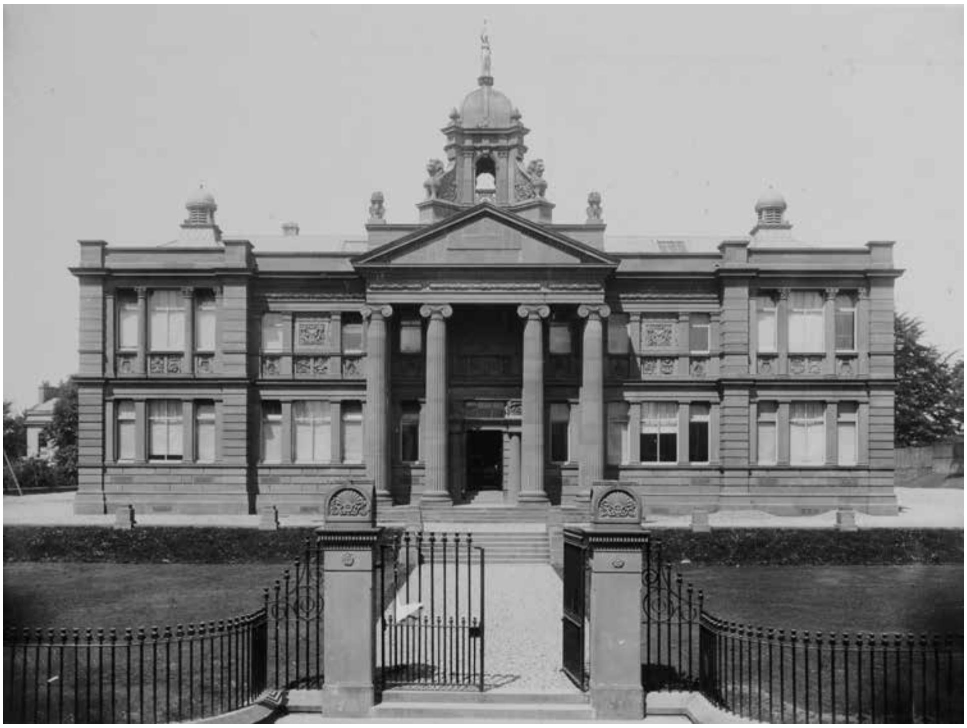

Figure 40. Dumfries Academy, 1897. (Album 5, number 54)

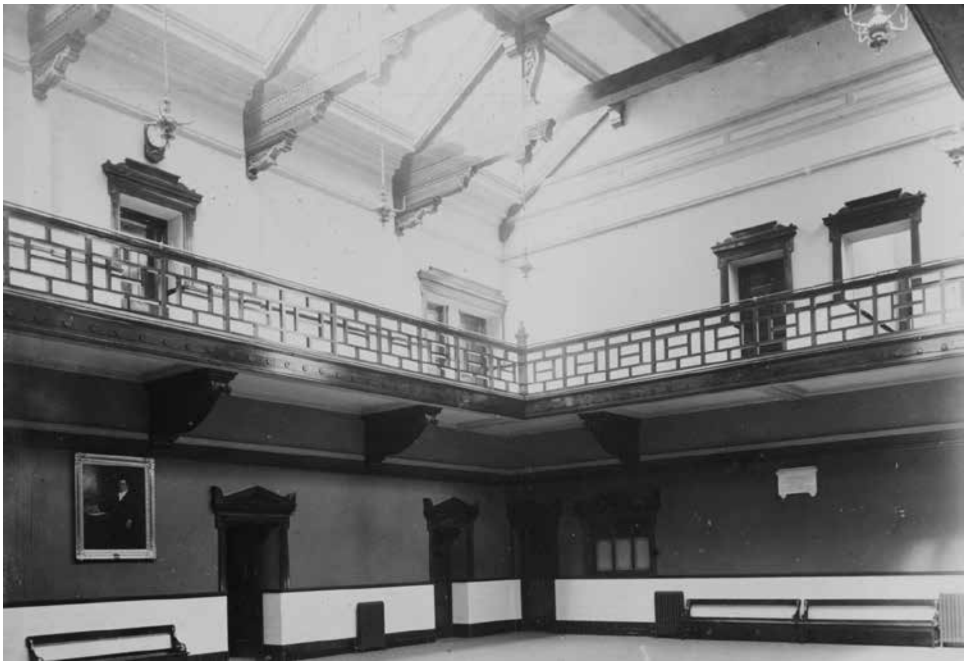

Figure 41. The Hall, Dumfries Academy. (Album 5, number 55)

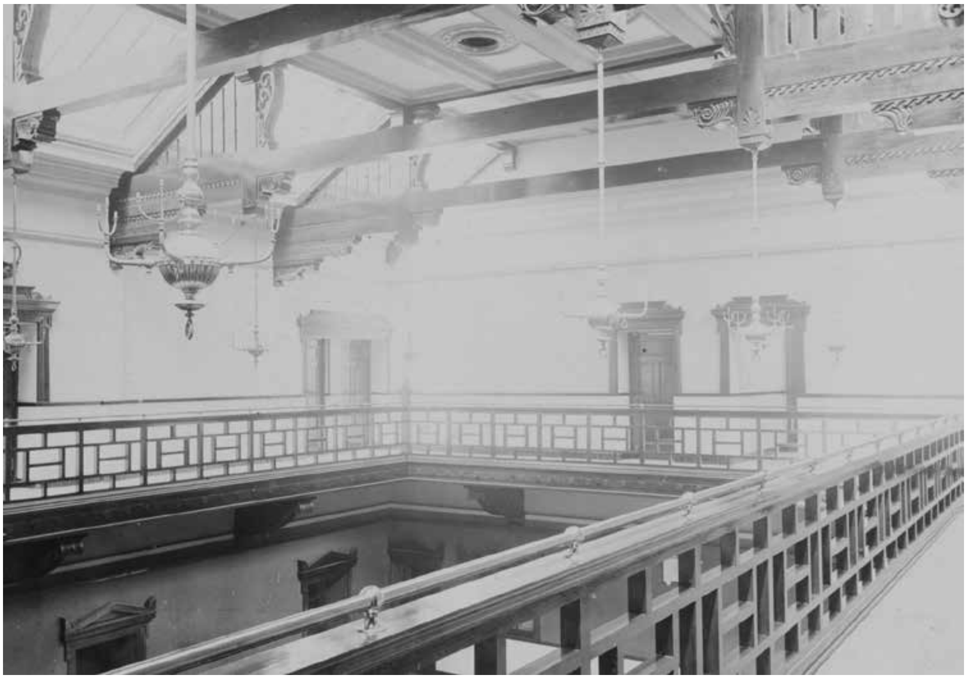

Figure 42. The Hall gallery, Dumfries Academy. (Album 5, number 56)

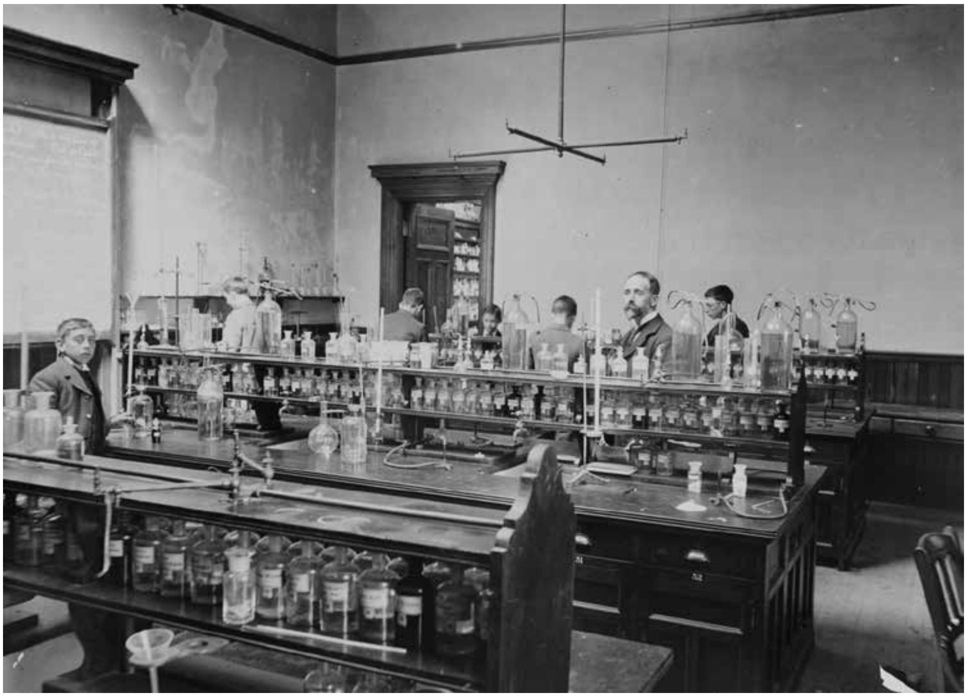

Figure 43. Science classroom, Dumfries Academy. (Album 5, number 57)

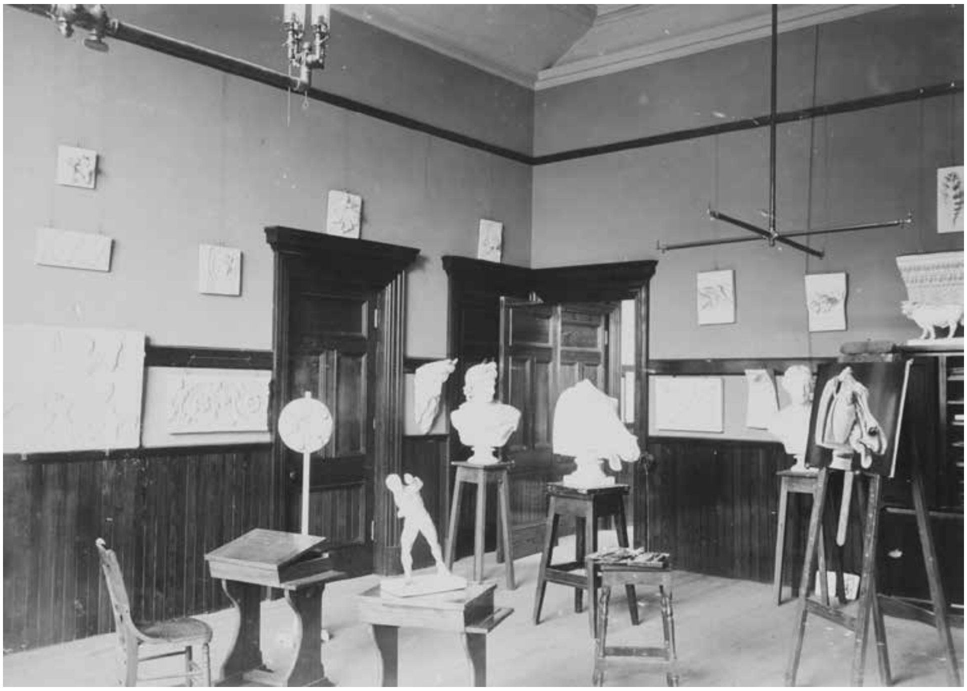

Figure 44. Art classroom, Dumfries Academy. (Album 5, number 58)

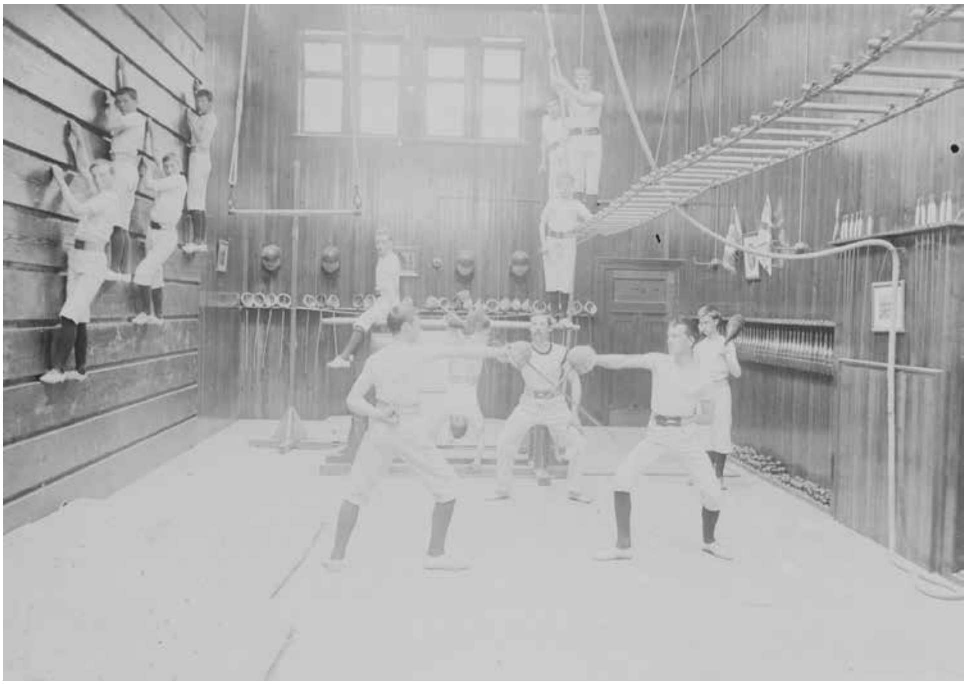

Figure 45. Gymnasium, Dumfries Academy. (Album 5, number 59)

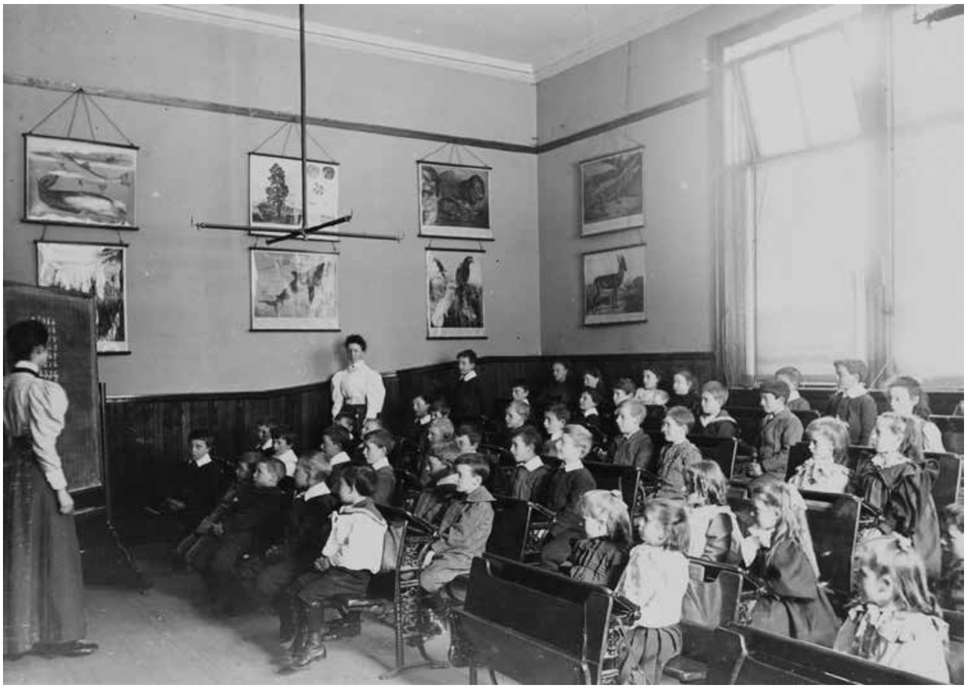

Figure 46. Classroom, Dumfries Academy. (Album 5, number 60)

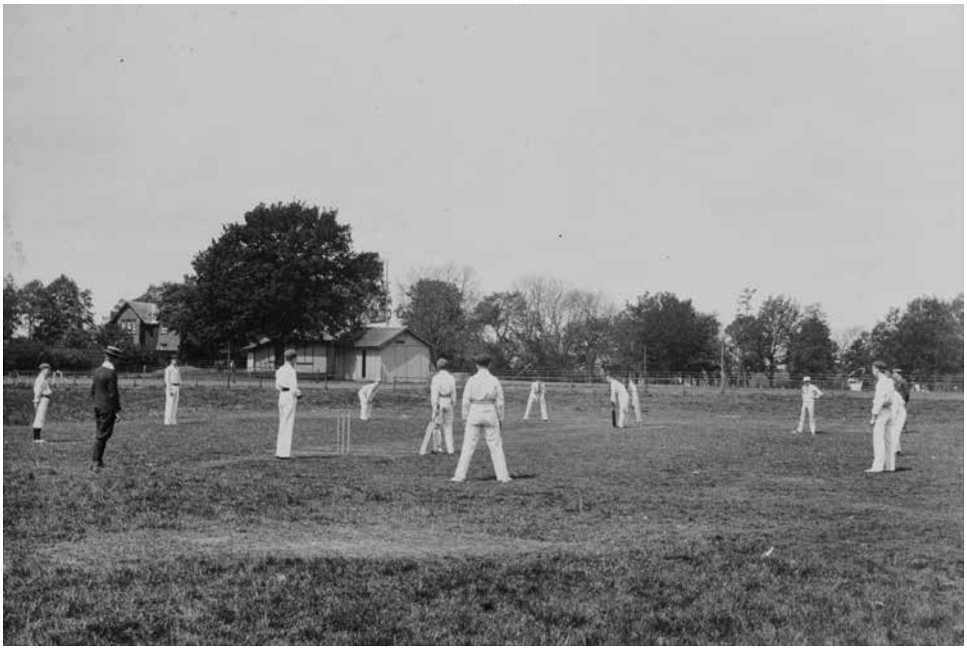

Figure 47. Cricket at Dumfries Academy. (Album 5, number 61)

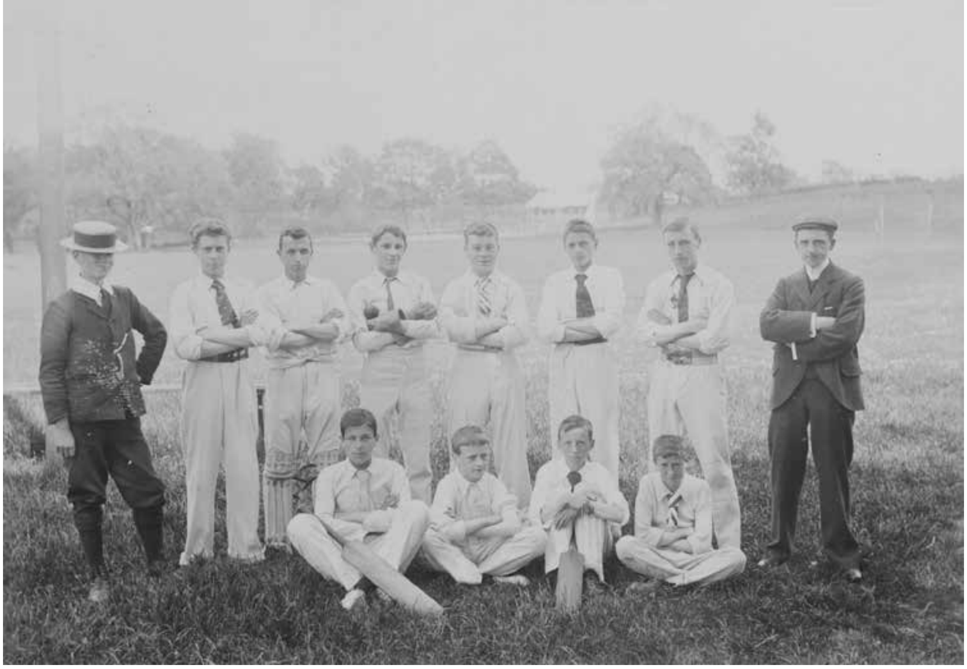

Figure 48. Dumfries Academy cricket team. (Album 5, number 62)

The prospectus continues:

> Other sections of the site provide for open air activities and catering.
>
> The Playground is divided into two portions — one for the boys, the other for the girls and the pupils of the Preparatory Department. Gymnastic apparatus is erected in the Boys' Playground.
>
> The Academy Recreation Field is five acres in extent, with Cricket and Football pitches for the boys, and four excellent grass Tennis Courts for the girls. There are two Pavilions on the field — one for the boys and one for the girls.
>
> There are separate Luncheon Rooms in the school for boys and girls, and luncheons may be had daily.[38]

Conclusion

John Rutherford's obituary in the Dumfries and Galloway Standard of 25 November 1925, ends with quotations from 'Still Waters', an appreciation of him by Rev. W.J. Street, a former minister of Maxwelltown United Free Church, of which he was a member:[39]

> He was successful long ago, while he trod the market place. There he is, in his quiet corner … consulted, respected by some few who know his knowledge. … [He is] apart altogether from the great stream of life. … With hands of the most sensitive, he does work that skilled men would be proud of. … He is busy constantly. … He has no master, yet all his time is employed worthily. And behind all the darkness, ugliness of the world and men, he sees the divine beauty.

The purpose behind these three Rutherford papers has been to do justice to a man who recorded contemporary scenes in Dumfriesshire in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by means of techniques still in their early stages of development. In his own day he was not given due recognition for his painstaking work. These papers help to redress the balance and give the achievements of a talented, yet modest, man well-merited 'exposure' to a wider audience. As time goes on his scenes become ever more interesting.

Appendix (Mrs Crichton' s prayer)

It is my earnest wish and desire that this building should be founded on the faith of God. It is built from the funds of my husband which were acquired solely by the great blessing of God upon his honest industry. From a poor youth he became a rich man, but he ever acknowledged with the deepest feelings of gratitude that to Him who had been his God and his Guide the praise alone was due. Deeply impressed by those feelings, it is the sole and most earnest wish of my heart to present this Blessing and Institution as a humble offering of gratitude to God, and humbly, and upon my knees, in the presence of Him who seeth the hearts of all his creatures, I dedicate it to our Father in Heaven, humbly and earnestly beseeching Him to turn His eyes from the sins of her who offers it, and for Christ's sake to hear her prayer:- 'O, Lord God Almighty I draw near, and with humility and trust I commit this Asylum to Thy care. I am alone, weak, feeble, and friendless, But Thou art Almighty. Take it, therefore, into Thy Keeping. Oh, bless it with Thy best blessings. Keep it from corruption, and from sin. Take it entirely into Thy care; let not the devil or man prevail against it to hurt it, and in everything relating to it, from the greatest to the least, Oh! be Thou its Director and its Keeper, its Guide, and its God. Never leave it, never forsake it. Keep it as the apple of Thine eye. Bless it, Oh my God, and it shall be blessed.'

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[38] Dumfries Academy Prospectus, 1898–99.

[39] See Williams, Morag. (2013). John Rutherford, Society Member and Photographer in Annandale. *TDGNHAS*, 87, p.163.

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A CHANGING PARISH: KIRKPATRICK FLEMING FROM THE 1930S TO 2013

Alastair B. Duncan[1]

In 2012–2013 Alastair and Catriona Duncan recorded nineteen audio interviews with over-sixty residents or former residents of the parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfries and Galloway, and with four groups: older people, 30-year-olds, new residents, pupils of Primary 6. Kirkpatrick (as the village of Kirkpatrick Fleming is commonly known) lies twelve miles south-east of Lockerbie and three miles north-west of Gretna and the English border. Individual interviews between an hour and three hours long, took the form of life histories. Questions were also asked about the respondents' sense of local and national identity and about their speech. In the 1930s the village of Kirkpatrick had many shops and there was a vibrant community life based round the Victoria Hall and the church. Some housing conditions were very poor. School discipline was harsh. During the Second World War, the population was expanded by the presence of evacuees, Honduran woodcutters, Canadian air force personnel and prisoners of war. A strong community spirit persisted into the 1950s and 1960s, but communal activities —outings, dances, sports clubs, church-going and Sunday School attendance — began to decline. Larger farms have increased in size and modernized mainly into large-scale milk production. An influx of new residents has stabilized the population. Older residents and thirty-year-olds have a strong sense of belonging to Kirkpatrick and of being Scottish, but are unanimously against independence. Speech is the main marker of belonging but differences in speech are fading. All generations share three sites of memory: the school, the river Kirtle and the one remaining shop.

Between June 2012 and November 2013, my wife Catriona and I recorded more than thirty hours of interviews with people in or from the parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming. Thanks to the generosity of the late Ann Hill, a former resident of the parish, Kirkpatrick Fleming is probably the best documented of all the apparently unremarkable parishes of Scotland. A series of pamphlets and two well-produced and luxuriously illustrated books have described it physically and traced its history from pre-Roman times to the early 2000s. My personal interest in Kirkpatrick stems from my family's past. My father, Eric Duncan, was minister of the parish from 1938 to 1944. I was born in the manse in 1942. From the mid-1940s to the mid-1960s I spent all my Easter holidays and part of my summer holidays on a local farm, the Flosh. Likewise my sister Audrey was regularly welcomed by the Irvings of Nutberry and my brother Hamish more occasionally by the Hallidays of the Flosh and the Beatties of Wicketthorn. I was astonished to learn in the course of our project that our parents were commemorated by christenings. Eric Marr Collinge shares two of our father's names. Edith Hodgson was named after our mother. As a result of all these personal connections, my admiration for the first of the Ann Hill books, *Kirkpatrick*

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Fleming Dumfriesshire: An Anatomy of a Parish in South West Scotland,[2] was tinged with disappointment because it said little about the people of Kirkpatrick. When I suggested to John Gair, Chair of the Ann Hill Bequest Committee, that an oral history project could appropriately supplement that book's account of the parish's geology, archaeology and architecture, he swiftly turned the tables on me by suggesting that I should do it.

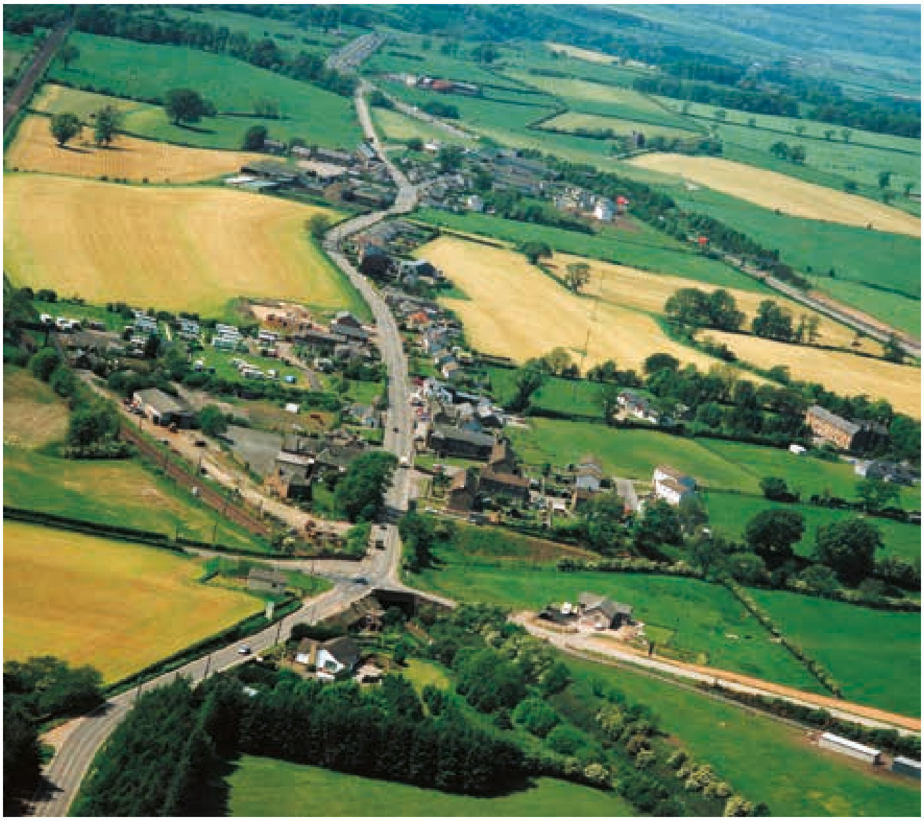

Figure 1. Aerial view of Kirkpatrick Fleming. Kirkpatrick Fleming from the south in the 1990s. The school and village hall are in the middle foreground to the left and the right of the road respectively. The caravan park to the left had not yet been transformed into a small estate of residential homes for the over-fifties. At the 'top of the village' the buildings of Newton Farm on the left house the heavy plant of the agricultural contractor Graham Rae. The Glasgow to London railway line traverses the foreground. To the extreme right can be seen the former poorhouse, now a care home, and beyond that the M74 which, initially as a dual carriageway, bypassed the village in the late 1970s. (Copyright Air Images)

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[2] Mercer, Roger and others. (1997). *Kirkpatrick Fleming Dumfriesshire : An Anatomy of a Parish in South West Scotland*. Dumfries: Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society. The second book is Adamson, Duncan. and Adamson, Sheila. (2011). *Kirkpatrick Fleming: On the Borders of History*. Dumfries: Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society. The present article can be understood as a supplement to that excellent and comprehensive work.

Having accepted the challenge, Catriona and I reflected on what the particular aims of such project could be. The main one must simply be to record the recent past of the parish through the memories of its people, in particular to elicit their perspective on the events they had lived through. It was not as clear to me then as it is now that any subsequent synthesis of the views they expressed, such as this one, would not be a self-portrait of the parish but rather a reductive personal interpretation of the many interviews. I apologise in advance to the people of Kirkpatrick if they think I misuse any of their quotations. Another aim was based on the geographic and cultural location of Kirkpatrick Fleming. The parish is situated twelve miles south-east of Lockerbie and three miles north-west of Gretna and the English border. Geographically, historically, administratively, educationally, Kirkpatrick is Scottish. Yet a significant percentage of its population of all ages comes from outside Scotland; and this population is not multi-cultural but almost exclusively of English origin: 20% of the school pupils come from English or mixed parentage. We resolved therefore to ask people about their sense of identity both local and national. How did they perceive Kirkpatrick, Scotland or Britain as 'imagined communities'?[3] Were there differences between different generations of residents? The question of national identity had a particular resonance since in 2012–13 all minds were already turning to the independence referendum of September 2014.

We also wished to involve people in the parish so that, as far as possible, ownership of the project could be shared and its results become a common legacy. To this end we got in touch at a very early stage with Lorna Dempster, the head teacher of Kirkpatrick Fleming Primary School. It was our greatest stroke of luck. Lorna took up the idea with enthusiasm. It became a year-long project for her Primary 6 class. They made short audio and video recordings of interviews with parents and friends of the school and subsequently edited these into a forty minute DVD.[4] As we prepared and carried out our project, we cooperated with Lorna, making sure that the two projects didn't overlap but complemented each other.

How then were we to carry out our aims? We decided on two different forms of interview. We recorded nineteen individual interviews with older residents, occasionally in pairs, for example a married couple and two sisters. Of the thirteen women and eight men interviewed, the oldest was 93 and the youngest 60. We asked respondents to tell us about their life histories: birth, family, school, work, leisure. We also included a certain number of questions about community, identity and language. Our second set of interviews was with groups: a group of older residents, most of whom we had interviewed individually; a group of natives of the parish in their thirties; a group of incomers, mainly from a recent estate of small houses; and finally the thirteen pupils of Primary 6 who were concurrently carrying out their own planned interviews. To some extent these group interviews followed the same general pattern as the individual interviews, though questions about community were more prominent. And of course we could not merely ask about language, we could also hear differences in speech from one group to another. Catriona and I shared the individual interviews equally between us. We both participated in the group interviews.

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[3] The phrase is from Anderson, Benedict. (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* 2nd ed. London and New York: Verso.

[4] *Voices from the Past*, available from Kirkpatrick Fleming Primary School.

A Vibrant Village: 1930s to 1960s

Kirkpatrick Fleming, built mainly along a single long street, is still largely a village in two halves. James McEwan's sketch (Figure 2), shows just how alive with shops and trades both halves of the village were in the late 1930s.

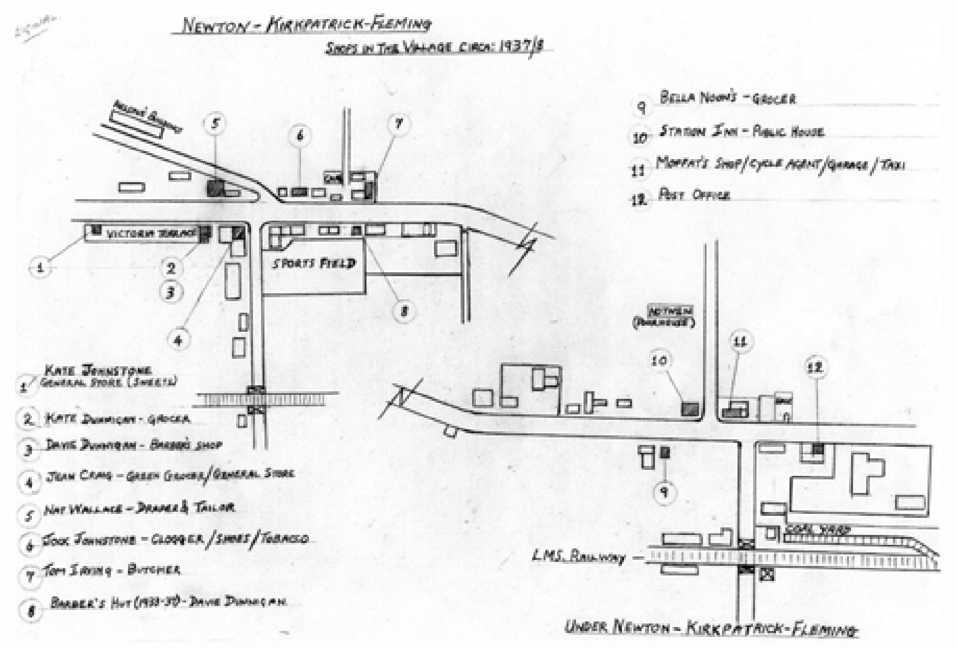
NEWTON - KIRKPATRICK-FLEMING
SHOPS IN THE VILLAGE CIRCA: 1937/8
VICTORIA TERRACE
SPORTS FIELD
1 KATE JOHNSTONE GENERAL STORE (SWEETS)
2 KATE DUNNIGAN - GROCER
3 DAVIE DUNNIGAN - BARBER'S SHOP
4 JEAN CRAIG - GREEN GROCER/GENERAL STORE
5 NAT WALLACE - DRAPER & TAILOR
6 JOCK JOHNSTONE - CLOGGER/SHOES/TOBACCO
7 TOM IRVING - BUTCHER
8 BARBER'S HUT (1933-39) - DAVIE DUNNIGAN
9 BELLA NOON'S - GROCER
10 STATION INN - PUBLIC HOUSE
11 MOFFAT'S SHOP/CYCLE AGENT/GARAGE/TAXI
12 POST OFFICE
COAL YARD
L.M.S. RAILWAY
UNDER NEWTON - KIRKPATRICK-FLEMING

Figure 2. James McEwan's sketch plan shows the shops and trades that flourished in the village in the late 1930s.

Older respondents recalled that era: *Nat Wallace, he was a tailor, he sometimes sat at the window cross-legged sewing away … then there was Johnstones, they had the clog shop. We wore clogs to school … then there was a butcher, Mr. Irving, the butcher, … then near the school there was the blacksmith so we could stand and watch the sparks flying when he was shoeing the horses, then there was the post office next door* (MaW).[5] Tom Irving, the butcher, did more than sell meat and sausages: *They also slaughtered there as well. … after a market day at Annan, on say a Friday, I think it was, they used to walk either cattle or sheep all the way from Annan … and keep them in the field behind and then bring them in and slaughter them* (JMc). Davie Dunnigan, the barber, left his mark on the village right up to the 1960s: *'Would you like your hair cut like Cliff Richard?' 'Oh yeah, we'd like it cut like Cliff Richard.' And he'd put a bowl on your head and just cut right round it. And you'd look at it and go, 'That doesn't look like Cliff Richard', and he'd go, 'Well if Cliff Richard came into my shop, that's what he'd look like.'* (AM).

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[5] Most of the respondents gave permission for their full names to be used. I shall identify them here by their initials. A key to the initials is to be found in Appendix 5.

There were shops too at the outlying hamlets of Irvington and Hollee. But the farming community had little need to go to them, except perhaps for cigarettes. In the late 1930s Willam Halliday drove a lorry, selling fresh produce from the Sandersons' shop in Irvington. By the 1950s: *we had a van every day but a Sunday. We'd butchers, bakers, you name it, fishmongers, we had everybody. We didn't go away to shop. The shopping was all brought to us. ... There was people came round and sold you clothes. There was five clothing shops at Eaglesfield. We got all our clothes from Urquharts* (MiW). The baker who drove his van round Kirkpatrick parish may not have had the most lucrative of trades. Every housewife baked. My sister remembers that at Nutberry in the 1950s Monday was baking day: scones were eaten in place of bread; the cakes were scrumptious. Baking is still a proud tradition amongst the older generation in Kirkpatrick. We experienced it with gratitude as we interviewed round the parish.

During the Second World War the population increased. First came the evacuees. Many were put up at Cove House: *from places like Rotherham, Leeds, Huddersfield* (AR). They were replaced by Canadian airmen, training on Hurricanes at Chapelcross. Woodcutters from British Honduras were dumped in a camp below the church: *Poor souls, they came over in midwinter from Honduras and a lot of them really suffered for it, you know. Some never left the camp. They came and died there* (JMc). Four are buried in Kirkpatrick kirkyard. But those who survived were a great hit at the dances at the Victoria Hall: *They took the place by storm. ... You could have walked on their heads the hall was that full* (MiW). Relationships appear soon to have been almost as cordial with the Italian and German prisoners of war who worked on the farms: *There must have been a guard with them, ye know, a soldier. And here's they're coming down the road — the Italian was carrying the gun* (MH).

A field at the Broats farm was used as a landing strip for Tiger Moths: *They had to have the sheep off. ... They had to be cleared off that field by ten* (GN). At times the war seemed to come very close to the parish. In 1940 the local Home Guard dug trenches to defend the crossroads at Toppinghead: on one exercise they were 'captured' by an Australian while blethering in their trench (JR). The droning of German bombers flying to Glasgow or Clydebank terrified the children: *I mind of my mother saying 'come into the bed beside us. If one's killed, we're a' killed.'* (DK). Eventually traffic began to move in the opposite direction: *Before the Dieppe landings and such-like lots of Canadians came through here ... miles and miles and miles of convoys went through the village ... later on, British and American troops all making their way down for the Normandy landing* (JMc).

Dances at the Victoria Hall were a feature of village life well before the war and after it. Jimmy Shand played there, as well as many not so famous bands: *Wamphray, Wally Bryden, Simpsons of Forth, Eskdaleonians, The Clachan, Blue Aces from Annan ... and the Victory Band, our own band* (DK). The Victory Band players, regular and occasional, included Jack Burnett, accordion, Margaret Collinge, piano, David Johnstone (and later Jim Graham), drums, Jock Notman, fiddle, Gavin Fleming from Crowdieknowe, saxophone.[6] Lorry drivers putting up overnight at one of the village's two transport cafés — Scott's and London House — would arrange to be in Kirkpatrick on a Saturday so they could jig with the local girls. Young people from the parish met their future wives and husbands there or at the cinema at Gretna. The consequence was that in such a relatively small community many of the long-established families are interrelated. We are related to *everybody called Turnbull* said the Hodgson sisters, and the Turnbulls are related to the Holts who are related to the Kirkpatricks. In another chain, the Notmans are related to the Lockharts and the Collinges who, in turn, are related to the Grahams who are related to the Johnstones (of Chapelknowe) and to the McLellans who are related to the Raes.

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[6] Principal source: notes of Duncan Adamson's interview with Jack Burnett, 7 January 1987.

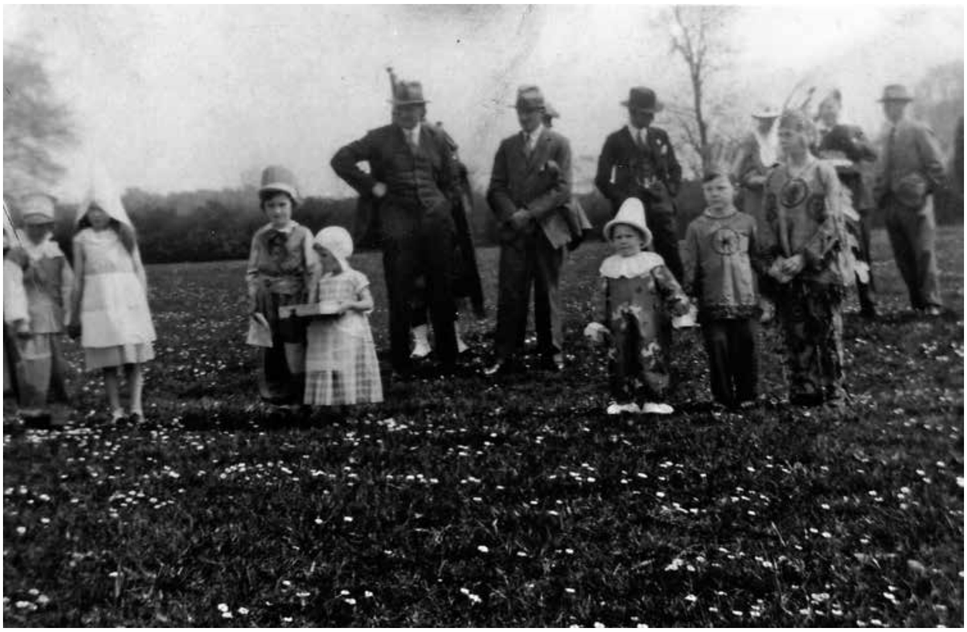
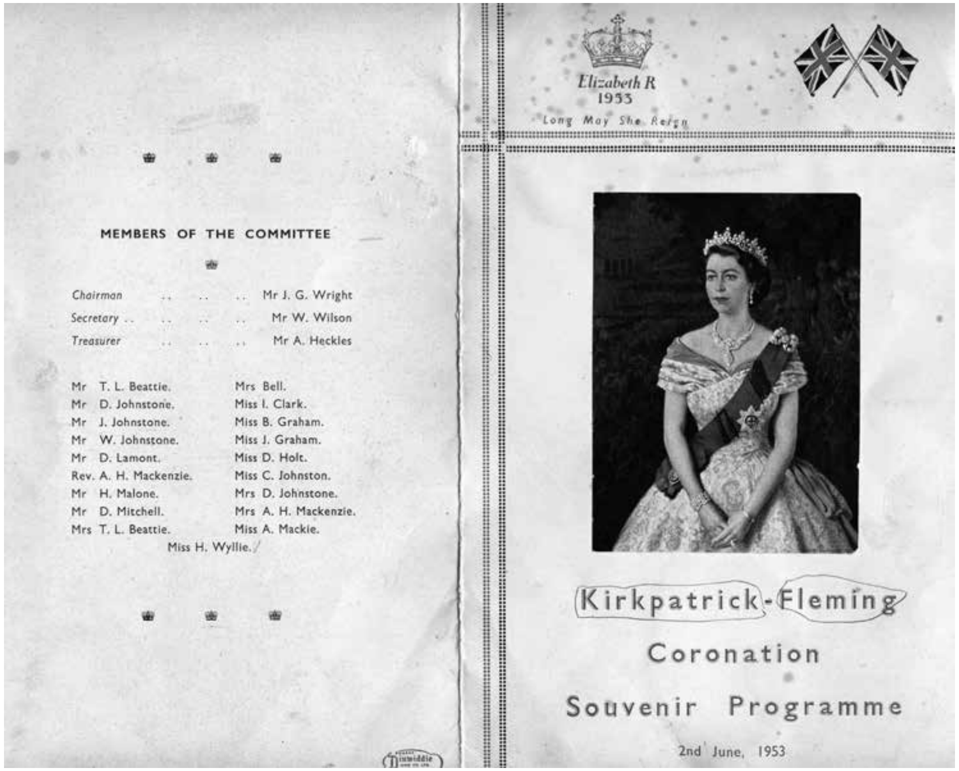


Figure 3. At the celebration of the silver jubilee of George V in 1935, Anna and Sheena Beattie went as a Dutch boy and girl and the Graham children of Mossknow as clowns. (Photograph with thanks to Mary Wallis)

These dances were just one aspect of the vibrant social life of the parish. Into the 1950s strong men still got together to hurl quoits in the sporting field at Newton: *It was the football of its time* (EC). The women's country dancing team under Miss Mackie won prizes at Dumfries. Supporters of Kirkpatrick Fleming F.C. followed their team by bus to Gretna or Annan. The Victoria Hall was used regularly for badminton, carpet bowls and whist drives. Whist was no less competitive than the other indoor pursuits. Nominally there were two women and two men to a table but the men were often in short supply. The young Eric Collinge was drafted in by his mother but after a bad mistake heard the whispered comment: *You can't send a boy to do a man's job.*

There was a strong tradition of communal activities and events: *The other thing I remember is the village trips because every summer we went somewhere. We went to Morecambe, Whitley Bay, Ayr, Edinburgh. You got down on the bus and off you went. ... it was the whole village. ... Every year we had a sports day in the Newton field. ... We always*



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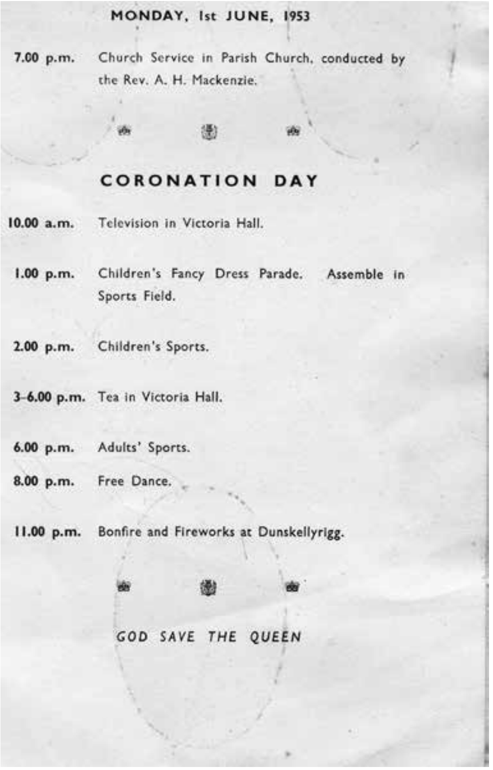
Miss H. Wyllie.

Elizabeth R
1953
Long May She Reign

Kirkpatrick-Fleming
Coronation
Souvenir Programme
2nd June, 1953

Figure 4. Coronation programme covers, 1953.



MONDAY, 1st JUNE, 1953

7.00 p.m. Church Service in Parish Church, conducted by the Rev. A. H. Mackenzie.

CORONATION DAY

10.00 a.m. Television in Victoria Hall.

1.00 p.m. Children's Fancy Dress Parade. Assemble in Sports Field.

2.00 p.m. Children's Sports.

3-6.00 p.m. Tea in Victoria Hall.

6.00 p.m. Adults' Sports.

8.00 p.m. Free Dance.

11.00 p.m. Bonfire and Fireworks at Dunskellyrigg.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

Figure 5. Coronation programme events, 1953.

went to Mossknow, they always had a garden party once a year. ... The obstacle race, we usually won it because one of the obstacles was to put up a deck-chair and it was our deck chairs. Nobody else know how to put up a deck-chair (MaW).

The tradition of such events was still strong in the 1950s. Many remembered the celebrations for the Coronation.

Though standing just outside the village, the church was for long the hub of the parish's collective life. In the 1940s it had a senior and a junior choir. James McEwan sang a solo when he was eleven. When my father was Minister he got annoyed with the children's pronunciation: *Jesus loves me this I know for the Bibull tells me so* (JMc). The Woman's Guild was as strong as the WRI with much overlapping membership. Above all, the Sunday School gave the children of the parish a shared cultural inheritance: *I don't think there was anybody that we knew that didn't go* (AD). *We all went to Sunday School, the whole village. It didn't matter whether the parents went to church or not* (MaW). *We were taught by the Hodgson ladies from Toppinghead ... you learn things you never forget, the books of the Bible, the parables. ... It's all part of what sticks in your mind* (GR).

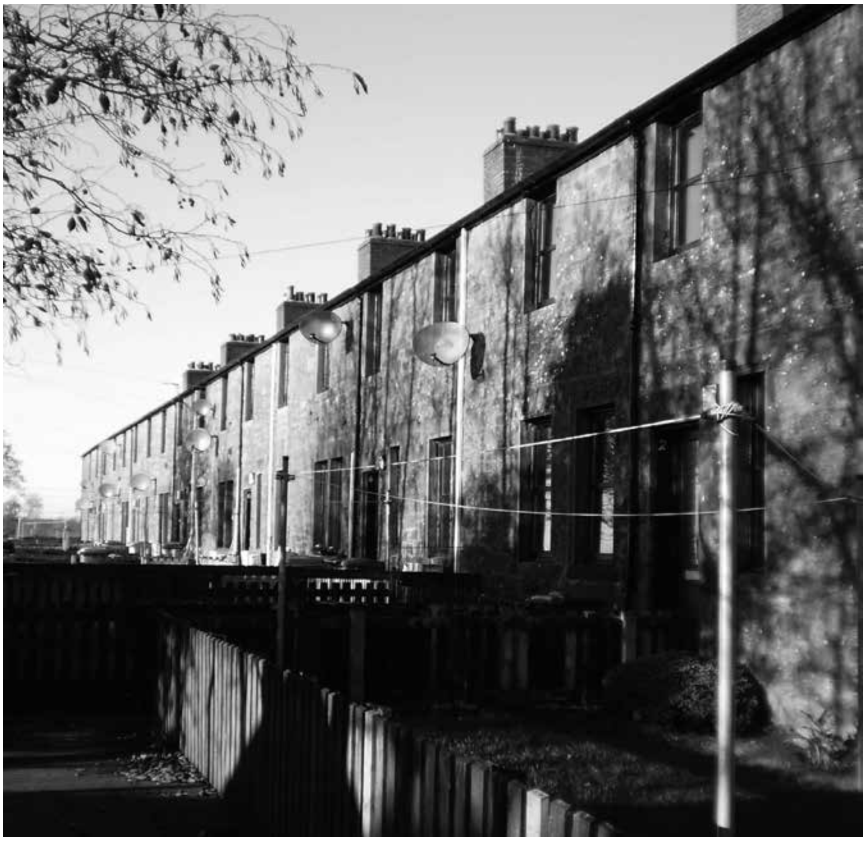


Figure 6. The back of Victoria Terrace in 2013: satellite dishes where in the 1930s these were the outdoor toilets, wash houses, and middens.

But though all went to Sunday School, inequalities in society were in some ways very evident. During the war, Jean Watson went to do *big hoose work* at Stapleton Towers: '*there was aboot eight maids … oo got one egg and so much butter and so much sugar … and everybody kept it with your name on a plate* (JW). Milly White (née Halliday) left school at fourteen in 1942 and started work at the manse: *I had to do the housework and things like that. And a Mrs Austin came and did the washing one day a week. And there was a Mrs Duff. She used to come sometimes and do some baking. … I think there was somebody worked in the garden occasionally too* (MiW).

Life in Victoria Terrace in the late 1930s was not so comfortable: *They had toilets out the back in the yard, ah, and wash houses, which by the time we moved there, they were in so much disrepair. They were open to the sky and nobody used them … and at the back of each of these blocks of four there was a midden and that's where all the, the refuse, the slops, everything went into the midden and was all covered up with the ashes out of the fire and it gradually grew to a mound and then when it was, ah, thought, deemed necessary, the local contractor came along and shovelled it all into a lorry and took it away. And the rats had a field day of course, they were all over it. And on wet days — on dry days it was terrible, the smell was horrendous — and on wet days the effluent used to sort of seep out and run down the back yards* (JMc).

It was scarcely surprising that scarlet fever and tuberculosis were familiar diseases. Before the advent of the NHS in 1948, general health care was patchy. As a child in those pre-NHS days, one of our interviewees had increasingly severe learning difficulties. It was only thanks to the intervention of T.L. Beattie — farmer, session clerk and County Councillor — that these difficulties were belatedly recognized to be solely due to deafness.

The school was one institution from which all profited. However, memories of it are mixed. Discipline could be very harsh, depending on the headmaster and on the teacher. Mr Hogg and Mr Doull, headmasters from 1929–38 and 1938–47, were both recalled as being free with the belt: *If we were late, we were told, all those last in the line come out to the floor, and we got the strap* (MiW). Miss Douglas who took primaries 3 and 4 for many years was *fearsome* (BM); *the term battle-axe comes to mind* (EC). She travelled from Carlisle by train. Pupils looked across to the station and cheered if she didn't get off the train or if the train was late (MW). She retired after the station was closed in June 1960. On the other hand, Eric Collinge remembered that she: *had the ability to encourage what was inside me*. Overall, Milly White's assessment of her primary education was positive: *you got a good grounding in everything. It was the best teaching you could get in those days*. Mr Mitchell, headmaster from 1953–1961, was remembered with respect, and Mrs Irving, who taught primaries 1 and 2, with great affection.

There was some mischief in school in the 1940s*: J … R … from the Cove sat behind me … and I had long plaits and he was forever dipping my hair into the inkwells and my mother used to go mad because the ribbons were all ink and she couldn't get it off* (CMc); and occasionally trouble in the playground, not just when the evacuees came — *we had a few fights then* (GN) — but *sometimes the girls was fightin' an' a'* (WM) and there were occasional scuffles with the children of the Travellers who periodically stayed in the campsite opposite Moffat's shop. The girls played *beds* (hopscotch) and skipping: *I'm a little brownie dressed in brown* (EH). The boys in their separate playground played British

Bulldog and Big Corners: *It was in the playground. ... You had to get from one corner to another without getting caught by the other team* (RD). Younger ex-pupils remember playing on the *monkey bars*, a climbing frame which was removed when a girl hanging upside down fell off and hurt her head. Boys remember playing football. They would choose sides in the morning, play nineteen a side at every interval and agree after twenty or thirty goals that *the next goal's the winner* (NL).

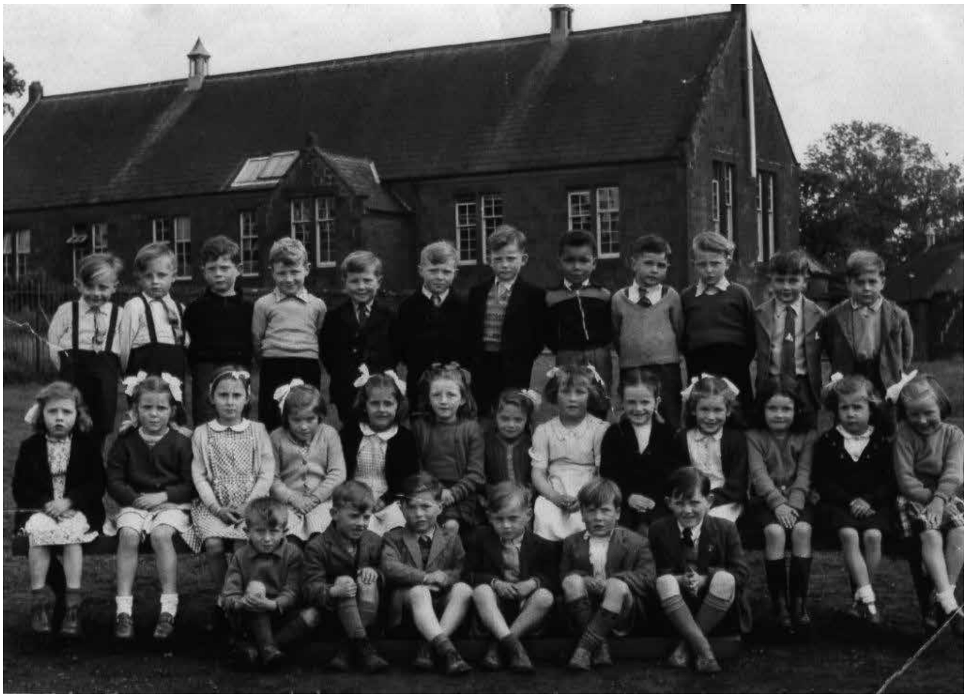


Figure 7. Kirkpatrick School photograph, 1948. The boy fifth from the right in the back row was the son of one of the Honduran woodcutters stationed in the village during the Second World War. (Photograph with thanks to Audrey Dorrance)

On the Farm: 1930s to 2013

Jean Watson, born in 1920, spent most of her working life on farms: … *no workin' on the yin bit a' the time. ... Maybe somebody wanted to go gan' to threshin', like the mill, for just thresh the corn, or hoe the turnips or tattie pickin'. I loved the ootside like … I used to gan' to Williamsfield, Grahamshill, Calvertsholm — just roun' aboot. ... Ye stood frae eight o'clock in the morning till six o'clock at night for a pound*. That seasonal rhythm of work was recalled by others: *They used to bring in the corn, and they used to put it in stacks in the stack yard and then, maybe once or twice a year you had the mill in, and they came with this old mill, it was fired with coal, I think. Aye, it was fired wi' coal, and the surrounding farmers, they came to help you that day, and you had to help them on their day* (MiW).

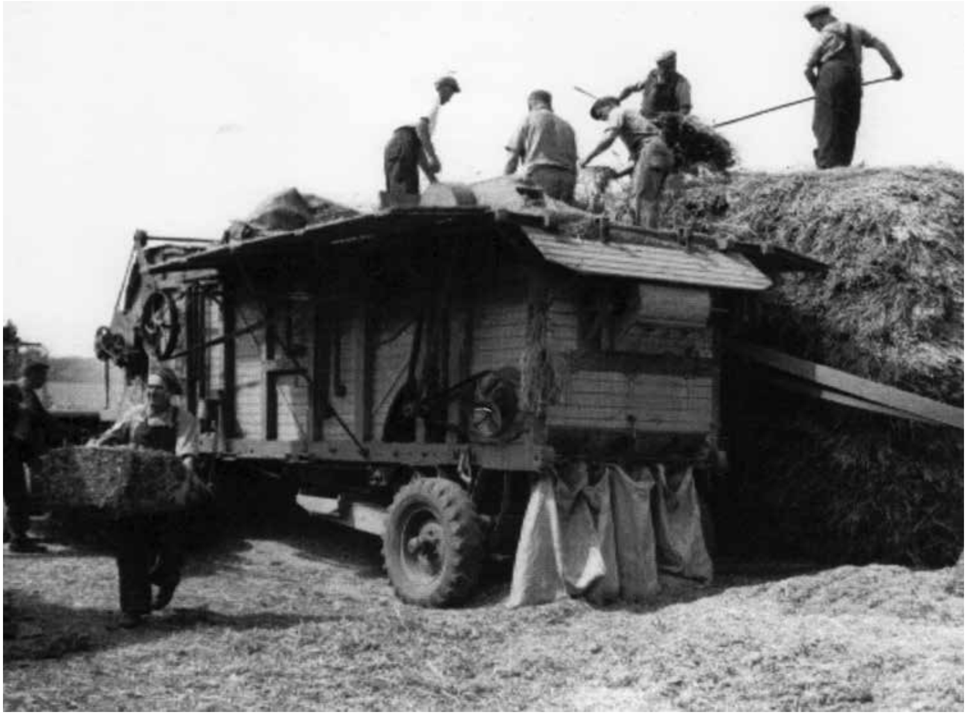


Figure 8. The threshing mill at Birkshawhead in the 1950s. On the stack: to the right, Jim Wylie, Irvington; to his left, Dod Anderson, the farmer. On the ground, holding a bale, Willie John White; at the back, Stewart Lister. (Photograph with thanks to Robert Anderson)

Co-operation was the order of the day, but there was also a competitive edge, especially for the farmers' wives: *lunchtime on a mill day was, was huge … and there was all sorts of places, comments made about mill days and where the best food was and people liked to go some places and they wouldn't go others and a lot of it was mainly to do with the food that was served* (CD). I myself can remember that; and I remember watching Jim Currie the blacksmith repair the damaged parts of a reaper-binder; and building stooks with the cut sheaves so the corn would dry in the sun; and, as a very small boy, gazing up in terror while the yoke was slipped over the head of an enormous horse. Horses were kept for delicate work: *so as not to compact the ground* (MI), even after the first Fordson tractors arrived in the early 1940s. But all this was 'the end of an auld sang'.

Dairy farming, predominant in the parish, has seen the greatest changes of all. In the lifetime of older residents, milking was still done by hand. In the 1940s, Marellen Johnstone milked six cows in the morning before she went to school. George Notman was allowed to practise milking on an old cow, but the teats were too big for his hands. For three generations the Notmans of Dunskelly Rigg were the local milkmen: *Geordie's father, Jock Notman, used to come with his horse and cart and back up to the big house door, and he'd this big milk churn, this wee brass tap on it, and he used to open the brass tap and you used to take your jug and get filled wi' milk* (AR). Milking machines were the beginning of the revolution because they made it possible to milk more cows. From the 1940s to the 1960s the milk of twenty, thirty or forty cows was carried manually from byre to cooler. It trickled down into the ten gallon cans which the lorries of William Halliday collected daily and took to the creamery in Lockerbie: *If you weren't there quick enough Tom Halliday could lift those cans up onto the lorry by himself* (CD).

Days were long for women as for men, with little time off. Willis Graham worked at Nutberry from 1952: *I carried the cans and put them through the cooler ... then we got our breakfast, then I cleaned up, cleaned the farmhouse every day. I fed the calves, done that, used to wash a' the milkin' cans. That kept us goin' for about twae hours, then the housework. ... I was off in the evening, sometimes I went home sometimes I didna. ... Saturday afternoon I went home, used to get the bus about half past one to Kirkpatrick. I went back at night again for the milkin', and then Sunday morning, I had to be there back for Sunday an a'.*

Farmers of that generation seldom if ever went on holiday. Tom Beattie sent his wife and children away to a caravan at Powfoot; he stayed at home to milk the cows. His daughter Mary recalls how her father spent his brief moments of leisure. On a Sunday evening he would go a run in the car with his farmer friend John Mackie: *and we would look at the cows in this field and the cows in that field and 'Look at his potatoes, they're no' doin' well'* (MaW). For the Davidsons at Hillhead it was a similar story, but gradually changing: *It wasn't a five-day week then. It was a six-day or a six-and-a-half-day week. ... By the time we were into the sixties, weekends started on a Friday night. ... We rotated the weekends off. ... At that time we would maybe work two weekends and have one off* (CD).

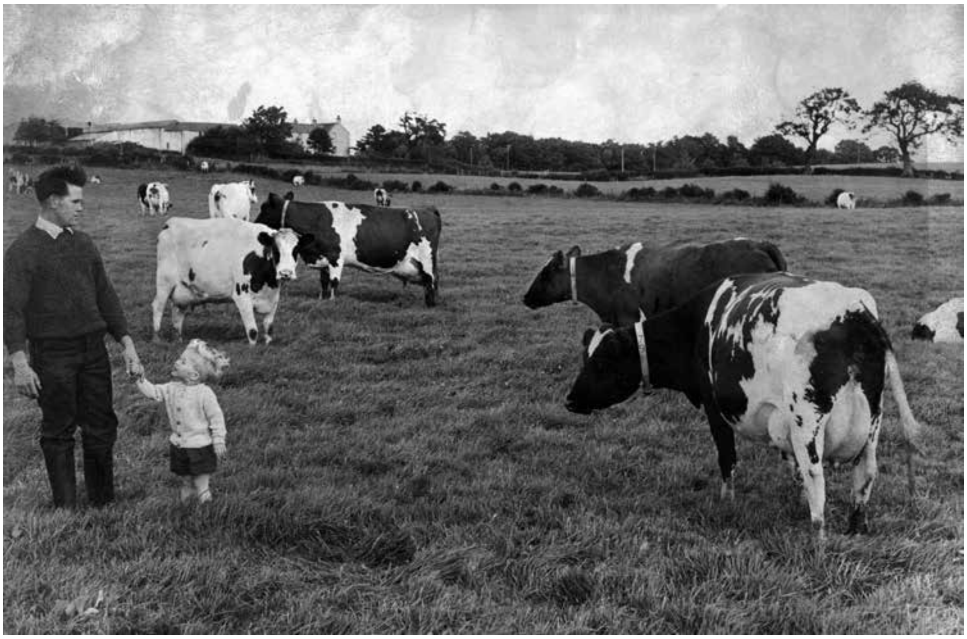


Figure 9. Colin Davidson and his son Neil with Hillhead Ayrshires in 1967.
(Photograph with thanks to Colin Davidson)

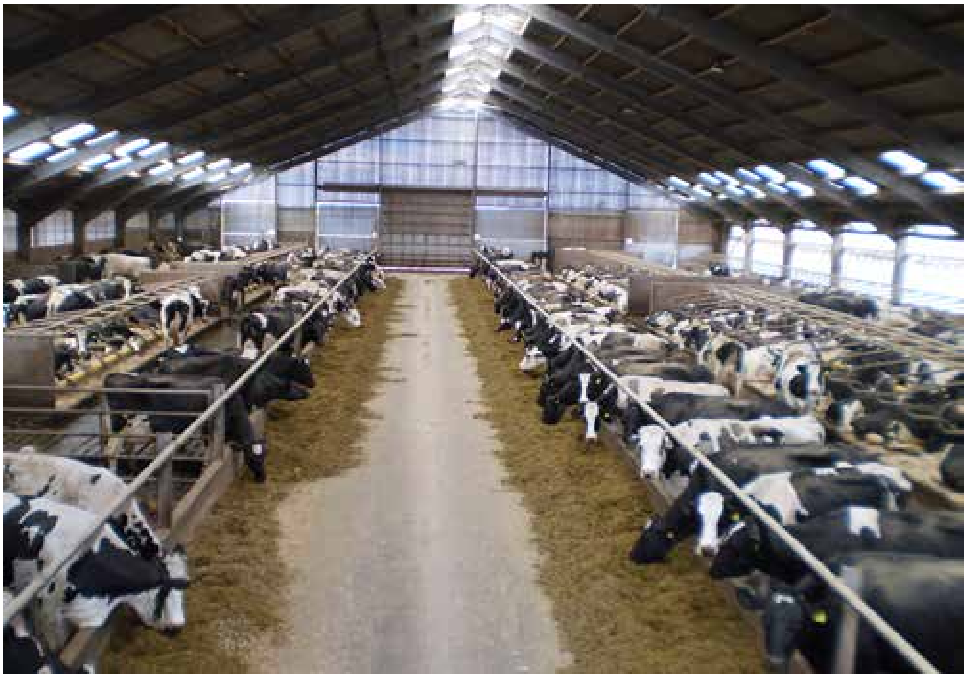


Figure 10. The shed of Hillhead Holsteins in 2015.
(Photograph with thanks to the Fleming family)

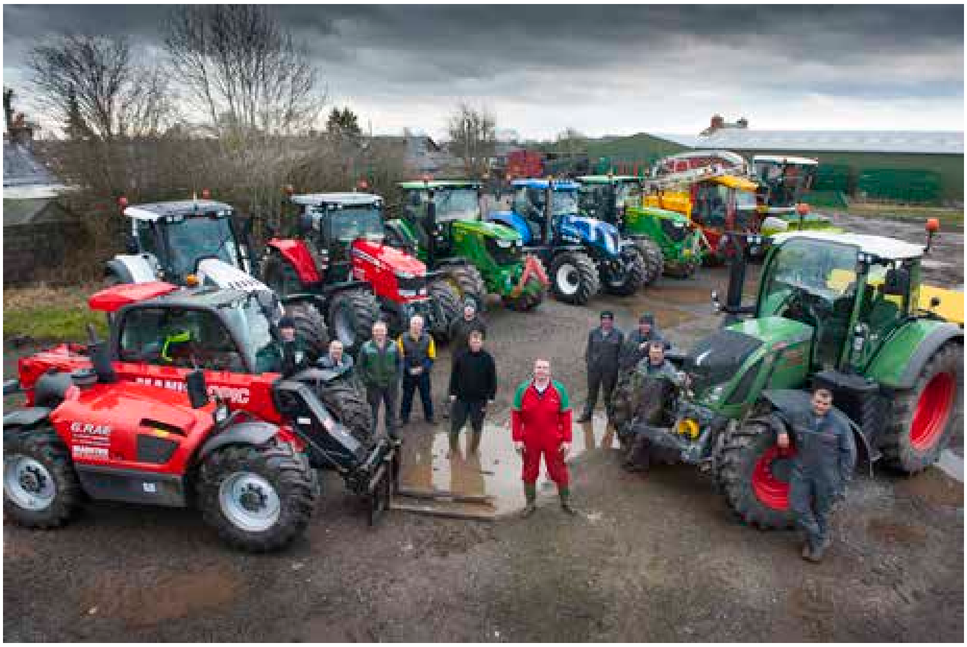


Figure 11. Graham Rae, his men and their machinery.
(Photograph with thanks to the Graham Rae)

In the late 1960s and early 1970s change accelerated. It was partly a matter of crops: *It was so difficult to get good hay because it was always that wet. Well, the silage, it's changed farming altogether, you know, it's that much easier to do and farming'll never have changed as much, even milking machines and the lorries that come round with great big tanks to lift the milk* (MiW). Silage has multiple benefits. Not merely can it be cut and stored when the grass is wet but it conserves much more of the goodness of grass than dry hay. Along with silage came a new breed of cow, much larger herds and more scientific methods of milk production: *we had all Ayrshire cows and we were averaging 1000 gallons per cow in the 1960s. Well it wasn't long, we weren't long having Holsteins in the 1980s when we were averaging 2000 gallons per cow. ... And we had increased from 1960 to 1990 four times the number of cows, and it's probably doubled again or more in the recent, since 1996 till 2013. ... Production has increased nearly to 3000 gallons per cow* (CD).

Not every farmer could keep up with the new developments or wanted to. Some farms — Nutberry and Riggheads — went into egg production. Others have leased fields to the expanding dairy farms whose development is quite a different story: *They've bought ground, neighbours' ground, or they've had the chance to buy extra ground, and I would say the average size of dairy farms around here, immediately in Kirkpatrick Fleming, would be between 350 to 400 acres compared to it being only 150 twenty years ago* (GR). On farms like Hillhead, Broathill or Wiseby Mains huge sheds house 200 to 300 cows. At Hillhead they rest on waterbeds. Everywhere they feed constantly on silage and whole crop, and pass through the milking parlour twice or even three times a day.

There is one other change. Agricultural machinery has got larger and more expensive. As some of it is only needed for a relatively short season every year, it has become more economical for farmers to rent rather than buy it. In Kirkpatrick, many farmers hire men and machinery from Graham Rae. Graham bought his first tractor in 1971 when he was 18. In 2013 he employed fourteen men all year round and twenty-seven in summer, some of whom came from smaller farms bringing their tractors with them.

Collective Identities

Change has also accelerated in the village. People in their thirties can still remember Benson's — the grocer and post office — and a transport café which survived into the 1990s: *We spent a lot of our youth in the functions room at London House. We used to have a lot of discos. We used to have a lot of parties up there* (St). The other transport café had already paid the price of progress. Better roads and more powerful motors meant that lorries had to make fewer stops. The Kirkpatrick bypass built in the 1970s, and later upgraded to be the M74, also badly affected the parish's one distinctive tourist attraction, 'Robert the Bruce's Cave': *the numbers went right down because who knew it was there when there were no signs?* (AR). By the year 2000 all the shops and traders on Kirkpatrick's once busy main road were gone with the sole exception of Moffat's garage, petrol pump and general store. Founded before the First World War as a clogger and cycle repairer, Moffat's has constantly adapted to survive and prosper.

At one time the Moffat family ran a taxi service and minibuses for school runs; they stocked fridges, freezers and lawnmowers, everything electrical. In the 1970s, they were open all day on Sunday. It took the two Moffat brothers as well as their wives to keep up; they sold 200 *Sunday Posts* as well as people's provisions for the week. By 2013 the garage was the main business; in economic terms the shop had become a convenience store.

Collective activity in the village has withered in parallel with its high-street shops. Regular dances in the Victoria Hall stopped long ago. A final competitive football team, Station Inn F.C., flourished briefly in the 1970s. The WRI disbanded in the late 1990s.

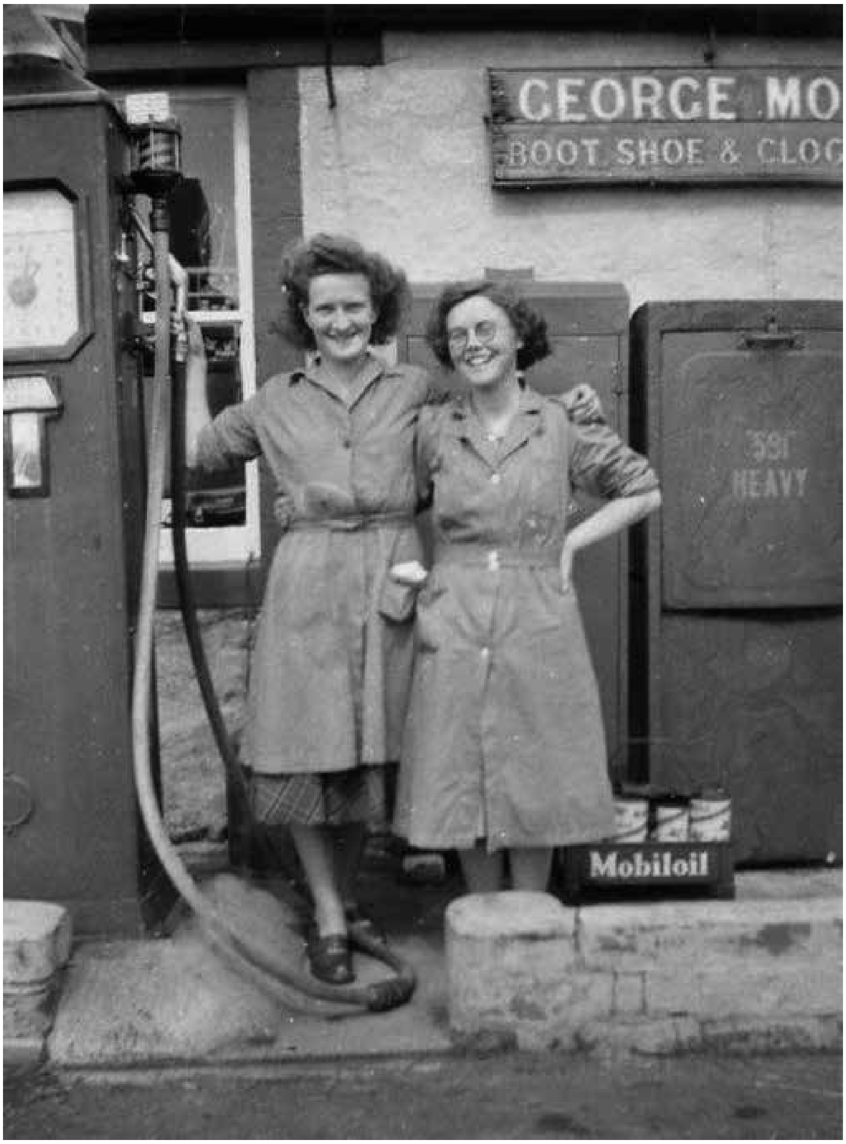


Figure 12. Maryellen Johnstone and Jenny Hodgson outside Moffat's shop in the 1950s. The original sign is still visible. (All rights reserved)

Most striking has been the decline in church-going. Falling attendances made it necessary to unite Kirkpatrick parish with its larger neighbour, the parish of Gretna Old, in 1981. The manse was sold and became a Bed-and-Breakfast. (Kirkpatrick profits from its proximity to Gretna Green. The Mill Forge, just outside the village, is a popular wedding venue). In 1999 the Hodgson sisters gave up running the Sunday school: *there was about seven children when we stopped* (MH). Services are normally held on the second Sunday of the month from September to June: *Last Sunday, there were 14 there. ... There's no young ones coming on, actually. Once we oldies go, I don't know what will happen. There won't be a church* (DK). Yet the loss of the church would be keenly felt. Many Kirkpatrick families bury their dead in the extended graveyard. At funerals the church is full.

Yet there is new life in the parish. The census of 2011 recorded a population of just over 800, a slight increase since 1991 and 2001. Young families have moved in, building new houses or modernizing old ones. Retired and semi-retired couples have been attracted to the thirty residential park homes in the former caravan site opposite Moffat's. These new residents have participated in new social activities — a mother-and-toddler group — and the revival of others: carpet bowling in the Victoria Hall. Relationships with the old-established residents have not always been easy: *I wasn't included in the village really until I had the children* (HS). It has been difficult for older and newer residents to work harmoniously together in the revived Community Council. Differences in speech have not helped: *If you get two of the Kirkpatrick people together, you cannot tell a word they are saying* (DP). Natives of Kirkpatrick express some reservations in particular about another set of new residents; of the council tenants in Victoria Terrace one interviewee commented that there are *some pretty plain families*. And there are hints of problems with young people: *Nowadays there are a good number I think that are in Kirkpatrick now that wouldn't be born in Kirkpatrick Fleming, ah, and I think they have their problems wi' youngsters and there's just a kind of ... slightly depressing touch to what I see from the outside* (EC).

None of these changes have affected the older residents' sense of national identity. The older generation are staunchly, patriotically Scottish. Since Kirkpatrick is much closer to Carlisle than to Dumfries, and Cumbria is much more accessible by bus and car, would it not make sense, I asked the Hodgson sisters, if local government were administered from there. They looked bemused: *But Carlisle is in England;* and Mary added *I've nothing against the English but I don't want to be one of them. ... I know my great grandfather came from doon there but I'm Scottish*. Others were as clear. If someone asks where you come from what would you say?: *Scotland* [pause] *I wouldn't say England* (WM); *Scottish then British* (MI). To a man and woman they support Scotland at football and rugby. A few individuals also support Annan, Rangers, Hibs and Celtic, but without sectarian enthusiasm. Among the younger generation we came across one example of radical nationalism: the partner of one of them would, as she put, refuse to live at an English post code.

He was an exception. For the rest, their patriotism is a gentle thing, a tribal memory rather than a passion. In many ways, the people of Kirkpatrick share a common culture with those, as they say, 'on the Cumbrian side'. In 1954 Jim Rogerson who had been farming with his father and brother at Williamsfield bought a farm south of Longtown. Williamsfield milk had been sold to the Scottish Milk Marketing Board; now Jim sold it to the (English) Milk Marketing Board. When the mill came for threshing his neighbours sent farmhands to help out, just as they had done in Kirkpatrick. Colin Davidson became chairman of the British Holstein Society; he learned how to improve his stock from farmers in Cheshire. George Moffat bought cars every week at an auction in Preston and resold them from his garage in Kirkpatrick. Stephanie played rugby for Annan, then for Carlisle. Claire works at Carlisle airport.

There is no doctor's practice in Kirkpatrick. If you go the doctor in Annan or Ecclefechan, they will send you to hospital in Dumfries; if you join the practice in Gretna or Canonbie, you go to hospital in Carlisle. If you die in hospital in Carlisle the border is a grave inconvenience as it is a bureaucratically complicated to get the body back to Scotland (WM). None of our respondents were in favour of independence for Scotland, most of them vehemently against: *Nobody wants to lose their roots … lose their Scottishness, but you don't have to declare independence to keep hold of that* (GR). Apparently others of a like mind live in the area. Dumfries and Galloway voted against independence in the 2014 referendum. The constituency to which Kirkpatrick belongs re-elected Scotland's only Conservative and Unionist MP in the general election of May 2015.

The school pupils were a different case. I asked: were they English or Scottish? The question confused them. Of thirteen, five said Scottish, four said English, four said they were *inbetween* or *a bit of both*. One boy with two Scottish parents said that he sometimes supported England. He saw my astonishment. I realized later to my shame that far from being an impartial researcher, I was imposing my binary assumption on a young mind not yet formed to share it.

For all three generations, local identity was stronger than national identity. They were all quite clear about what they were not. The children of Kirkpatrick Primary wanted to get the better of the pupils of Newington Primary in Annan. Audrey Dorrance maintained forcefully that she came from Dumfriesshire, not from the Borders: *As far as we are concerned, the Borders is over Hawick and Kelso and Berwick and that way.* Older and younger adults were united in that they did not come from Gretna. *Oh no*, said the Hodgson sisters in chorus, when I suggested someone might think they came from the larger and more prosperous village three miles down the road. And all were agreed on the main marker of difference: speech. They have *what we call the Gretna twang* (St); *They speak more Englified than we do* (DK); *Gretna has an English ring to it* (GR); *I think Gretna people has a bit of a Carlisle accent* (AD). And if *Gretna has a tongue of its own*, so too, in greater of lesser measure, according to our respondent, have Ecclefechan, Annan and Dumfries, not to mention the utterly distinctive speech of Langholm on the Scottish side and Longtown just over the Border.

It may be that this marker of identity is fading. A few of the oldest residents spoke to us in something like the broad rural Dumfriesshire which I remembered from the 1950s and 1960s. Others of the older generation acknowledged that they spoke differently in different circumstances. A form of standard English had been drilled into them at school: *We spoke a different language when we were at school from what we spoke at home. It was broader* (MiW). In many cases a wider experience of life had reinforced the use of standard English, appropriate for giving a vote of thanks at meetings of the WRI (MI), or when talking on the phone with farmers from other parts of Britain (CD). Faced with a microphone, it was largely the way they spoke to us. The original native speech was not lost entirely but was reserved for domestic use: *We speak broader when we're ourselves* (DK). Yet even at home there are reasons not to use it. The generation of thirty-year-olds recognized that in some cases their speech was not like their parents': *My mum sounds more Scottish than I do. But I spent of lot of my youth in Carlisle and places like that, so I lost a lot of mine* (Su). The speech of the next generation, the school pupils, even those with native Kirkpatrick parents was a further step away. If grandparents wish to communicate with their grandchildren, they have to accommodate to them: *My grannie, most of the time I can't understand what she's saying 'cos, like, all these really old type Scottish words and I can't understand them* (Primary 6).

What does Kirkpatrick mean to these different generations? The older generation remember a parish of many places: a street full of shops; the separate school playgrounds enlivened occasionally by fights; Springkell House, base of Major Brian Johnstone-Ferguson's troop of scouts; the Kirtle where: *we spent our childhood ... the summer seemed long and glorious in those days* (GR); the Sunday School where they learned a text a week; the Victoria Hall where they eyed up the talent at the Saturday night dances. The generation in their thirties had to find their partners elsewhere and the shops were few, but they had some memorable Gala Days and they too enjoyed the Kirtle: *We used to swim down at the Cove. ... We used to jump off the ledge and drop into the river* (St). The pupils in Primary 6 are likely to have a narrower range of memories. Will they escape the vigilance of a generation of risk-averse parents and get themselves down to the Kirtle? Some apparently do: *Me and my cousins were making like a, we made a wooden bridge across it and it kind of broke and we fell in the water*. Some don't. The Kirtle?: *I never heard of it.*

But like every generation this one too will celebrate the school. Today's children are particularly fortunate. Their teachers are much less scary than in the past and just as inspiring. We have seen one class at close quarters: the children are taught to be caring and confident, competent and creative. They are however unlikely to take the same path in life as one of the oldest surviving of their predecessors, Jean Watson, who was 93 in 2013: *I was born, went to school, got married and I'm still livin' in Kirkpatrick. I was, I've never been oot o' the parish.* The horizons of this generation already stretch much further. Where would they like to live when they grow up? The answers included Glasgow, Edinburgh, Inverness, Lanzarote and Buckingham Palace.

Moffat's shop is the final site common to all generations. Much more than a shop, it is a welcoming place where people meet. Older people drop in regularly. Geordie Notman went every second day; Mary Hodgson goes *every day, Saturdays and Sundays*. If she were to miss a couple of days without explanation, somebody would be round to see what was wrong. For everybody, Moffat's is the primary source of information about what is going on in Kirkpatrick. As part of the legacy of this project a couple of public meetings were held in March and April 2015 to consider setting up a community website for the parish. Somebody asked: *Why do you need a website for news when all you have to do is put up a notice in Moffat's*? There is one particular place in Moffat's which has been the essence of Kirkpatrick life for every generation. It can be seen to the left in Figure 14: the shelf with the sweetie jars.

Milly Halliday started school in Kirkpatrick Fleming in 1933. She got no pocket money but: *we sometimes had a penny to spend at Moffat's for caramels. You got five caramels for*

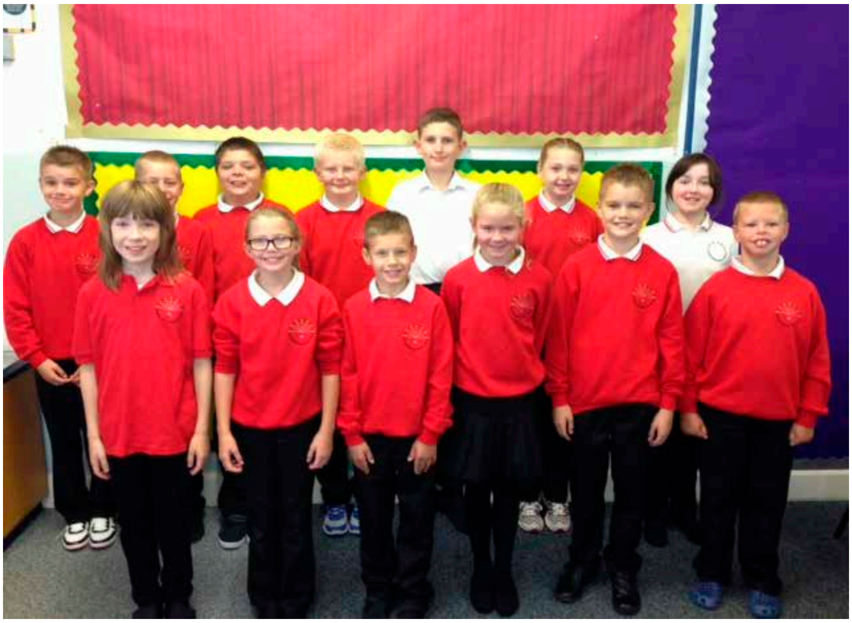


Figure 13. Kirkpatrick Fleming Primary 6 in 2013.
(Photograph with thanks to the parents and Lorna Dempster)

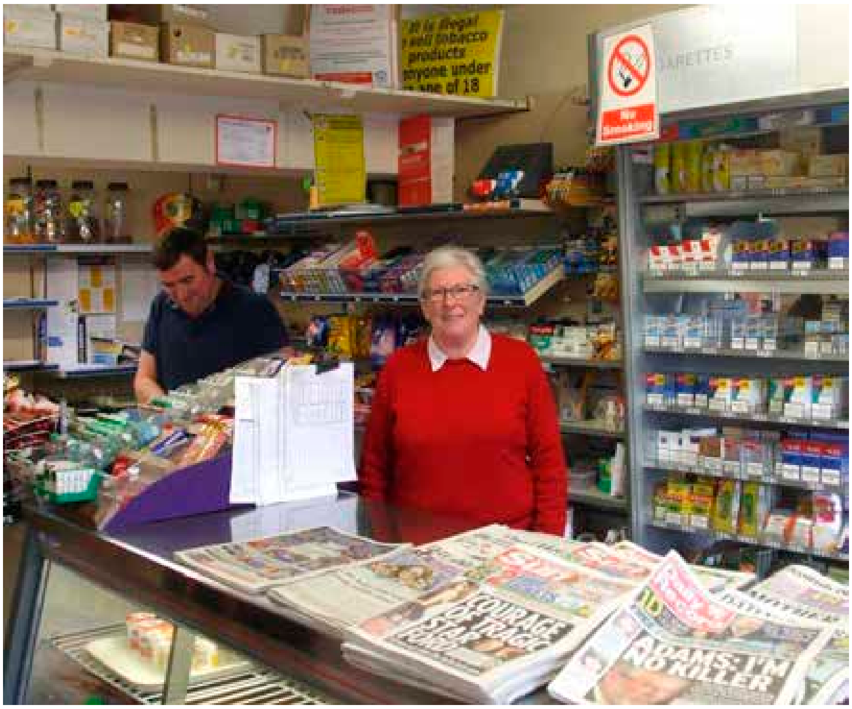

It is illegal to sell tobacco products to anyone under the age of 18
No Smoking
CIGARETTES
COURAGE OF TRAGIC STAR
ADAMS: I'M NO KILLER

Figure 14. Beth Moffat behind her counter in 2013, with Alastair Moffat behind her. At that time smoking was banned in the shop but cigarettes for sale could be openly displayed. The *Daily Record* bears witness to the Scottishness of Kirkpatrick.

a penny. … These caramels with chocolate round them were the best. The pupils of Primary 6 in 2013 all knew Beth Moffat for exactly the same reason. They insisted on interviewing her. We interviewed her too. Beth said: *Penny mixtures … we still keep them. And I always say to somebody. A child wants a 50 pence mixture, you know, my heart sinks. We're here for about ten minutes. And it's a hard way to make a living. … But these little things are good*.

Acknowledgements

We wish to express our warmest thanks to all the residents and former residents of Kirkpatrick Fleming who agreed to be interviewed and in many cases have answered numerous follow-up questions. Appendix 5 gives the names of all who were interviewed by us, either as individuals (all over sixty) or in groups. Initials indicate those who have been quoted in the body of this article. Our thanks also go to Lorna Dempster, to the pupils of Primary 6 and to their interviewees for permission to quote from the interviews of Alastair Mitchell (AM) and Norman Lamont (NL). Jim Rogerson (JR) declined a formal interview but was generous with his time and reminiscences: many thanks to him. We are grateful to Sheila Adamson for making available to us the extensive notes made by her father, Duncan Adamson, when he interviewed more than twenty residents or former residents of Kirkpatrick in 1986 and 1987. We acknowledge with thanks the permission we have been given by those portrayed in photographs and by the copyright holders of the images. Finally, we thank the Ann Hill Research Bequest Committee of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society for funding the oral history project and the publication of this article.

Appendix 1

Aims, Methodology, Implementation, Outcomes

The aims of the Duncans' project, as stated in the proposal to the Ann Hill Research Committee were: 'to record the past of the parish through the memories of its people; to explore how they feel about themselves and their community now; to leave a legacy of shared memories for the future'. In recording the memories of people of Kirkpatrick we particularly wished to explore their sense of collective identity and its relationship to speech. These has been the focus of much scholarly writing over the last thirty years.[7]

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[7] Anderson, Benedict. (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* 2nd ed. London and New York: Verso. (1st ed. 1983); Assman, Jan. (2008). Communicative and cultural memory'. In: E. Erll and A. Nünning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp.109–118; Bechhofer, Frank, David McCrone, Richard Kiely and Robert Stewart. (1997). Constructing national identity: Arts and Landed Elites in Scotland. *Sociology,* 33, pp.513–34; Billig, Michael. (1995). *Banal Nationalism.* London: Sage; Joseph, John E. *Language and Identity. National, Ethnic, Religious.* (2004). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan; Llamas, Carmen and Dominic Watt. Sociolinguistic variation on the Scottish-English border. In: Robert Lawson, ed., *Sociolinguistics in Scotland*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p.79–102; Nora, Pierre and Kritzman, L. eds.(1996). *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past (Vol 1: Conflicts and Divisions).* New York: Columbia University Press.

To achieve these aims we decided to adapt to our own ends the methodology used by Judith Dyer in her study of the Scottish–English community of Corby.[8] Our interviews would be semi-structured. They would take the conventional oral history form of relatively free-flowing life histories, but would to some extent be angled towards the themes we wished to bring out. Individual interviews would be supplemented by a number of group interviews. The schedule for individual interviews is given in Appendix 2 and schedule for the group interviews of older and younger residents is given in Appendix 3.

Our interviewees were selected by recommendation. We cross-referenced recommendations which came from individuals with those provided by the Community Council. We made every attempt to obtain a width of representation: men and women from different backgrounds and different life experiences. The scope of representation was widened in that the Primary 6 class was also carrying out interviews, directed by their head teacher, Lorna Dempster. Our project was coordinated with the Primary 6 project. We agreed who should be interviewed by us, who by Primary 6, and we agreed to share our data.

Potential interviewees were contacted first by telephone. Some were also visited in advance of the interview. Before the interview, the interviewees had the opportunity to read through and discuss a permissions form. Appendix 4 shows the common elements and the differences between the form for individuals and the form for groups. Permissions for the school group were obtained by Lorna Dempster: the pupils could be quoted anonymously. Almost unanimously, other interviewees gave permission for all the means of dissemination which are listed on the form. Members of the younger group requested to be known by their first names rather than their full names. One person declined permission for their face to be shown on a photograph. Sometime after the interview each individual interviewee was sent a copy of their interview on DVD. One interviewee requested that a short passage should be erased; this was done.

The individual interviews were carried out in the interviewee's home. The older group interview was also held in someone's house; the new and the younger residents' interviews at the Mill Forge hotel; Primary 6 at the school, in the presence of Lorna Dempster. In some instances concerning farming, business and commerce, individual interviews deviated quite widely from the initial schedule. Appendix 5 lists the interviewees and interviewers, the date and duration of each interview, and the initials by which the interviewees are designated. The interviews were recorded in WAV format using a Marantz PMD661. Subsequently, they were not transcribed but professionally summarised by Alison Chand, a PhD student at the Scottish Oral History Centre of Strathclyde University. An example is given in Appendix 6.

One outcome of the project is this article. Another is a poster exhibition, *Kirkpatrick Fleming 1930s to 2013. A Changing Village*, (2016). The ten posters of the exhibition illustrate the social history of the parish by means of photographs and quotations from interviews. A copy of the exhibition is held in the Victoria Hall, Kirkpatrick Fleming. Other copies will be displayed in a variety of locations. A third outcome is a website,

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[8] Dyer, Judith Ann. (2000). Language and Identity in a Scottish–English community: a phonological and discoursal analysis. PhD thesis, University of Michigan.

`www.kirkpatrickfleminglife.org.uk.` This is in the final stages of preparation by an informal sub-committee of Kirkpatrick Fleming Community Council. It will contain up-to-date information about the Kirkpatrick area as well as a historical section which includes photographs and the interviews from the Duncans' project. The interviews, summaries, and a copy of the exhibition are deposited with the Dumfries and Galloway Archives in Dumfries. They may be freely consulted by scholars and members of the public. The material would reward much further study by sociolinguists, social historians or social geographers.

Appendix 2

Individual Interview Schedule

1. Interviewee:- Who? Where we are? Where born? Where lived? How did you get your name? Stories attached to it?

2. Family:- Parents: Where were they from? What did they do? Brothers and sisters? Wife, husband? Children: Where are they now? Related to any other families in Kirkpatrick Fleming?

3. Growing up:- School: In class and in the playground? Teachers? Any good stories about school? Any bad memories? Compare school days with nowadays? Memories of other places: Shops? Smithy? Station? Opening hours? Play: Where? In the Kirtle? The Cave? Did your parents want to know where you were? Church? Victoria Hall?

4. Work:- When started? What? Where? With whom? Travel to work? How? Qualifications?

5. Leisure:- How much time off? Holidays? Pub? Clubs? Activities at home and outdoors? Shopping: Where and how often? Spending money? How did young people get together with the opposite sex?

6. Now:- Where do you do your shopping? How do you find out what's going on in the village? Who helps you out if you're unwell or need extra help? How different are young people's lives today?

7. Belonging:- What team do you support? What do you say if someone asks where you come from? Kirkpatrick Fleming? Scotland? Not Gretna? Would it not be more sensible to have local government based in Carlisle? In favour of independence?

8. Speech:- Can you tell if someone comes from Gretna? Or Kirtlebridge? Can you tell if they come from Kirkpatrick Fleming? Have you changed the ways you speak over the years? If so, why?

Appendix 3

Group Interview Schedule

1. Change in Kirkpatrick Fleming:- Who are you? Names. Where do you live? (in the village? Irvington? Hollee?) Age range (20s, 30s, etc). Background: Always lived in parish, or been away and come back? Do you have parents or brothers and sisters who also live here?

2. Childhood:- School: What teachers, what subjects do you remember? For those who have children, is school now different from what you remember then? How did you get to school? Walk, cycle, bus, car? Playground and leisure: What games in playground? Separate boys and girls? Where did you play outside school? At home? Down at the Kirtle? Did you swim there? Where do your own children play? Secondary school: What one? Left at what age? Further education?

3. Jobs and business (economic life):- What did your parents do? Did mother work outside the home? What do you and your partner do? Travel to work? Where? Work from home? Use computer in work? What shops, businesses, tradesmen to you remember from your childhood? What are main businesses now? Anybody involved in agriculture?

4. Community life:- What organized activities do you remember from your youth? Sports clubs, scouts/guides, Sunday school? Events: Gala days? What activities are there now, that you take part in or know about? How do you spend your own leisure time: More in Kirkpatrick Fleming, with neighbours and friends, or more on the internet? Do you feel the population has changed over the years? What changes? Is there a strong community spirit in Kirkpatrick Fleming? Can you tell if someone comes from Kirkpatrick Fleming by their accent? Or if they come from Gretna? What teams do you support? If someone asks you where you come from what do you say Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland? Do you think it makes sense for Scotland to be independent?

Appendix 4

Permission Letter

The aims of this project are to record the past of the parish through the memories of its people, to explore how they feel about themselves and their community now, and to leave a legacy of shared memories for the future. This project is being carried out partly by the Primary School. Lorna Grierson, the headteacher, is leading it, and she will approach a number of parents and friends to ask permission to interview them. This form concerns the other part of the project, carried out by Alastair and Catriona Duncan and funded by the Ann Hill Bequest.

Our intention is to make audio (sound not video) recordings of around 10 older people who have memories of the parish. We also plan to hold three group interviews with people of different ages. If you agree to take part in the project, an interview with either Alastair or Catriona would be held at a time and place convenient to you: it could well be in your own home. We would ask you to talk about yourself, your memories of Kirkpatrick, and your sense of belonging to the village. The interview could be as long or short as you wanted, but might last between one and two hours. You can stop the interview at any time, and you are absolutely free not to answer any question you dislike. If you wish, a copy of the interview will be made available to you so you can indicate if you want anything to be taken out or changed. You can choose whether to use your own name or to remain anonymous.

The purpose of this form is to ask your permission for what we would like to do with the interviews after they have been recorded. We intend to have the interviews summarized. The recordings and the summaries will be deposited for safe-keeping with the Dumfries and Galloway Archives in Dumfries and possibly at other Archives or research institutions. We shall want to use extracts from them in a general article about the project to be published in the *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, and possibly in other contexts: for example, in an article about the relationship between community identity and language, in an exhibition or oral presentation of the results of the project which might be held in the Victoria Hall, Kirkpatrick, or in an audio-guide to the village. We should also like to have permission to make your interview available to researchers in the future.

By signing this form, you agree to assign the copyright of your interview to Dumfries[shire] and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society and its successors, and you agree to give them the right to keep your oral history recordings and add them to the archives of Dumfries and Galloway and other local or national museums or research institutions.

Individual Permission Form

Please indicate by ticking the boxes below whether you also agree to make your contributions available for:	YES	NO
1. Education/research in schools, universities, museums, etc.		
2. Public reference in archives, libraries and museums		
3. Exhibitions		
4. Public oral presentation		
5. Publication (books, CDs, etc.)		
6. Broadcasting (radio, television)		
7. Internet sites		

Would you be prepared to let any of your photographs be used publicly (printed form or on a website, for example)?

How would you like to be named? Please tick one box only. Whatever your choice, please note that after 100 years your own full name will no longer be concealed.

Either:- Own name (please state your name as you would like it to appear, e.g. first name only)

Or:- Pseudonym (please choose a name or leave blank for the archive to assign a name)

Name	Signed
Address	Address

Signing for Dumfries[shire] and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society:

Name	Signed
Index no.	

Group Permission Form

Since this will be a group interview, it is important that everyone agrees in advance to contribute on the same basis. The following list shows explicitly what you will in addition be agreeing to if you choose to sign this form. The interview will be available for:-

1. Education/research in schools, universities, museums, etc.
2. Public reference in archives, libraries and museums
3. Exhibitions
4. Public oral presentation
5. Publication (books, CDs, etc.)
6. Broadcasting (radio or television)
7. Internet sites

Please sign your agreement below and state your chosen name as you would like it to appear (e.g. full name or first name only or pseudonym). Whatever your choice, please note that after 100 years your own full name will no longer be concealed. Sometimes people are concerned about being photographed and filmed. We therefore ask you to confirm that you give us permission to use facial images of your participation

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">Chosen Name</th><th colspan="2">Agreement to facial images</th><th rowspan="2">Signature</th><th rowspan="2">Date</th></tr>
<tr><th>Yes</th><th>No</th></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Signing for Dumfries[shire] and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society:

Name	Signed
Index no.	

Appendix 5

Those Interviewed Individually with a Key to their Initials in the Text

Name	**Initals**	**Date**	**Interviewer**	**Duration**
Eric Collinge	EC	11.03.13	CD	1hr 33min
Colin Davidson	CD	22.04.13	AD	1hr 41min
Audrey Dorrance, née Lawrence	AD	11.06.12	AD	0hr 57min
Alastair Duncan, the author		09.06.12	CD	1hr 05min
Edith Hodgson and Mary Hodgson	EH / MH	07.03.13	AD	1hr 33min
Marellen Irving, née Johnstone	MI	22.04.13	CD	1hr 49min
Dorothy Kirkpatrick, née Holt	DK	13.09.12	CD	1hr 13min
Dorothy Kirkpatrick and Tommy Kirkpatrick	DK / TK	17.01.13	CD	1hr 06min
Norman Lamont, interviewed by Primary 6	NL		Primary 6	
Cynthia McEwan and James McEwan	CMc / JMc	18.03.13	AD / CD	2hr 50 min
Willis McLellan, née Graham	WM	16.01.13	AD	1hr 14min
Alastair Mitchell, interviewed by Primary 6	AM		Primary 6	
Beth Moffat, née Rogerson	BM	17.01.13	AD	1hr 05min
George Notman	GN	11.03.13	AD	1hr 30min
Graham Rae	GR	18.06.13	AD	0hr 53min
Andrew Ritchie	AR	12.03.13	AD	0hr 53min
Margaret Robertson	MR	17.01.13	CD	1hr 35min
Jim and Maggie Rogerson (informal interviews not taped)				
Mary Wallis, née Beattie	MaW	11.09.13	AD	0hr 42min
Jean Watson, née Cowan	JW	17.10.13	CD	1hr 06min
Milly White, née Halliday	MiW	01.04.10	AD / CD	0hr 44min
		28.10.10	AD / CD	0hr 42min

Those Interviewed in groups with a Key to their Initials in the Text

Groups	**Initials**	**Date**	**Interviewer**	**Duration**
Primary 6		19.03.13	CD / AD	0hr 44min
Senior Residents		21.04.13	CD / AD	1hr 48min
Audrey Dorrance, née Lawrence	AD			
Rob Dorrance	RD			
Marellen Irving, née Johnstone	MI			
Dorothy Kirkpatrick, née Holt	DK			
James McEwan	JMc			
Beth Moffat, née Rogerson	BM			
Max Richardson				
New Residents		18.06.13	CD / AD	1hr 28min
Mary Bardsley				
Harry Bardslsey				
Meg Derham				
Michelle Park				
Doris Porteous	DP			
Helen Smith	HS			
Younger Residents		21.11.13	CD / AD	1hr 46min
Claire				
Susan	Su			
Stephanie	St			
Norma				

Appendix 6

Sample Summary

Interview Summary Sheet:

Project:	Kirkpatrick Fleming
Interviewee:	Alastair Duncan
Place of Birth:	Kirkpatrick Fleming
Year of birth:	1942
Interviewer:	Catriona Duncan
Date of Interview:	9 June 2012
Duration of interview:	01.04.55

Occupation: Retired university lecturer

Key Themes: Oral history project, agriculture/farming, church, family, fitting in.

Summary:

Time In	
00:00:00	Introduction to interview, remarks on reasons for making recordings, creating oral history record of Kirkpatrick Fleming alongside Lorna Grierson, head teacher at local primary school, intention to undertake interviews with older people and groups of older and younger adults, and a primary school class.
00.01.45	Comments on being born in Kirkpatrick Fleming in 1942, father as minister in Kirkpatrick, moving away to Geneva in 1945, no early memories of Kirkpatrick.
00.02.50	Remarks on family photographs, photographs of interviewee's Christening, grandparents, parents, aunt, Milly Halliday ('nanny').
00.04.00	Further comments on Milly Halliday's work in manse.
00.04.30	Comments on being pushed round village in pram by grandfather, picking apples, enjoyment of rhubarb puddings.
00.05.35	Remarks on interior of manse during early childhood, returning from Geneva, father getting job in Dunfermline in 1949.
00.06.45	Remarks on maternal and paternal grandparents.
00.07.05	Comments on interior of Kirkpatrick House, going on holiday to the Flosh farm from 1947/8, first staying alone with Halliday family when sister born in February 1945 in Annan, remarks on nursing home in Annan where sister born.
00.09.30	Remarks on seeing sister for the first time, further comments on visits to the Flosh, William Halliday head of household there, remarks on children in Halliday household and their later careers.
00.12.50	Memories of being transported around in milk lorry by Halliday brothers as child, going to creamery at Lockerbie, remarks on process involved.
00.15.00	Remarks on Halliday lorries starting to go on longer journeys round country, comments on going to Liverpool in lorry on one occasion, remarks on lorries also transporting gravel from local quarry.
00.17.20	Remarks on lorries being involved in transporting Ukrainian prisoners of war after war – 'they were ferried round the farms and I remember they would be, a couple of Ukrainians would be unloaded, ah, every morning, to help on the farm and then the lorry would come round again, em, em, around five o'clock or so and pick the Ukrainians up again'.
00.18.25	Comments on Halliday brothers repairing lorries themselves.
00.19.20	Remarks on lorry known as 'Spitting Bitch', comments on poem made up by one of Halliday brothers, Tom, about another difficult lorry.
00.20.30	Remarks on Halliday farm playing 'second fiddle' to transport business.
00.20.45	Comments on finding farming 'more exciting' as young child, becoming more involved in farming with age, remarks on dairy herd, helping to 'carry the can from one cow to another' and with other milking activities.

00.23.15	Remarks on doing milking of over 30 cows alone – ‘laying out all the machinery and then emptying the cans into the cooler, ah, you had to prepare the cooler beforehand. The milk went into the, in at the top, and, ah, and then it, it dribbled down, em, over the, the cooler, which had cold water running through it and then down into the can below, the ten gallon can below’.
00.24.10	Comments on returning cows to field.
00.24.50	Remarks on farm jobs at Easter, sowing and reaping, ‘planting tatties […] that was back-breaking’, weight of bucket.
00.26.00	Comments on threshing of oats at Easter time – ‘the mill would come early in the morning and then, em, the farmhands would turn up from the neighbouring farms, em, I must be talking now about the late forties or the early fifties because of course all this, all this, ah, vanished in later years when, em, the combine harvesters did, did the whole job’, further comments on mill and process of threshing – ‘it takes a considerable number of helpers to make it work’.
00.29.55	Remarks on own role in threshing process, going under mill to remove husks and prevent mill being clogged up, comments on rats and mice being driven to bottom of stacks, remarks on farm dogs, dog called Judy being let loose on rats and mice – ‘it was a scene of utter devastation’. ‘It was like something out of the Middle Ages. The farmhands would arrive from the neighbouring farms carrying their pitchforks’.
00.33.40	Comments on meals for farmhands during threshing, remarks on hiring out of mill, farmhands moving between farms, remarks on changes in farming processes, process of repairing machinery.
00.37.40	Remarks on building sheaves into stooks, rebuilding stooks to dry out, need for fine weather for gathering stooks, transporting to stackyard, building into stacks.
00.41.10	Remarks on farmers watching for who had started collecting stooks first.
00.41.40	Comments on driving tractor for rolling of fields, remarks on singing ‘for fun, to myself’ in tractor, being embarrassed when people heard singing on wind.
00.43.40	Singing of song, ‘I’ve got sixpence’.
00.44.20	Remarks on going to church with Irvings of Nutberry, boys in Halliday family not attending church, remarks on lack of memory about ministers and services – ‘I haven’t much to say about churchgoing except that we did’.
00.46.25	Comments on being known in village. Nickname: “the young mininus”.
00.47.10	Remarks on continuing to visit the Flosh during teens, last visit to the Flosh after finishing finals at university, refusing to accept payment – ‘I was there as a friend so I wasn’t going to accept payment’.
00.49.25	Remarks on borrowing one hundred pounds to purchase engagement ring in Birmingham, paying money back.
00.50.50	Remarks on ‘Halliday family growing up and spreading their wings and gradually getting married’, attending Milly’s wedding in Kirkpatrick, remarks on Milly’s married life, expansion of Halliday ‘empire’, marriages of Halliday boys.
00.52.45	Remarks on ‘the killing of the pig’, process of killing, use of blood and meat, not making link between pig slaughter and eating bacon.
00.57.20	Remarks on Milly’s responsibility for laundry prior to marriage.
00.58.40	Remarks on farmhouse designs in chalk on front doorsteps in south-west Scotland.

00.59.25	Comments on cookery and cleaning tasks in farmhouse, Mrs Halliday's dislike of smoking and swearing, references to cows as 'kye' and 'looking' the sheep.
01.01.20	Remarks on being part of farm but from different background – 'I was [pause], I mean I visited that family so often that, and I was so accepted as part of it and yet I came from a totally different background and setting and, em, and I never, I always stayed speaking with my own accent and I didn't adapt really to the, em, to their accents, and the consequence of that is that although, even to this day, I have some words and phrases which, which I, I know that they were used in a kind of, the, em, the lilt of their, of their speech, I cannot reproduce it in the, in the way that, for example, I can reproduce the accent of the north east, because, because I tried to learn that, whereas in a sense I resisted, em, adapting the, em, the local accent'.
01.02.20	Remarks on resisting accent because 'I was different and, em, I was, ah, I wasn't, I wasn't fully integrated into, into that society', attempts to reproduce accent, comments on distinctions of Borders accent.
01.04.40	Brief comments on engagement and introducing wife to Kirkpatrick.
01.04.55	ENDS

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA

A REAL SPY-HUNT IN THE GALLOWAY HILLS

Mike Jacob[1]

I imagine that most people would be able to name one John Buchan novel, if only for the fact that it inspired several film, radio and television adaptations. The first edition of that book, *The Thirty-Nine Steps,* was published by Blackwood of Edinburgh in October 1915 and the front-cover captures the sense of gravity as a matter of critical national security is discussed by worried intelligence officials and politicians. The story of intrigue takes place just before the outbreak of World War One and features a heroic ex-patriate Scot, Richard Hannay, who is pursued by a gang of German agents desperate to kill him and prevent his attempt to unmask their theft of British war plans. The novel was Buchan's first 'shocker', as he called it, where the plot is bordering between the unlikely and the unbelievable — a strategy still followed by today's TV detective dramas.

Of the films, the 1978 version is closest to the novel but all of them depart substantially from the book, especially by introducing a love interest absent in the original plot in which Hannay escapes by train from London and alights at Dumfries before trying to shake off his enemies in the rough Galloway uplands. Buchan wrote the story in 1914 at Broadstairs whilst recuperating from illness and admits to giving free rein to his imagination to keep dejection at bay. As a wiry young man he had tramped the hills and moorlands of southern Scotland, sleeping in shepherds' cottages, working and thriving on a diet of oatmeal, mutton and strong tea, 'once I walked sixty-three miles on end in the Galloway hills'[2] so it is unsurprising that Hannay's route is placed in a familiar setting.

Buchan's remarkably full life is well documented; there is a dedicated museum within the Chambers Institution, Peebles, there is the John Buchan Society which produces a journal for aficionados and there is his autobiography. So, a hundred years on, is there much more to add? Well, it is not generally appreciated that he was, in his younger days, an enthusiastic and accomplished mountaineer. He joined the Scottish Mountaineering Club (SMC) in 1903 and the Alpine Club in 1906. His obituarist wrote in the 1940 *Scottish Mountaineering Club Journal*:

> His assets were strong fingers and arms, rather short legs of enormous lifting power, an enviable poise, which reminded me of Raeburn's marvellous balance, and a body that had limpet qualites.[3]

This was praise indeed, for Harold Raeburn, born in Edinburgh in 1865, is regarded with utmost respect by the cognoscenti for his mountaineering achievements. He was a tough, uncompromising character who pioneered new routes up icy Scottish cliffs and who climbed at the highest standards of the time in the Alps, Norway and the Caucasus. His record was so outstanding that he was chosen as the mountaineering leader of the first-ever British Everest Reconnaissance Expedition of 1921. So, it may cause a raised eyebrow to learn that this no-nonsense man had written to the committee of the SMC in October, 1914 with the apparently eccentric suggestion that they:

> … circularise the Keepers and Shepherds in remote districts asking them to report on any suspicious circumstances and form a small committee to sift, analyse and if necessary

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[1] Drungans, New Abbey, Dumfries, DG2 8EB.

[2] Buchan, John (1940) *Memory Hold-The-Door*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

[3] *Scottish Mountaineering Club Journal,* Special Collections Department, Strathclyde University Library, Cathedral Street, Glasgow. For access arrangements see: `http://www.smc.org.uk/publications/`.

> investigate such reports; all with a view to locating enemy wireless sending stations or aeroplane depots.[4]

However, this proposal was not as ridiculous as it first appears, for newspaper columns were full of speculative items about German espionage. Local journals reported sightings of hostile aircraft, suspicious lights on Cairnsmore of Fleet and strangers asking the way to lonely spots. There was a conviction that the enemy had a secret base hidden in the Galloway hills which could be supplied by one of the many U-boats lurking in the North Channel. The Rev. C.W. Dick, a friend of Buchan, wrote about a rumour in Newton Stewart one forenoon that a discovery of 'fifteen hundred tins' of fuel had been made; by the afternoon the quantity had reached 'fifteen hundred tons'![5] Hence early in 1915 Col. Lawrie — a descendant of the celebrated Annie Lawrie — dispatched men from the King's Own Scottish Borderers on a concentrated search of the Rhinns of Kells and Merrick ranges and the numerous hill lochs from where a plane on floats could spy on naval operations in the Forth and Clyde.

Suspicions seemed to have been confirmed when a tent was found in the snow on the west-facing slope of the 2,350ft Millfire, apparently strategically placed to cover the area between Loch Enoch in the north to Loch Dee in the south. As a result, a troop under the command of Lieutenant W. Dinwiddie (a member of the Dumfries printing and publishing family firm) was dispatched to Glen Trool to 'watch for hydroplanes which are thought to be landing on the lochs in Galloway and to look for signalling.' Aeroplanes were a technological breakthrough at the time and one of the features of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* is the use of a plane in the relentless pursuit of Hannay by the assassins — it is their bloodhound in the sky. Buchan and Raeburn had both heard the rumour about the aeroplane; Buchan wrote it into his story whilst Raeburn's letter stimulated a different response, for some SMC members did actually embark upon a real spy hunt.

The army had set up their headquarters at Glen Trool Lodge — owned by the 12th Earl of Galloway then a Prisoner of War having been captured at Ypres — and they stretched ropes across the western end of the glen to slice the wings off any low-flying German plane. An officer, upon entering a shepherd's hut, pounced on a sinister signalling machine only to be informed that it was a primitive apparatus for making candle dips.

Meanwhile, in March 1915, a group of SMC volunteers, including Raeburn, assembled in Glen Trool to help the soldiers in their search but were hampered by blizzards and stormy weather. The weather had the last say, as usual, and the irregulars withdrew in much the same manner as the English knights after Robert the Bruce's guerilla force had routed them there in 1307. Ironically, the mystery of the tent was only revealed when a member of the Scottish Alpine Club (a club for botanists interested in 'alpines' and not to be confused with the SMC) eventually informed the army that it had been abandoned after a severe snow-storm.[6] No spies then but Dinwiddie's men did uncover a significant Middle Bronze Age (1450 to 1200 BC) hoard under a large overhanging rock on Eschoncan Fell in the summer of 1915. The items included an axehead, spearhead, rapier blade, razor, knife, various other implements and some amber beads. Some time later a second razor was found by Malcolm Scott, a gamekeeper from Cumloden, and later still two more beads were discovered by W. Adams, Newton Stewart.[7]

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[4] Scottish Mountaineering Club Archives, Inventory Acc.11538, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

[5] Dick, C.W. (1916) *Highways & Byways in Galloway and Carrick*. London: MacMillan.

[6] Connon, Peter (1984) *An Aeronautical History of the Cumbria, Dumfries & Galloway Region. Part 2: 1915–1930*. Penrith: St Patrick's Press.

It is difficult to define exactly why *The Thirty-Nine Steps* became so popular but perhaps Buchan struck lucky with the plane and the public's fascination with fast-developing aerial warfare.

Sources

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[7] The hoard, probably a gift to the prevailing gods, is on display in the Early People gallery at the National Museum of Scotland, Chambers St, Edinburgh. The displays are arranged thematically and the Glentrool material is exhibited in the area of the exhibition entitled 'Moving Things, Travelling People'. For a full description see CANMORE [online]. Available at: `https://canmore.org.uk/site/63587/fell-of-eschoncan`. [Accessed 21-12-2015]

REVIEWS

Tales from the Baseline, a History of Dumfries Lawn Tennis Club by David Dutton. Dumfries: the author (printed by Solway Print). 2014. 94pp., 14 illustrations. £6.00 inc. p&p, ISBN 978-1-907931-40-6 (paperback). Available from the author: Tel: 01387 711 893.
E-mail: `ddutton@liverpool.ac.uk.`

The history of a tennis club may seem of limited appeal except to its members, but this account by a professional historian and lifelong enthusiast for the game is of considerable interest as a contribution to the story of Dumfries. It is set in the context of national and international events, which indirectly thwarted the development plans of the members to the extent that the club's survival and contemporary success are surprising. It is now the only tennis club in the town.

The account is chronological and divided in five chapters:

IN THE BEGINNING: deals first with the disputed date of the club's foundation and with Mr H. Grieve's application in 1880 to the Dumfries Cricket Club at Nunholm for the use of half an acre for lawn tennis. Successes in early matches are listed. An account of the game's origins in the English Midlands and Edinburgh is followed by detailed descriptions of the restrictive costumes worn by lady players and the more practical garb of the gentlemen. Lady members were welcomed from the beginning and joined successful match teams as well as contributing to fundraising. The very significant agreement made in 1897 with the Cricket Club limiting annual rent to £5 was to last until the second half of the twentieth century in spite of inflation. It was to the Lawn Tennis Club's advantage but seriously affected relations with the landlord.

THE ERA OF THE TWO WORLD WARS: spans the period from 1914 to 1945. No records were kept by the Club in World War I but minutes from the mid-1920s onward provide a detailed picture of tournaments and social events. However, the economic problems of the 1930s were reflected in its negotiations with the Cricket Club. The author also covers the developing role of lady members who must have kept the organisation alive during hostilities. They rose to office but were still expected to provide Saturday teas according to strict rules. During World War II the Club welcomed temporary members from the armed services, coped with shortages of balls and other basic equipment and raised funds for Warship Week and other local contributions to the war efforts.

POST-WAR TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS: The Dumfries Lawn Tennis Club was one of those able to survive after 1945 but various projects failed because of inadequate funds. Resurfacing the three courts and upgrading the original club house were urgent needs but would have been very expensive. Then the Cricket Club opened two squash courts which attracted more members than the Cricket and Lawn Tennis Clubs combined. Ultimately the latter faced the inevitable and gave up its independence to become a section of the new Dumfries Sports Club in 1976. At last there was progress. The author notes tournament successes and efforts to recruit and coach young people. Fortuitously the old club house was burnt down in 1991 and a modern pavilion was erected with a loan from the Lawn Tennis Association. After much careful consideration the courts were resurfaced satisfactorily in 2004.

RECENT TIMES: outlines plans for future desirable developments and possible means of increasing financial support. A list is included of local sponsors without whom it would be difficult to meet running costs. Efforts to attract ladies and younger people have had limited success in common with those made by many other clubs. However, details are given of members' successes in recent competitions and future prospects are analysed.

Finally the author pictures an idyllic but imaginary scene at the Lawn Tennis Club on a summer evening in the 1890s and raises an equally insubstantial glass to H. Grieve and all those who have battled to keep the Club in being for a century and a half.

The author has made extensive use of the archives of the *Dumfries Standard*, minutes of the Dumfries Cricket Club and the Dumfries Lawn Tennis club, secondary sources and members' reminiscences. Sources are listed precisely to allow readers to find out more on topics covered. Photographs include an early group of gentlemen members in striped blazers and whites, one with ladies in 1910 wearing heavily decorated hats and other groups from the 1920s, 1960s, 1970s and 1988. These and the many names mentioned in the text should be of particular interest to those tracing family histories.

The Dumfries Lawn Tennis Club has been fortunate in having as its chronicler a member with such understanding and appreciation of its complicated history.

A.A. Fairn.

The Border Towers of Scotland 2: Their Evolution and Architecture by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving. Stirling: the author. 2014. 494pp., 1650 illustrations. £55 + p&p at cost. (hardback). Available from the author. Tel: 01259 761721. E-mail: `maxwellirving@gmail.com.`

This handsome, beautifully-presented, 494-page volume, reflecting credit on Alastair Maxwell-Irving and the printers, is the successor to the author's *The Border Towers of Scotland: Their History and Architecture – The West March,* which treated the towers alphabetically and gave detailed accounts of ownership. The Middle March and East March, as might have been expected, did not follow: costs, space and time constraints lie behind the decision. Instead a changed format was found for the recent edition, giving comprehensive coverage of all three Marches: the treatment is chronological, its scope is greater and the architecture itself receives more detailed attention as it evolved at many sites over the centuries. The two publications, worthy of gracing any bookshelf, may serve as companion volumes, but the later publication will stand alone equally well. It was published at the author's own expense in late 2014 and was launched just too late to have the review included in Volume 88 of the *Transactions*.

The author, a chartered engineer, who has been a member of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society since 1987, is noted for thorough, accurate research and exemplary attention to detail. The dedication to his subject spans 60 years' worth of his spare time.

This new tome is brimful of interesting material that will captivate a wide readership and it will also serve as a first class source of reference for the specialist. The wealth of pictorial scenes, which cover southern Scotland from coast to coast, range from a wide stock of early vignettes of etchings, tracked down by him, or features captured by him; to his painstaking floor plan scale drawings; to maps; to present-day colour plates.

The brief introduction deals with the earliest defensive towers and takes the reader from Housesteads at Hadrian's Wall to Florence, Siena and San Gimignano and thence back to Berwick, Caerlaverock and Tibbers Castles.

Part one covers six chapters of developments of great tower-castles 1329–1513, describing such as Threave, Hermitage, Drumlanrig, Smailholm, Traquair, Hutton and Bemersyde. Lesser tower-houses of the sixteenth century 1513–1603 includes amongst others Hills, Thirlstane,, Lincluden, Carsluith, Kirkconnell, Bonshaw, Elshieshields, Amisfield and Aikwood. MacLellan's Castle is one of the principal urban strongholds which feature in a shorter chapter. Bastle-houses, pele-houses and peles cover Darnick, Stewarton and Glenae for instance. The seventeenth century to the present day ranges from Spedlins, Eliock, Barscobe, Kenmure to Duns Castle and many more.

The sixth chapter takes up the subject of restoration and conservation, drawing attention to the much-needed and costly business of preserving such a great number of these structures as safe ruins or returning them to habitable condition. ‘It was in the early 1970s that restoration of the smaller tower-houses began to gather momentum.’ All of part one comprises the much-prized architectural heritage of the south of Scotland.

Part two, chapter 7, spread over almost 200 pages, provides an overview of features associated with tower houses: masonry, gateways, armorial panels, fireplaces, wash-hand basins, garderobes and masons’ marks, to name but a few.

A fascinating single page near the end records an inventory of Torthorwald Castle in November 1564, which provides an insight, in Scots of the period, into sixteenth-century life in a building of consequence.

This publication is a treasure-trove of interesting architectural detail and represents what emerges as one man’s lifetime interest and devotion to a field of study absorbing to him. It is recommended reading, especially before and/or after visiting any of the sites. All in all, the author can be justifiably proud of this superb production.

Morag Williams.

Ghosts in White Flannels: The History of Dumfries Cricket Club by William Sturgeon. Dumfries: Creedon Publications. 2015. xiii+176pp. £12, ISBN 978-1-907931-47-5 (paperback).

Once dominated by tedious statistical accounts of little interest to anyone but the committed aficionado and by sometimes excruciatingly bad, ghost-written autobiographies, the history of sport has now become a recognised and respectable sub-discipline of historical enquiry. Within it, cricket occupies a particular position. Not only do its origins lie in a fairly remote past — the organised game goes back at least as far as the seventeenth century and the first recorded match in Scotland was played in 1785, an import it seems of the English military — but it was, and in many ways remains, a quintessentially British activity. Even today, and unlike several other British sporting inventions, it has failed to penetrate either continental Europe or the United States to any significant extent and, as a mass activity, its overseas practitioners are largely restricted to the component parts of the old British Empire. But at least historians now recognise the important place occupied by sport in the evolution of British society, throwing light on such issues as class divisions, gender roles and expectations, the significance of leisure as a part of everyday life, the growth of professionalism broadly defined and tribal behaviour and loyalties.

Such matters are often best studied at a local level. A Dumfries cricket club was first formed in 1853, based at a ground in Milldamhead, now obliterated by housing developments. The threat of disruption resulting from the growth of the local railway network prompted the search for a more settled location and, in 1880, the club moved to its present ground on Nunholm Road. A continuous institutional existence of more than a century and a half would in itself justify the writing of the club’s history. But the survival from its very beginning of written records, particularly committee minute books, together with the meticulous recording of the club’s activities by the invaluable *Dumfries Standard*, offers rich pickings for the chronicler of this story.

The founding fathers of Dumfries Cricket Club were evidently drawn from the prosperous middle-class sections of the local community. The first five-man committee consisted of a wine merchant, a lawyer, a draper, a brewer and a surgeon-dentist. Indeed, on the day that the club was formed, James Pike, the surgeon-dentist based on Queen Street, advertised his services to the local population, including ‘a complete set of artificial teeth for 10 guineas’. The club was effectively controlled by 25 ‘Proprietors’, each of whom was required to invest a ‘sum not exceeding two pounds’ to acquire a share in the club’s ownership. Ordinary members needed to be proposed and seconded by two Proprietors, but could be ‘black-balled’ in a secret ballot of the full complement of Proprietors. Club rules originally required all members to be resident in Dumfries town or its immediate neighbourhood. But this restriction was soon relaxed and among the early dignitaries then admitted was Alan Plantagenet Stewart, Lord Garlies, eldest son of the Earl of Galloway. It was, of course, an all-male organisation. A one-off ladies match appears to have been played as long ago as 1894, but the creation of a separate women’s section had to wait until the twenty-first century.

The idea of spectators paying to see play was quicker in coming. The records show a decision taken in 1855 to charge non-members six pence in order to watch a match between Dumfries C.C. and the Officers of the Dumfriesshire Militia. Nonetheless, the financial strain of keeping the club going through good times and bad is a recurring theme of this book. After just two years in existence, it was reported that ‘the liabilities of the club are considerable and that, in addition to the sum of £50 previously authorised to be borrowed, a further sum would be required’. By 1861 debts of over £135 had been amassed, the equivalent of perhaps £10,000 in today’s values. In 1875 the club experienced a minor scandal when a former Treasurer euphemistically admitted that he had ‘allowed the [club’s] funds to be mixed up with my own’. His promise to pay back ‘every farthing’ was balanced by the statement that it might be ‘some time’ before this could be done.

Much reliance was placed on the continuing benevolence of the Proprietors. But the club was always on the look-out for means of raising cash. From the beginning, the ground appears to have been let out, when not required for cricket, for sheep grazing. As interest in cricket seemed to wane towards the end of the 1850s, it was deemed advisable to increase funds by letting the field for the grazing of cattle as well as sheep. Another option was to share facilities with other sports and local bowling and curling clubs were early beneficiaries. Almost as soon as the cricket club relocated to Nunholm in 1880, a section of the new ground, then still owned by a local landowner, was sub-let to the town’s newly established tennis club — a joint occupation that continues to this day. The late nineteenth century saw the club engage in several ambitious fund-raising activities. A successful ‘Grand Bazaar’ in 1885 was followed by Tableaux Vivants and musical evenings. A profitable bazaar held at the Drill Hall in 1897 encouraged the club to take the momentous decision to buy its ground at Nunholm. But this meant saddling the club with an on-going debt which was not finally paid off until 1970.

Professionalism is now intrinsic to elite-level sport. At a national and county level, however, a rigid distinction between ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’ cricketers persisted into the 1960s. The latter may have been at least as proficient as their unpaid colleagues, but clearly belonged to a lower social order. As the novice Middlesex all-rounder Fred Titmus, a professional, walked out to the crease at Lords in 1950, the public address system advised spectators of an important error on the score-card. For ‘F.J. Titmus’ they should read ‘Titmus, F.J.’ This reviewer remembers from his own school-days that the school’s long-term cricket professional — a veteran of many seasons of minor counties play — occupied a carefully defined social status. Though clearly ranking higher than us schoolboys, he was referred to as ‘Mr Cockle’; the designation ‘Sir’ was reserved for the masters. To the latter he was merely ‘Cockle’.

Dumfries C.C. appears to have retained the services of a professional as early as 1855 and the practice continued thereafter, at least when the club could afford the expense involved, into the 1930s. Advertisements would be placed in the press to attract a suitable candidate. The rewards were not great and the duties considerable. As likely as not, the man engaged would be expected to double up as groundsman and would be left, unpaid, to fend for himself during the winter months. Yet such individuals could often transform the team’s playing potential and contribute significantly to success on the field. The image of a succession of burly Nottinghamshire miners, capable of bowling at great speed, while displaying ‘agricultural’ competence with the bat, may be an exaggeration, but contains more than a grain of truth. In more recent years Dumfries C.C. has looked further afield to enhance its playing performance. A fruitful connection with the Newcastle area of New South Wales began in 1986, following the recruitment of Michael McEntyre, who was in Scotland as part of a teacher-exchange scheme at Dumfries High School. Since then a steady stream of Australians have spent a season or more at Nunholm, while in 2003–4 a touring team from Dumfries played a number of matches 'down under'.

Over its long history the club has managed to survive two world wars. No cricket was played in 1915 and only eight members were able to attend the club's AGM. By 1917 the financial situation was clearly desperate and serious consideration was given to the possible sale of the ground. An emotional appeal from the Secretary and Treasurer to ensure that, whatever happened, the ground would remain available for the use of 'the cricketers of the future' had the desired effect. A number of wealthy benefactors came forward and offered the necessary financial underpinning to secure the club's survival. Shrewd business management enabled the club to keep its head above water when Britain once again went to war in 1939. By the 1970s, however, the spiralling cost of maintaining the ground, together with the urgent need to replace the Victorian pavilion, necessitated drastic action. The vision of a small number of the club's officers and, in particular, of Tom Farries, ensured that a way forward was found. The construction of squash courts — a sport enjoying an extraordinary popularity at this time — offered a steady and significant increase in the club's income. Formal amalgamation with the Tennis Club soon followed and the Dumfries Sports Club came into existence in 1985.

This book appears under the authorship of William Sturgeon. It is, however, the work of several hands and, at times, the seams from the process of bringing a joint enterprise together do show. But this is a volume to dip into rather than to read as a continuous narrative. Excellently produced by Solway Print, it is beautifully illustrated, particularly for the earlier years, with a collection of atmospheric photographs from a bygone age. The Nunholm club remains one of the most attractive cricketing venues in the whole of Scotland. This book is an appropriate tribute to those who created and developed that club and to those who ensure its continuing vitality in the very different circumstances of the twenty-first century.

David Dutton.

A Neolithic Ceremonial Complex in Galloway – excavations at Dunragit and Droughduil, 1999–2002 by Julian Thomas. Oxford: Oxbow Books. 2015. 190pp. £20.00, ISBN 978-1-78297-970-8 (paperback).

1992 was an exceptional year for aerial photography and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland carried out a number of successful flights over south-west Scotland. At Dunragit, just east of Stranraer, the Commission identified a remarkable cropmark complex of pits and ring ditches centred on a massive pit-defined monument comprising three concentric enclosures. The outer enclosure was around 300m in diameter. Excavation in the 1970s of a comparable large enclosure at Meldon Bridge in the Scottish Borders had shown it to be a Neolithic monument and a similar date was suggested for the Dunragit enclosure (Cowley and Brophy 2001: 56).

Between 1999 and 2002 Julian Thomas, with support from Historic Scotland, carried out four seasons of excavation at Dunragit to test the date and character of the enclosure and to assess its state of preservation. Thomas had already investigated the possible henge monument at Picts Knowe near Dumfries and the Holm and Holywood cursus sites in Nithsdale (Thomas 2007) and the Dunragit excavation was an extension of his ongoing research into the Neolithic of Dumfries and Galloway.

The main excavations at Dunragit examined the northern section of the enclosure. All the archaeological features were found to have been damaged by agricultural activity but the truncated remains survived of post-holes associated with all three enclosures. The outer and middle rings comprised ramped post-holes which had held large timber uprights and there was evidence for smaller timber members in between so that both rings would have formed continuous palisades or fences. The two outer rings were single phase structures, the posts appeared to have rotted in place and there was very little associated material culture. By way of contrast the inner ring, some 120m in diameter, composed large free-standing posts. Careful excavation of the post-holes showed that this was a two-phase feature. Some of the timbers had rotted away, some had been burnt and others had been deliberately removed. A number of the post-pits contained elaborate deposits of flint, Grooved Ware pottery and animal and human bone. Radiocarbon dates put the construction of the enclosure to the twenty-eighth century BC and suggest it continued in use until the twenty-fifth century BC.

Unexpectedly, excavation showed the late Neolithic enclosure had been preceded by a 200–300m long timber cursus monument constructed in the thirty-seventh century BC. Investigation concentrated on the northern section of the cursus. It had been constructed of free-standing timber posts, most of which had been burnt and removed. At the exact point where the middle ring of the later enclosure crossed through the cursus a particularly large post had been erected, suggesting that the enclosure builders were aware of and perhaps commemorating the earlier monument.

The aerial photographs taken in the early 1990s also showed a pit-defined entrance avenue connected to the middle enclosure ring; similar avenues are associated with the Neolithic enclosures at Forteviot and Leadketty in Perthsuire and at Meldon Bridge. The Dunragit avenue is aligned on a large earth mound, Drochduil Mote, some 400m to the south which has always been assumed to be a medieval motte. Thomas opened a trench up the side of the mound which revealed a deliberately constructed stepped profile. Additional excavation on the summit showed the mound was capped with a Bronze Age cairn and a Victorian folly but no evidence was found for medieval activity. Optically Stimulated Luminesence dates indicate that mound construction pre-dates 1800 BC and is probably contemporary with the timber enclosure.

This long-awaited excavation report follows a standard format. Thomas begins by introducing the site and placing it in the broader archaeological context of the prehistory of Luce Bay. The excavation records, including full descriptions of individual post-holes and their fills, are presented in some detail, a format adopted in his earlier Galloway excavation reports and part of a 'decision made to present as complete as possible a record of the archaeological evidence, rather than limit the detailed description to the part of a particular narrative account' (p.6). The author admits that the casual reader is unlikely to 'wade though' the entire descriptive text but this detailed approach has the advantage that the data is provided at a consistent level of detail and can be interrogated and reappraised by future researchers. The descriptive account of the excavation is followed by a suite of specialist reports on the prehistoric pottery (which surprisingly makes no mention of the dated Carinated Bowl assemblage from Knocknab, Luce Sands (Coles 2011)), the lithics, the cremated bone, soil micromorphology, radiocarbon dating and relative sea-level change. The latter is particularly interesting as it suggests that in the later Neolithic period the Droghduil mound would have appeared as an island during particularly high tides; observations like this can fundamentally alter the way we view monuments and their landscapes and it is something which Thomas explores at length in the discussion section of the book.

The report concludes with a detailed discussion of the archaeological evidence. The first section examines the cursus in relation to other Scottish Early Neolithic monuments, including roofed timber halls (though there is no reference here to the Lockerbie timber hall which is the only known example of this type of monument in our region (Kirkby 2011)). Thomas argues that the Dunragit cursus might be 'understood as a foundational statement of some kind, an assertion of human presence in the landscape' (p.151) and compares it with the timber cursus at Nether Largie which was the first in a sequence of monumental structures in the Kilmartin Glen, Argyll. But the Dunragit cursus is not a locally unique structure as two other timber cursus monuments have now been recorded as part of cropmark complexes at Kirkmabreck near Sandhead (Canmore ID numbers 298089 and 299521). This raises the possibility that the Dunragit cursus was just one element within a wider ceremonial landscape encompassing the head of Luce Bay.

The discussion of the enclosure looks at possible Scandinavian predecessors and presents comparative evidence from other palisaded enclosure sites in Britain. There is also discussion on construction, deposition practices, architecture and social action. One of the interesting ideas arising from this is that differences in post-hole size and form could relate to the activities of different work-gangs or social groups.

In the discussion on Drochduil Mote Thomas points to the ‘recurring connection between large flat topped prehistoric mounds and late Neolithic enclosures’ (p.171) and refers to sites such as Silbury Hill and the Conquer Barrow in Wessex and, nearer to this region, Castle Hills at Catterick in North Yorkshire. As yet there are no Scottish parallels and Drochduil appears to the only contender for this monument type. Thomas also speculates ‘whether other sites that have been identified as castle mounds might have had an earlier origin’ (p.174). This is an intriguing idea — perhaps we should be re-examining some of our other Galloway mottes.

The discussion ends with a thought-provoking review of the role and function of the Dunragit complex in the Late Neolithic. Thomas sees Dunragit as one of those areas where distinct but haphazard concentrations of monuments began to emerge towards the end of the fourth millennium BC and were then reordered and formalised during the mid-third millennium BC. In this respect Dunragit with its use of Grooved Ware and exotic architecture like the Drochduil mound reflects, albeit on a much smaller scale, what was happening in the core areas of Wessex, Orkney and the Boyne Valley. He concludes ‘complexes like Dunragit brought together the local and the distant, the past and the present, the social collectivity in the enclosure and the sub-groups who could occupy privileged locations’ (p.176).

The book’s layout and appearance are good but there are some problems with production quality. The original RCAHMS aerial photographs (Figures 1.2–1.5) have been reproduced at too small a size to show the details of crop marks. The transcription of the crop marks (Figure 1.6) is reproduced as a full page image but many of the individual features, including the avenue associated with the middle enclosure ring, are too faint to be seen. And it is a pity that Aaron Watson’s evocative reconstruction of the site, used as a double cover image, has been obscured on the back by the publisher’s blurb; this image could usefully have been reproduced as a single image within the report.

Julian Thomas’s Dunragit excavation report is an important and welcome publication which adds to the growing corpus of research into the Neolithic of south-west Scotland. For too long Dumfries and Galloway has been peripheral to the story of the Neolithic in Scotland and the rest of Britain. That is now changing. Aerial reconnaissance has identified a large number of timber cursus monuments in the region and in addition to Thomas’s earlier excavations in Nithsdale there have been investigations at two Bargrennan-type cairns in the Cree Valley (Cummings and Fowler 2007) and also the discovery mentioned above of the timber hall at Lockerbie. And of course, between 2012 and 2014 there were extensive excavations by GUARD in advance of the construction of the A75 Dunragit By-Pass which, when published, will help to further contextualise the Dunragit monument complex and its surroundings.

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John Pickin.

Links between Galloway and Virginia by Frances Wilkins. Kidderminster: Wyre Forest Press. 2015. 151pp. £20.00, ISBN 978-1-897725-10-8 (soft cover and wire bound).

'This story links families living in Galloway and Virginia. It is written from the Scottish perspective, using information at the National Library and the National Archives of Scotland in Edinburgh and in a private archive in Galloway. George McMurdo is the central character because his papers have survived at all these locations, making it possible to reconstruct the lives of people with whom he was connected on both sides of the Atlantic. An attempt is made to discover if McMurdo was a rogue, as several members of his family and his business and other contacts, including James Murray of Broughton, believed or merely a man of his times.'

Annandale's Smuggling Story by Frances Wilkins. Kidderminster: Wyre Forest Press. 2015. 160pp. £15.00, ISBN 978-1-897725-33-7 (soft cover and wire bound).

'This book was inspired by the research for Annan Museum's exhibition: *Whisky, Wine and Wherry Boats*. It tells how Scotland's national poet, Robert Burns, helped capture the 'Rosamund' and its cargo; how Annan became the centre of the tobacco trade and how a network of ordinary folk from Redkirk in the east to Priestside in the west gave the Annandale shore a notorious reputation.'[2]

Both publications are available from the author, Frances Wilkins, 8 Mill Close, Blakedown, Kidderminster, Worcs. DY10 3NQ. E-mail: `frances@franscript.co.uk.`

In the Tracks of Mortality: the Life & Times of Robert Paterson, Stonecutter, 1716–1801 by Iain Wilson. Thornhill: the author. 2015. 160pp. £8.99 + p&p (paperback).

'This book concerns the real-life individual on whom Sir Walter Scott based his character 'Old Mortality'. "An old man was seated upon the monument of the slaughtered Presbytarians … busily employed in deepening, with his chisel, the letters of the inscription. …" So wrote Sir Walter Scott in the first chapter of *The Tale of Old Mortality* in 1816. In so doing, he introduced to the world the character of the old stonemason who travelled through south-west Scotland for much of the eighteenth century erecting and repairing the gravestones of the Covenanters, Protestant fundamentalists of the seventeenth century.

The book explores the origins of the story of 'Old Mortality', the evidence on which Scott drew for the development of his character, and the life and times of Robert Paterson on whom the character was based. The result is a fascinating story of one man and his mission, and of his family, against the backdrop of a fast-evolving Scottish society – from late medieval poverty and superstition to early industrial wealth and self-confidence — at once biography, social history and detective story.

Robert Paterson was born in Hawick and lived and worked in several different parts of Dumfries & Galloway during his long life, including Lochmaben, Thornhill and Balmaclellan. The book describes the development of Scott's novel and the contribution made by Joseph Train, and contrasts what is known about Paterson with the popular image of the character Scott created. It also deals

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[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.

[2] See Wilkins, Frances. 2014. Smuggling in Annandale. *TDGNHAS*, 88, pp.85–108.

with the history of the local settlements with which he had an involvement, his trade as a stonemason, the background of the Covenanters and his family, including his wife, Elizabeth, and his sons, John, Walter and Robert junior. Finally, the book relates the subsequent popularity of 'Old Mortality' during the nineteenth century and assesses the treatment of 'Old Mortality' by subsequent antiquarians and historians.

The book commemorates the tercentenary of Robert Paterson's birth and the bicentenary of Sir Walter Scott's novel. It is illustrated with 8 pages of colour images and is fully referenced.'

Available from the author, Iain Wilson. Tel: 07818 144766.
E-mail: `ibwilson@mypostoffice.co.uk.`
Or via `http://bookorders.nielsenbooknet.com.`

George Borrow's Tour of Galloway and the Borders 1866 ed. Angus Fraser. Wallingford: The Lavengro Press. 2015. xii+80pp. £10.00 + £1.50 p&p, ISBN 978-0-9928463-4-3 (paperback). Edition limited to 100 copies.

'George Borrow was just 63 when he embarked at Belfast on a paddle-steamer as a first-class passenger for Stranraer on the west coast of Scotland, intending to walk through Galloway and the Borders to Berwick-upon-Tweed. His previous feats of pedestrianism had included a journey through Cornwall (1853–4), followed by Wales (1854), the Isle of Man (1855), a second tour of Wales (1857), Scotland (1858), Ireland (1859). He also explored Norfolk and Suffolk and the south of England, but apart from his tour of the Borders of 1866 the only later evidence we have is a fragmentary account of a third journey to Wales in 1867.

This edition offers a transcription of Borrow's notebook of his tour, originally compiled by the late Sir Angus Fraser in the year 2000. It also includes an important essay by Fraser on 'Galloway and Border Gypsies', providing the context for Borrow's visit to see the Gypsy Queen Esther Faa Blyth at Kirk Yetholm, which has not previously been published. Also included are background information on Borrow's visit to Scotland of 1858, his translations from Gaelic, the books of Scottish interest in his library and his interest in Robert Burns. We have added the detailed account Borrow gave of his visit to Kirk Yetholm in his final work, the *Romano Lavo-Lil: Word-book of the Romany; or, English Gypsy Language*, published in 1874, and included a new transcription of his notebook entries for the days he spent in and around Belfast at the beginning and end of his visit to Galloway and the Borders.'

Available via `www.lavengropress.co.uk` or direct from Dr Ann Ridler at St Mary's Cottage, 61 Thame Rd, Warborough, Wallingford OX10 7EA. Tel: 01865 858379.
E-mail: `info@lavengropress.co.uk.`

SHEILA MARION HONEY

1941–2014

Sheila Honey became involved in the local community from the moment she moved to Annan. Her daily walks with her beloved Welsh collie Tess brought her into contact with other dog lovers. She always seemed to know more people in Annan than those who had lived in Annan all their lives. Through these personal relationships over the years she became involved in local organisations. Among these were the Friends of Annandale & Eskdale Museums, the Parkinson's Society, Nursery Place, Putting You First, the Hard of Hearing clinics and the Dumfries & Galloway Befriending project. In all these organisations Sheila took a very hands-on approach. A keen driver, she always volunteered to be behind the wheel whether to a theatre, a concert, on a day out or a picnic.

She and her husband, Barry, joined DGNHAS in 2009. She became a member of Council in 2010 and undertook to be Hon. Outings Organiser in 2013. Members will also remember her serving refreshments, including her own baking at times, at Society meetings.

Although clearly unwell for some considerable time, Sheila kept going and it was a great shock to many people to learn that she was terminally ill. Her husband died in the autumn of 2014. She followed him seven weeks later in the November. She will be sadly missed both for her contribution to the community, her kindness and generosity and for her friendship.

Rene Anderson and Morag Williams.

JANE BRANN

1958–2014

Society members, friends and colleagues of Jane Brann were saddened to hear of her death on 19 December 2014. Jane graduated from Leeds University in 1980 and worked on excavations in Cyprus and the Sudan as well as throughout Britain, from Orkney to Barnstaple. She worked for the Urban Archaeology Unit and RCAHMS before being appointed the first Archaeologist for Dumfries & Galloway Regional Council in 1988, based at first in Castle Douglas and later in Dumfries.

The Council's Historic Environment Record bears witness to her early days, with dozens of sites found by Jane during surveys made in the early 1990s, and her engagement with forestry, and successive government agri-environment schemes was a continuing one throughout her career, both at a regional and national level. In her role as the Council's archaeologist she sought to achieve the fine balance between preservation and development, and was a passionate advocate for conserving the distinct characteristics of each particular landscape setting.

Jane became a member of DGNHAS upon her arrival in the area, and joined the Council of the Society in 1989 serving until 1994, and again from 1997 to 2014. She was a Vice President of the Society from 2000–2004 and again from 2008–2011, and served as Syllabus Convenor from 2010–2014.

She gave talks to the Society, wrote reviews for its *Transactions* and published an article on Glenstocken, Colvend[1] which reflects her integrated approach to archaeology and landscape. Apart from this, her assistance is frequently acknowledged by authors writing on their own investigations into the archaeology of the region.

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[1] Brann, J., Coombey, N. and Stell, G. (2009). Glenstocken, Gutcher's Isle, Colvend. *TDGNHAS*, 83, pp.91–104.

Jane was always willing to devote her own time in addition to work time, to aid, encourage and support local groups across the region in the appreciation of their heritage, from the Whithorn Trust out in the west, the Kirkconnel Parish Heritage Society in Upper Nithsdale, to the Eskdale and Liddesdale Archaeological Society out east in Langholm.

This support for the local heritage extended beyond local groups, and Jane was always a helpful host to visiting groups from outwith the area, such as the Prehistoric Society Summer Visit in 1998, the Archaeology Scotland Summer Visit in 2012, the Hillforts Study Group in 2014 and the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society late in 2014. Organising itineraries of sites to visit, and providing introductory lectures, Jane was an excellent ambassador for the outstanding archaeology of the region.

Andrew Nicholson.

Sheila Honey and Jane Brann, taken on the Society's outing to Culzean Castle in July 2014.

MARION STEWART MBE

1942–2015

Marion was born in Ayrshire on 25 July 1942. Following in the footsteps of her father, a nuclear scientist, she chose St Andrews University, after which she took the unusual step of travelling to South America. There she spent four years teaching in Buenos Aires and used her vacations to explore the remoter reaches of that continent at a time when it was almost unheard of for a foreign woman to travel alone. Her many adventures included charming her way past trigger-happy border guards in an area where a few days before Che Guevara had been captured and shot. Her stay in the continent must have helped to develop that intrepidity and independence of thought and action which she brought to her later professional work. It certainly provided an endless fund of entertaining anecdotes.

On her return to Scotland Marion embarked on a Master's degree in Scottish medieval history and literature. Her career in archives began at the Scottish Record Office in 1970, where she delighted readers with her friendly and informal approach to assisting them with their enquiries. Her capabilities and versatility shone through in her next post, training naval officers at the Royal Naval College in Greenwich. She instructed them in politics, management, international relations and even military strategy.

In the late 1970s she was appointed Archivist of the Churchill Archive Centre in Cambridge. There she was responsible for acquiring and managing the collections of many of the twentieth century's leading figures, including politicians such as Attlee, Bevin, Churchill, Eden and Hailsham as well as military leaders, scientists, economists and engineers. She worked with leading scholars from all over the world, including China and the Soviet Union, and was solely responsible for decisions regarding access to potentially sensitive and classified information.

Many of you will remember her as the first Archivist for Nithsdale District Council and later for Dumfries and Galloway Council. The Archive Centre was a cottage opposite Burns House in Dumfries where the accommodation consisted of two small rooms with a smaller one between — containing a bath. Eventually every corner of this building, later extended, was filled with records to the point that concerns were expressed over its structural integrity. Marion established the service from scratch, and her dedication to 'opening up the records to the whole community' (her words) has provided a wonderful foundation on which to build, and a fund of goodwill towards the service which is invaluable.

Cataloguing the existing records was in itself a daunting task, and her efforts to promote the service resulted in a flood of new accessions, in turn creating further work. In addition to all this Marion was one of the pioneers of computer databases in Scottish local archives, and was able to create from these an online catalogue in the late 1990s, one of the first in Scotland. A few years before that, and in pursuit of her aim to open up the records to the whole community, she established a Friends group based on the Dundee City Archives model, which has introduced many to the pleasures of volunteering, and many more to archives through programmes of talks and visits. Her palaeography courses were yet another means of making 'converts'; latterly the courses were accredited by Glasgow University. In 2001 Marion was awarded an MBE for her services to Dumfries and Galloway's archives, and she was always immensely proud that she was put forward for this honour by the local community.

Marion became a member of DGNHAS in 1987 when she came to the area to take up the post of Archivist with Nithsdale District Council and she was a member until her retirement in 2005. She almost immediately joined the Council of the Society and served on it continuously until 2005. She was Minute Secretary from 1989–1995 and a Vice President of the Society from 1993–1997 and again from 2001–2005. She wrote many reviews for the *Transactions* and published papers on crime and punishment in Dumfries.[2]

Marion was also very active across the archival and wider scene in Scotland through the Scottish Records Advisory Council, the Scottish Records Association, the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, the Scots Ancestry Society, the Saltire Society, Archivists of Scottish Local Authorities Working Group and others. She delivered many papers to conferences nationally and internationally, and was the author of a wide range of journal articles. Colleagues appreciated her incisive intelligence, her breadth of knowledge — and her sense of fun, which was an essential part of her effervescent nature. When Marion retired from her Dumfries post in 2005 she moved to Fife, where she was employed by St Andrews University to catalogue the Playfair papers, and worked as a tutor for the Centre for Archive and Information Studies of Dundee University. In recent years she helped to run the Fife Folk Museum and acted in a Mystery Play at St Monans Parish Church. Retirement was full! Marion was diagnosed with cancer in 2013. Characteristically, she dealt with the ensuing struggle in an exemplary, clear-sighted way entirely free from self-pity. One of Marion's favourite phrases sums her up — she was 'the very dab'.

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[2] Stewart, M. (1997). Crime and Punishment in 17th and 18th Century Records of Dumfries Part I. *TDGNHAS*, 72, pp.69–78; Stewart, M. (1998). Crime and Punishment in 17th and 18th Century Records of Dumfries Part II. *TDGNHAS*, 73, pp.195–208.

Graham Roberts.

10 October 2014

Annual General Meeting

Mr Iain Macintyre

Medicine and Surgery in the Scottish Enlightenment — and Two Local Heroes

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society held its AGM and inaugural meeting of the new season on 10 October 2014. The speaker was Iain Macintyre MD, FRCSEd, President-elect of the British Society of the History of Medicine. The subject of his well-illustrated talk was *Medicine and Surgery in the Scottish Enlightenment — and Two Local Heroes*.

Prominent historians, such as Trevor-Roper and Robertson, have suggested that medicine and surgery did not feature in the Scottish Enlightenment. It is certainly true that many Scots-born doctors, like William Smellie, the man-midwife, William Hunter, man-midwife and anatomist, and his brother John Hunter, anatomist and surgeon, all made their contributions to the Enlightenment in England, as did the Hunters' nephew Mathew Baillie, a physician who advanced our understanding that illness should be regarded as organ-based rather than caused by imbalance of humours. Others such as James Lind, who conducted the first controlled clinical trial on the treatment of scurvy and Sir John Pringle, the 'father of military medicine' made theirs as doctors in the army or Royal Navy. Two medically qualified Scots were major Enlightenment figures, but their contributions were not in medicine; Joseph Black was the first to isolate and identify a gas, and defined the phenomenon of latent heat, while James Hutton made his great contributions in geology but not in medicine.

It could be argued that each of the following made a significant contribution to Scottish Enlightenment thinking. Alexander Monro primus as an influential teacher and medical writer and founder of the journal Medical Essays and Observations; William Cullen too was an influential teacher, although his Nosology (or classification) of disease and his tonic/atonic theory of the cause of disease both died with him; Robert Whytt by observation and experiment advanced our understanding of the working of the nervous system; John Gregory produced the first secular, philosophical, clinical code of medical ethics in English; Alexander Monro secundus contributed to our understanding of intracranial physiology with the Monro–Kellie doctrine, which is still relevant today and Andrew Duncan was an innovator who was the first to teach public health formally in Britain.

Two Dumfriesshire surgeons made important contributions in their field. James Hill in his *Cases in Surgery* gave an account of his 40 years as a Dumfries surgeon. He described the features of the infectious disease, *sibbens*, and advocated wide excision for cancer, a treatment that would later become widely accepted. His results for the management of head injury were the best in the eighteenth century. Hill appreciated that the priority was to treat the brain injury rather than merely the skull fracture and he was able to do this by directed trephine. His apprentice, Benjamin Bell of Blackethouse, Middlebie, was forced to sell the family property in 1777, due to debts. He moved to Edinburgh to work as a surgeon and became one of the most sought-after surgical opinions in Scotland. He made valuable contributions in three areas. He recommended routine and regular pain relief after surgery; he advocated skin-conserving surgery, a technique which improved wound-healing in operations like amputation and mastectomy, and by a series of observations and experiments and a rational thought-process, he concluded that syphilis and gonorrhoea were different diseases, a view contrary to the mainstream view of the day. His textbook *A System of Surgery* was one of the most influential of its day, as popular in Europe and America as it was in Britain. His great-grandson, Dr Joseph Bell, was the forensic scientist who was the inspiration for Sherlock Holmes by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.

These physicians and surgeons, all working in Scotland, can reasonably be regarded as having made significant contributions to the Scottish Enlightenment.

This excellent and very interesting talk, given by a commanding figure with a clear, pleasant voice, was greatly acclaimed by his audience.

24 October 2014

Keith Kirk

Life through the Lens — with Both Eyes Open

Keith Kirk, a native of Castle Douglas, who is employed by the Dumfries and Galloway Council Ranger Service, was the guest speaker at the meeting of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society held on 24 October 2014. His topic was *Life through the Lens — with Both Eyes Open*. Readers of a popular local magazine are well-acquainted with his abiding interest in wild life and his photographic skills.

It is advisable, he suggests, for the beginner to start with something easy, like a family pet, or large, like a swan. A golden eagle is too ambitious. Ability to identify wildlife is a pre-requisite. A licence is required for schedule-one nest-site filming of the kingfisher, for example.

The serious wildlife photographer requires a hide, samples of which were demonstrated on screen. None is perfect. The aim is to be as unobtrusive as possible and, keeping low, to advance by degrees to the site or subject of interest. If a bird begins to look edgy it is necessary to back off.

Consider the equipment available now to enhance ‘life through the lens’. … Any reasonably good camera will suffice. Most people engaged in fieldwork admit that digital SLR photography, initially rejected by the purist, has brought about unimagined benefits. The telephoto lens can move round a scene and sections can be stitched together imperceptibly. Trail cameras are squirrel- and badger-proof (but not lion-proof — nothing to worry about in Dumfries and Galloway!) Night vision cameras capture shy creatures like the otter. A tripod must come up to eye level to avoid backache. The practised wildlife photographer finds it important to be well-supplied, even laden with essential equipment.

It is now possible to mix high-quality video with stills: the results demonstrated were impressive, badgers emerging from a sett, for instance. Keith suggested that though parts of a scene can be out of focus the technology is coming on stream to rectify such situations. His advice: be careful what you throw away. Spypoint Live enables the camera to trip in the wild and notify the man sitting at home of the scene that has been shot.

Interspersing the types of equipment being shown were superb wildlife studies, all of which had been taken in Dumfries and Galloway — everything from the bog-bush cricket at Dalbeattie to the dunnock (hedge sparrow) to the nuthatch (now widespread in Scotland) to the barnacle goose. The goosander is a regular sight on the Nith. The black guillemot with its striking red feet was filmed at Portpatrick, where it was nesting in the harbour wall. Castramont Wood is a good place for pied flycatchers. In taking a shot of teal at Caerlaverock, Keith was surprised to find an American green-winged teal present. Even the gannet was photographed on mainland Galloway, not on the Bass Rock. It emerged that a locally-viewed male osprey, bearing the number 80, had been ringed in Wales. Red squirrels like to frequent trees but food will attract them down. His sparrowhawk and kingfisher pictures were of the highest order and must have taken hours of patient watching and waiting to achieve.

The range of wildlife that can be filmed in Dumfries and Galloway makes the area an excellent destination for the enthusiastic wildlife watcher and photographer. The winter roost of starlings massing at dusk at Gretna was voted in sixth place in a wildlife competition. The short-winged conehead (a small green bush cricket) showed up at Gretna, its first sighting in the region.

Keith was applauded for his knowledge and for the spectacular results achieved by his passion for recording the natural world on his native heath.

7 November 2014

Paul Goodwin

Current Initiatives to Record and Research our Great War Ancestors

At the meeting of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society held in Dumfries on 7 November 2014, Paul Goodwin brought the audience up to date on the current initiatives to research and record our Great War forbears. Nobody could fail to be impressed by the extent of new information coming to light, even a century after the outbreak of the First World War. The seemingly straightforward listing of the area's war memorials still has surprises, as exampled by the 1914–18 church clock at Borgue, which has just been formally recognised and recorded.

Mr Goodwin, who himself served in the army, lives at Dalry and is foremost in the very active Scottish Military Research Group, the largest record of military memorials in Scotland. The War Memorials Trust covers the wider UK, and funding is available for maintaining monuments suffering decay.

The central theme of the talk was not just the monuments of stone or metal, but the evocation of the real people they record, their lives, their families, and their places in our communities and in our own lives. John McCrae, who wrote the inspirational verses 'In Flanders fields the poppies blow between the crosses row on row …', was a medical officer in the Canadian army, with his origins firmly in Galloway. His grandfather was born at Dukieston near Dalry and his father at Laurieston. The family farmed at Carsphairn before emigrating.

The slides accompanying the talk showed the width of interest in the memorials and the human stories they reveal. Monuments at Dumfries, Crossmichael and Gatehouse of Fleet each bear the sad story of four brothers killed in the Great War, and that at Kingholm Quay lists a father and three sons. The Balmaclellan memorial includes a 1925 death — of injuries sustained long before in the Great War.

The emphasis currently is on the Great War, but other conflicts are often included on memorials. The memorial at St John's in Dumfries records victims of six wars, including two from Afghanistan and a unique example from Vietnam. Tomas Calvin of Castle Douglas has the distinction of featuring on four war memorials — the civic one and the memorials of three other organisations with which he was associated.

A memorial in Annan to Henry James Scott, killed at Loos in 1915, records what is probably the last example in the Great War of a body brought home (at the family's expense) for burial, around the time that option was withdrawn.

It was heartening to hear of the work being done to identify and maintain the monuments which have so much interest for all of us, and the society was privileged to have Mr Goodwin to talk about them and to encourage communities to keep up the efforts currently being made.

21 November 2014

Jayne Baldwin

Mary Timney, The Road to the Gallows, the Story of Scotland's Last Public Execution of a Woman

The Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society recently met to hear a talk by Jayne Baldwin, entitled *Mary Timney, the Road to the Gallows*, Mary Timney being the last woman to be publicly hanged in Scotland.

Members of the Society who attended agreed that they were treated to a tale told by a master storyteller. The speaker, using only the power of her voice to create eerie atmosphere, told one of the best ghost stories they had ever heard. Yes, the speaker was that good.

Members, most of them knowing the road in question, were asked to imagine themselves walking along that lonely road, the road going north from Castle Douglas towards Carsphairn. About three miles north of Dalry one reaches a tiny settlement at Polharrow Bridge where the events took place on Monday, 13 January 1862.

Agnes Maclellan, known as Nan, kept house for her father who was an agricultural worker. She was surprised by nine-year-old Susan Timney calling and asking her to go and bake for her mother, Mary, who was ill. Mary Timney had three other children — Margaret, Mary and John, a baby.

Nan, in her late thirties, was friendly with Mary Timney's landlady, Ann Hannah, who lived at Carsphad Farm. Neither Nan nor Ann thought very much of Mary, and it was unusual for Susan to knock on Nan's door, although the Timneys were poverty-stricken and often asked neighbours for food.

Nan reluctantly agreed to go to the Timneys and at about one o'clock walked up the lonely road to their house. In doing so, she passed her friend Ann's front door. Nan, having noticed the door ajar, went in to see her. She said she could hear that the beasts were unsettled and felt something was amiss. Ann's brothers were out at work. Nan went through to the kitchen where she found Ann lying on the ground in a pool of blood. Nan chose not to go to Mary's house for help and instead she returned to the Hannah's house with her neighbours. Unusually they took note of everything they could see. There appeared to be no sign of a struggle, but near to Ann was a blood stained poker and a butcher's knife. A folded piece of cloth had been placed under Ann's head.

The couple at Knocknalling had asked their son, Lockhart, to go and fetch John Robson, the local policeman at New Galloway. John Robson went to Mary Timney's cottage because of neighbours' gossip, and ordered Mary to light the last stub of her candle. He discovered a bundle of blood-stained clothes in the rafters and a mallet on the floor.

John Robson returned to Ann Hannah's house. When Ann died he arrested Mary, who was taken to the police house at New Galloway. John left Mary there having tea with his wife whilst he went to fetch the chief constable from Kirkcudbright. As there had not been a murder for a generation before, this was a very unusual situation for him to handle.

Mary's cottage was searched again. They discovered that the mallet had been moved. Mary denied knowledge of the mallet. She was taken to Kirkcudbright.

Everything was reported in great detail in the newspapers, which universally blamed Mary for the tragedy.

Mary was taken to Dumfries jail in March and the trial took place in April. Mary was given little opportunity to defend herself. Most of the evidence was circumstantial. The mallet was presented by the Prosecution as the murder weapon. Lord Deas, the judge, gave the jury clear directions in his summing up. As a consequence, the jury took only ten minutes to find Mary guilty of murder. She was sentenced to death.

At this time the death sentence was unusual and rarely carried out. Public opinion changed towards Mary and a petition for clemency was sent to the queen. For some unknown reason the petition failed, and the execution took place, leaving Mary's four children without a mother.

William Ewart, MP for Dumfries, had been campaigning against the death sentence. He tried to utilise this case to change the law. Unfortunately all he succeeded in achieving was the cessation of public hangings, but executions continued within prisons. Hence Mary Timney was the last woman to be publicly hanged in Scotland.

This case raises many issues, some of which were discussed at question time. Everyone was left with a feeling of disquiet over the whole sorry affair.

Jayne Baldwin's meticulous research has been published in her book, *Mary Timney, The Road To The Gallows*, which is recommended reading to anyone wishing to learn more of the details of this case, which has become embedded into local folklore.

5 December 2014

THE JAMES WILLIAMS LECTURE

Miller Caldwell

A Humanitarian Life

The president, Liam Murray, announced at the December meeting of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society that the speaker, named to deliver the James Williams Memorial Lecture, had withdrawn for health reasons. Miller Caldwell agreed to stand in at short notice to speak on *A Humanitarian Life*.

In introducing him, Liam referred to the remarkably varied life Miller had led. He had served in West Africa, a fact which struck a chord with Liam, who had also served in Africa. His output as an author is considerable and for a wide readership, including children. Liam added that he could testify to his skill as a children's entertainer.

Miller, a son of a manse, lived in Kirriemuir, Angus, from the age of two in 1952 and from the age of seven he had had to adjust to city life in Glasgow. In addition to his father's parish commitments he grew up witnessing his mother, the practical Christian, giving food to beggars in the back garden and knowing of her involvement with Lodging House Mission.

His schooling was blighted by two factors, the first being when a teacher in Glasgow belted him twice for not knowing how to do long division and the second, much more serious, being subjected to grooming and abuse by the school captain, whose continuing presence in the community made him anxious to escape from Glasgow and Scotland at the earliest opportunity.

After training in Social Work in Edinburgh, the Church of Scotland Overseas Mission seemed to be an obvious choice. He was accepted. He had read in the late 1960s about the early work in Africa of Dr Ernesto Serolli, who went on to found the Serolli Institute. It is an international non-profit-making organisation that teaches community leaders how to establish and maintain projects in their community.

Instead of going to Malawi, as he had hoped, because of the strong connection between Malawi and Scotland, he was sent to Ghana where firstly he was required to become proficient in the local language and then, based in the industrial port of Tema, amongst other duties, he taught English to the unemployed and became involved in 'Operation Feed Yourself', in which he was in charge of agricultural workers, who were expected to grow crops like cassava, onions, yams, tomatoes, plantain, without tools. Eventually brutal treatment by the army led Miller to seek an alternative enterprise for sixteen of these men. A German deep into the forests of the far west of Ghana ran a latex-gathering enterprise. Retaining staff in such a remote situation was a problem. Miller offered him this team of reliable men and the venture proved to be such a success that Miller was given a parrot. (One of his books is entitled *The Parrot's Tale*.)

It was in Ghana that he met his wife, a teacher. He also met President J.J. Rawlings, a mulatto dictator, who was reduced to tears on meeting him because his father was from Scotland.

Miller, on being advised to study for a post-graduate degree in London, took up a post thereafter as an educational social worker in Stirling, in the course of which he dealt with problems like truancy and the effects of drunken fathers on families. Such cases brought him into contact with reporters to the Children's Panel, which was proving to be an effective innovation in Scotland in dealing with problem youngsters.

Subsequently he was employed for 27 years by the Children's Panel: his first position was as assistant area reporter for Kilmarnock; then he served as a reporter for Ayrshire in Kyle, Carrick and Doon Valley; and finally he was appointed the first area reporter for Dumfries and Galloway, where he dealt with the panoply of social-work cases, including sexual abuse in the late 1980s.

Memory problems caused him to retire. On consulting a psychologist he found that, although he had pursued a very successful career in many fields and in various parts of the world, the trauma of his early life surfaced. He discovered that 40 years later his former abuser was teaching in a residential school in Boston in the USA. Miller caused him to be reported and he is currently serving a prison sentence there.

Farouq Ahmed, a prominent Pakistani living in Dumfries and special police constable, who had lost a niece in the devastating 2005 earthquake, asked Miller if he would go and teach children in Pakistan. In January 2006, armed with a wide range of suitable items for children's schooling, including puppets, he arrived in remote north-west Kashmir, 400 miles north of Islamabad.

When such disasters occur, aid floods in to try to relieve the situation. A Brigadier chaired a meeting to discuss how the aid was to be distributed to avoid corrupt practices. He appointed Miller camp manager because he was not a Muslim and therefore independent. Distribution of sugar and flour required a signature: it was significant that the young men signed with a thumb print, while the older men, educated in the days of the Raj, signed in ink.

Hidden under a blanket and given special protection, Miller travelled to UNICEF meetings in Mundahar. He became exhausted and dehydrated and was recovering in a compound when he found himself face to face with the very tall figure of Osama Bin Laden, who, on discovering he came from Scotland, left the scene abruptly. Pakistanis were prepared to give him cover because to them George W. Bush represented the devil. The authorities ignored Miller's evidence when he returned home later in 2006 and insisted that Bin Laden was in Afghanistan. Miller was ultimately proven to be correct.

Miller in retirement has worked voluntarily for the Shannon Trust by teaching prisoners to read and write and for the Cinnamon Trust doing pet-walking and other useful services for the elderly, so that they can remain in their own homes as long as possible. His writing is in some instances a fund-raising exercise.

The unfolding biographical details of Miller Caldwell's life, delivered in a strong, clear voice, prove that a human being can recover from a serious setback and that someone so affected can succeed in life.

16 January 2015

Mac Creedon

Letterpress Printing

The thirty-one members of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society who braved the cold and the snow were treated to an enthralling journey through the history of printing by Mac Creedon, founder of Solway Offset. He began his career as a printer in 1955 when he became an apprentice compositor at Dinwiddie's. At that time, there were five printing houses in Dumfries town centre, employing around 150 people. Although they were rivals in business, there was very much a cooperative attitude between the five companies, being true 'guid nychburris' to each other, always willing to help out should one of their number be experiencing a temporary shortage of some vital material.

Although the Chinese had a form of printing, it was Johannes Gutenberg who made the critical step of inventing the first printing press around 1439. Printing presses spread rapidly thereafter, being brought to Britain by William Caxton in 1476. He set up his printing press in a disused chapel and to this day print shops are called Chapels, with the shop steward or head compositor called the Father of the Chapel.

The speaker then took his audience on a virtual walk through Dinwiddie's as he knew it when he began his apprenticeship. Behind the shop front on the High Street was the printing house, reached by adhering to the instructions: 'Follow the white line to Typewriter House'. This would bring the visitor to the Composing Room, lined with the Valuation Rolls of the County Council and ready to hand for annual amendments as people of the Rolls were added or removed through death or moving away. The most important item of equipment in this room was the Stone, a kind of very smooth and level table where individual letters taken from Cases (the terms Upper Case and Lower Case come from this piece of equipment) were assembled. A Case was a kind of boxed tray divided up internally by individual compartments for each letter in order, the size of each compartment varying according to the frequency of usage of each letter in English. The letters J and U were not in order, however, being placed last in a Case because they were late entrants to the present-day alphabets, after printing began. A team of ten people — three or four Journeymen, one Composer and the rest Apprentices — assembled and locked the letters into blocks ready for inking and printing. This was done on the Stone, where all meetings of the workers were also held, making it akin to an altar for the print trade.

From the Composing Room, the visitor (and the work) moved on to the Machine Room, with its two Wharfedale Printing Presses, able to print 500–750 sheets per hour (nowadays, such machines can print 15,000 per hour) and a single Heidelberg, the only automatic machine in Dinwiddie's, a machine made in Germany as the name suggests and still to be found in every printing house today.

From the Machine Room, the visitor would have moved on to the Litho or Lithography Room, its most critical piece of equipment being another Stone, a real stone this time, made of high quality limestone quarried in Germany. On this stone, an artist would draw whatever illustration was required, this then being transferred for printing by roller. After the print-run of that particular illustration was finished, it was the job of an apprentice to scrub the stone clean of all trace of what had had been painted onto it — a task that often took two hours!

Other sections of Dinwiddie's included Warehousing, Picture Framing, Typewriting and the Ruling Room, where lined paper was produced. To this day, the speaker remembers the strange smell always present in it because of the materials used. Another section in Dinwiddie's was the Bindery Department, employing three full-time craftsmen, and also had a constant strange odour, the result of the animal glue pots being heated up. Sheets might be glued directly to the spine of a book or sewn together in 32-page subsections before binding. Binderies were much more common in those days, the neighbouring Dumfries and Galloway Standard print shop also employing bookbinders. Today, as the speaker sadly told his audience, although Solway Offset in Dumfries has a Bindery, there are no others between Dumfries and Glasgow.

During his six-year Apprenticeship, the speaker worked on, among many other things, printing updates of the Valuation Rolls, business cards, Council meetings, work for companies such as Cochrane's and the diaries of the Royal Yacht Britannia (whose Captain was a personal friend of the young Mac Creedon's boss, Noel Dinwiddie). In 1956–7, it was decided centrally that all apprentices in every Trade should attend evening classes and, accordingly, for the next two years, the speaker would finish work an hour early one day each week to take the bus through to Carlisle for a two-hour class that taught him nothing useful about his trade!

When his Apprenticeship finished in 1961, he found a job in Edinburgh, working at the Daily Mail, an experience he found interesting but also shocking, coming up against for the first time what was called 'quaint old Spanish customs' as well as the printing industry's penchant for hard drinking. One amusing memory he took away for his time at the Daily Mail was having to correct Sir Winston Churchill's obituary. After a time, he moved to a job at a Glasgow bookshop and then down to High Wycombe and the Bucks Free Press. At the time, a provincial printer would be earning £16 per week, the speaker because of his promoted post earning £55 per week. Fleet Street printers — very much a closed shop to outsiders — by contrast earned £55 per shift, with up to 10 shifts per week, earning as much as a High Court Judge and putting them in the top 2% of wage-earners in the country. Each Father of the Chapel exerted great power and, when a visiting senior Scottish Trade Union Official on a business trip to London was asked by his secretary to arrange a tour of the Daily Express, it was from the Father of the Chapel that permission was required. Fleet Street was able to keep the computer out long after its adoption by provincial newspapers but could not do so indefinitely. Although Eddy Shah and Rupert Murdoch are best known for breaking the power of the Fleet Street Unions, it was ultimately the computer.

The speaker returned to Dinwiddie's in 1967. A local worthy he knew was James Gunyeon ('Tim') Jeffs, a friend of Noel Dinwiddie and a Dumfries (and later Kirkcudbright) artist best known for the Civic Freedom ceremonial miniature caskets he carved and illuminated manuscripts executed for such figures as the astronaut Neil Armstrong on his award of the Freedom of Langholm. Another local worthy mentioned was Ivie Callan, founder of *The Gallovidian*, a printer greatly admired by the speaker. Callan was a skilled calligrapher, putting three copies of The Lord's Prayer onto a silver threepenny bit!

The speaker also read out a very articulate, not to mention vituperative, 1840 letter written by a print worker, Amos Wardrop. His Chapel was in dispute with the print shop owner and Amos Wardrop, along with a colleague, had agreed to withdraw his labour at the instruction of the Union, but then reneged on the agreement and was called up before the Union, whom he accused of pursuing an unreasonable vendetta against the owner. Wardrop was dismissed from the Union, accordingly losing his job (it was a Closed Shop).

Eventually, the speaker left Dinwiddie's and, with the help of his local helpful bank manager, set up Solway Offset, using the newer offset printing technology, unlike the older five printing houses, all now gone. Solway Offset continues to this day as a successful business, one of its customers being the *Transactions* of the Society.

30 January 2015

Peter Robinson

Cree Valley Community Woodlands Trust

Cree Valley Community Woodlands Trust (CVCWT) was the subject of Peter Robinson, ecologist and project manager of the site in Galloway, when he addressed Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society at the end of January.

The Trust was formed in 1999. It does not own the woods which it manages; instead it has a 25-year lease on various woodland sites, mainly from the Forestry Commission. CVCWT's influence extends northwards up the eastern side of the Cree from Newton Stewart. It has a vision of establishing a Forest Habitat Network from 'source to sea', which incorporates a mosaic of native broad-leaved woodland and other habitats for all to enjoy. Regeneration and re-planting are partly the means of achieving these ends. Oak is the main species; however, ash and alder are present; and birch, rowan, hazel and hawthorn also feature in the landscape, especially from regeneration. CVCWT has its own tree nursery. Peter Norman was involved with improving woodland pasture. Holly trees, very palatable higher up, have been planted as fodder for animals.

Various woods were visited on screen and the fauna and flora covered. Starting in the south, the growing number of woods managed by the Trust are Blairmount Park and Doonhill, Duncree, Knockman, Garlies in partnership with the RSPB which purchased Barclye Farm recently, Wood of Cree also with the RSPB, Carner, Minnoch, Water of Trool, Caldons and Buchan linked Glenhead. The early leases are well advanced, whereas the newer ones are in the early stages of adaptation.

The wonderful scenery, the range of trees and wide variety of plants and wildlife at these sites enabled Peter to deliver an awe-inspiring presentation, which cannot be replicated by the written word alone and the complete list of which is too numerous to mention.

As oakland is high on the list of the managed woods, its promotion formed the greater part of the talk. In the south, Garlies Wood was part of the Earl of Galloway's estate, where there is a problem with fallow deer browsing. He established a deer park in the 1820s. The carpets of bluebells indicate ancient oak woodland.

There are vast stretches of coniferous woodland in Galloway. Camer Wood was under-planted with conifers in the 1970s: birch is early to regenerate when the conifers are taken out. Ferns, which had adapted to the shady conditions, prosper in the extra light; blaeberries, too. A second rotation of conifers would kill regeneration almost completely.

Buchan and Glenhead in the uppermost reaches feature sessile oak, which is the native species of Scotland. It is wooded right back to the fourteenth century. There is evidence of one-time coppicing and former industrial processes like tanning and charcoal production, which ceased in the early twentieth century. Common cow-weed, wood anemones and waxy-leaved yellow pimpernel are to be seen. This woodland, along with Caldons Wood, is a site of special scientific interest (SSSI) because of the biophytes and lichens, which thrive in the wet western Atlantic conditions.

There is a wealth of some seven thousand species of fungi in the valley, such as oak mazegill, which looks like a maze; chicken of the woods, which is edible and growing up to two feet across on oak stumps; the unspectacular oakwood milkcap, which is one of the most important, as it is essential for the breakdown of minerals for the trees; pulmonaria, half fungi, half algae, a rare but important group; hoof fungus grows on old birch in the wetter areas.

Providing food for birds, invertebrates in the form, for instance, of black and grey slugs, woodlice, dor beetles (a variety of dung beetle), two-bar longhorn beetles, help to break down vegetation. Spiked shielbug, sabre wasp and artichoke gall wasp are present. Specialist invertebrates are a sign of ancient woodland. There are 21 species of butterfly, such as small pearl-bordered fritillary, purple hairstreak, large skipper and scotch argus.

There is a breeding list of over 40 species of bird, affording sightings of redstarts, which in the absence of holes in new trees require nest boxes; pied flycatchers, which strip bark from honeysuckle; ground-nesting wood warblers. Nuthatches, which never used to be seen in Scotland and which were few in number only three years ago, have now become very numerous. They will use nest boxes, but they paste mud round the hole to have it the size they want, a practice which seals the box.

Animal life is represented by bats, which will occupy nest boxes. Present are six species of bat, including Leisler's bat. The Galloway Forest has the potential to be a haven for red squirrels. There is ample evidence of badgers: they always bury their dung, in the process of which they throw up tell-tale large stones. They can occupy a sett for hundreds of years, as evidenced by the huge mound depicted on screen at one site. Monitoring of badger setts is crucial to attempts to curb badger-baiting. Fallow deer, in preventing regeneration of their territory, have caused, especially in the early stages of new planting, attempts to fence them out. Young tree protectors are also necessary. Roe deer are also present. The Forestry Commission manages the deer.

Another vital part of the work of the Trust involves the community from schoolchildren to the elderly. Every Wednesday a group of six to ten volunteers, a good number for events in the west of the region, go out to plant trees from the nursery, a valuable ecological and socialising activity. University students from Ayr are also involved. Walking Festival experts put up barn owl boxes.

Professional archaeologist, Rebecca Shaw, is involved in investigating the remains of former farm steadings, revealed by the felling of conifers. Currently a longhouse and barn are being exposed and recorded. One aim is to know what a Lowland corn kiln looked like; it is already known what a Highland one looked like. Eventually the hope is that a booklet will be produced.

Clair McFarlan is pursuing pond-dipping and the rescue of worms with schools in the Newton Stewart area. Pupils were also engaged, along with senior citizens of Newton Stewart Day Centre, in writing poems, as a result of which a book was published. Penninghame Primary School pupils have also been planting trees.

Training events take place: for instance, Archie McConnell, wood-working specialist, has been giving guidance on identifying trees on countryside walks.

The public generally is welcomed. Increasing provision, the heavy work for which is carried out by contractors, is being made for exploring the valley by driving, car parking and/or walking so that visitors, arriving at the northern end from the A714 or at the southern end from the A75, may view the growing variety of interests of the natural world in Galloway, fostered by the work of CVCWT staff, like Peter Robinson.

13 February 2015

Dr Janet Brennan

Castles of Dumfries and Galloway in Danger

The Castles of Dumfries and Galloway in Danger was the subject on which Dr Janet Brennan, chairwoman of the Scottish Castles Association, addressed a huge audience at the first February meeting of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society. Her qualifications for undertaking the subject are of consequence, as she and her husband undertook a daunting restoration project of their own in the region.

The company was captivated from the very outset by her engaging personality. She injected humour into her delivery, despite the gravity of her message.

In Dumfries and Galloway there are 30 castles at risk and mostly in private hands. There was no intention of declaring a witch hunt on the owners, many of whom have these buildings on their land by chance, but they lack the resources to undertake very costly restoration.

Janet set herself the task of following up 58 castles/towers in the region inspected by McGibbon and Ross in the 1890s. More than a quarter have deteriorated in the last century. In the case of Cally Castle, as a mere lump in the ground, it is unrecognisable as a castle.

Her wide-ranging talk covered castles from east to west and from A to W, as it happened. The audience was invited to participate in a recognition game of the scenes in her PowerPoint presentation, which was accompanied by a brief history of each one visited. Auchenskeoch near Dalbeattie, the only Z-plan castle in Dumfries and Galloway, was first on the list, which ended with Wreaths Tower near Southerness, featured on Pont's map and associated with the Regent Morton, who might have taken the young James VI to stay there.

The list of buildings covered is too long to mention each individually. The varied fates that have befallen these former strongholds provided sustained interest. Vandalism and plundering caused deterioration of the pink and grey granite of Barclosh, Kirkgunzeon. Castle Stewart in Wigtownshire with its now missing marriage stone and lovely doorway met a similar fate.

In contrast, Cassencarie near Creetown was lived in until the 1960s and is now at the heart of a caravan park supplied by a children's playground and a restaurant and pub in the soundest part of the building. Hoddom, with several additions over the centuries, including one by William Burn, and open to the elements, is also associated with a caravan park and served by a take-away outlet. Such incongruous trading provides a form of protection.

Baldoon Castle, a Dunbar property in Wigtownshire, dates to the sixteenth century or earlier. It has several claims to fame: it sports a very fine pair of seventeenth-century Renaissance gates; the enforced marriage of Janet Dalrymple and her death on her wedding night were the inspiration for Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* and Donizetti's opera, *Lucia di Lammermuir*.

Dunskey at Portpatrick was bought in 1998 by a Romanian prince, but competing business interests in Europe, he claimed, thwarted his plans. It sits on a cliff top on a public right-of-way. Any restorer, despite spending the millions it requires, would not have privacy. Listed on the Castle Conservation Register, it requires urgent consolidation.

Janet's most stinging criticism was levelled at Historic Scotland for the disgraceful state of Lochmaben Castle, which ought to be better presented by this public body because of the significance of its connection with Robert the Bruce.

All is not doom and gloom, however. Janet listed a number of buildings which might have a promising future. For example, Machermore near Newton Stewart, fairly recently a care home, abandoned and with ceilings collapsing, has possibly been rescued at the eleventh hour by a couple of young pilots. These old buildings unfortunately can harbour hidden problems, as in this case where dry rot that will add to their costs, has been found. Myrton has been purchased by a German banker and Hills Tower is approaching completion of the restoration process by the Gibbs family. At Castle Haven, 'the Coo Palace', on the Borgue coast, was built as a milking parlour for cows and has been bought by the Holiday Bond Company for conversion into holiday lets.

Although the theme of the talk was 'buildings in danger' it was uplifting to end with a photograph of the Brennans' magnificent transformation at Barholm in the vicinity of Gatehouse of Fleet. It was a stronghold of the McCullochs and fell into disuse in the mid-eighteenth century. The work, begun in 2003, was completed in 2006. Vision, courage, perseverance and deep pockets are required for what Janet described as 'the very expensive business of restoration'.

27 February 2015

Members' Night

Neale Lawson

Caerlaverock Manse and Dr John Hutton

Neale Lawson presented an illustrated, erudite and well-researched paper on Dr John Hutton and the Manse of Caerlaverock to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society on Members' Night.

Neale lived for a number of years at Caerlaverock manse where he discovered a stone in the garden wall, commemorating Hutton's construction of the manse of 1708, though he was not a minister. The current building is to a design by Walter Newall of 1837. His gift to the Parish of £1,000 prompted the research.

The earliest record of the land on which the manse stands is in the *Book of Caerlaverock* where on 4 May 1483 Robert, Lord Maxwell, and John, his son, granted land for the support of a chaplainry in the Kirk of Caerlaverock. Kirkblane was even older. There were others, such as the Castle chapel, St Columba's chapel, the chapel at Glencaple and at Conheath.

Neale then gave a brief biography of several of the ministers of Caerlaverock, including William (Major) George (minister 1615–1669), John Menzies (6 months in 1670) and John Birnie of Broomhill.

Hutton is reputed to have been a herd boy to John Birnie, the Episcopalian minister of Caerlaverock in Dumfriesshire, but Neale raised some doubt about that as the dates do not correlate. Birnie provided the means to educate Hutton, who studied 'physic' in Edinburgh, going on to acquire his MD in Padua. Hutton was a Founder Member of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh in 1681. He was not invited along with other Members of the Royal College, who were being knighted at Holyrood by James VII because of his Presbyterian sympathies. For a time Hutton lived in Paris where he bought wood-block prints and books for the Scottish gentry. Clearly he was fluent in several European languages.

When Princess Mary of Orange suffered a riding accident in 1686 Hutton was the nearest physician and the incident resulted in his appointment as Princess Mary's physician. Hutton was also appointed physician to William's confidante the Hon. Henry Sidney. He then became the first royal physician.

Hutton accompanied William III on his campaigns in Ireland and Flanders and was present at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Hutton was perhaps present at the king's death because he was one of the four signatories of the autopsy on the king in 1702. Subsequently he found little favour with the court due to the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough on Queen Anne.

He was in London and Hanover for the next few years. He then became involved with the Hanoverian court and was a confidential agent for the Earl of Rochester, who was seeking information about the intentions of the Electress Sophia and her son, Prince George. He was elected as a member of a Committee of the Royal Society, whose chairman was Sir Isaac Newton; another member was Sir Christopher Wren.

Hutton approved of the Union with Scotland, which presented him with new political opportunities and, though defeated in 1708, he eventually served as a Member of Parliament for Dumfries Burgh 1710 to 1712. He set up trusts and founded the Hutton School in Bankend. He tried to establish a Public Postal Service between Dumfries and Carlisle. He established a library for the Presbytery of Dumfries.

A bachelor, Hutton died in December 1712 and was buried in Somerset House chapel. Remaining faithful to his origins, he bequeathed £1,000 for a charitable trust for the poor of Caerlaverock. The bulk of his fortune was granted to relations and friends, comprising four annuities of £10 per annum and individual bequests totalling over £1,800. The unspecified remainder went to his cousin and sole executor, Thomas Hutton, keeper of Somerset House, who had continued to provide grace and favour lodgings there for him.

Hutton had a coat of arms, probably due to his Scottish antecedents. There are Hutton graves in Caerlaverock Churchyard.

This fascinating talk was concluded with mention of some local legends, including the ghost of Caerlaverock Manse, Burns' visit to the manse, and Sir Walter Scott's Mount Sharon in *Redgauntlet* is reputed to have been based on the manse.

13 March 2015

Vyv Wood-Gee

In the Footsteps of the Drovers: from Skye to Smithfield

Sixty-eighty members and guests of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society were taken on an enthralling virtual horseback ride from Stornoway to Smithfield by Vyv Wood-Gee. Sometimes with a family member, sometimes with a friend, but mostly accompanied only by her redoubtable two Fell ponies, the speaker sought to retrace the steps taken by drovers driving their cattle from the Highlands down to London's Smithfield Market. She began at Dunvegan, where cattle from the Outer Hebrides were swum ashore from little boats and then it was a ride between the Red and Black Cuillins to the Glenelg ferry. In the time of the drovers, there was no ferry and it was a perilous swim across Kyle Rhea for both drovers and cattle. At the peak of droving, 4000 cattle made the crossing each year.

Once safely across, the drovers by a variety of routes would make for the tryst at Crieff, and then later for Falkirk when it supplanted Crieff in importance as a tryst. The speaker sought as far as possible to follow one such route through Kinloch Hourn, Tomdoun and on south to Spean Bridge. Drovers were limited to 10–15 miles per day: otherwise, their cattle would lose weight. Pressure of time, however, meant the speaker aiming for 25–30 miles daily, but she still faced the same problems confronting the drovers — where to cross rivers, how to get across bogs, where to find shelter for the night, and finding farriers to re-shoe her ponies. Interestingly, the drovers' cattle were also shod to protect their hooves on the long walk south. On some nights, she was able to stay in inns or B&Bs, but other nights were spent in barns, bothies or a tent. And at each place, there must be grazing for her ponies and somewhere safe to keep them, especially as one of the ponies had a tendency to wander off in the night!

Obstacles the drovers did not face were reservoirs, padlocked gates and drover tracks that stopped abruptly in the middle of nowhere, only to resume a few miles (and bogs!) further on. But our intrepid later-day drover made it safely and on schedule (just!) to the West Highland Way, where were encountered masses of walkers who all wanted to know what she was doing. One memorable meeting was with an all-girl group of singers who were astonished to finally understand the words of a song they often sang, 'The Lads o' the Fair', with its lines such as 'three lang weeks frae the Isle o' Skye' to the 'trystin fair at Falkirk'.

From Falkirk via the Carse of Stirling, the drover route went on through Livingston to the Pentlands and then southwards along the 'Thieves' Road' to West Linton, Peebles, Hawick and Newcastleton, crossing into England and the Kielder Forest at 'Bloody Bush'. Our speaker's problems changed as she moved steadily south through Bishop Auckland, York, Selby and Lincoln, with more and more man-made obstacles such as roads, canals and padlocked gates across what had once been a drover's road. Twice she travelled on drovers' roads that had been prehistoric routes and then became Roman

Roads — Ermine Street and Icknield Way. And all along her path south could be found evidence of the drovers — streets named ‘Drovers Way’ or ‘Calf Lane’, and buildings called ‘Drovers Inn’ or suchlike. But sadly, few of the locals seemed to be aware of their local history.

Along the way, too, despite meticulous advance planning, she sometimes found herself unexpectedly the recipient of the kindness of strangers giving overnight shelter to herself and her ponies. Ironically, the only sour note came when her ponies were grazing on a verge outside York Racecourse and an official came out to brusquely inform her that horses were not allowed! There was a minor problem, too, in London when an anonymous voice from the Metropolitan Police informed her that horses were forbidden in London (tell that to the Household Cavalry), but a phone call a little higher up the Sensible Chain sorted out that problem and, as shown in an astonishing series of slides taken by re-uniting family members, she took her ponies gently through the London traffic to reach Smithfield Market, the final destination of her epic journey and of the cattle whose route south she had faithfully followed.

28 March 2015

Barbara and Richard Mearns

Scottish Birds in Mongolia

The annual meeting of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society held in Galloway 2014–2015 took place in Castle Douglas. Illness of the intended speaker at the eleventh hour meant that the membership was greatly indebted to Barbara and Richard Mearns, respected ornithologists, who agreed to step in as replacements to present a talk, *Scottish Birds in Mongolia*.

Richard’s mother visited the country in the 1930s. The Mearns like to ‘go camping in the middle of nowhere in fine weather’. On a map, to locate Mongolia, a Communist country till the 1990s, find Lake Baikal and move southwards. Arriving in gridlocked Ulaan Bator, 4,500 feet above sea level, and having teamed up with a trio arranged for them by the Mongolian Ornithological Society, comprising driver of their sturdy Russian vehicle (with spare petrol tank), guide and female cook, they sought the wide open spaces of northern parts of this country of three million people, almost half of whom live in the capital, in a land twenty times the size of Scotland and for which there is no published ornithological guide book.

Richard stressed that the birds they largely planned to show by means of their excellent photography were not birds that had migrated between Scotland and Mongolia, but rather species whose range extended from Scotland as far as Mongolia.

They aimed to track down Pallas’s Sandgrouse, a bird that has occurred in Scotland only ten times in the last few years at, for instance, Southerness and Torrs Warren.

The great tit, nuthatch and common buzzard were widespread, as they are in Scotland now, although the nuthatch is a recent arrival north of the border. Immediately the audience was impressed by the quality of the photography and the couple’s success in viewing an immense number of species in three weeks.

Richard undertook to cover wetland and scrubland habitats. Shallow lakes were more productive of sightings than large deep ones. Whooper swans, tufted and pochard duck were very much in evidence, just as they are at Mersehead and Caerlaverock, but it was a thrill for them to see for the very first time whooper cygnets. Flocks of greylag geese were to be seen, but they were a different, greyer form. Rarer Scottish species such as the Eurasian spoonbill, which bred in Kirkcudbright a few years ago, white-tailed sea eagle, black-winged stilt and the black-throated diver were viewed. Snipe, plover, dunlin, curlew and cormorant were among the many species added to their list. As it was June they came across nests of eggs and chicks.

On the Mongolian grassland of the Eurasian Steppes camels were encountered: they were not wild but owned by someone. There were huge numbers of livestock, such as compact horses for riding and eating, red deer and even recognisable, but far from prize-winning, belted Galloways.

Predating species, like foxes, fed vast numbers of Brandt's diurnal vole to their cubs; black vulture and griffin vultures were aplenty, but not many crows or ravens roamed the plains. Sadly the first (but not the last fortunately) Pallas's sandgrouse they spotted was dead and being consumed by a saker falcon. Intriguingly, sandgrouse wet their breast feathers in order to give water to their chicks. Some other open-country species they chanced upon were grey shrike, characteristically perched on top of a bush just as can be seen in Scotland occasionally; wheatear; and one not found in Scotland — Henderson's ground jay, feeding voraciously on crickets.

Barbara described mountain habitats up to ten thousand feet. It was a relief their trusty vehicle could access many of them. They were eager to locate the snowcock, 'a must-see for the only time in their lives', which is only to be found in the highest mountains of central and southern Asia and which caused them to rise in eager anticipation at 5 o'clock, one morning. The size of a partridge, this lovely bird of limited flying ability and which can survive the winter cold to minus 40°C, was spotted and photographed clinging to a rock face. Lammergeier and golden eagle feed on chunky marmots, a mammal that huddles together underground in winter for warmth. Other sources of food are Daurian pika, whose up to three litters a year offer sustenance, as do Pallas's pika. Snowfinches and rock thrushes were added to their expanding list.

Moving to forested situations, Barbara showed collared doves, which caused a sensation on first appearing in Scotland in the 1950s and is now common here. Tree sparrows and swallows (a different sub-species from ours), crossbills and pine bunting (like our yellowhammers) flew around. To see huge flocks of choughs, about 500, was a marked contrast to Scotland, which has only about 80 breeding pairs on the west coast.

They were advised to sit quietly by a stream in the heat of the day and the birds would come: sure enough white wagtail were breeding there and twite and hawfinches emerged, as did flocks of sheep, goats, yak with their nomadic herders, who were frequently seen, even though there are thirteen times as many horses as people in Mongolia.

Interested in lifestyle, the couple spent a few nights in a tourist ger camp. Barbara was keen to witness the construction of a ger, the standard accommodation of nomadic families, who move about four times in a year, but tend to return to the same places. Gers, made of well-patched skins, fitted to a circular wooden framework can last 100 to 150 years and can be erected in half an hour. Once the central wood-burning stove is lit the interior becomes warm and comfortable. The beautiful painted doors add variety and colour to a settlement. In summer the wind blows through for coolness. The women work hard. They milk the animals, make cheese and accomplish many other chores. Seven times as many girls as boys attend university and hence they are better-educated.

Rain towards the end of their trip freshened the foliage and enhanced the scene for photographing plants, butterflies and the natural world in general.

A question arose: who was Pallas? The Mearns have made a special study of such people and in 1988 their highly-rated publication, *Biographies for Birdwatchers* appeared. The immediate response: 'Peter Simon Pallas was an 18th/19th Century German zoologist'. A comment from the audience was that, although the speaker had come to hear about S.R. Crockett, she found Barbara and Richard's talk very enjoyable. Enthusiastic applause followed.

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A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, by James McAndrew, 1882.*
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